

Multilinguisme et Union européenne Multilingualism and the European Union Multilinguismo e Unione europea

Guest Editors

Marie-Hélène Hermand, Université Bordeaux Montaigne

Annie Niessen, University of Pennsylvania, Université de Liège

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Marie-Hélène Hermand, Annie Niessen

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Introduction



Multilinguisme et Union européenne

Marie-Hélène Hermand, Annie Niessen

Les diverses langues présentes au sein des États membres de l'Union européenne (UE) constituent probablement l'une des expressions les plus directes de sa devise "Unie dans la diversité". La politique linguistique de l'Union européenne repose sur le respect de cette diversité, notamment au travers de la reconnaissance de 24 langues officielles. Cette ouverture au multilinguisme entretenue par l'UE amène à s'intéresser aux contextes, aux dispositifs et aux usages linguistiques élaborés par l'UE pour s'adresser à ses citoyens, à ses partenaires politiques et économiques, aux populations fragiles (en difficulté économique ou migrantes) ou encore aux médias.

C'est dans cette optique que ce numéro de la revue *De Europa* invitait les auteurs à s'intéresser à l'organisation pratique, juridique et sociologique d'un tel contexte multilingue. Nous incitions non seulement à interroger l'efficacité des dispositifs et des politiques linguistiques, mais également les disparités entre les langues dans la communication publique et interne de l'UE, ainsi que sur leur utilisation au sein des institutions. De telles questions pouvaient être envisagées à l'aune d'interactions interdisciplinaires susceptibles d'apporter des regards neufs et complémentaires sur les prescriptions, les normes et les usages multilingues observés non seulement au sein de l'UE, mais aussi dans le cadre d'échanges entre l'UE et ses voisins directs, ou entre l'UE et d'autres aires mondiales.

L'appel encourageait le développement d'une analyse critique de la communication multilingue et de l'usage du multilinguisme *par et au sein de* l'Union européenne dans les domaines de la science politique et du droit, de l'analyse du discours, de la (sociologie de) la communication, des sciences du langage et de la sociolinguistique, de la traductologie ou encore des études aréales, culturelles et médiatiques.

Parmi les exemples de questions soulevées, tant au niveau disciplinaire que des problématiques, nous proposons d'étudier :

- le cadre juridique concernant le multilinguisme au sein de l'UE et les pratiques observées, par exemple à la Cour de Justice de l'Union européenne ;
- le poids du politique dans le choix des langues officielles de l'UE et l'absence des langues dites minoritaires ou des langues issues de l'immigration ;
- la comparaison de l'usage du multilinguisme entre les institutions de l'UE ;
- les disparités entre les langues officielles de l'UE et les langues de travail au sein des institutions ;

- l'importance du multilinguisme et des traductions pour l'existence et le bon fonctionnement de l'UE ;
- l'usage du multilinguisme au sein de l'UE en comparaison à d'autres organisations supranationales ou des États multilingues, ainsi qu'en comparaison à des États unilingues ;
- les efforts (financiers, de communication, sociologiques) de l'UE pour la promotion et la gestion du multilinguisme ;
- la place de la communication multilingue dans les politiques sociales européennes ou dans la politique migratoire européenne ;
- la question du décalage observé entre les discours de promotion du multilinguisme tenus par les instances européennes et les pratiques observées lors des prises de paroles officielles ;
- l'avenir de l'anglais dans le paysage multilingue de l'UE après le Brexit ;
- l'analyse de controverses relatives à l'usage de l'anglais lors des prises de paroles de dirigeants européens ;
- la comparaison des pratiques multilingues en communication publique et en communication interne de l'UE ;
- les initiatives multilingues de communication européenne décentralisée telles que la communication transfrontalière (au sein de l'UE, ou entre l'UE et ses voisins, ou dans le cadre d'une communication de plus longue portée avec d'autres aires mondiales) où peuvent se côtoyer langues nationales et régionales ;
- les dispositifs de communication européenne multilingue (médias, plateformes numériques, etc.) destinés spécifiquement aux citoyens ou ouverts à la contribution citoyenne ;
- les dispositifs multilingues d'information ou d'éducation élaborés à l'échelle européenne ou dans le cadre d'échanges avec l'UE.

Les contributions publiées ont permis d'aborder bon nombre de ces questionnements grâce à des approches qui relèvent du droit public, de la jurilinguistique, de l'analyse du discours, de la lexicologie et de la sémiotique de la communication.

Le regard interdisciplinaire des contributions apporte un regard neuf en posant des questions inédites. Une approche substantielle des contenus de communication en ligne de la Commission européenne (CE) offre par exemple un nouveau prisme d'analyse juridique qui montre qu'une modification du *Règlement CE n°1/1958 du 15 avril 1958 fixant le régime linguistique et définissant les langues officielles et de travail dans les institutions européennes* serait envisageable pour adapter le droit en vigueur à la réalité de la communication des institutions européennes sur leur site internet. Déjà déconstruit par de nombreux chercheurs, le concept d'« euro-anglais » est ici abordé dans une étude du droit dérivé de l'UE afin d'interroger ses caractéristiques linguistiques, sa pérennité et ses usages dans le contexte brûlant du Brexit. La notion d'éthos, largement importée en analyse du discours, est elle aussi remobilisée dans ce dossier en vue d'étudier l'activité de mise en concurrence des langues par la personnalité politique à la tête de la CE.

De manière très saillante, la question du multilinguisme qui accompagne le processus migratoire contemporain vers l'UE est en outre traitée dans la moitié des articles. Si des travaux approfondis ont déjà été largement menés dans le domaine de la linguistique et de l'analyse du discours concernant les mots de la migration, une approche lexicologique pointue de cette question souligne l'urgence de développer désormais des outils de description cohérente de la langue utilisée dans le domaine migratoire, et plus spécifiquement dans les glossaires institutionnels. Une autre approche, juridico-linguistique, fait un pas de côté par rapport aux cadres traditionnels de traitement des minorités linguistiques pour poser la délicate question de la reconnaissance accordée aux langues d'origine des étrangers résidents en Europe. Enfin, une dernière contribution sensibilise le lecteur à l'utilisation et à l'interprétation de codes non verbaux de la communication qui n'ont pas encore fait l'objet de recherches approfondies pour analyser les interactions entre les travailleurs sociaux et les migrants issus des cultures italienne et nord-africaine.

Composé de six articles, le dossier commence par la contribution de **Laure Clément-Wilz**. Inscrit dans la discipline du droit public, cet article interroge les obligations juridiques de la CE en matière de communication multilingue en ligne. En effet, l'encadrement juridique en matière d'usage des langues dans la communication des institutions européennes en ligne est quasiment inexistant. Plus précisément, le site web de la CE échappe à toute forme de contrainte juridique alors que son contenu peut avoir une incidence importante sur les citoyens et résidents de l'UE. Le point présenté sur le cadre juridique en vigueur permet à l'auteure d'estimer la marge de manœuvre laissée aux institutions dans leur communication et de pointer le caractère juridique sibyllin du Règlement N°1 ainsi que la jurisprudence peu contraignante. L'analyse des pratiques de communication multilingue institutionnelle en ligne donne ensuite lieu à l'établissement d'une typologie des besoins multilingues (« multilingual needs typology ») et au diagnostic de manque de transparence et d'inadéquation de la communication multilingue avec les besoins des résidents de l'UE. Enfin, l'auteure propose une adaptation du cadre juridique axée sur trois actions : l'identification des types de contenus pour lesquels il faudrait une traduction obligatoire, l'adoption formelle et explicite d'un régime linguistique par les institutions européennes, et des formulations juridiques permettant de clarifier les régimes linguistiques des institutions, organes et agences de l'UE.

Dans le paysage post-Brexit, il est aussi permis de s'interroger sur l'avenir de l'anglais au sein de l'UE, notamment en raison de la diminution du nombre de locuteurs natifs de l'anglais qui contribuent à la rédaction de la législation européenne. Dans le cadre de sa thèse, **Ornella Guarino** cherche à analyser le statut actuel de la langue anglaise utilisée dans la législation de l'UE et à estimer si le phénomène du Brexit contribue à la consolidation d'une nouvelle variété d'anglais. Pour y parvenir, elle propose une analyse linguistique de l'euro-anglais afin d'évaluer si et comment ce type d'anglais diffère de l'anglais standard (SE). L'auteure présente brièvement le paysage linguistique de l'UE en évaluant le processus historique du multilinguisme et la politique linguistique égalitaire de l'UE. Ensuite, l'étude outillée d'un corpus de textes lé-

gislatifs de l'UE rédigés en anglais lui permet d'évaluer si l'euro-anglais présente des caractéristiques linguistiques spécifiques aux niveaux lexical, morphosyntaxique et textuel. Une fois les particularités de l'euro-anglais détaillées, celles-ci sont reliées tant au contexte juridique européen qu'aux interférences entretenues avec les autres langues officielles de l'UE.

L'approche de **Juliette Charbonneaux** relève de l'analyse du discours. L'auteure étudie le compte Twitter d'Ursula von der Leyen, la page Wikipédia qui lui est dédiée et la couverture médiatique de son accession à la présidence de la CE en 2019. L'objectif consiste à éprouver la cohérence entre la promesse de la CE en matière de multilinguisme et la manière dont la présidente incarne cette promesse. Partant du constat de l'aisance de la présidente de la CE dans différentes langues, il s'agit d'observer comment Ursula von der Leyen s'est fait (re)connaître, notamment, par sa capacité à s'exprimer en plusieurs langues de l'Union. L'article interroge dès lors le rôle légitimant du multilinguisme dans le cas de la communication de la CE et de la « figure d'autorité » qui la dirige. La démarche menée a permis d'analyser comment la mention et la revendication du plurilinguisme constituent non seulement des leviers de légitimation mais aussi des risques de délégitimation de la figure d'autorité.

Ancrée dans la lexicologie, la contribution de **Ferdinando Longobardi** et de **Valeria Pastorino** est centrée sur la création d'outils (informatiques) de recherche terminologique en vue de décrire les termes liés aux questions de la migration dans divers contextes. À partir du constat de difficultés croissantes de compréhension mutuelle sur ces questions (i.e. entre experts et non-experts, entre spécialistes de divers domaines), les chercheurs proposent une classification des syntagmes nominaux à haute valeur informative dans le domaine de la migration. L'objectif consiste à favoriser une meilleure compréhension – tant par les personnes qui quittent leur pays que par les professionnels de la communication institutionnelle – des mots de la migration utilisés par les organisations internationales, par les administrations publiques et par les individus. Ce travail aboutit à un outil de recherche qui classe le comportement des mots relatifs au domaine de la migration en italien et en anglais à partir de deux glossaires institutionnels (REM, OIM) et qui décrit le comportement flexionnel des termes en fonction des contextes d'usage. Il alimente aussi une réflexion sur les causes et les effets de la désignation terminologique de la migration par certaines administrations publiques.

Doctorante en sciences humaines, **Maria Simoniello** analyse la place réservée aux langues d'origine des non-ressortissants résidant dans les États membres. Après avoir proposé la désignation de « langues d'origine des étrangers présents en permanence en Europe » (LOS), l'auteure se penche sur les raisons de l'exclusion presque totale des langues récemment apparues dans les États membres en dépit de l'existence d'une nouvelle diversité linguistique. Afin de savoir s'il s'agit d'un multilinguisme d'institutions ou de citoyens, l'analyse des textes de cadrage européens montre que l'accent est toujours porté sur les variétés linguistiques qui font partie du patrimoine historique européen. Pour ce qui concerne les politiques italiennes sur l'immigration, l'examen des textes institutionnels montre non seulement que la

charge d'engagement linguistique la plus importante revient en définitive à l'étranger mais aussi que les espaces d'utilisation et de visibilité possibles des LOS se réduisent. Si les perspectives d'une reconnaissance européenne des LOS semble bien lointaine, l'auteure souligne l'urgence d'une analyse juridico-sociolinguistique ciblée visant à mieux connaître les configurations des communautés linguistiques minoritaires, condition préalable à l'intégration et à la coopération.

Menée dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche dédié à l'intégration des migrants par des politiques et des actions coordonnées sur le territoire italien, l'article de **Maria Grazia Busà, Chiara Facciani et Arianna Notaro** est centré sur l'étude sémiotique de la dynamique de la communication non verbale interculturelle. À partir de données issues de groupes de discussion et de réponses à un questionnaire, les auteures analysent les différences d'utilisation et d'interprétation du regard, du contact physique et du temps entre les cultures italienne et nord-africaine. La prise de conscience de ces différences par les travailleurs sociaux et de leur impact sur les relations sociales est également étudiée dans l'article. Les résultats permettent d'identifier les variables et les tensions qui président à la réception, potentiellement inconfortable, des codes culturels mobilisés tant par les migrants que par les travailleurs sociaux du pays d'accueil. La conclusion confirme la nécessité d'une sensibilisation à l'utilisation et à l'interprétation de tous les codes non verbaux de la communication, essentiels à la promotion de l'intégration et de l'inclusion des migrants.

Chacune de ces contributions offre des pistes de recherche afin d'approfondir l'analyse du contexte multilingue européen. À défaut de les recenser dès cette introduction, nous attirons l'attention du lecteur sur les problématiques délicates qu'elles proposent de (continuer à) soulever, notamment celles du régime linguistique de la communication institutionnelle européenne, du positionnement évolutif de l'euro-anglais, de la mise en concurrence des langues par les responsables européens eux-mêmes, de la capacité des institutions à tenir compte des difficultés linguistiques des migrants et de l'importance de la communication non-verbale dans les interactions avec ces migrants, ou encore de la reconnaissance des minorités linguistiques en Europe.

Essays



Comment encadrer juridiquement la communication sur internet des institutions européennes en matière de multilinguisme ?

Laure Clément-Wilz

Les institutions de l'Union européenne ont depuis longtemps investi dans les politiques de communication (D'Ambrosi 2019) et apparaissent pionnières de la communication sur internet (Badouard et Malherbe 2015: 33). Elles communiquent en ligne sur différents supports, comme les sites institutionnels et les réseaux sociaux. Si la politique de communication sur internet pourrait trouver un fondement juridique¹, son encadrement juridique en matière d'usage des langues est quasiment inexistant. Les règles juridiques qui s'appliquent en matière linguistique, issues du droit primaire (c'est-à-dire le traité sur l'Union européenne, le traité sur le fonctionnement de l'Union européenne et de la Charte des droits fondamentaux), du droit dérivé (c'est-à-dire le Règlement n°1/58, dit Règlement No 1, portant fixation du régime linguistique de la Communauté Économique Européenne et le Règlement n°31/62 fixant le statut des fonctionnaires et le régime applicable aux autres agents de la Communauté économique européenne et de la Communauté européenne de l'énergie atomique), et de la jurisprudence de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne, préservent leur marge de manœuvre formelle en matière de communication sur internet.

L'un des contenants de la communication en ligne, le site internet, échappe à toute forme de contraintes juridiques. Toutefois, le contenu de ces sites internet peut avoir une incidence importante sur les citoyens et résidents de l'Union, affecter leurs droits et même s'apparenter à du droit. Si l'on s'éloigne de l'approche formelle pour retenir une approche substantielle, et s'attacher aux contenus de ce qui est publié, on peut alors se demander si certaines obligations juridiques existantes en matière de multilinguisme ne devraient pas s'appliquer à la communication en ligne. Sous ce nouveau prisme d'analyse, une autre interprétation du droit applicable serait possible et une modification du Règlement No 1 envisageable. Cette contribution fait ainsi le point sur le cadre juridique en vigueur afin d'identifier d'éventuelles obligations juridiques imposant le multilinguisme dans le cadre de la communication sur internet (1). Elle analyse ensuite les pratiques institutionnelles sur internet (sites internet et réseaux sociaux) sous l'angle de l'usage des langues (2). Elle propose enfin une évolution du droit en vigueur afin de l'adapter à la réalité de la communication des institutions européennes sur leurs sites internet (3).

Laure Clément-Wilz, Université Paris-Est Créteil, laure.clement-wilz@u-pec.fr

¹ Les traités européens ne contiennent pas de disposition spécifique concernant la politique de communication. Cependant la Charte «constitue un cadre de référence commun pour relier les réalisations de l'Union à ses valeurs sous-jacentes lorsqu'elles communiquent avec le public» <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/fr/sheet/144/la-politique-de-communication>

1. L'absence d'obligation formelle de multilinguisme concernant la communication sur internet

Le régime juridique de l'usage des langues au sein de l'Union se retrouve de manière éparse dans certaines dispositions du droit primaire. Il fixe les obligations relatives au multilinguisme et ne privilégie pas de langues en particulier. Il s'agit de l'article 3, paragraphe 3 du traité sur l'Union européenne (TUE) qui dispose que «l'Union respecte la richesse de sa diversité culturelle et linguistique», de l'article 55, par. 1 TUE qui pose l'égalité authentique des textes du traité², des articles 20 et 24 du traité sur le fonctionnement de l'Union européenne (TFUE) relatifs aux droits des citoyens européens, comme le droit de pétition, de recourir au médiateur, ou de communiquer avec les institutions dans l'une des langues officielles de l'Union européenne. Est également posé à l'article 21, paragraphe 1, de la Charte le principe de non-discrimination en raison de la langue. La disposition la plus importante du droit primaire concernant les institutions de l'Union européenne renvoie à la compétence du Conseil pour adopter, à l'unanimité, le régime linguistique des institutions (article 342 TFUE). Cette disposition était rédigée à l'identique dans la première version du traité de Rome (article 217 TCEE). Ainsi en 1958, a été adopté le Règlement No 1 portant fixation du régime linguistique de la Communauté Économique Européenne. Premier règlement adopté dans le cadre du traité de Rome, il est lui-même fortement inspiré d'une décision intergouvernementale adoptée le 24 juillet 1952 après l'entrée en vigueur du traité CECA (Hemblenne 1992; Ziller 2018: 1051; Van der Jeught 2021: 56). Le régime linguistique de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne est fixé dans des textes différents³ sans pour autant être moins contraignant sous l'angle du multilinguisme (McAuliffe 2016, Wright 2018, Clément-Wilz 2022).

Comme l'intitulé du Règlement No 1 l'indique, ce texte fixe la politique linguistique de l'Union européenne, entendue comme les institutions de l'Union européenne. Ne sont formellement visées que les institutions et non les agences et organes mais il est désormais acquis tant dans la jurisprudence de la CJUE que dans la littérature juridique que le Règlement No1 vise aussi les organes et agences de l'Union européenne (Trib.UE, 2011, 31 mars 2011, Italie c/ CESE, T-117/08: pt. 42 ; Chiti 2008: 10). Son mode d'adoption (par le Conseil à l'unanimité) et sa présentation sibylline, associées à sa grande stabilité lui donnent un poids juridique particulier. Ainsi, le Règlement comporte huit articles,

² Également, depuis l'entrée en vigueur du traité de Lisbonne : Déclaration ad article 55, paragraphe 2, du traité sur l'Union européenne : la Conférence estime que la possibilité de traduire les traités dans les langues visées à l'article 55, paragraphe 2, contribue à la réalisation de l'objectif énoncé à l'article 3, paragraphe 3, quatrième alinéa, qui prévoit que l'Union respecte la richesse de sa diversité culturelle et linguistique. À cet égard, la Conférence confirme que l'Union est attachée à la diversité culturelle de l'Europe et qu'elle continuera d'accorder une attention particulière à ces langues et à d'autres langues. La Conférence recommande que les États membres qui souhaitent faire usage de la possibilité visée à l'article 55, paragraphe 2, fassent connaître au Conseil, dans les six mois suivant la signature du traité de Lisbonne, la ou les langues dans lesquelles les traités seront traduits.

³ Article 342 TFUE : «le régime linguistique des institutions de l'Union est fixé, sans préjudice des dispositions prévues par le statut de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne, par le Conseil statuant à l'unanimité par voie de règlements». L'article 7 du Règlement No1 précise que le régime linguistique de la procédure de la Cour de justice est déterminé dans le règlement de procédure de celle-ci (CEE Conseil: Règlement n° 1 portant fixation du régime linguistique de la Communauté Économique Européenne, JO 17 du 6.10.1958, p. 385).

dont l'un renvoie au régime linguistique spécifique de la CJUE (article 7) et un autre porte sur le problème du choix d'une seule langue officielle pour les Etats où il existe plusieurs langues officielles (article 8).

L'article 1^{er} précise que les langues de travail et les langues officielles de l'Union européenne sont l'allemand, l'anglais, le bulgare, le croate, le danois, l'espagnol, l'estonien, le finnois, le français, le grec, le hongrois, l'irlandais, l'italien, le letton, le lituanien, le maltais, le néerlandais, le polonais, le portugais, le roumain, le slovaque, le slovène, le suédois et le tchèque, soit 24 langues. Le sens exact de ce premier article n'apparaît pas d'emblée clairement puisque ce dernier se contente d'énoncer les 24 langues officielles et langues de travail. Cette référence aux «langues de travail» signifie donc que les institutions *pourraient* en principe travailler dans toutes les langues (Somssich 2016: 106). Mais cet article ne précise pas que les institutions *devraient* nécessairement travailler dans toutes les langues. Il est donc difficile de déceler dans cet énoncé de véritables obligations juridiques en matière de multilinguisme, si ce n'est l'obligation de ne pas recourir à d'autres langues que celles énoncées dans la liste (comme le Catalan par exemple). La position liminaire de cet article combinée à l'évocation des 24 langues marque toutefois l'importance du multilinguisme à l'échelle de l'Union européenne.

Contrairement à l'article 1, les dispositions suivantes créent de véritables obligations juridiques en matière de multilinguisme. Alors que l'article 2 relève de la bonne administration, les articles 3 à 5 s'inscrivent dans le cadre du principe de sécurité juridique. Quant à l'article 2, il donne le choix aux administrés européens de s'adresser aux institutions dans l'une des langues officielles et l'obligation à ces dernières de répondre dans la même langue. On retrouve cette disposition à l'article 41, paragraphe 4 de la Charte («Toute personne peut s'adresser aux institutions de l'Union dans une des langues des traités et doit recevoir une réponse dans la même langue») et, avec un champ d'application plus large, à l'article 20, paragraphe 2, d) TFUE («le droit de s'adresser aux institutions et aux organes consultatifs de l'Union dans l'une des langues des traités et de recevoir une réponse dans la même langue»). Egalement, à l'article 24, quatrième alinéa TFUE (et également l'article 41, quatrième alinéa de la Charte des droits fondamentaux), il est prévu que tout citoyen de l'Union puisse *écrire* aux institutions, au médiateur, au comité économique et social européen et au comité des régions dans les mêmes conditions. Cet enchevêtrement de normes établissant le même droit sans le formuler de manière identique («adresser» ou «écrire»? seulement les institutions ou également d'autres organes?) n'aide pas à la clarté du droit. Par ailleurs, en vertu de l'article 3, les institutions doivent s'adresser aux Etats et aux personnes relevant de leur juridiction dans la langue de cet Etat. Relèvent également d'une obligation de multilinguisme, avec un statut qui était dérogatoire pour le maltais jusqu'en 2007⁴,

⁴ Concernant le maltais, une dérogation temporaire à l'obligation de rédiger et de publier les actes en maltais au Journal officiel de l'Union européenne a été adoptée par le Conseil le 1er mai 2004. Cette dérogation devait s'appliquer pendant une période de trois ans, prorogeable d'un an, à tous les actes sauf aux règlements adoptés en codécision [voir règlement (CE) n° 930/2004 (JO L 169 du 1.5.2004, p. 1)]. Le Conseil a décidé de mettre fin à cette dérogation en 2007, après la période initiale de trois ans (Règlement (CE) n° 1738/2006 du Conseil du 23 novembre 2006 modifiant le règlement (CE) n° 930/2004 relatif à des mesures dérogatoires temporaires concernant la rédaction en maltais des actes des institutions de l'Union européenne JO L 329 du 25.11.2006, p. 1).

et pour l'irlandais jusqu'en 2022⁵, la rédaction des «règlements ou les autres textes de portée générale» (article 4) et la parution du Journal officiel (article 5).

L'article 6 du Règlement No 1 se présente comme une disposition charnière pour appréhender le cadre juridique qui s'impose aux institutions. Il dispose que «Les institutions peuvent déterminer les modalités d'application de ce régime linguistique dans leurs règlements intérieurs». L'utilisation du verbe «pouvoir» et le renvoi aux règlements intérieurs, actes relevant de l'autonomie institutionnel⁶ indiquent que l'article 6 est le véhicule juridique de l'autonomie institutionnelle sur le plan linguistique. Il offre une marge de manœuvre importante aux institutions et organes de l'Union européenne. En pratique, les institutions définissent plus ou moins précisément leur régime linguistique (Lequesne (dir.): 43), la Commission étant particulièrement silencieuse sur ce sujet. Plus encore, aucune des institutions européennes n'a indiqué expressément sa ou ses langues de travail, quand bien même la Commission fait régulièrement valoir une pratique administrative de trois langues de travail (anglais, français et allemand) devant les instances juridictionnelles de l'Union européenne, à l'occasion de contentieux sur le recrutement de fonctionnaires européens (ex, Trib.UE, 9 septembre 2020, République italienne c/ Commission européenne, T-437/16, par. 132). Les régimes linguistiques sont donc «compliqués et manquent de clarté» (Van der Jeught 2021: 127) et ce manque de transparence atteint la légitimité des institutions (Pieters: 45).

Cette succession d'articles ne permet pas de dégager une logique générale qui sous-tendrait le Règlement No1, lequel est dépourvu de considérants liminaires qui auraient pu permettre d'en comprendre les objectifs. On peut chercher à déduire une certaine logique de l'articulation des différents articles et de leur ordre de présentation. L'article 1 liste les 24 langues comme langues officielles et de travail. La version anglaise de l'article 6 stipule que «the institutions of the Communities may stipulate in their rules of procedure which of the languages are to be used in specific cases». C'est donc seulement dans des cas spécifiques que le régime linguistique de chaque institution s'applique. Ce que l'on a désigné par «specific cases doctrine» (S. van der Jeught, 2021: 16) semble ainsi se présenter comme un régime dérogatoire au régime général institué par les articles 1 à 5, lequel deviendrait par conséquent celui du respect du multilinguisme.

⁵ Règlement (CE) N o 920/2005 du Conseil du 13 juin 2005, article 2 : «À titre de dérogation au règlement no 1 et pour une période renouvelable de cinq ans à compter du jour où le présent règlement s'applique, les institutions de l'Union européenne ne sont pas liées par l'obligation de rédiger tous les actes en irlandais et de les publier dans cette langue au Journal officiel de l'Union européenne. Le présent article ne s'applique pas aux règlements adoptés conjointement par le Parlement européen et le Conseil» (*JO L 156 du 18.6.2005*, p. 3). *Dérogation étendue pour 5 ans jusqu'au 31 décembre 2016* (Règlement (UE) n° 1257/2010 du Conseil du 20 décembre 2010 prorogeant les mesures dérogatoires temporaires au règlement n° 1 du 15 avril 1958, *JO L 343 du 29.12.2010*, p. 5). Fin de la dérogation prévue en 2022 (Règlement (UE, Euratom) 2015/2264 du Conseil du 3 décembre 2015 prorogeant et supprimant progressivement les mesures dérogatoires temporaires au règlement n° 1 du 15 avril 1958).

⁶ La Cour des comptes ou la CJUE doivent toutefois obtenir l'accord du Conseil pour adopter leur règlement de procédure, équivalent du règlement intérieur. Pour une discussion sur ce sujet, L. Clément-Wilz, *La Cour de justice de l'Union européenne*, LGDJ, 2020, p. 96. Également, l'article 118, deuxième alinéa TFUE dispose que «Le Conseil, statuant conformément à une procédure législative spéciale, établit, par voie de règlements, les régimes linguistiques des titres européens. Le Conseil statue à l'unanimité, après consultation du Parlement européen».

Même si l'on retenait cette logique générale, on ne peut qu'admettre l'importante marge de manœuvre accordée aux institutions de l'Union européenne, qui bénéficie aussi d'une jurisprudence de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne (CJUE) assez peu formaliste. La CJUE accepte en effet des régimes linguistiques de fait, en dehors de toutes dispositions dans le règlement intérieur (TFPUE, 29 juin 2011, M.T. Angioi c/ Commission, F-7/07, pt 91). Également, la jurisprudence relative à l'article 3 du Règlement No 1 est «emprunte de pragmatisme» (Sibony et de Sadeleer: 74). Ainsi, un écrit non accompagné d'une traduction exigée par l'article 3 n'est entaché d'irrégularité que si des conséquences préjudiciables en résultent concernant le destinataire de cet écrit (CJCE, 15 juill. 1970, AZF Chemie Farma, 41/69; voir égal. CJUE, 25 oct. 2005, Allemagne et Danemark c Commission, C-465/02). Plus globalement, dans un arrêt important *Kik c/ OHMI*, la Cour a affirmé qu'il n'existait pas de principe général de droit communautaire qui donnerait un droit à chaque citoyen de recevoir une version de toute décision qui pourrait affecter ses droits dans sa langue (CJCE, 9 sept. 2003, *Kik v. OHMI*, C-361/01 P). Elle a également affirmé qu'aucun principe d'égalité entre les langues ne résultait de l'article du traité établissant l'égalité authentique des versions linguistiques des traités (CJCE, 9 sept. 2003, *Kik c/ OHMI*, C-361/01 P, pt 87).

Cette large marge de manœuvre laissée aux institutions laisse les institutions assez libres, au moins formellement, dans leur communication sur internet. Celle-ci ne figure d'ailleurs naturellement pas dans le texte du Règlement puisqu'internet n'existait pas au moment de l'adoption du Règlement No 1, et ce dernier n'a jamais été modifié depuis 1958, si ce n'est pour s'adapter aux élargissements successifs et allonger la liste des langues officielles et de travail.

Que l'on considère que la communication en ligne relève de l'article 6 ou qu'elle échappe au champ d'application du Règlement No 1, ce contexte juridique, constitué d'un texte sibyllin et d'une jurisprudence peu contraignante (Clément-Wilz, 2022: 165), n'impose pas formellement aux institutions européennes de communiquer sur internet dans les 24 langues officielles de l'Union européenne, et ce indépendamment de leur contenu et de l'importance de ces sites internet dans la politique de communication des institutions de l'Union.

2. Le multilinguisme variable de la communication des institutions sur internet

Les institutions européennes ont en effet investi très tôt le champ de la communication sur internet, avec le site Europa mis en ligne dès 1995, soit deux ans après l'ouverture du Web au public, marquant un tournant en matière communication. Les institutions européennes, organes et agences décentralisées disposent tous d'un site internet dont la vocation est de communiquer sur différents aspects comme l'action politique menée, leur organisation interne, les financements et appels d'offre ou les postes à pourvoir. Le site de la Commission est particulier car il correspond au site Europa, lequel concentre l'information sur l'Union européenne en général. Comme souligné par Badouard et Malherbe, d'un paradigme consistant à délivrer une information sectorisée à des professionnels de différents domaines, on est passé à un nou-

veau paradigme dans lequel la «communication institutionnelle devient un enjeu politique à part entière» (Badouard et Malherbe 2015: 34). Il s'agit de s'adresser directement aux citoyens pour les convaincre du bien-fondé du projet et de susciter l'interaction au début des années 2000 (Massart-Piérard 2000: 10) puis la participation à la fin des années 2000.

Le début des années 2010 est marqué par l'utilisation des réseaux sociaux, principalement Twitter et Facebook, à la fois par les membres des institutions, les porte-parole ou services de presse et les agents à titre individuel. Pour faire face aux nouveaux enjeux de communication et d'expression individuelle des membres et agents des différentes institutions, la Commission a publié en 2011 une stratégie de communication dans les médias sociaux. Disponible en ligne en anglais dans sa version la plus récente⁷, cette communication précise qu'il faut distinguer entre trois usages des réseaux sociaux: 1°) communication sur les priorités politiques, 2°) campagnes de communication et communication auprès des partenaires, 3°) utilisation des réseaux sociaux par les agents de l'UE en leur capacité personnelle. Dans la première catégorie, communiquent certains agents désignés au nom de la Commission, appartenant au *Staff Media Network*. Leur objectif est de «relayer des annonces officielles, les communiqués de presse, et les prises de position d'une manière uniforme et cohérente ». Le but du deuxième type de communication est d'informer les citoyens sur la valeur-ajoutée de l'UE, ou de promouvoir des politiques ou des campagnes ou de s'engager avec les parties prenantes. Enfin, «les membres du personnel de la Commission européenne sont encouragés à être des utilisateurs actifs des médias sociaux à titre personnel. S'ils mentionnent dans leur profil leur lieu de travail, ils doivent préciser que les déclarations et les opinions sont personnelles et qu'elles ne représentent pas la position officielle de la Commission». Ils doivent également respecter le Règlement n°31/62 fixant le statut des fonctionnaires et le régime applicable aux autres agents, les codes de conduite des personnels et les directives sur les réseaux sociaux pour tous les personnels de la Commission⁸. Tout en promouvant l'usage des réseaux sociaux, la Commission cherche à l'encadrer et à le mettre au service de l'action européenne.

Cet encadrement de l'usage des réseaux sociaux renforce l'idée selon laquelle le processus de communication des institutions européens se situe «à l'opposé exact des pratiques traditionnelles de construction du consensus, où la communication est gérée par des groupes politiques, partis ou stakeholders, plus ou moins en phase avec le système médiatique, construit l'espace narratif des questions au niveau national et européen» (Belluati 2021 : 82). En effet les canaux de communication sont détournés, dans la mesure où ce sont les institutions elles-mêmes qui ont la charge de construire le discours public sur les décisions de l'Union et qui les canalisent vers les citoyens en utilisant leur propres méthodes et formes (Ibid.).

C'est dans ce contexte que se pose la question de la communication multilingue des institutions et organes de l'Union européenne. Celle-ci varie en fonction des po-

⁷ <https://wikis.ec.europa.eu/display/WEBGUIDE/01.+Using+social+media>.

⁸ <https://wikis.ec.europa.eu/display/WEBGUIDE/01.+Using+social+media>.

litiques et des choix politiques. De même les institutions tweetent principalement en anglais et les gouvernants européens du Conseil européen tweetent principalement dans leur langue maternelle (Lequesne 2021: 74 et 76). Pour des messages importants, beaucoup de dirigeants traduisent leurs tweets dans d'autres langues, principalement en anglais (Drachenberg et Phillips 2021: 51). Une analyse des tweets des candidats aux élections européennes montre également que la plupart des candidats tweetent dans leur propre langue, même si l'on trouve aussi l'anglais, pour un public transnational (Nulty et al. 2016: 432).

Plus spécifiquement aux sites internet, une étude commandée par la commission CULT du Parlement européen à un groupe de chercheurs spécialisés en sociolinguistique, droit, recherches de données sur internet et politiques européennes, porte sur l'approche de l'Union européenne en matière multilinguisme dans sa propre politique de communication et sur les recommandations possibles. Publiée en novembre 2022⁹, cette étude procède à la fois à la recherche de données sur internet, à une analyse sociolinguistique des utilisateurs des sites internet et à une analyse juridique de la politique de communication afin de livrer une évaluation à la fois quantitative et qualitative des sites internet des institutions, organes et organismes de l'Union européenne. Interdisciplinaire, cette étude mobilise un outil innovant en matière d'exploitation des données et techniques quantitatives pour analyser les attributs multilingues des sites internet de l'Union. Complétée par des entretiens avec des experts de l'Union européenne en traduction et interprétation et par des données d'enquête sur les compétences linguistiques des résidents de l'Union, cette méthode permet d'opérer un classement des pages internet à la fois selon leur type de contenu et selon une typologie désignée «multilingual needs typology». A l'aide de cette typologie, les différents besoins en termes de multilinguisme des différentes «sections internet» (i.e. pages internet) sont hiérarchisés, en fonction de leur probable effet juridique et de leur impact sur les citoyens, entreprises et institutions. Il est ainsi distingué entre les «core documents», les «primary documents» et «secondary documents». Relèvent des «core documents», les publications pour lesquels il existe déjà une obligation formelle de multilinguisme, comme les textes juridiques ou les textes publiés au journal officiel, ou encore tout ce qui relève de l'initiative citoyenne européenne ou du droit de pétition ou encore de la saisine du médiateur européen¹⁰. Les «secondary documents» relèvent d'une catégorie résiduelle, correspondant aux contenus qui ne sont pas obligatoires juridiquement et qui n'ont pas d'effets substantiels sur les individus, entreprises ou autorités nationales. Par exemple l'information sur l'histoire des institutions relèvent de cette catégorie.

La catégorie des «primary documents» est la pierre angulaire de cette typologie dans la mesure où nous proposons dans cette étude d'imposer des exigences en termes de multilinguisme pour les contenus relevant de cette catégorie, quand bien même il n'existerait pas d'exigences formelles en la matière. Elle repose sur une

⁹ [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2022/733096/IPOL_ATA\(2022\)733096_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2022/733096/IPOL_ATA(2022)733096_EN.pdf). Research for CULT Committee [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2022/699648/IPOL_STU\(2022\)699648_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2022/699648/IPOL_STU(2022)699648_EN.pdf)

¹⁰ Articles 20 et 24 TFUE.

conceptualisation en fonction du statut du contenu et des besoins des résidents européens. En effet, certains contenus s'apparentent à du droit dit «souple», qui, au sens du Conseil d'Etat, regroupe l'ensemble des instruments qui, tout d'abord ont pour objet de modifier ou d'orienter les comportements de leurs destinataires en suscitant, dans la mesure du possible, leur adhésion, ensuite ne créent pas par eux-mêmes de droits ou d'obligations pour leurs destinataires et enfin présentent, par leur contenu et leur mode d'élaboration, un degré de formalisation et de structuration qui les apparente aux règles de droit (Conseil d'Etat 2013: 9). De par les effets qu'il produit, le droit souple devraient être considérées comme des publications soumises aux obligations de multilinguisme, au même titre que le droit dur. De même, les appels d'offre, les appels à candidature, les législations en cours d'adoption, qui créent des attentes vis-à-vis des utilisateurs d'internet, entrent dans cette catégorie et devraient également être publiés dans toutes les langues officielles de l'Union européenne.

Cette typologie (Core, Primary et Secondary documents) a été appliquée aux sections internet des sites institutionnels des institutions et organes de l'Union européenne. Un score entre 0 et 1 a été attribué aux institutions et organes. L'étude fait ainsi apparaître que le Parlement européen obtient un score de 0.97 pour les «mostly core documents», 0.31 pour les «mostly primary» et 0.72 pour les «mostly secondary». La Commission obtient respectivement 0.67, 0.35 et 0.18 et le Conseil européen et Conseil de l'Union 0.89, 0.95 et 0.68, la Banque centrale européenne 0.06, 0.01 et 0.04 et la CJUE 0.99, 1 et 1. Les sites de la CJUE et du Conseil européen/Conseil de l'Union obtiennent donc un très bon score, alors que celui de la Commission est assez bas, quand celui du Parlement européen est mitigé. Celui de la BCE est extrêmement mauvais, puisque tout y est publié en anglais. L'étude montre également que les sites internet publient soit en anglais soit dans toutes les autres langues. Les publications bi ou tri-lingues ne sont pas vraiment privilégiées.

Du côté des usagers d'internet, cette étude montre, à partir de données Eurostat, que les langues maternelles les plus parlées par les résidents des 27 Etats membres sont l'allemand (18%), le français et l'italien (14% chacune), l'espagnol et le polonais (10% chacun). Deux tiers de ceux qui ont répondu à l'enquête ont pour langue maternelle une de ces cinq langues. Il est également montré qu'il n'y a pas de langue commune parlée à un très bon niveau par la majorité de la population. Une communication monolingue en anglais inclut, en fonction de l'indicateur de maîtrise de langue, 13 à 45% de la population quand une communication trilingue anglais, français allemand inclut entre 43 à 65% de la population et une communication multilingue 97-99%.

En définitive, cette étude montre que le manque de transparence des régimes linguistiques et la publication de contenus ayant potentiellement des effets juridiques et des effets sur les intérêts des usagers les exposent à une violation du Règlement No1 et plus largement à une inadéquation avec les besoins des résidents de l'Union européenne qui utilisent les sites et médias sociaux. Il est donc nécessaire d'adapter le cadre juridique en vigueur à la réalité de la communication numérique des institutions, organes et agences de l'Union européenne. Alors que le rapport Lequesne préconise la disponibilité de tous les sites web des institutions européennes dans toutes

les langues officielles, qui doit être facilité par le recours à E-translation, et que cet outil soit repensé pour être plus efficace, le rapport pour la commission CULT propose d'opérer une distinction selon le type de contenu, et ce pour aider le décideur public européen à fixer ses priorités. Il semble bien possible d'adapter le cadre juridique existant à la spécificité de la communication sur internet des institutions européennes.

3. Pour une adaptation du cadre juridique à la communication sur internet des institutions européennes

Alors que le Brexit aurait pu servir de levier pour à la fois moderniser le Règlement No 1 et réfléchir à la place de l'anglais et du multilinguisme au sein des institutions, il apparaît que la question était politiquement trop sensible et «source de division majeure entre Etats membres» (Lequesne (dir.) 2020: 44). A cela s'ajoute la règle de l'unanimité pour adopter et modifier ce règlement qui freine toute entreprise de réforme. Enfin, le Brexit ne pouvait avoir d'influence sur le maintien de l'anglais comme langue officielle et langue de travail, d'autant qu'elle reste la langue officielle de l'Irlande et de Maltes (Ziller: 1056; Somssich 2016: 108). Le Règlement No 1, «remarquablement stable» (Pingel 2016: 355), est depuis l'origine marqué par un certain conservatisme. Ce règlement n'a pas fait l'objet de réforme en dehors de celles nécessaires pour s'adapter aux adhésions successives de 1973, 1981, 1986, 1995, 2004, 2007 et 2013. La réalité de la multiplication des agences et de celle du monde numérique et de la communication des institutions et organes de l'Union sur les sites officiels ou via les réseaux sociaux n'a jamais été reflétée dans le texte. Toutefois, la pérennité et l'immutabilité apparente du Règlement No1 ne sont pas des obstacles insurmontables à toute évolution.

Cet immobilisme législatif demande en effet de fournir un effort d'imagination renouvelé pour l'adapter à la réalité du monde de l'internet et des besoins des destinataires des sites internet. Il apparaît possible d'identifier des obligations juridiques en matière de multilinguisme différemment de ce qui existe actuellement, en renouvelant l'interprétation du droit en vigueur pour l'adapter à la réalité de la communication en ligne. La CJUE pourrait faire évoluer sa jurisprudence; de même les plaideurs et les juridictions nationales ne devraient pas hésiter à la saisir afin que de nouvelles obligations en matière de multilinguisme soient fixées. Rappelons à cet égard que c'est seulement dans des cas spécifiques que les institutions peuvent prévoir leur propre régime linguistique (article 6 du Règlement No1). Il est possible d'interpréter le Règlement No 1 comme posant le principe du multilinguisme, ce qui signifierait que le monolingue (ou bilingue) serait l'exception. Egalement, la distinction faite entre «communication» sur internet (libre formellement de toutes obligations en matière de multilinguisme) et «publication» officielle (contrainte par le multilinguisme en vertu du Règlement No 1) n'est absolument pas évidente lorsque le contenu publié en ligne s'apparente à de la *soft law*. On pourrait donc considérer que les institutions, organes et agences devraient procéder aux traductions nécessaires pour ce type de contenu. Egalement, il faut relever que la CJUE reconnaît qu'une agence

peut publier des actes normatifs sur son site (CJUE, CJ, 26 sept. 2013, PPG and SNF c/ ECHA, pt. 31 et CJUE, Trib. 7 mars 2013, Bilbaína de Alquitranes and o. c/ ECHA, pt. 31), donnant un droit aux requérants à le contester. De même, pourquoi ne pas reconnaître que les dispositions du Règlement No1 imposant le multilinguisme aux actes juridiques et aux publications au Journal officiel de l'Union européenne (JOUE) puissent s'appliquer à certains contenus en ligne ? Egalement, à partir du moment où la CJUE demande aux institutions de préciser formellement leur régime linguistique lorsque des exigences linguistiques sont posées pour accéder à un poste dont elle publie l'annonce (CJUE, CJ 27 nov. 2012 Italie c/ Commission européenne, C-566/10, pt 68; CJUE, CJ. 16 fév. 2023 Commission européenne c/ Italie et Espagne, C-623/20 P), ne pourrait-elle pas être plus stricte encore et demander aux institutions d'adopter formellement et explicitement un régime linguistique, dans la mesure où elles sont toutes amenées à demander des compétences linguistiques dans leur politique de recrutement ?

Enfin, le temps de modifier le Règlement No1 est peut-être venu, pour l'adapter aux nouvelles réalités, institutionnelle et numérique. Cela ouvrirait-il la boîte de pandore sur le choix des langues officielles ou créerait-il des dissensions sur le choix de la ou des langues de travail ? Cela n'est pas si évident dans la mesure où la liste de ces langues reprend celle, fixée dans le traité, des langues du traité. Le parallélisme entre les deux dispositions devrait permettre d'éviter toute velléité d'ajouter d'autres langues à la liste des 24, comme le Catalan par exemple. Concernant le choix de la langue de travail, la France semble relativement isolée dans la défense de sa langue. Si ces obstacles juridiques et politiques pouvaient être contournés, on pourrait alors songer à procéder à quelques modifications. A l'article 1, il faudrait simplement ajouter «organes et agences» après «institutions». Cette modification viendrait codifier la jurisprudence de la CJUE et répondrait aux demandes en ce sens de la doctrine. A l'article 6, afin de s'assurer que toutes les institutions, organes et agences disposent d'un régime linguistique prévu dans un texte, remplacer «peuvent» par «doivent». Cette réforme viendrait clarifier utilement les régimes linguistiques des institutions, organes et agences de l'Union européenne.

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English Language and European Union: A Corpus-Based Study of EU Secondary Legislation

Ornella Guarino

1. Introduction

The European Union is a unique economic and political union shared by 27 different countries; hence its environment is inherently multilingual and multicultural. Indeed, European legislation must be drafted and made available in all EU official languages, although English represents “the most frequently used language both in source texts and target texts [in EU institutions]” (Seracini 2020: 25). English is not only the source language of European legislation, but also the most studied language in Europe. In 2017, 91% of students in primary and secondary schools were studying English (Kuzelewska 2020: 1425). English has therefore long been considered the *lingua franca* of the European Union.

However, it is true that after the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, 60 million native English speakers have left the EU (Kuzelewska 2020: 1422). Although it has already been confirmed that English will remain an official EU language, this situation prompts the question as to what the future of English will be in the post-Brexit landscape, especially because of the decrease in the number of native English speakers within the EU who contribute to the drafting of EU legislation.

Many scholars have investigated whether Euro-English¹ can be identified as a variety in its own terms. Garzone already considered in 2000 that “a special language that has been described as Euro-legalese is being generated” (Garzone 2000: 7). Other scholars like Seidlhofer state that in order to consider Euro-English as a variety in its own right, European people need to consider themselves as “a relatively stable community of speakers who themselves acknowledge that they speak a variety of their own” (Garzone 2013: 83). Still other scholars like Balič state that “Euro-English must be regarded as EU jargon due to its technical, administrative or legal nature and not as a separate non-standard form of English for EU institutional settings” (Balič 2016: 131).

Based on the above considerations, it is possible to state that there is a difference between the English legal language used in EU legislation and the British legal language. It is therefore interesting to wonder whether the former will take on increasingly different characteristics from the British legal English. This represents a question which seems to be very topical nowadays.

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¹ Euro-English is widely considered as an emerging variety of English used within European institutions as a means of communication between speakers of other European languages (Jenkins, Modiano, Seidlhofer 2001: 14).

This study aims therefore at conducting a corpus-based analysis of the English language that is used within the European institutions – the so-called Euro-English – in order to explore specific linguistic features that characterize it and that help to distinguish it from British legal English (cf. Tiersma 1999; Garzone 2000; Biel, Jenkins, Modiano, Seidlhofer 2006; Jacometti, Pozzo 2008; Bhatia 1993, 2008; Mattila 2016; Bolton, Davis 2017; Biernacka, Jopek 2018; Mac Giolla Chríost, Bonotti 2018). First, a brief introduction of the complex linguistic landscape of the European Union is provided, by assessing the historical process of multilingualism and the EU egalitarian language policy. Subsequently, the article goes on to analyze a corpus of EU secondary legislation (directives, regulations, decisions, recommendations, and opinions) drawn up in English – namely the *de facto lingua franca* of the EU – and elaborated within the EU institutions in the last decades (1992-2022) to explore specific linguistic features of Euro-English. The selected corpus of EU legislation is compared to a corpus of UK legislation containing all UK legislation – excluding the legislation originating from the EU – drafted during the same time frame. Such a corpus-based analysis is carried out at the lexical, morphosyntactic and textual levels and the data is produced using the WordSmith Tools 8.0 software².

2. Multilingualism and the EU Egalitarian Language Policy

In order to describe the principle of multilingualism and the EU egalitarian language policy in Europe, it is first necessary to refer to a distinction made by Van Els between ‘institutional’ and ‘non-institutional’ language policy in the EU. In particular, the ‘institutional’ one refers to the language policy determining the use of languages in and between the EU institutions, as well as the use of languages outside the EU and the languages used between the EU and the Member States. On the contrary, the ‘non-institutional’ one refers to the languages used by citizens in individual Member States (Van Els 2006: 205-216; Kuzelewska 2014: 152). Specifically, this article takes into consideration the ‘institutional’ language policy, as the analysis has been carried out on a corpus of EU secondary legislation.

The European Union has currently 24 official languages and, despite Brexit, to this date English still represents the *lingua franca* of the European institutions. The EU has adopted 24 official languages based on the principle of multilingualism³ and on Regulation 1/1958⁴, the latter determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community and establishing that each Member State has the right to have its official language recognized as an official language of the EU⁵.

Before 1958, the importance of all EU national languages had not been a priority. The Treaty of Paris of 1951 signed by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Nether-

² WordSmith Tools is an integrated suite of programs for looking at how words behave in texts. (Scott 2020).

³ According to the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, the EU is obliged to respect linguistic diversity, to prohibit discrimination on account of language and to provide for the citizen's right to communicate with the institutions in one of the languages of the Treaties.

⁴ Regulation 1/1958 has been subsequently amended by Regulation 517/2013.

⁵ Regulation 1/1958 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community.

lands, and West Germany and founding the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) came into force in 1952, had given implicit importance to French by stating that,

*Le présent Traité, rédigé en un seul exemplaire, sera déposé dans les archives du Gouvernement de la République Française, qui en remettra une copie certifiée conforme à chacun des gouvernements des autres Etats signataires*⁶.

[The present Treaty, drawn up in a single copy, will be deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic, which will deliver a certified copy to each of the governments of the other signatory States.] [my translation]

Nevertheless, over the next few years the importance of national languages increased and was reinforced by the principle of equal recognition of all four languages (Dutch, French, German and Italian) included both in the *Protocole sur le régime linguistique de la Communauté européenne du charbon et de l'acier*⁷ and in Article 1 of Regulation No. 1/1958. Such regulation further established in Article 2 that,

Documents which a Member State or a person subject to the jurisdiction of a Member State sends to institutions of the Community may be drafted in any one of the official languages selected by the sender. The reply shall be drafted in the same language (EEC Council 1958).

Furthermore, Regulation No. 1/1958 established in Article 4 that, "Regulations and other documents of general application shall be drafted in the four official languages" (EEC Council 1958)⁸.

Thanks to the subsequent enlargements⁹ that allowed other countries to join the EU, there was an evolution of the official language regime of the European Economic Community (EEC). Theoretically, nowadays all current 24 official languages have an equal status (Kuzelewska 2021: 1418). Also, based on the above the European Union's approach has increasingly evolved over time towards an acceptance and promotion of linguistic diversity. However, in practice only three of the official languages are more frequently used within the European institutions. Such languages are known as 'the big three', namely French, German and English – the latter being the most used of all. For instance, while in the European Parliament all 24 official languages are working languages, in the European Commission only English, French, and German are working languages. Also, in the case of the European Central Bank, English is the only working language.

The fact that some languages are more used for internal communication than others seems to be contrasting the principle of equality among languages. Before the accession of the UK to the EU, French had the role of dominant language within the European institutions. However, after 1995 English became the mainly used lan-

⁶ Treaty of Paris (1951). Article 100.

⁷ The *Protocole sur le régime linguistique de la Communauté européenne du charbon et de l'acier* was published in 1952 by determining the language regime of the Community and by concluding that the four languages of the signatory states (French, German, Italian, Dutch) are granted equal official recognition within the ECSC (Mac Giolla Chríost, Bonotti 2018).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Particularly, the UK joined the EEC during the 1973 enlargement together with Ireland and Denmark.

guage in the primary texts of the European Commission, and a significant body of EU documents is only available in English (Kuźelewska 2021: 1419; Biel, Biernacka, Jopek-Bosiacka 2018: 251). For this reason, Pym believes that “one of the solutions may be a restructuring of the effective hierarchy of languages, abandoning the illusions of equality” (Pym 2000: 8). Having a single procedural language might be convenient in terms of budgetary constraints and practical considerations, although it would be inconsistent with the EU’s multilingualism policy (Biernacka, Jopek-Bosiacka 2018: 250). On the other hand, Kuźelewska gives credit to the EU egalitarian language policy by stating that it “is a unique example of fully democratic language policy implemented in international organization” (Kuźelewska 2021: 1420). Additionally, it should be noted that the EU promotes and encourages linguistic diversity and plurilingual education. European citizens speak more than 60 national, regional and minority languages (Kuźelewska : 1420), thus constituting an important linguistic and cultural heritage.

Over the past years, the question whether English should be recognized as the only *lingua franca* of the European Union has generated a very delicate debate. What is certain is that English remains an official language of the EU despite Brexit and, most importantly, it remains its *de facto lingua franca* despite the EU’s attempts to preserve linguistic equality and diversity. English is therefore the mainly used language within EU institutions, and as stated in the previous section, it is acknowledged by many scholars that the legal English that is used within the EU institutions differs from British legal English. In the next section, specific linguistic features of the so-called Euro-English are therefore taken into analysis.

3. Corpus-Based Analysis: Comparison of Corpora

The present section aims at exploring specific linguistic features that help to distinguish Euro-English from the British legal English (cf. Garzone 2000; Tiersma 1999; Mattila 2016; Biel, Biernacka, Jopek-Bosiacka 2018; Jenkins, Modiano, Seidlhofer 2006; Seracini 2020). The analysis is carried out with a corpus-based approach (Biber, Conrad, Reppen 1998) and, specifically, on two purposely-built comparable corpora: The EU Corpus contains EU secondary legislation for a total number of 661,512 tokens, while the UK Corpus contains all UK legislation – excluding the legislation originating from the EU – for a total number of 615,678 tokens. The legislation included in both corpora was drawn up over the time frame 1992-2022. In order to build both corpora, four successive periods in the 30-year span have been identified and an equal number of legislative acts has been included in each period of each corpus to ensure balance between the two corpora.

Specifically, the comparison has focused on linguistic features characterizing legal language at the lexical (terminology, collocations, loanwords, archaisms), morphosyntactic (modal verb morphology, impersonal structures) and textual levels (anaphoric references, formulaic expressions). Regarding the specific terminology that is analyzed in Section 3.1.2, a comparison is made between the use of specific words contained

in the EU Corpus and the definitions of such terms provided by the Cambridge Dictionary with the purpose of comparing the meaning of specific terms used in the EU Corpus and the meaning of the same words according to Standard English (SE). Data were produced by using the WordSmith Tools 8.0 software and, although they are limited, they already provide interesting results in terms of linguistic features that help to identify Euro-English. Also, the findings of this study can be of support for further future research on the evolution of Euro English as a variety in its own right.

3.1 Lexical analysis

The most salient results of this study were found at the lexical level. According to Mattila, “Euro-English contains a number of terms that do not exist in common law English and many terms that exist in common-law English but that are used with a more or less distinct continental meaning” (Mattila 2016: 349). Already existing words are therefore sometimes used with new or different meanings. This is mainly because European legislation is drafted in such a way that it can be translated and therefore applied in all Member States (Robinson 2008: 1). Relevant EU collocations are analyzed in Section 3.1.1; subsequently, specific EU terminology is analyzed in Section 3.1.2; Section 3.1.3 analyzes loanwords by considering borrowings both from Latin and French; finally, Section 3.1.4 analyzes another typical feature of legal language, namely archaisms.

3.1.1 EU Collocations

The most relevant collocations were found in the EU Corpus by examining the word list obtained with the WordSmith Tools 8.0 software. Both the EU Corpus and the UK Corpus are compared and the most relevant results in terms of frequency are shown in Table 1. Specifically, in order to carry out the analysis, the Concord tool was used to verify the collocations of specific words. Table 1 shows the collocations that have been detected. As it can be noticed, they have specific meanings related to European concepts that have been developed in the last decades within the European institutions.

EU collocations	EU Corpus 661,512 tokens	UK Corpus 615,678 tokens
Member State(s)	4242 0.64%	17 <0.01%
European Union	2851 0.43%	25 <0.01%
Official Journal (of the European Communities)	1455 0.22%	0
Third country(ies)	737 0.11%	0
European community(ies)	628 0.10%	19 <0.01%
Single/internal market	143 0.02%	18 <0.01%
Free movement	64 <0.01%	0
Candidate state/country	14 <0.01%	0
Acceding state/country	10 <0.01%	0

Table 1, EU collocations

The collocations shown in Table 1 are more frequent in the EU corpus than in the UK corpus. The reason is that such collocations refer to specific European institutions or definitions – as in the case of ‘Member State(s); ‘European Community; ‘European Union or Official Journal (of the European Communities)’ – and others that are not included in Table 1, such as ‘European Parliament’ or ‘European Commission’. Other collocations have other meanings, such as ‘Third country(ies); which is used in the EU Corpus to refer to those countries that do not belong to the European Union. Also, it can sometimes be found together with ‘nationals’, as to include those subjects who are not citizens of the EU. The collocation ‘single/internal market’ refers to the EU Single Market including all 27 Member States of the EU. Another relevant collocation is ‘free movement’, which in the EU Corpus refers to the right of the EU citizens “to move and reside freely within the territory of the EU Member States”¹⁰. Finally, with regard to the last two collocations ‘candidate state/country’ and ‘accessing state/country’, they are less frequent in the EU Corpus than the other collocations, but they are still relevant at the lexical level as they refer to specific European concepts. Indeed, ‘candidate state/country’ refers to a “country still negotiating to join the EU” (European Commission, Directorate-General for Translation 2011: 12), whereas ‘accessing state/country’ refers to a “country about to join the EU”

3.1.2 EU terminology

At the lexical level, interesting results were also found with regard to some terms that are used with a meaning that differs from that of British legal English. This occurs as some specific terms that are used in EU legislation stem from the various national legal systems of the EU Member States, and they are therefore deeply culture-bound. Consequently, because such terms are used in EU legislation with different meanings and often refer to specific Europe-bound concepts, they can generate serious misinterpretations with regard to their correct meaning (Jacometti, Pozzo 2006: 18).

The WordList tool of the Word-Smith Tools 8.0 was used to analyze

Analyzed terms	EU Corpus 661,512 tokens	UK Corpus 658,678 tokens
Case	515 0.08%	739 0.10%
Do/done	309 0.04%	309 0.04%
Harmonisation/ harmonization/harmonised	169 <0.03%	1 <0.01%
Important	116 0.02%	1 <0.01%
Proportionality	74 0.01%	0
Coherent/coherence	47 <0.01%	1 <0.01%
Eventual/eventually	40 <0.01%	0
Foresee	26 <0.01%	2 <0.01%
Normally	18 <0.01%	1 <0.01%
Mainstreaming	12 <0.01%	0
Legislator	7 <0.01%	0

Table 2, Specific EU terminology

¹⁰ European Commission. Migration and Home Affairs. Retrieved July 19, 2022, from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/pages/glossary/right-free-movement_en

specific EU terms and to compare the frequency and, therefore, the meanings of such words in the two corpora under analysis. The terms that have been analyzed are shown in Table 2.

Each of the terms taken into analysis deserves an in-depth explanation:

- The term 'case' is often used in both corpora, but in the EU Corpus it is often used together with the preposition 'in' as a synonym with 'if', as in the following sentence example taken from the EU Corpus: "In case the SMP operator provides equivalent access at the MDF, the NRA may decide to set a shorter period".
- The verb 'do' is often used in the EU Corpus as a synonym with 'make', 'elaborate' or 'perform'. For instance, the verb 'do' is often found at the bottom of the EU legislation in sentences such as: "Done at Brussels" or "Done at Strasbourg" - in which the verb refers to the legislative act in question - as in the following example taken from the Council Directive (EU) 2020/2020 of 7 December 2020 amending Directive 2006/112/EC as regards temporary measures in relation to value added tax applicable to COVID-19 vaccines and in vitro diagnostic medical devices in response to the COVID-19 pandemic: "Done at Brussels, 7 December 2020." As it can be noticed, 'done' is used instead of 'made'. On the contrary, in the UK Corpus the verb 'make' is used to refer to the drafting of legislative acts, as in the following example taken from The Coronavirus Act 2020 (Residential Tenancies: Protection from Eviction) (Amendment) (England) (No. 2) Regulations 2021: "This is the original version (as it was originally made)".
- The general meaning of 'harmonisation' is, according to the Cambridge Dictionary, "the act of making different people, plans, situations, etc. suitable for each other"¹¹. However, within EU institutions, 'harmonisation' is used to refer to the process of making identical rules and standards within the internal market, as in the following example sentence taken from the EU Corpus: "Directive 2014/31/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 February 2014 on the harmonisation of the laws of the Member States relating to the making available on the market of non-automatic weighing instruments".
- The adjective 'important' means "of great value, meaning, or effect"¹². However, in the EU Corpus it can also be used as a synonym with 'big' or 'large', as in the following sentence example taken from the EU Corpus: "The replacement of copper by fibre up to an intermediary distribution point represents an important investment entailing some risk".
- With regard to 'proportionality', the latter has acquired a precise meaning within the European context as it refers to the principle of proportionality laid down in Article 5 of the Treaty on European Union which states that, "Under the principle of proportionality, the content and form of Union action shall not exceed what is necessary to achieve the objectives of the Treaties"¹³.

¹¹ Cambridge Dictionary (n.d.). Retrieved July 19, 2022, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/harmonization?q=harmonisation>

¹² Cambridge Dictionary (n.d.). Retrieved July 19, 2022, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/important>

¹³ Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union - Title I: Common Provisions - Article 5 (ex-Article 5 TEC).

- According to the Cambridge Dictionary, 'coherent' means "logical and well organized; easy to understand and clear"¹⁴. In the EU Corpus, however, 'coherent' and 'coherence' are used as synonyms with 'in accordance with' or 'in compliance with', as in the following sentence example taken from the EU Corpus: "The Commission shall assess the implementation and effectiveness of external-cost charging for CO2 emissions, as well as its coherence with Directive 2003/87/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council and Council Directive 2003/96/EC."
- Although 'eventual' and 'eventually' are not often used in both corpora – in the UK Corpus they are not even present – it is possible to notice that both terms have acquired a particular meaning within the EU Corpus. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, 'eventual' means "happening at a later time or as a result at the end"¹⁵, and 'eventually' means "in the end, especially after a long time or a lot of effort, problems, etc."¹⁶. Nevertheless, both terms are used in the EU Corpus as a synonym with 'possibly' or 'in case', as in the following example sentence present in the EU Corpus: "Any recommendation or agreement with professional operators which is aimed [...] at preventing, limiting or imposing specific conditions on the placing on the market or the eventual use of food or feed on account of a serious risk to human health requiring rapid action."
- 'Foresee' means "to know about something before it happens"¹⁷. However, in the EU Corpus 'foresee' has acquired a different meaning - probably stemming from other European languages – which is 'to set out', 'to provide' or 'to include', as in the example sentence present in the EU Corpus: "Therefore, requirements foreseen in this Directive are not relevant for Member States which do not have any ports at which ships falling under the scope of this Directive normally can call."
- The adverb 'normally' means "usually or regularly"¹⁸. Nevertheless, in the EU Corpus it is often used to refer to something that should happen or that is expected to, as in the following example sentence present in the EU Corpus: "The deployment of FTTH will normally entail considerable risks, given its high deployment costs per household [...]."
- The general meaning of 'mainstreaming' is "the process of making something start to be considered normal"¹⁹. However, in the EU Corpus it is used to refer to the act of "taking into account all EU policies" (European Commission, Directorate-General for Translation 2011: 12). Also, sometimes 'mainstreaming' is used to-

¹⁴ Oxford Dictionary. Available at: <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/coherent?q=coherent>

¹⁵ Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved July 19, 2022, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/eventual>

¹⁶ Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved July 19, 2022, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/eventually>

¹⁷ Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved July 19, 2022, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/foresee>

¹⁸ Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved July 19, 2022, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/normally>

¹⁹ Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved July 19, 2022, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/mainstreaming>

gether with the collocate 'gender' in position L1, as in the following example taken from the EU Corpus: "In accordance with the principle of gender mainstreaming, this report shall, inter alia, provide an assessment of the impact of the measures taken on women and men", by referring indeed to the principle of gender mainstreaming, which is the policy-making approach that takes into consideration both women's and men's interests and concerns, and aims at designing better policies.

- Finally, according to the Cambridge Dictionary, the term 'legislator' refers to "a member of a group of people who together have the power to make laws"²⁰. However, in the EU Corpus 'legislator' is used to refer to a body or more than one body, such as the European Council or the European Parliament. An example taken from the EU Corpus: "The importance placed by the Union legislator on the protection provided for consumers in Council Directive 93/13/EEC (18) and in Directives 2008/48/EC and 2014/17/EU, means that [...]."

As it can be noticed, most of the words taken into analysis are used with a meaning that differs from that of British legal English. As demonstrated, their meanings differ from those explained in the Cambridge Dictionary. Also, another observation can be made: Some of the words suggest that in the cases of 'important', 'eventually' or 'coherent/coherence', there is strong interference from other official languages. The interference is probably due to the contact from other languages – such as French, Italian, and Spanish – that are spoken by the lawyers and experts involved in the EU legislative drafting as many of them are not native English speakers (Seracini 2020: 37).

3.1.3 Loanwords

Additional interesting results of the lexical analysis concern the borrowings from Latin and French, namely all the loanwords and the Latinisms – which are typical of legal language (Tiersma 1999: 5; Mattila 2016: 246) – present in the two corpora taken into analysis. The most interesting results concerning Latinisms²¹ were found using the WordList tool of the Wordsmith Tools 8.0 and are shown in Table 3.

Latinisms	EU Corpus 661,512 tokens	UK Corpus 658,678 tokens
Annex(es)	937 0.14%	43 <0.01%
Minimum	186 0.03%	21 <0.01%
e.g. (exempli gratia)	69 0.01%	0
Medium	66 <0.01%	1 <0.01%
Inter alia	64 <0.01%	1 <0.01%
Via	49 <0.01%	0
i.e. (id est)	34 <0.01%	0
Interim	24 <0.01%	55 0.01%
Mutatis mutandis	23 <0.01%	0
Ad hoc	17 <0.01%	0
Consensus	14 <0.01%	0

Table 3, Latinisms

²⁰ Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved July 19, 2022, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/legislator>

²¹ In Table 3, only the most recurrent Latinisms are shown.

Loanwords	EU Corpus 661,512 tokens	UK Corpus 658,678 tokens
Acquis	64 <0.01%	0
Surveillance	32 <0.01%	7 <0.01%
Cabotage	21 <0.01%	0
Dossier(s)	42 <0.01%	0
Force majeure	5 <0.01%	0

Table 4, Loanwords from French

frequent in the UK Corpus, whereas they can be considered as a common feature of Euro-English.

With regard to the borrowings from French, the results are shown in Table 4. The terms included in the table are the most recurrent ones.

As it can be noticed, only *surveillance* is present in the UK Corpus and, on the whole, loanwords from French are almost completely unused in the UK Corpus. Instead, they are used in the EU Corpus. Specifically, *acquis* is an interesting loanword which not only comes from French, but it has also acquired a totally unique meaning in the European context, namely that of indicating the body of EU law (European Commission, Directorate-General for Translation 2011: 12).

Archaisms	EU Corpus 661,512 tokens	UK Corpus 658,678 tokens
Pursuant to	400 0.06%	81 0.01%
Thereof	289 0.04%	37 <0.01%
Thereby	45 <0.01%	2 <0.01%
Hereby	36 <0.01%	21 <0.01%
Therein	33 <0.01%	16 <0.01%
Thereafter	31 <0.01%	7 <0.01%
Thereto	27 <0.01%	11 <0.01%
Hereinafter	25 <0.01%	5 <0.01%
Forthwith	22 <0.01%	15 <0.01%
Aforesaid	5 <0.01%	12 <0.01%
Aforementioned	5 <0.01%	0

Table 5, Archaisms

According to the data collected, Latinisms are more frequent in the EU Corpus, despite the recommendation of the 'English Style Guide' stating that "Latin should be used sparingly as even common phrases are often misused or misunderstood" (European Commission 2016: 51). The only exception is represented by *interim*, which is more frequent in the UK Corpus. On the whole, however, it is possible to state that Latinisms are not very

3.1.4 Archaisms

Another noteworthy linguistic feature is the presence of archaisms in the EU Corpus. According to Hu and Lu, "Archaism nearly occurs in the everyday use of modern English, [...]. It is a language that is not current or that is used only within a few specific forms" (Hu, Lu 2017: 798). Also, archaism "refers to English from AD 450 to 1150. Archaism and modern English are very different in terms of pronunciation, spelling, vocabulary and grammar" (Hu, Lu 2017: 798). The results concerning archaisms in the EU Corpus and in the UK Corpus are obtained using the WordList tool of the WordSmith Tools 8.0 and are shown in Table 5.

Crystal and Davy state that archaisms come from old English, and that

most of them “take the form of adverbials to which some prepositions are affixed” (1969: 207). Indeed, as it can be noticed, most of the archaisms taken into consideration are there-prefixed archaisms, e.g., ‘thereof’ or ‘thereby’, and here-prefixed archaisms, e.g., ‘hereby’ or ‘hereinafter’. Other archaisms include adjectives, e.g., ‘aforesaid’ and ‘aforementioned’, or the adverb ‘pursuant to’. On the whole, archaisms are more used in the EU Corpus, thus constituting an additional characteristic of the English language used within the EU Corpus and, also, making the legislation less ‘plain’. Indeed, according to Tiersma, archaisms can make text less clear and cause problems of understanding as they are not used in modern English usage, which is the reason why it is usually recommended to replace them with modern words complying with plain English in legal writing (1999: 114).

3.2 Morpho-syntactic analysis

With regard to the morpho-syntactic analysis, two main features are taken into analysis in this study, namely the modal verb morphology (Section 3.2.1) and the impersonal structures (Section 3.2.2), as they have proven to be relevant morpho-syntactic features that help to distinguish Euro-English from British legal English.

3.2.1 Modal verb morphology

Modals are so called as they express modal meanings such as possibility, volition, and obligation and are classified according to the type of meaning they express (Palmer 2014: 2). Particularly, there are two categories that have a place in ordinary language, which are the ‘epistemic’ and the ‘deontic’ modalities. Epistemic modals are “essentially making a judgment about the truth of the proposition” (Palmer 2014: 6), whereas deontic modals are “concerned with influencing actions, states or events” and are “used to express what is obligatory, permitted, or forbidden” (Palmer 2014: 6).

Modals are particularly frequent in legal discourse, as the latter deals with obligations and permissions (Seracini 2020: 11). They are also characterized by polysemy, ambiguity and vagueness, so they shall always be used with caution in European legislation (Garzone 2013: 79). Indeed, as Šarčević states, serious misinterpretations can occur while translating modals in other European languages, thus threatening legal harmonization within the European context (2007: 35). Also, the Directorate-General for Translation at the European Union highlights how modals represent a challenge for translators, as stated in the booklet ‘Lawmaking in the EU Multilingual Environment’,

The excessive use of terms ‘shall’ and ‘will’ caused difficulties in a number of languages where they were translated using future tense although the languages concerned should and could have used the present tense in a prescribing sense. ‘Should’ also caused translation difficulties for some languages, especially when it is used in preambles where target languages would rather use the subjunctive mood, because of the normative aspects of provisions in preambles (European Commission, Directorate-General for Translation 2010: 94).

‘Shall’ represents indeed the most important modal in legal discourse, as historically it has been the most used in legislative texts. In the last decades, the use of ‘shall’ in legal discourse has also attracted the attention of institutional bodies, linguists, and philosophers of law who have given way to important debates and reflections on its use (Garzone 2013: 69, 79). As a matter of fact, in the 1970s the Plain English Movement started to promote clarity and simplicity in legal language (Mattila 2016: 245). Such a movement arose in the United States and strongly criticized the use of ‘shall’ because of its ambiguous nature. Some linguists have even suggested giving up on shall completely and to use ‘must’ instead (Kimble 1992: 69). Particularly, Asprey suggests to abandon ‘shall’ and to use the followings instead (Asprey 1992: 79):

- Must’ for the imperative shall, as in the case of obligation or duties to impose, or directions to make;
- ‘Will’ for the simple future;
- The present tense for everything else, as in the case of statements of facts, legal results or agreement.

Modals and semi-modals	EU Corpus 661,512 tokens	UK Corpus 658,678 tokens
Shall	5792 0.88%	898 0.14%
Should	3049 0.46%	73 0.01%
May	1579 0.24%	2484 0.32%
Can	432 0.07%	67 0.01%
Will	375 0.06%	100 0.02%
Would	294 0.04%	316 0.04%
Must	236 0.04%	923 0.14%
Could	181 0.03%	43 <0.01%
Ought to	0	11 <0.01%

Table 6, Modals and semi-modals

As Garzone demonstrated, the use of ‘shall’ has indeed decreased in the UK legislative writing (Garzone 2013: 71). However, within the EU institutions ‘shall’ is still frequently used, although drafters are recommended to be careful when using it as “[t]he use of verbs in legislation, contracts and the like often gives rise to problems, especially when it comes to the verb ‘shall’, since it is not used in this way in everyday speech” (European Commission 2016: 58). The data collected using the WordSmith Tools 8.0, and particularly by using the WordList tool, have demonstrated indeed the highly frequent use of ‘shall’ in the EU Corpus. The most relevant results in terms of frequency are shown in Table 6.

As it can be noticed, in the EU Corpus ‘shall’ maintains the role of “most important word in the world of legal drafting” (Kimble 1992: 61) and remains the most used modal, whereas ‘must’ is used much less frequently. On the contrary, in the UK Corpus the use of ‘shall’ decreases by giving way to ‘may’, whereas ‘must’ is much more frequently used. According to the data collected, it is not possible to determine when ‘shall’ began to be less used in the UK legislation; however, it is true that in EU legislation such a modal continues to be widely used. Indeed, according to the word list of EU legislation elaborated in 2022 – which has been obtained by using the WordList tool of the WordSmith Tools 8.0 – ‘shall’ is the 19th most used word, as shown in Table 7.

It is therefore possible to assume that the EU is still reluctant to change its drafting style regarding the use of 'shall', contrary to the established trend of the UK and other English-speaking countries. As the English Style Guide clearly acknowledges that the general trend of the English-speaking countries is to use 'must' instead of 'shall' (European Commission 2016: 58), the persistent use of 'shall' seems therefore to represent a linguistic feature of Euro-English.

3.2.2 Impersonal structures

At the morpho-syntactic level, another linguistic feature is represented by the impersonal structures as they are important structures in legal language expressing what is obligatory, permitted, or forbidden, just like modals do. The impersonal style represents indeed one of the main characteristics of legal discourse (Mattila 2016: 73). In Table 8 the 'it is + adjective' structure is taken into analysis as it appears to be an impersonal structure that is particularly present in the EU Corpus. The results obtained by using the Concord tool of the WordSmith Tools 8.0 are shown in Table 8.

The booklet 'How to Write Clearly' recommends to try to name the agent²² as much as possible. Despite such recommendation, impersonal structures are more frequent in the EU Corpus than in the UK Corpus – with the only exception of 'it is reasonable' – thus preventing the agents from being identified.

Impersonal structures it is + adjective	EU Corpus 661,512 tokens	UK Corpus 658,678 tokens
It is necessary	89 0.01%	14 <0.01%
It is appropriate	78 0.01%	21 <0.01%
It is important	29 <0.01%	0
It is essential	13 <0.01%	0
It is possible	12 <0.01%	0
It is reasonable	9 <0.01%	12 <0.01%

Table 8, Impersonal structures

N	Word	Frequency	%
1	#	15449	7.08%
2	THE	15289	7.01%
3	OF	10858	4.98%
4	AND	6727	3.08%
5	TO	5204	2.39%
6	IN	4883	2.24%
7	OR	2827	1.30%
8	A	2681	1.23%
9	FOR	2455	1.13%
10	DATA	1576	0.72%
11	ON	1556	0.71%
12	IS	1532	0.70%
13	WITH	1515	0.69%
14	THAT	1414	0.65%
15	BY	1353	0.62%
16	BE	1351	0.62%
17	UNION	1300	0.60%
18	AS	1294	0.59%
19	SHALL	1290	0.59%

Table 7, First 19 words of the Word List
EU Corpus 2022

²² According to the booklet *How to Write Clearly*, the agent is the person, organisation or thing that is carrying out the action (European Commission, Directorate-General for Translation 2011: 9).

3.3 Textual analysis

At the textual level, there are specific features characterizing legal discourse such as anaphoric references (Section 3.3.1) and formulaic expressions (Section 3.3.2), that are taken into analysis in this section as their use in the EU Corpus has proven to be particularly relevant for the purposes of this study.

3.3.1 Anaphoric references

Anaphoric references refer to linguistic forms through which *“il parlante fa riferimento ad un referente al quale egli, nel suo discorso, ha già fatto riferimento con un’espressione antecedente”* (Conte 1999: 19) [the speaker refers to a referent to whom he has already referred with an earlier expression in his own speech] [my translation]. In order to analyze the presence of anaphoric references in the EU Corpus and the UK Corpus, specific words and expressions functioning as anaphoric expressions have been analyzed with the WordSmith Tools 8.0 software by using the WordList tool. The results are shown below in Table 9. In particular, the anaphoric references shown in Table 9 are the most recurrent ones in the EU Corpus.

Anaphoric reference	EU Corpus 661,512 tokens	UK Corpus 658,678 tokens
Whereas	433 0.07%	2 <0.01%
Having regard to	371 0.06%	20 <0.01%
According to the/ according to article	114 0.02%	9 <0.01%

Table 9, Anaphoric references

‘Whereas’, ‘having regard to’ and ‘according to the/according to article’ are all used in recitals of the legislative texts contained in the EU Corpus. For instance, in Directive 97/9/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 3 March 1997, each section in the preamble begins with the word ‘whereas’, as in the following examples: “(1) Whereas on 10 May 1993 the Council adopted [...]”; “(2) Whereas Directive 93/22/EEC lays down prudential rules [...]”; “(3) Whereas, however, no system of supervision can provide complete protection [...]”; “(4) Whereas the protection of investors and the maintenance of confidence in the financial system [...]”; “(25) Whereas, in conclusion, a minimum degree of harmonization of investor-compensation arrangements is necessary [...]”

In the UK Corpus, the anaphoric references under analysis are not widely used. In the case of ‘whereas’, only two occurrences have been found. Also, in both cases ‘whereas’ is not used as an anaphoric expression, as in the following example taken from The Companies Act 1985 (Electronic Communications) Order 2000, which states as follows:

Whereas the Secretary of State considers that the authorisation of the use of electronic communications by this Order for any purpose is such that the extent (if any) to which records of things done for that purpose will be available will be no less satisfactory in cases where use is made of electronic communications than in other cases (The Companies Act 1985 (Electronic Communications) Order 2000).

In the following statements of the Act under consideration, ‘whereas’ is not further used. The use of specific anaphoric expressions therefore represents a linguistic feature of Euro-English.

3.3.2 Formulaic expressions

Formulaic expressions represent another feature of legal discourse which deserves to be taken into consideration for the purposes of this analysis. Formulaic expressions are formulas, phrases or expressions that are repeated continuously in the text. Specific formulaic expressions that are frequently used in legal discourse have indeed been taken into analysis by using the ConcordTool of the WordSmith Tools 8.0 software. The results obtained are shown in Table 10.

What emerges from the table above is that all of the formulaic expressions taken into account occur more often in the EU Corpus than in the UK Corpus, with the only exception of ‘for the purposes (of) (paragraph)’. Moreover, ‘in line with’ never occurs in the UK Corpus, which suggests that the use of such formula within the EU corpus is due to interference from the languages of non-native English speakers. With the exception of ‘for the purposes (of) (paragraph)’, it can be stated that all the formulaic expressions shown in Table 10 are typical features of Euro-English.

Formulaic expressions	EU Corpus 661,512 tokens	UK Corpus 658,678 tokens
In accordance with	1694 0.26%	423 0.06%
For the purposes (of) (paragraph)	632 0.10%	1419 0.22%
Without prejudice to	298 0.05%	38 <0.01%
In compliance with	121 0.02%	4 <0.01%
In/within the framework of	112 0.02%	6 <0.01%
In line with	74 0.01%	0
In conformity with [FR/ES]	40 <0.01%	4 <0.01%
Due to the	25 <0.01%	5 <0.01%

Table 10, Formulaic expressions

4. Concluding remarks

As Tiersma states, “legal languages are inevitably products of the history of the nation or state in which they are used, as well as peculiar developments of the legal system in question” (Tiersma 2008: 7). The case of Euro-English is therefore a very peculiar one as it represents a complex and unique situation in which it is demonstrated that the cultures of all Member States are mixed with each other giving rise to a specific type of language that is influenced by all European cultures and languages. Indeed, Euro-English does not stem from the single culture of a single country, but rather from the cultures of all the Member States (Jacometti, Pozzo 2006: 18-24). The result is that the legislation produced by the European institutions is drafted in a singular way with the use of specific terms and expressions. This has been proved by the exploratory corpus-based analysis carried out in this article.

In particular, the analysis has shown that Euro-English has specific linguistic features at different levels. The most salient results have been proved to exist at the lexical level, in which collocations referring to specific European institutions or concepts refer to the European context. At the lexical level, data have also proved that there are specific terms that are used with a meaning that differs from that of British legal English. Also, some of the words taken into analysis are used with the meaning of similar words of other official European languages. This suggests that there is interference coming from other official European languages as most of the drafters of the European legislation are not native English speakers. Other important results have been found at the morphosyntactic level, in which the use of certain modals, particularly the verb 'shall', has proved to be typical of Euro-English. Also, the use of the impersonal structures 'it is + adjective' appears to be particularly present in the EU Corpus, thus implying another linguistic feature of Euro-English. Finally, at the textual level, specific anaphoric references and formulaic expressions have also proven to be particularly present in the EU Corpus.

On the whole, since Euro-English already has its own linguistic features – most importantly at the lexical level – the results of this study suggest that further linguistic features of Euro-English are likely to develop in the future, especially after Brexit. It is however difficult nowadays to predict the effects of Brexit on Euro-English. The latter may indeed develop even further by taking on increasingly distinctive characteristics. However, what is certain to this day is that Euro-English already possesses specific vocabulary of its own and specific linguistic features at the different levels taken into analysis in this study. With time, it will be possible to observe how Euro-English will evolve, whether it will continue to deviate from British legal English or not, and, most importantly, to what extent.

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Le multilinguisme, levier de légitimation pour la présidente de la Commission Européenne ? Représentation d'Ursula von der Leyen en figure d'autorité polyglotte

Juliette Charbonneaux

Depuis son arrivée à la tête de la Commission Européenne en 2019, Ursula von der Leyen s'est fait (re)connaître, notamment, par sa capacité à s'exprimer en plusieurs langues de l'Union. Ses différents « discours sur l'État de l'Union » ont ainsi été l'occasion pour elle de manifester son aisance dans sa langue maternelle, l'allemand, mais aussi en anglais ou en français, aisance qui n'a pas manqué d'être relevée et soulignée par les médias couvrant cet événement discursif et politique bien ritualisé. Partant de ce constat, cet article entend interroger le rôle légitimant, pour le politique, que peut endosser le multilinguisme dans le cas de la communication d'une institution bien spécifique, la Commission Européenne, et de la « figure d'autorité » (Wrona & Seignobos 2017) qui la dirige. Dans quelle mesure l'occupation du terrain politique européen passe-t-elle par une stratégie de communication qui connote « l'hospitalité langagière » (Ricoeur 1992) ? En quoi cette hospitalité et la polyphonie qui l'accompagne permettent-elle alors à la figure et à l'institution qui la promeuvent de faire autorité en s'attirant la reconnaissance des médias ? Reprenant à notre compte la théorie de Louis Marin, nous postulons que l'autorité passe immanquablement par un travail de représentation sémiotique, lui-même condition de possibilité de la reconnaissance (Marin 1981).

Dans cette perspective, les questions soulevées sont ici traitées au moyen de l'analyse sémio-discursive d'un corpus communicationnel et médiatique composé des matériaux suivants : différents formats dédiés à la présentation biographique d'Ursula von der Leyen (site institutionnel de la Commission, compte Twitter, fiche Wikipédia), leur réception médiatique en France ainsi que la couverture, par certains médias français, de son élection à la tête de la Commission et de deux événements ayant précisément trait à sa compétence linguistique et à son usage du plurilinguisme. La sélection de ce corpus médiatique a été opérée au moyen d'une recherche à partir des mots-clefs « Ursula von der Leyen », « plurilinguisme », « multilinguisme », « polyglotte » dans le moteur Europresse, sur la période courant de juillet 2019, date de l'accession d'Ursula von der Leyen à la présidence de la Commission, et le 14 septembre 2022, lendemain de son discours annuel sur l'état de l'Union. Cette recherche a permis d'obtenir un corpus composé en très grande partie de cinq titres de presse quotidienne nationale (*Le Figaro*, *Les Échos*, *La Croix*, *Le Monde*, *Libération*)

ainsi que d'articles de l'hebdomadaire *Courrier International*. Ces différents articles et éléments de corpus sont envisagés comme autant de récits, dans la perspective narrative déployée par Marc Lits (Lits, 1997). L'adoption de ce cadre théorique conduit alors à considérer Ursula von der Leyen comme « personnage médiatique » (*ibid.*), construit par l'accumulation et la rencontre des différentes narrations qui la mentionnent.

L'analyse croisée de ces différents matériaux narratifs et discursifs vise à éprouver la cohérence entre les intentions affichées par la Commission en matière de multilinguisme, la manière dont la présidente fait sienne cette promesse/injonction et la façon dont elle est reconnue – ou non – par les médias. Ce faisant, il s'agira aussi d'examiner comment s'exerce leur « pouvoir normatif » (Voirol 2005) à travers leurs manières de « cibler » la figure d'Ursula von der Leyen autour de la question linguistique et de mettre en lumière les valeurs politiques, plus ou moins explicitement assumées, transmises par là.

1. Le plurilinguisme, au service d'un ethos européen garant du multilinguisme?

L'analyse du compte Twitter d'Ursula von der Leyen, de la page Wikipédia qui lui est dédiée ainsi que de la couverture médiatique de son accession à la présidence de la Commission européenne fait ressortir des biographèmes récurrents, ayant trait à la capacité plurilingue¹ de la figure étudiée. Les biographèmes sont à envisager comme « unités élémentaires biographiques », telles qu'identifiées par Barthes dans sa préface à *Sade, Fourier, Loyola* :

Si j'étais écrivain, et mort, comme j'aimerais que ma vie se réduisît, par les soins d'un biographe amical et désinvolte, à quelques détails, à quelques goûts, à quelques inflexions, disons: des « biographèmes », dont la distinction et la mobilité pourraient voyager hors de tout destin et venir toucher, à la façon des atomes épicuriens, quelque corps futur, promis à la même dispersion ; une vie trouée en somme, comme Proust a su écrire la sienne dans son œuvre [...] (Barthes 2002: 706).

Les médias d'information et les auteurs des récits de communication ici étudiés ne sont certes pas des biographes « amicaux et désinvoltés », néanmoins, leurs productions, dans la mesure où elles ne couvrent que partiellement l'existence du personnage d'Ursula von der Leyen, donnent accès à une forme de « vie trouée », dont les fragments sont fabriqués pour circuler largement.

Ces biographèmes donnent accès à l'imaginaire linguistique construit autour du personnage d'Ursula von der Leyen. La notion d'« imaginaire linguistique » est, quant à elle, définie par Anne-Marie Houdebine comme « le rapport du sujet à la langue, la sienne et celle de la communauté qui l'intègre comme sujet parlant-sujet social ou dans laquelle il désire être intégré, par laquelle il désire être identifié par et dans sa parole » (Houdebine-Gravaud 2002: 10). Il s'agit d'un rapport « énonçable en termes

¹ Nous faisons ici nôtre la proposition selon laquelle il convient de « distinguer entre multilinguisme (présence de plusieurs langues dans une même organisation, ce qui implique un travail de traduction) et plurilinguisme (maîtrise de plusieurs langues par les individus) » (Gaboriaux, C., Raus, R., Robert, C. & Vicari, S. 2022).

d'images, participant des représentations sociales et subjectives, autrement dit d'une part des idéologies (versant social) et d'autre part des imaginaires (versant plus subjectif) » (*Ibid.*). Dans le cas ici étudié, l'imaginaire linguistique d'Ursula von der Leyen, ainsi imaginé, se voit à la fois construit par la mise en avant dans sa propre communication de sa capacité plurilingue et par la manière dont elle va être relayée et, même, hyperbolisée par les médias.

1.1 Les deux corps d'Ursula : de l'origine à l'incarnation institutionnelle ?

Les récits et discours de communication produits à l'occasion de l'arrivée d'Ursula von der Leyen à la tête de la Commission donnent à distinguer deux corps, chacun lié à une déclinaison de l'imaginaire linguistique : s'y opère en effet un glissement conduisant de manière logique, naturalisée, de la capacité plurilingue de l'individu/de la femme (premier corps) au multilinguisme revendiqué par l'institution qu'elle dirige et, ce faisant, incarne et représente (second corps).

La communication de la nouvelle présidente de la Commission donne ainsi à voir l'expression répétée de ce que Bourdieu a théorisé comme « illusion biographique » et de son présupposé selon lequel « « la vie » constitue un tout, un ensemble cohérent et orienté, qui peut et doit être appréhendé comme expression unitaire et singulière d'une intention objective et subjective, d'un projet » (Bourdieu 1986: 69). Ici, la cohérence est construite, d'une part, par le lien tissé entre l'enfance passée à Bruxelles et l'europhilie qui semble en découler « naturellement ». Ainsi, l'espace dédié à l'expression biographique sur le compte Twitter institutionnel met en avant les termes suivants « Brussels-born. European by heart », assortis de l'émoji représentant le drapeau européen. Le « tout » de « la vie » s'enrichit encore lorsque cette enfance bruxelloise est mise en relation logique avec le plurilinguisme qu'elle a occasionné. Sur la fiche Wikipédia, en français, on peut lire ceci :

Ursula von der Leyen passe son enfance en Belgique, où elle fréquente l'École européenne dès 1964, ce qui lui vaut d'être bilingue allemand et français, langue qu'elle comprend sans pouvoir toutefois la parler. Elle s'exprime en outre couramment en anglais, notamment pour avoir vécu pendant au total cinq années au Royaume-Uni et aux États-Unis.

Le plurilinguisme a ainsi bonne part dans cette cohérence identitaire, on le voit ici, et ce d'autant plus que l'usage de l'adjectif « bilingue » semble quelque peu paradoxal, voire abusif, puisque l'article mentionne tout de suite après, de manière concessive, que la francophonie du personnage n'est que partielle. Quoi qu'il en soit, cette cohérence biographique circule également par voie de presse. En témoigne, par exemple, cet extrait d'une interview donnée au quotidien *Les Échos* et publié dans l'édition du 27 décembre 2019. À la question « comment se passe votre acclimatation à Bruxelles ? », Ursula von der Leyen répond :

Pour moi, c'est comme un retour à la maison . J'ai passé mon enfance ici et je réalise subitement tout ce qui m'a manqué depuis presque 40 ans. Petite, je vivais dans cet environnement multilingue, avec cette sensation que nous venions de partout en

Europe, mais que nous étions unis. Nos langues, nos personnalités, nos cultures diffèrent, mais ici nous percevons le lien invisible qui nous unit : nous sommes des Européens².

Le terme employé par la présidente pour qualifier sa capacité linguistique a son importance : elle opte en effet pour « multilingue » et non « plurilingue », sans doute afin de bien souligner l'adéquation de son parcours antérieur aux exigences de sa fonction. Depuis plusieurs années déjà, le multilinguisme est en effet mis en avant par les institutions européennes, dont la Commission, comme l'un de ses points d'attention privilégiés³.

Ursula von der Leyen opère donc, dans sa communication, une mise en correspondance de son ethos préalable, soit « l'ensemble des données dont on dispose sur le locuteur au moment de sa présentation de soi » (Amossy 2010: 73) et de son ethos présent, tel qu'actualisé par l'élection récente. On retrouve bien là la seconde partie de la définition bourdieusienne de « l'illusion biographique », cette « expression unitaire et singulière d'une intention objective et subjective, d'un projet » (Bourdieu 1986: 69). Ici, le « projet », incarner et diriger la Commission, peut également être envisagé comme « prétention communicationnelle », ce « mode d'intervention sur les processus de communication qui de manière délibérée ou insensible hiérarchise les éléments, détermine des conditions cruciales et légitime une certaine compétence à y intervenir » (Jeanneret 2014: 14). Dans le cas d'Ursula von der Leyen, la prétention consiste à promouvoir le multilinguisme en se donnant à voir comme son incarnation première. Ainsi, le message de remerciement, publié sur Twitter immédiatement après l'annonce des résultats de l'élection à la présidence de la Commission, donne à lire le simple mot « merci », dans les 24 langues de l'UE.

Dans la même logique, le discours annuel sur l'État de l'Union, prononcé chaque mois de septembre pour dresser le bilan de l'année écoulée et tracer les orientations pour celle à venir, est présenté sur le site de la Commission sous la forme d'un menu déroulant en forme de liste, composée de 24 liens indiquant la disponibilité du texte dans les différentes langues. Ce choix communicationnel, aussi bref soit-il, n'est pas neutre : l'ensemble de ces lettres, par la forme liste qu'il compose, vient rappeler la devise européenne « l'unité dans la diversité » en montrant combien von der Leyen a fait sienne la célèbre formule d'Umberto Eco : « La langue de l'Europe, c'est la traduction ». Ces pratiques visent donc à se présenter comme pleinement ouverte à la pluralité des langues de l'UE et, avec elle, à sa diversité culturelle, intention qui va se voir d'abord couronnée de succès.

1.2 Enthousiasme médiatique et interprétation franco-centrée

L'interview aux *Échos* citée précédemment indiquait, déjà, la participation médiatique à la représentation d'Ursula von der Leyen en figure multilingue parce que

² <https://www.lesechos.fr/monde/europe/ursula-von-der-leyen-premiere-presidente-de-la-commission-europeenne-1038469>

³ Voir, par exemple : <https://education.ec.europa.eu/fr/focus-topics/improving-quality/multilingualism/about-multilingualism-policy>

plurilingue. En considérant la couverture de l'élection et des premiers actes de celle-ci à la tête de la Commission, il s'avère en effet que les médias français ont construit un « personnage médiatique » (Marion 1997 : 69) en totale adéquation avec les éléments biographiques livrés par la communication officielle de la figure et de l'institution qu'elle préside. La chaîne France 24 propose ainsi dès le 16 juillet, jour de l'élection, la présentation suivante, légitimée par les propos d'un journaliste présenté comme expert du fait de son implantation dans la capitale allemande: « Elle est aussi familière des institutions européennes, que son propre père a jadis fréquentées. "C'est une Européenne née à Bruxelles, à l'époque où son père était lui-même fonctionnaire de la Commission, elle est allée à l'école européenne à Bruxelles, ce qui explique qu'elle parle un français et un anglais quasi parfaits", souligne Pascal Thibault, correspondant de France 24 et RFI à Berlin. » On retrouve là l'un des types d'expertise qualifié par Yves Chevalier, à la suite de Max Weber, comme « l'éternel hier » et selon laquelle « l'individu (l'idée ou l'action) obtient sa légitimité en référence à un principe extérieur passé qui lui donne directement ou indirectement son autorité » (Chevalier 1999 : 17).

De plus, les médias vont, à leur tour et à la suite d'Ursula von der Leyen, tracer un lien conduisant directement de Bruxelles à son europhilie puis à son plurilinguisme. « Europhile, polyglotte, Ursula von der Leyen, devenue mardi la première femme élue présidente de la Commission européenne, est une proche de la chancelière allemande Angela Merkel dont l'étoile a pâli ces dernières années dans son pays », expose ainsi les *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace* (DNA) le 16 juillet 2019. Dès le 2 juillet, l'hebdomadaire *L'Obs* avait fait paraître sur son site Internet un article intitulé « Ursula von der Leyen et Christine Lagarde : deux femmes prennent la tête de l'Europe » et dans lequel la future présidente de la Commission était évoquée en ces termes : « Native de Bruxelles, polyglotte – elle parle couramment français et anglais ».

On le voit, la maîtrise de trois langues suffit à rendre « polyglotte », le terme « plurilingue » n'apparaissant, lui, jamais. Ce qualificatif devient incontournable dans la série de motifs biographiques déployée par les médias pour donner à saisir en autant de formules resserrées, l'amplitude d'une figure qu'ils aiment à présenter comme « atypique ».

La répétition de cet adjectif peut alors être envisagée comme « symptôme » dans le sens proposé par Alice Krieg-Planque pour qualifier le phénomène linguistique des « petites phrases ». Elle écrit à ce propos :

Elle est intégrée à la narration parce qu'elle est construite en événement, et elle est construite en événement parce qu'elle est rattachée à une intention, à une position, à une doctrine, à une idéologie, à un trait de personnalité, à une opinion, à une stratégie, à une ambition, à des intérêts ou à un projet, que la "petite phrase" est supposée condenser ou dont la "petite phrase" est supposée être le symptôme (Krieg-Planque 2011 :32).

Dans le cas présent, le terme « polyglotte » pourrait apparaître, *a priori*, comme symptôme d'un désir médiatique de voir se réaliser, à travers la figure d'Ursula von der Leyen, l'aspiration européenne au multilinguisme. En réalité, la polyglossie qui

lui est reconnue et attribuée vient bien plutôt faire symptôme d'une satisfaction de savoir la future présidente de la Commission capable de s'exprimer en français. « S'opère en effet dans les récits médiatiques un nouveau glissement qui conduit de la polyglossie à la francophonie et, comme on va le voir, à la francophilie ». Chacun de ces termes devient ainsi garant de l'autre sans preuve ni justification particulières (savoir parler français ne garantissant en rien le fait d'aimer la France et ses citoyens). Le 3 juillet 2019, jour de sa désignation à la présidence de la Commission, la presse française s'accorde ainsi à se féliciter de la nomination annoncée. *L'Express* titre « Une Allemande francophile à la tête de la commission », *Le Figaro* « Ursula von der Leyen, une francophile au profil atypique » et *Le Monde* expose : « Francophone et francophile, Ursula von der Leyen, qui parle aussi parfaitement l'anglais pour avoir vécu en Californie où son mari enseigna la médecine à l'université de Stanford, dans les années 1990, ne sera pas en terrain étranger à Bruxelles. » Ce désir médiatique de francophonie et l'optimisme qui l'accompagne vont cependant rapidement être perturbés, une fois le plurilinguisme de la figure mis à l'épreuve de l'exercice de la fonction.

2. Ursula von der Leyen, figure plurilingue sous surveillance médiatique

Pour Maxime Cervulle et Virginie Julliard,

les controverses constituent un objet privilégié pour saisir le caractère normatif d'un espace public où les rôles sociaux se redistribuent sous contrainte, dans la mesure où elles ouvrent des séquences de délibération publique mobilisant une multitude d'acteurs et d'actrices différemment positionné-e-s dans la formation sociale. (Cervulle et Julliard 2018 : 7).

Or, il s'avère que la controverse a rapidement rattrapé la présidente de la Commission autour de la thématique du pluri/multilinguisme, au point d'être intégré aux biographèmes de sa fiche Wikipédia sous un onglet dédié⁴. Il y est indiqué : « Comprenant le français sans le parler, Ursula von der Leyen a été la première présidente de la Commission à prononcer le discours sur l'état de l'Union en anglais, rompant ainsi avec l'usage établi. ». Le second temps de cet article est ainsi consacré à l'étude de controverses médiatiques portant sur l'usage de l'anglais par la présidente de la Commission et vise, ce faisant, à saisir l'impact qu'il peut avoir sur la construction de l'autorité et de légitimité de la figure par la presse française.

2.1 De la poly- à la diglossie ?

Deux événements vont interrompre la logique de soutien médiatique à la stratégie de communication à l'œuvre au tout début du mandat d'Ursula von der Leyen : le premier est l'envoi en septembre 2019 par des fonctionnaires francophones européens d'une lettre ouverte à la présidente de la Commission pour lui

⁴ Voir « Controverses » : https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ursula_von_der_Leyen

demander une revalorisation de l'usage du français dans le cadre de leurs activités⁵ ; le second intervient un an plus tard, en septembre 2020, et a trait à la publication, par le site d'information *Politico*, d'une analyse statistique de l'usage de chacune des trois langues de travail de l'UE (allemand, anglais, français) dans le dernier discours sur l'État de l'Union prononcé par Ursula von der Leyen⁶. Cette analyse aboutit au résultat suivant : l'anglais s'avère extrêmement privilégié puisque son utilisation s'élève à 80% du discours, comme le rappelle *Courrier International* dans son édition du 17 septembre 2020⁷.

Les médias français étudiés vont réagir à ces deux publications en leur accordant de l'espace éditorial et, surtout, en faisant écho aux reproches qu'elles expriment. Ceux-ci concernent ce qui est présenté comme un usage abusif de la langue anglaise et peut, par ailleurs, être considéré comme une forme de diglossie. La diglossie, rappelle Christian Lagarde, prend en compte, d'une part, la hiérarchisation des langues en contact et leur fonctionnalisation, autrement dit la capacité de certaines à faire l'objet d'usages complets, et d'autres d'usages restreints. » (Lagarde 2001 : 48).

C'est bien cette hiérarchisation, en faveur de l'anglais, que vont relayer, non sans inquiétude, les médias. Le 18 septembre 2019, *Les Échos* publie ainsi un article intitulé « L'appel au secours des francophones de la Commission européenne » dans lequel il est précisé, au sujet d'Ursula von der Leyen : « Le fait que celle-ci soit trilingue (allemand, anglais, français) leur donne de l'espoir. Mais il ne leur a pas échappé que durant son premier long échange avec la presse⁸, la semaine dernière, la future présidente de la Commission européenne avait très largement privilégié l'anglais. » De son côté, *Libération* reprendra à son compte l'étude de *Politico* pour exprimer une frustration similaire et d'autant plus forte qu'elle vient se heurter à l'enthousiasme de départ : « L'ancienne ministre allemande de la défense, pourtant « vendue » comme francophone par Emmanuel Macron, a parlé durant 1h20 presque uniquement en anglais (ou plutôt en *globish*, sa version abâtardie) », peut-on lire sous la plume de Jean Quatremer, correspondant du journal à Bruxelles, le 19 septembre 2020. Ces dénonciations d'un recours trop fréquent et massif à la langue anglaise vont se voir immédiatement renforcée par d'autres formes d'intervention.

2.2 Warning médiatiques face à l'usage de l'anglais

L'action évaluative des médias s'exerce donc, déjà, à travers le fait de se saisir de ces deux événements ; elle s'exprime plus explicitement encore lorsque l'on se penche sur leurs manières de considérer et de hiérarchiser les langues. L'évaluation

⁵ <https://www.observatoireplurilinguisme.eu/dossiers-thematiques/international/177778446-les-abus-de-la-commission-europ%C3%A9enne/13269-bruxelles-von-der-leyen-interpell%C3%A9e-pour-l-usage-du-fran%C3%A7ais-le-point>

⁶ <https://www.politico.eu/article/ursula-von-der-leyens-speech-shows-english-still-dominates-state-of-the-union/>

⁷ *Courrier International*, 17 septembre 2020 « Malgré le Brexit, l'UE speaks toujours english ».

⁸ <https://www.lesechos.fr/monde/europe/von-der-leyen-au-defi-de-remettre-de-laudace-dans-une-europe-fragilisee-1130206>

s'enrichit en effet d'un acte d'avertissement consistant à mettre en garde la présidente et, à travers elle, les institutions européennes, contre ce qu'ils s'accordent à présenter comme un abus linguistique, et ce pour deux raisons principales.

La première est directement liée à l'actualité européenne récente et, plus précisément, à l'évènement fleuve qu'a représenté le Brexit, entre 2016 et 2020. La sortie du Royaume-Uni de l'UE conduit ainsi les médias français à dénoncer l'usage de l'anglais, présentée comme une langue, sinon non-européenne, du moins illégitime à être dominante. « Le Brexit rend cette domination linguistique plus absurde encore : pourquoi s'aligner sur la langue des Etats-Unis ou du Royaume-Uni, au moment où ce dernier s'apprête à quitter l'UE ? », peut-on lire dans *Les Échos* le 18 septembre 2019. « Ce basculement vers l'anglais langue unique est d'autant plus sidérant alors que le Royaume-Uni a quitté l'Union le 31 janvier et qu'il y a moins de vingt députés sur 705 dont la langue natale est l'anglais...[...] Cet impair est révélateur des dérives auxquelles mène le monolinguisme anglophone qui règne au sein des institutions communautaires : désormais, on ne rend même plus compte qu'on s'adresse à un peuple dans une langue qu'il ne comprend pas et qu'il n'a pas à comprendre, l'anglais », avance sans ambages Jean Quatremer, le 19 septembre. Un an plus tard, le 17 septembre 2020, *Courrier International* couvrira l'enquête de *Politico* sous le titre suivant : « Malgré le Brexit, l'UE speaks toujours english ».

À lire ces médias, l'anglais représente donc moins que la langue de l'Europe. Cette représentation cohabite toutefois avec son contraire, à savoir que l'anglais n'est pas seulement la langue de l'Europe, et même tout autre chose, puisqu'elle s'apparente à celle de l'atlantisme. Ce jugement s'exprime avant tout par voie de citations, émanant de plumes extérieures aux rédactions. Dès le 18 septembre 2019, après avoir souligné que le groupe de fonctionnaires européens ayant ouvertement écrit à Ursula von der Leyen « s'inquiète des conséquences à long terme de ce monolinguisme », *Les Échos* donne à lire un extrait de cette fameuse lettre:

L'anglais devient un plus petit dénominateur commun, on lit les mêmes médias, on parle la même langue dans une forme appauvrie, et on ne conceptualise plus le monde dans notre propre langue, ce qui est un comble pour une Union européenne censée appréhender la réalité dans sa diversité !

L'intervention des journalistes, en faveur des propos tenus et publiés, transparait également à travers les titres choisis pour annoncer des tribunes exprimant la même opinion. *Le Monde* sélectionne ces mots du philosophe Michel Guérin pour titrer le texte dont il est l'auteur, le 9 octobre 2021: « Que l'anglais soit la langue de l'entente européenne relève de l'aberration ». Il expose ainsi:

Ce n'est pas l'anglais comme tel qui est en cause ; c'est son avatar raccourci, aussi sommaire que bourré de politique. Enfin, et c'est encore plus grave, lorsque Ursula von der Leyen prononce son discours sur l'état de l'Union à Strasbourg en anglais (à plus de 80 %), elle s'adresse *de facto* aux Américains et aux Anglais, bien plus qu'aux Européens.

Cette même idée reviendra en mai 2022, sous la plume de Benoît Dutreurte dans l'hebdomadaire *Marianne*. Sous le titre « Ursula von der Leyen, l'Allemande qui se pre-

nait pour une Américaine », on peut lire le reproche suivant, directement adressé à la présidente de la Commission :

Ursula m'a encore giflé! Chaque fois qu'elle s'exprime, je me sens blessé, humilié... Moins par ses propos que par sa façon de parler, et surtout par cette langue : cet anglo-américain – plus américain que *british* – qu'elle emploie pour chaque grand discours. Elle possède pourtant un très bon français.

On retrouve ainsi exprimée et mise en circulation par les médias l'affirmation déjà avancée par Étienne Balibar au début du siècle, à savoir que

l'anglais en effet n'est pas et ne sera pas la « langue de l'Europe » car « il est d'ores et déjà beaucoup plus (langue internationale mondialisée et mondialisatrice, équivalent postmoderne du latin prémoderne) et cependant il est moins (l'une des langues nationales spécifiques, elle-même minorisée dans certaines situations, voire menacée d'éclatement en plusieurs idiomes relativement séparés (Balibar 2001 : 318).

2.3 Manquements à la tradition européenne

L'évaluation médiatique bascule donc en défaveur d'Ursula von der Leyen et ce d'autant plus qu'aux avertissements pour l'avenir s'ajoutent des critiques et reproches portant, eux, sur le présent de l'actualité ou sur son passé très récent. Les médias pointent ainsi du doigt deux types de manquements. Le premier s'articule à la promesse de multilinguisme portée par les institutions européennes et censée représenter de façon adéquate la spécificité européenne : la diversité. À travers sa promotion, les médias se font donc les défenseurs d'un modèle qui se rapproche de celui prôné tour à tour par Eco, Ricoeur et Balibar, celui de la traduction ou de « l'hospitalité langagière ». À propos de la pétition des fonctionnaires, Jean Quatremer écrit ceci : « Les signataires demandent donc à Von der Leyen de proclamer le droit de chacun à s'exprimer dans l'une des trois langues de travail et de promouvoir le multilinguisme. Bref, d'appliquer tout simplement l'un des droits fondamentaux de l'Union » (*Libération*, 30 septembre 2019). L'unique intertitre de cet article appelle de surcroît, très explicitement, à « défendre le multilinguisme ». Quelques jours plus tôt, le 18, *Les Échos* choisissait une citation de la lettre ouverte allant dans le même sens :

L'anglais devient un plus petit dénominateur commun, [...] et on ne conceptualise plus le monde dans notre propre langue, ce qui est un comble pour une Union européenne censée appréhender la réalité dans sa diversité !

Le second manquement mis en avant dans la couverture médiatique de ces deux événements est, pour sa part, lié à la comparaison répétée avec Jean-Claude Juncker, prédécesseur d'Ursula von der Leyen à la tête de la Commission, et, plus spécifiquement, à sa propre pratique du plurilinguisme. Les journalistes produisent ainsi une représentation idéalisée de Juncker, érigé en parfaite incarnation de la diversité européenne. Emmanuel Berretta en fait ainsi « un orfèvre » en matière « d'équilibre linguistique » et raconte par exemple dans *Le Point* du 16 septembre 2019 : « En public, von der Leyen ne fait qu'un usage parcimonieux de son français, se contentant de

quelques phrases dans ses discours là où son prédécesseur Jean-Claude Juncker, trilingue exceptionnel, pouvait jongler avec les trois langues de travail de la Commission comme un acrobate. La présidente de la Commission fait des efforts et enregistre parfois des vidéos dans les trois langues. Mais ses messages se résument à une communication lissée, alors que Juncker était imprévisible et fantasque dans les trois langues... ». Chez Jean Quatremer, dans *Libération* un an plus tard, Juncker est également mentionné et l'auteur invite même le lecteur à remonter l'histoire européenne jusqu'à de Gaulle. « La lettre du général de Gaulle du 19 juillet 1962, exhumée de ses archives, fait depuis quelques jours les délices des réseaux sociaux à l'heure de la « *start-up nation* ». Sans doute adressée au ministre des Armées, Pierre Mesmer, elle est ainsi rédigée :

Mon cher Ministre, j'ai constaté, notamment dans le domaine militaire, un emploi excessif de la terminologie anglo-saxonne. Je vous serais obligé de donner des instructions pour que les termes étrangers soient proscrits chaque fois qu'un vocable français peut être employé, c'est-à-dire dans tous les cas.

« Nul doute que le vieux général se serait étranglé en écoutant le discours sur « l'État de l'Union » prononcé le 16 septembre par la présidente de la Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, devant le Parlement européen », conclut ensuite le journaliste.

La comparaison et la citation de cette lettre gaullienne peuvent être analysées à l'aune de ce qu'écrit Philippe Hamon au sujet de l'intertextualité :

Elle est à la fois stock de modèles, de palmarès déjà établis, source, cible et moyen d'interprétations normatives. Foyer d'accommodation idéologique du texte, la citation intertextuelle focalise et sollicite la compétence idéologique du lecteur. (Hamon 1981 : 35-36).

Ici, l'intertextualité révèle le pouvoir normatif des journaux étudiés, leur fonction de rappel au politique et leur positionnement idéologique vis-à-vis de « la langue d'Europe » qui ne devrait donc surtout pas être l'anglais. On peut ainsi lire derrière la référence quelque peu nostalgique à De Gaulle un appel discret à se souvenir de sa réticence à toute forme d'atlantisme, perçu comme le risque d'une dépendance trop forte aux États-Unis. On voit ainsi combien

la francophonie resterait incompréhensible si l'on se limitait au phénomène isolé, sans inclure dans l'analyse les relations de la France et de la communauté francophone avec les autres sphères d'influence, en premier lieu celle des États-Unis et de l'anglophonie en général. (de Swaan 2022 : 76).

La référence à de Gaulle révèle donc également un penchant galliciste, pas toujours complètement dissimulé derrière la défense du multilinguisme, on va le voir.

2.4 Le multilinguisme d'accord, mais le français d'abord

À l'enthousiasme médiatique pour la maîtrise du français par Ursula von der Leyen, tel que vu plus haut, correspond une préoccupation particulière pour le sort

connu par cet idiome au sein des institutions européennes. Autrement dit, la dénonciation de la domination exercée par la langue anglaise a également, et peut-être surtout, pour motif la crainte de voir le français se faire éclipser, dans une manifestation médiatique ce qu’Abram de Swaan a défini comme le « sentimentalisme linguistique » pour désigner « un appel exagéré aux sentiments familiers visant à susciter la traditionnelle réponse de compassion » (2022 : 95). « À vrai dire, Ursula von der Leyen comprend très bien le français mais cherche quelque peu ses mots quand elle doit le parler », souligne *Le Point* le 16 septembre 2019, suite à la publication de la lettre ouverte. Jean Quatremer va plus loin dans l’édition de *Libération* du 19 septembre 2020, lorsqu’il écrit que l’usage majoritaire de l’anglais dans le discours sur l’État de l’Union « prive la présidente d’un canal d’information essentiel, la France n’étant pas un pays que l’on peut ignorer » et s’interroge : « D’ailleurs, est-ce un hasard si elle n’a pas prononcé un mot sur la défense européenne, l’un des sujets majeurs du débat en France ? » Et, pour ces deux titres de presse, la solution est à trouver en regardant vers la France et, plus précisément, vers son président. Tous deux lui lancent en effet un appel. « Si Emmanuel Macron ne profite pas de la présidence française, au 1^{er} janvier prochain, pour mettre ce sujet sur la table et en faire, même, la question cruciale, ce serait à désespérer du rôle des hommes politiques », écrit Jean Quatremer, tandis qu’Emmanuel Berretta se montre plus optimiste, dans *Le Point* : « Ursula von der Leyen a pris un bon départ en publiant ses tweets dans les trois langues officielles. Prendra-t-elle la balle au bond pour aller plus loin ? Comptez sur Emmanuel Macron pour insister à chaque fois qu’il le pourra... Surtout quand les Britanniques seront partis (ce qui reste encore un peu flou). » « L’universel est toujours l’universel de quelqu’un », écrivait Barbara Cassin dans son *Éloge de la traduction* (Cassin 2016 : 33). Ces réactions et inflexions médiatiques montrent bien, ici, la dimension ethnocentrée que revêt la défense du multilinguisme européen. Rien ne dit en effet que les réactions eussent été aussi virulentes si une langue autre que le français avait été négligée de la sorte...

Conclusion

Si l’on considère avec Philippe Marion qu’il « suffit d’un passage au médiatique pour qu’une seule personne réelle se transforme en personnage » (Marion 1997 : 69), les analyses conduites dans cet article ont permis de montrer en quoi le multi- et le plurilinguisme ont constitué une dimension fondamentale dans la construction du personnage politique d’Ursula von der Leyen, au début de son mandat à la tête de la Commission européenne. On a vu ainsi combien la mention et la revendication du plurilinguisme pouvaient agir comme levier de légitimation pour la figure et pour la reconnaissance de sa capacité à incarner de façon adéquate l’Europe, dans sa diversité. Cette intégration passe, dans un premier temps, par une tentative de neutralisation du rapport de force entre les idiomes nationaux et entre les régimes linguistiques, et ce afin de favoriser, *a priori*, une forme de consensus européen. Il s’agit là d’une tentative sur le fil, risquée, car, si elle échoue, comme les commentateurs de la

vie institutionnelle européenne ont ici considéré que cela a été le cas, elle peut conduire à deux types de revitalisation de ce rapport de force, exprimés par deux formes communicationnelles qui viennent égratigner la légitimité de la figure d'autorité. La première relève de la dénonciation, la seconde d'une défense proche de la défiance. Dénonciation d'une préférence, pour l'anglais, d'une part ; défense d'une autre, pour le français, par ailleurs. L'une comme l'autre témoigne de la progression de la compétence linguistique comme paramètre autour duquel les médias articulent leur évaluation de telle ou telle figure politique, en régime supranational. Cette évaluation demeure toutefois, et en dépit d'une aspiration affirmée à plus de représentativité de ce qu'est l'Europe, profondément teintée de préoccupations nationales, on l'a vu. Les médias pratiquent ainsi leur propre hiérarchisation, discrète mais bien présente, des idiomes nationaux. Cet état de fait peut conduire à mettre en garde contre le risque de « nationalisme ontologique », sans doute inconscient mais pas moins agissant (Cassin 2016 : 63), que comporte cette activité, profondément normative, de mise en concurrence des langues.

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Labelled glossaries in the context of migration: a proposal for Italian and English

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1. Introduction

In lexicography, as in botany and zoology, logical-intensional classes may be of little use in scientific research if one is unable to predict the necessary traits to outline the final definition of a certain class. When it is difficult to do so we resort to the use of 'polythetic classes', the fundamental properties of which derive from perceptual and observational tests, and which are characterised by the fact that the effects included in them share a certain number of traits. For linguists, this means building adequate analytical tools (including IT-tools) to develop formalised descriptions of natural-historical languages in which lexicons and dictionaries are no longer kept separate from syntax, or – ideally – from morpho-syntax (Vietri et al. 2004).

The intense political and regulatory activity which occurred as a result of issues arising from migration was accompanied by feverish work in terminological creation. This led to the creation of multilingual glossaries, manuals and public initiatives, which all aim to familiarise citizens with the lexical and conceptual aspects linked to the migratory context. In particular, the Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs of the European Commission has worked in recent years to encourage the comparison of terminology in many official languages of the European Union, as demonstrated by the compilation and publication of the *Glossary on asylum and migration* by the European Migration Network. According to Sager (1990:2), terminology can be defined as "[...] the study of and the field of activity concerned with the collection, description, processing and presentation of terms, i.e. lexical items belonging to specialised areas of usage of one or more languages".

With the rapid growth of knowledge and the resulting development of terminologies, there is also an increase in the difficulty of mutual understanding between experts and non-experts, and between specialists within and between different fields. The role of terminology is therefore to register new terms and organise existing ones in order to promote clear, precise and immediate communication (Mayer 2002:115).

What has been said so far relates directly to another phenomenon: with the elimination of borders between countries, the proximity between cultures and the continuous exchange of knowledge; interlingual communication has become, to say the least, indispensable. This is why traditional terminology collections, such as glossaries

or specialised dictionaries, albeit bi- or multilingual, are no longer sufficient. Operating on this level, terminology is considered above all in its communicative function (Soglia 2002:15), aimed at transferring concepts (rather than in its representative function, which is aimed at attributing an unambiguous term to each concept analysed). In the foreground, therefore, there is a descriptive rather than prescriptive purpose: the aim of terminology is to collect all the terms in use for a given concept rather than to achieve a single standard form.

It is generally acknowledged that, over the years, the language of the European Union has achieved a significant lexical consistency (Vellutino, Zanola 2015). The goal of this work is to consolidate knowledge and support the unique value of designative activity within the linguistic culture of migration paying particular attention to the use of certain terminologies by public administrations. It is important to reflect on the causes and effects of terminological designation, as these can produce consequences that are not always easy to manage (for example, the media coverage of the migratory phenomenon, or alternatively the operation of numerous “identities” within linguistic-cultural mediation – an area that has yet to be adequately investigated). This essay proposes the classification of nominal syntagmas of high informative value in the domain of migration using Maurice Gross's (1975) Lexicon-Grammar methodology, implemented both for Italian (Elia et al. 1981; Vietri 2004 for an update of the initial classification) and for English (Machonis 1997; 2018).

2. The words of migration

Although the phenomenon of migration is as old as time, in recent years it has come to be viewed as somewhat of an emergency scenario. Among the primary causes of this is the advent of mass media and social networks, which have acquired an ever-increasing weight in influencing public opinion. Influenced by political discourse, the media exploit the feelings and concerns of the population, emphasising certain aspects to influence the perception of events. For example, consider the prevalence of the immigration-crime link or the numerous parallels between immigration and crisis/emergency or even tragedy (Rosenberg 2017). Extensive work has been carried out in the linguistics field regarding the words of migration, specifically focussing on the conceptual, semantic, and sociolinguistic aspects of the use of these words in different contexts¹. In fact, the use of some words rather than others can serve to achieve different purposes, such as legitimising an ongoing political choice. For example, in Italian, talking about *migranti* [migrants], rather than *rifugiati* [refugees] removes the humanitarian character implicit in the definition of the word.

Furthermore, the generic nature of the word *migrante* [migrant] has led to the need to create sub-categories such as:

- *Migrante altamente qualificato* [highly qualified migrant];

¹ See Faloppa (2015) for an interesting review of the linguistic aspects of the media coverage of the phenomenon of migration, and Redattore sociale (2013) on the sociolinguistic characteristics of the diverse use of the words of migration.

- *Migrante di breve periodo* [short-term migrant];
- *Migrante di lungo periodo* [long-term migrant];
- *Migrante di seconda generazione* [second-generation migrant];
- *Migrante economico* [economic migrant];
- *Migrante forzato* [forced migrant];
- *Migrante irregolare* [irregular migrant]².

While some of these need to exist to describe complex situations (such as *migrante di breve/lungo periodo*), others are obviously artificial: in the meaning of the term *migrante di seconda generazione* (person whose parents were born abroad) the action of *migrare* [migrate] is lost, since the person whom the term is referred to may never have moved in their life. From a legal point of view, a *rifugiato* (or *richiedente asilo* [asylum seeker]) has the right to receive asylum, while a *migrante* or *immigrato*, who could be such for purely economic reasons, would not be entitled to the same forms of hospitality. In some cases, a *migrante* or *immigrato* may not be welcomed at all due to the complete freedom of individual states in the regulation of migration flows.

As a result of all of this, the official texts within the legal field use the correct terms (*apolide, rifugiato, richiedente asilo...*) while in everyday language, and especially in the media, the terms used are more ambiguous and subject to interpretation (*clandestino, profugo, immigrato*).

Therefore, the simple act of describing a person (or a bunch of people) using one of these words has various effects on the population's perceptions on that matter. Subsequently, it could allow the development of policies that exploit the emotions of the public opinion, and act in the interests of the ruling class.

Humanitarian crises in Africa and the war outbreak in Syria have pushed towards the use of a more precise term to describe a person fleeing from wars, famine or persecutions. Therefore, instead of the general term *migrante*, the term *rifugiato* started being used (and will be later split into *rifugiato a causa di una guerra, rifugiato de facto, rifugiato in transito, rifugiato reinsediato...*).

The closest word to *rifugiato* in Italian is *profugo*. From the Italian dictionary Treccani:

Profugo: Persona costretta ad abbandonare la sua terra, il suo paese, la sua patria in seguito a eventi bellici, a persecuzioni politiche o razziali, oppure a cataclismi come eruzioni vulcaniche, terremoti, alluvioni, ecc.

[Person forced to abandon their land, their country, their homeland following war events, political or racial persecutions, or cataclysms such as volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, floods, etc.](author's translation)

Although one could mistake it as a synonym for *rifugiato*, the word *profugo* is not found either in the *Testo unico sull'immigrazione* (primary legal source on the subject), or in the Italian translation of the *Glossary on Asylum and Migration* (created by the

²Unless otherwise specified, the terms used as examples in this section are taken from the EMN Glossary (2018) and the IOM Glossary on Migration (2019).

EU)³. Therefore, *rifugiato* is the only word considered by conventions and international sources, and it is also more easily translated into other European languages which do not always have an equivalent for *profugo*. Given the absence of a norm establishing its meaning, *profugo* is ambiguously used by the Italian media with the same connotations as the term *clandestino*, which reduces the individual to the sole dimension of a hopeless illegality⁴.

By creating tools such as the *EMN Glossary* and the International Organisation of Migration's (IOM) *Glossary on Migration*, institutions are striving to actualise a conscientious use of the terminology, especially by those who have the most power to influence perceptions on the phenomenon of migration⁵. Although these tools are essential in the understanding of the terminology related to migration, they do not account for the properties of language that are crucial for language use, *i.e.*, how the words presented in these glossaries change when used in actual speech. In fact, tools like the aforementioned glossaries primarily focus on describing the words related to migration from a semantic point of view, to help the user understand the meaning of the words rather than the behaviour of that word in linguistic use. This work aims to give a solution to this issue by proposing examples of highly formalised dictionaries with morpho-syntactic labels and local grammars, which – when added to the semantic descriptions already given in the Glossaries – could potentially help the understanding of these words as well as improve language use in the context of migration at a macro and micro level, *i.e.*, international organisations, public administrations but also individuals.

2.1 Glossaries on migration

Institutions around the world have developed databases aimed at defining the terms of greatest importance in the field of migration to allow consistency in their use and translation. The most important one is the aforementioned *EMN Glossary*, which provides constantly updated information on the migration lexicon. The Glossary was created by the European Migration Network, an organisation founded by the EU in 2008 on the occasion of the establishment of the CEAS (Common European Asylum System). In this work, the Italian version of the *EMN Glossary* has been used.

The Glossary was developed starting first from EU directives, regulations, and decisions, and then from the definitions contained in the conventions, treaties, and protocols of European and international organisations such as the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Finally, the multilingual and inter-institutional terminology database of the European Union (Inter-Active Terminology for Europe, IATE) was used. It includes all the terms relevant to the field of asylum and migration, the most important European legal

³ Glossario EMN (2018).

⁴ On the connotations of *clandestino* in Italian, see Novelli (2009).

⁵ Glossary on Migration, IOM, (2019).

concepts as well as Conventions, Institutions and Organisations, sometimes presented through acronyms.

As previously mentioned, terms which are used unequivocally in the legal field acquire different shades of meaning in other contexts, such as the media. The Glossary only includes meanings belonging to the field of migration, and synonyms are all included in one entry. The broader or more specific terms (hypernyms and hyponyms) are not only included in the entry of the most used term but they are also described individually. Conventionally, headwords are presented in dictionaries in the masculine and singular form and the Glossary follows this rule. However, if terms are most commonly used in their plural form, the headword is in that form in the Glossary.

Another milestone in the description of migration-related terminology is the *IOM Glossary on Migration*, from which the English glossaries in this work have been drawn. Similarly to the *EMN Glossary*, the *IOM Glossary* specifies in the introduction the hierarchy of sources used to outline the definitions of the words:

- 1) customary law, treaties, conventions, covenants or protocols adopted at the universal and regional level; 2) declarations, resolutions, recommendations and other soft-law instruments adopted or endorsed by States (preferably in the context of UN organs/bodies, e.g. the Council, the General Assembly or the Human Rights Council); 3) international or regional jurisprudence (such as that of the International Court of Justice, the International Criminal Court, UN Human Rights Treaty Bodies, the European Court of Human Rights, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights or the African Court on Human and People's Rights); 4) guiding principles developed by IOs/NGOs/Academia and Handbooks; and 5) legal dictionaries, IOM publications and Glossaries, as well as glossaries and publications of other organizations or institutions (*IOM Glossary on Migration*, 2019:3-4).

The sources hierarchies of the two aforementioned glossaries are strongly intertwined, with the *EMN Glossary* mentioning the IOM protocols as a source and vice versa. As explained in the guidelines, the sources are also cited in the definition of the terms, as well as terms that are related to the headword for cross-reference. The entries of the *IOM Glossary* are also characterised by the use of gender-neutral pronouns in the definitions, *i.e.*, they, those, their, and them.

The use of these two different glossaries for the analysis of the two languages (instead of the translations of only one glossary) allows for the comparison of the different words found in the two glossaries and to notice the presence or absence of some of them in one of the glossaries. In the next paragraph, the methodology for the construction of the labelled glossaries will be outlined.

3. Methodology

Traditionally, dictionaries contain words in their basic form which are supported – in the case of irregular headwords – by morphological information (such as “only plural” for *viveri* [supplies] or clothes). Therefore, dictionaries give implicit information

both in the headword and in the definition, and the user can gather this information thanks to their knowledge of the world (Monteleone 2002). What could look like inaccuracies in paper dictionaries are caused by the limited space available: there are numerous works in multiple volumes, but the most used by the general public usually consist of a single volume. As a result, analysing several corpora becomes problematic when it is not possible to integrate the number of headwords required to cover all areas of language use (De Bueriis 2002).

The definition of the lexical entry should be the most extensive and detailed part of the entry but, as we have explained, it is subject to limits. Therefore, compromises will be adopted in the presentation of the most relevant characteristics: out of necessity, some will be described in an approximate way. Many of the aforementioned issues relating to paper dictionaries have been solved with the creation of labelled dictionaries/glossaries like the ones we propose in this work.

Within these lexicographic lists the words are lemmatised (Monteleone 2002), then a label indicating the word class is added as well as an alphanumeric code which stems from the morphological decomposition and the analysis of the inflectional forms of the headword.

The word classes are coded as follows:

- A, adjectives
- ADV, adverbs
- CONJ, conjunctions
- DET, determiner
- INTER, interjection
- N, nouns
- PREP, prepositions
- PAA, complex prepositions (determiner + preposition *a*) – Italian Only
- PAC, complex prepositions (determiner + preposition *con*) – Italian Only
- PADA, complex prepositions (determiner + preposition *da*) – Italian Only
- PADI, complex prepositions (determiner + preposition *di*) – Italian Only
- PAN, complex prepositions (determiner + preposition *in*) – Italian Only
- PAS, complex prepositions (determiner + preposition *su*) – Italian Only
- PREP2, compound prepositions (word + preposition) – English Only
- PREP3, phrasal prepositions (preposition + word + preposition) – English Only
- PRON, pronouns
- V, verbs

While the code PREP for simple prepositions (i.e., '*da*' in Italian or 'from' in English) is the same for both analyses, we had to differentiate between the complex prepositions in Italian and compound and phrasal prepositions in English. This required distinct codes based on the units they are made of.

The alphanumeric codes that describe the inflectional behaviour of the words contain different information depending on the word class. To describe nouns and adjectives we need corresponding codes for masculine [m], feminine [f], singular [s],

and plural [p] which can be mixed and matched depending on the inflectional rules of the language analysed. For example, in Italian we will have [ms], [mp], [fs], [fp], while in English we will only find distinctions in the noun's number: [s] and [p].

Finally, a distinction has to be made between glossaries describing single – or simple – lexemes and glossaries that describe words made of two or more lexemes (like open compound words) (Voghera 1994). In this work, these will be referred to as simple word glossary and compound word glossary.

Starting with the entries in the simple word glossary, the first label represents the word class. If a word falls under more than one word class, these are described in the same entry and separated by a slash (/). The second label refers to the gender and number of the analysed word. When a word does not present any inflection *i.e.*, uncountable nouns in English, they are described as *nf* (no flexion).

Since our glossaries are strictly related to the field of migration, the words will be described taking into account only their use in that specific field. For example, even if a noun theoretically has a plural form, this will not be described in the glossary of migration if that form does not recur in any juridical source on that topic. By doing this, we follow the traditional norm which presents words in their most frequent form.

The inflectional behaviour has been codified for Italian and English as shown in the following tables.

ms	fs	mp	fp	
<i>o</i>	/	<i>i</i>	/	1
/	<i>a</i>	/	<i>e</i>	2
<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	3
<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	4
/	<i>e</i>	/	/	5
/	<i>e</i>	/	<i>i</i>	6
<i>e</i>	/	/	<i>i</i>	7
<i>tore</i>	<i>trice</i>	<i>tori</i>	<i>trici</i>	8
<i>e</i>	<i>essa</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>esse</i>	9

Table 1. Alphanumeric codes describing the inflectional behaviour to mark grammatical gender and number in Italian

only the inflection markers of grammatical number have been coded in Table 2. Although some inflectional characteristics are strictly related to the phonological features in English⁷, we will not focus on the phonological alternations, which remain an area

Since Modern English nouns do not present a morpheme that marks grammatical number in the singular form, we chose to take into account the final letter of the word analysed. This choice allowed us to make a distinction between the various morphemes marking the plural. The only exception to this rule relates to the point s/p-7 in Table 2 which describes the plural marker -en for the words 'childr-en' and 'ox-en'. Since the inflectional marker is not selected by the final letter of the word in this case, it has been marked as 'irregular' in the singular column.

From a diachronic point of view, modern English has not retained the nouns' inflectional difference between masculine, feminine and neuter that was in place in Old English until the late 14th century⁶. Therefore,

⁶ On the morphological differences between Old English and Modern English, see Lass (2006).

⁷ Cf. Huddleston, Pullum (2002).

of interest for future studies using an even more detailed labelled glossary which allows for the consideration of the phonetic transcriptions of the words. Nonetheless, it is widely recognised in the relevant literature that the different categories of the inflections' realisations remain connected to some phonological features. This is the case for nouns ending in *y*, for example, where “*y* remains intact when it forms part of a composite vowel symbol” (Huddleston, Pullum 2002:1585) but it drops in cases where it represents a single vowel sound and the plural is formed with *ies*.

s	p	
_V/C	s	1
_C[o]	oes	2
_V[o]	os	3
_ [+sibilant]	es	4
_y	ys	5
_y	ies	6
<i>irregular</i>	en	7
_fe	ves	8
_f	ves	9
_f	fs	10

Table 2. Alphanumeric codes describing the inflectional behaviour to mark grammatical number in English

the English version of the *IOM Glossary on Migration*. Once the list of entries was retrieved from the domain specific glossary, each entry's inflectional behaviour was described using the morpho-syntactic labels created.

The entry list we have compiled covers 365 forms classified, from a purely formal point of view, in morpho-syntactic sequences⁸. Of these, 172 entries come from the Italian version of the *EMN Glossary*, while 193 entries come from the English version of the *IOM Glossary on Migration*. It is worth mentioning that our glossaries – stemming from the entries of domain specific institutional glossaries – contain entries with different linguistic statuses. We will discuss this as well as other peculiar aspects of the analysis in the following section.

Variable units:	No inflection	All the units	First unit	Second unit	Third unit	Fourth unit
	1	f/p2	f/p3	f/p4	f/p5	f/p6

Table 3. Alphanumeric codes for the compound words glossaries

In the compound words glossary, first the term's units are described, and then the word class of the entire lexeme. These two parts are separated by a semi-colon (;). Then the inflectional label is added to describe which unit – or units – can be marked for gender or number (or both, in Italian). These labels are codified as follows:

- there is no inflection (invariable compound word)
- all the (possible) inflections happen
- the first unit is marked, feminine (f), plural (p).
- the second unit is marked, feminine (f), plural (p).
- the third unit is marked, feminine (f), plural (p).
- the fourth unit is marked, feminine (f), plural (p).

Once the morpho-syntactic labels describing the inflectional behaviour have been created, the entries to be described are identified and selected from specialised glossaries. In our work – as mentioned above – glossaries specialised in the migration domain were used. Specifically, the Italian version of the *EMN Glossary* and the English version of the *IOM Glossary on Migration*.

⁸ See Annex for the first six letters of the alphabet for each of the glossaries in the analysed languages.

4. Discussion

In the Italian simple word glossary, the words referring to people (1) or categories of people present inflection of grammatical gender and number more than words describing specific events or phenomena (2).

- (1) *Alunno*, N: ms-3
- (2) *Acculturazione*, N: fs-5

This tendency recurs in the English glossary as well (3/4), and it would seem that the Italian migration words that do not present inflection share similarities with the properties of English mass nouns.

- (3) *Applicant*, N: s-p1
- (4) *Accession*, N: s-*nf*

A similar pattern has been recognised in the English compound words glossary, where words referring to people (5) present number inflection while words describing events or phenomena do not (6).

- (5) *Foreign worker*, A+N; N: s-p4
- (6) *Climate migration*, A+N; N: s-1

In the Italian compound words glossary, the compound words formed by N+PREP+N seem to go in two different directions depending on their status. When the nouns refer to agreements, conventions, protocols or phenomena (7) they do not inflect for gender and number.

- (7) *Accordo di Schengen*, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1

In contrast, they tend to do so when the construction PREP+N is a specifier of the first N. In this case, the marked morpheme is always attached only to the first N when marking grammatical number (8).

- (8) *Decisione di espulsione*, N+PREP+N; N: fs-p3

The second most common formation in the Italian compound words glossary is N+A which usually presents the inflections of both words for gender and number.

In the English compound words glossary, the most common formations are N+N (9) and A+N (10). When the inflection is possible, A+N structures always inflect on the second item. While N+N structures tend to follow the same pattern, the second item does not inflect when it describes a phenomenon.

- (9) *Deportation order*, N+N; N: s-p4
- (10) *Contract worker*, A+N; N: s-p4

Since the constructions consisting of more than three units are characterised by a stronger diversity than the rest, it is not possible to notice inflectional patterns. However, it is worth mentioning their tendency to inflect only on the first word of the compound, leaving the rest unmarked (11).

- (11) *Analisi del mercato del lavoro*, N+PADI+N+PADI+N; N: fs-p3

In some cases, it might have been grammatically correct – and possible – to change the compound's gender and/or number but, in the migration context described in these glossaries, the resulting word would have no meaning. Take for example the Italian *Accordo di Schengen* [Schengen agreement], which could potentially have a plural form of the word *Accordo* [agreement]. However, a plural form of this compound word would be of no use in the migration context and in this labelled glossary, since only one Schengen agreement exists (12).

(12) *Accordo di Schengen*, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1

Other problematic issues arise when a compound word is used to form another compound word, such as *Agenzia dell'Unione Europea per i diritti fondamentali* (13) [European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights].

(13) *Agenzia dell'Unione Europea per i diritti fondamentali*, N+PADI+N(+A)+PREP+DET+N+A; N: fs-1

As example 13 shows, in this compound word it is possible to isolate another compound word, *Unione Europea* [European Union], which has been described in the glossary as N(+A) but could easily be considered as a simple N. A similar case would be *popolazione de jure/de facto* [de jure/de facto population], where the words *de jure* and *de facto* are described as A, since their purpose is to modify the noun.

Within the Italian glossaries, English borrowings have been grammatically analysed according to the word class their translation would belong to, *i.e.*, how they are used by Italian speakers. For example, *social dumping* would be treated as A+N since in Italian *dumping* is treated as a noun.

The words in the two languages' glossaries differ in some cases, due to the differences in the hierarchy sources which we outlined in the previous sections. The majority of the terms that are only found in the Italian Glossary are specific to the EU, such as *frontiera interna UE* [EU internal border] or *frontiera esterna UE* [EU external border]. There are no easy words when dealing with specialised language glossaries. Information that could almost seem 'basic from a native speaker's point of view, could be seen under a completely different light by users of said glossaries. This is one of the main reasons why the presence of N+PREP+N expressions like 'country of origin' or 'country of transit' - which have a fairly clear meaning for someone that has an adequate knowledge of English – should not be a surprise (14/15).

(14) Country of origin, N+PREP+N; N: s-1

(15) Country of transit, N+PREP+N; N: s-p3

Accordingly, these two words demonstrate how words having the same structure do not present the same inflectional behaviour. Since there can be more than one country of transit but only one country of origin, the latter has been classified as s-1 in our labelled glossary, *i.e.*, it does not inflect.

6. Conclusion

In this work, which we consider a research tool, we have proposed morpho-syntactic labels for the inflectional behaviour of nouns in both Italian and English, in order to classify the behaviour of words relative to the migration domain in these two languages. Drawing from two institutional glossaries that currently describe the meaning of the most useful terminology in the field of migration, we have compiled entry lists that have then been labelled using the aforementioned morpho-syntactic labels.

The classifications provided in this paper are only the preliminary version of ongoing work on the words within the domain of migration. Therefore, these morpho-syntactically labelled glossaries are published with the intention of making available a preliminary dataset which can be used for further work from both theoretical and methodological points of view. The matters discussed in this paper highlight the complexity of a coherent description of the language used in the migratory field.

The glossaries presented are an attempt to resolve the issues that a speaker with little or no competence in a foreign language could encounter when trying to make their way into a new country. When dealing with glossaries describing the lexicon of migration, we need to take into account all the difficulties that a foreign language could represent for someone who is leaving – or fleeing from – their country.

While the description of the meaning of a word is crucial – and has, in fact, been represented in various glossaries in the field - we firmly believe that the description of the inflectional behaviour of that word can actually allow a person to use that term when interacting with other speakers. Being able to only understand these words could lead to a passive comprehension of the situations one encounters in life, while being able to use them and speak up gives people the right to be heard and seen in every linguistic and cultural context. Nonetheless, users working in the migratory field could also benefit from morpho-syntactically labelled glossaries such as the ones presented in the context of institutional and interlingual communication.

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Annex

Excerpt from the Italian Simple Word Glossary on Migration

A

Acculturazione, N: fs-5

Adattamento, N: ms-1

Adozione, N: fs-6

Adulto, N: ms-3 / A:ms-3

Allontanamento, N: ms-6

Alunno, N: ms-3

Apolide, N: ms-4 / A: ms-4

Arresto, N: ms-1

Asilo, N: ms-1

Assimilazione, N: fs-6

B

Bambino, N: ms-3 / A: ms-3

C

Cittadinanza, N: fs-2

Cultura, N: fs-2

D

Deportazione, N: fs-6

Diaspora, N: sf-2

E

Emigrante, N: ms-4 / A: ms-4

Emigrazione, N: fs-6

Esodo, N: ms-1

Espulsione, N: fs-6

Eurasil, N: ms/nf

Eurodac, N; ms/nf

Europol, N: ms/nf

Eurostat, N: ms/nf

F

Familiare, N:ms-4 / A: ms-4

Frontaliero, A: ms-4

Fuga, N: fs-2

Excerpt from the Italian compound words glossary on Migration

A

- Accertamento dell'età, N+PADI+N; N: ms-1
- Accesso all'assistenza sanitaria, N+PAA+N+A; N: ms-1
- Accesso alla procedura di registrazione della domanda di protezione internazionale, N+PAA+N+PREP+N+PADI+N+PREP+N+A; N: ms-1
- Accompagnamento alla frontiera, N+PAA+N; N: ms-1
- Accordo di Cotonou, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1
- Accordo di facilitazione del visto, N+PREP+N+PADI+N; N: ms-1
- Accordo di integrazione, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1
- Accordo di reciproco riconoscimento, N+PREP+A+N; N: ms-1
- Accordo di riammissione, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1
- Accordo di Schengen, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1
- Acquisizione UE, N+N; N: fs-1
- Acquisizione di cervelli, N+PRE+N; N: fs-1
- Acquisizione di cittadinanza, N+PREP+N; N: fs-1
- Adozione fittizia, N+A; N: fs-p2
- Afflusso massiccio, N+A; N: ms-p2
- Agenzia dell'Unione Europea per i diritti fondamentali, N+PADI+N(+A)+PREP+DET+N+A; N: fs-1
- Agenzia europea della guardia di frontiera e costiera, N+A+PADI+N+PREP+N+CONJ+N; N: fs-1
- Alto commissariato delle Nazioni Unite per i Rifugiati, (A)+N+PADI+N(+A)+PREP+DET+N; N: ms-1
- Ammissione sul territorio, N+PAS+N; N: fs-p3
- Analisi del mercato del lavoro, N+PADI+N+PADI+N; N: fs-p3
- Analisi linguistica per la determinazione dell'origine, N+A+PREP+DET+N+PADI+N; N, fs-p3/4.
- Applicazione di gestione integrata dei rimpatri, N+PREP+N+A+PADI+N; N: fs1
- Apprendista retribuito, N+A; N: ms-fp2
- Approccio globale in materia di immigrazione e mobilità, N+A+PREP+N+PREP+N+CONJ+N; N: ms-1.
- Area o luogo di residenza assegnata, N+CONJ+N+PREP+N+A; N: fs-1
- Assistenza al rimpatrio, N+PAA+N; N: fs-p4
- Assistenza alla reintegrazione, N+PAA+N; N: fs-1
- Atto di persecuzione, N+PREP+N; N: ms-p3
- Attraversamento della frontiera, N+PADI+N; N: ms-p2
- Autorità responsabile per il riconoscimento dello status di rifugiato, N+A+PREP+DET+N+PADI+N+PREP+N; N: ms-p3/4

B

Beneficiario di protezione internazionale, N+PREP+N+A; N: ms-fp3

Beneficiario di protezione sussidiaria, N+PREP+N+A; N: ms-fp3

C

Cambiamento di status, N+PREP+N; N: ms-p3

Carenza di forza lavoro, N+PREP+N(+N): N, fs-2

Carta blu UE, N+A+N; N: fs-p3

Carta dei Diritti Fondamentali dell'Unione Europea, N+PADI+N+A+PADI+N(+A); N: fs-2

Catena migratoria, N+A; N: fs-p

Cause di persecuzione ex Convenzione di Ginevra, N+PREP+N+A+N(+PREP+N); N: fp-s3

Centro di accoglienza per richiedenti asilo, N+PREP+N+PREP+N(+N); N: ms-p3

Centro di Informazione, di Riflessione e di Scambi in materia di Attraversamento delle Frontiere e di Immigrazione, N+PREP+N+PREP+N+CONJ+PREP+N+PREP+N+PREP+N+PADI+N; N: ms-1

Chiave di distribuzione, N+PREP+N; N: fs-1

Circolazione di cervelli, N+PREP+N; N: fs-1

Cittadino dell'Unione, N+PADI+N; N: ms-fp3

Cittadino di un paese terzo, N+PREP+DET+N+A; N: ms-fp3

Cittadino di un paese terzo presente irregolarmente, N+PREP+DET+N+A+A+ADV; N: ms-fp3

Cittadino extracomunitario, N+A; N: ms-p2

Cittadino non comunitario, N+ADV+A; N: ms-fp3

Clausola di esclusione, N+PREP+N; N: fs-p3

Codice dei visti, N+PADI+N; N: ms-s4

Codice Frontiere Schengen, N+N+N; N: ms-1.

Colloquio personale per la protezione internazionale, N+A+PREP+DET+N+A; N: ms-p3/4.

Colui che commette il reato di persecuzione di persona, PRON+PRON+V+DET+N+PREP+N+PREP+N; N: ms-fp3.

Commissione per le politiche di integrazione, N+PREP+DET+N+PREP+N; N: fs-1

Comitato Immigrazione e Asilo, N+N+CONJ+N; N: ms-1

Comitato per i minori stranieri, N+PREP+DET+N+A; N: ms-1

Comitato Strategico in materia di Immigrazione, Frontiere e Asilo, N+A+PREP+N+PREP+N+N+CONJ+N; N: ms-1

Condizioni di accoglienza, N+PREP+N; N: fp-s3

Condizioni materiali di accoglienza, N+A+PREP+N; N: fp-s3/4.

Conferenza dei Direttori generali dei Servizi Immigrazione, N+PADI+N+A+PADI+N+N; N: fs-p3

Consultazioni Inter-Governative in materia di Immigrazione, Asilo e Rifugiati, N+A+PREP+N+PREP+N+N+CONJ+N; N: fp-s3/4

Contratto di soggiorno, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1

Controllo automatizzato delle frontiere, N+A+PADI+N; N: ms-1
 Controllo di frontiera, N+PREP+N; N: ms-p3
 Convenzione delle Nazioni Unite sui diritti dell'infanzia e dell'adolescenza, N+PAD-
 I+N(+A)+PAS+N+PADI+N+CONJ+PADI+N; N: fs-1
 Convenzione di Dublino, N+PREP+N; N: fs-1
 Convenzione di Ginevra e Protocollo di New York sullo status dei Rifugiati,
 N+PREP+N+CONJ+N+PREP+N+PAS+N+PADI+N; N: fs-1
 Convenzione di Schengen, N+PREP+N; N: fs-1
 Convenzione Europea dei Diritti dell'Uomo, N+A+PADI+N+PADI+N; N: fs-1
 Corte di giustizia dell'Unione Europea, N+PREP+N+PADI+N(+A); N: fs-1
 Corte europea dei diritti dell'uomo, N+A+PADI+N+PADI+N; N: fs-1
 Costituzione di una famiglia, N+PREP+DET+N; N: fs-1
 Crimine contro l'umanità, N+PREP+DET+N; N: ms-p3
 Crimine di guerra, N+PREP+N; N: ms-p3
 Crimine organizzato, N+A; N: ms-1

D

Danno grave, N+A; N: ms-p2
 Dati biometrici, N+A; N: mp-1
 Datore di lavoro, N+PREP+N; N: ms-fp3.
 Decisione definitiva, N+A; N: fs-p2
 Decisione di espulsione, N+PREP+N; N: fs-p3.
 Decisione di ritorno/rimpatrio, N+PREP+N/N; N: fs-p3
 Determinazione dell'identità, N+PADI+N; N: fs-1
 Dialogo 5+5 sulle Migrazioni nel Mediterraneo Occidentale, N+(N)+PAS+N+PAN+N+A; N:
 ms-1
 Dialogo Euro-Africano sulla Migrazione e lo Sviluppo, N+A+PAS+N+CONJ+DET+N; N: ms-1
 Dialogo interculturale, N+A; N: ms-1
 Dialogo strutturato UE-ALC sulla migrazione, N+A+N+PAS+N; N: ms-1
 Dialogo sulla Migrazione di Transito nel Mediterraneo, N+PAS+N+PREP+N+PAN+N; N: ms-1
 Dichiarazione di New York sui rifugiati e i migranti, N+PREP+N+PAS+N+CONJ+N; N: ms-1
 Dimora abituale, N+A; N: fs-1
 Diritti fondamentali, N+A; N: mp-s2
 Diritti umani, N+A; N: mp-s2
 Diritto all'asilo, N+PAA+N; N: ms-1
 Diritto all'unità familiare, N+PAA+N+A; N: ms-1
 Diritto alla vita familiare, N+PAA+N+A; N: ms-1
 Diritto dei diritti umani, N+PADI+N+A; N: ms-1
 Diritto di asilo, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1
 Diritto di chiedere asilo, N+PREP+V+N; N: ms-1
 Diritto di libera circolazione, N+PREP+A+N; N: ms-1
 Diritto di ricorso, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1

Diritto di soggiorno, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1
Discriminazione diretta, N+A; N: fs-1
Discriminazione indiretta, N+A; N: fs-1
Discriminazione positiva, N+A; N: fs-1
Discriminazione razziale, N+A; N: fs-1
Disposizione alternativa al trattamento, N+A+PAA+N; N, fsp3/4.
Diversità culturale, N+A; N: fs-1
Divieto di ingresso, N+PREP+N; N: ms-1
Documento d'identità, N+PREP+N; N: ms-p3
Documento di viaggio, N+PREP+N; N: m-p3
Documento di viaggio europeo per il rimpatrio, N+PREP+N+A+PREPDET+N; N: ms-1
Documento di viaggio (o di identità) fraudolento, N+PREP+N(+CONJ+PREP+N)+A; N: ms-p3/5.
Documento programmatico, N+A; N: ms-1
Documenti originatori, N+A; N: mp-s2
Domanda d'asilo, N+PREP+N; N: fs-p2
Domanda di protezione internazionale, N+PREP+N+A; N: fs-p3
Domanda di protezione internazionale inammissibile, N+PREP+N+A+A; N: fs-p3/5
Domanda di protezione internazionale manifestamente infondata, N+PREP+N+ADV+A; N: fs-p3/6
Domanda infondata per il riconoscimento della protezione internazionale, N+AGG+PREP+DET+N+PADI+N+A; N: fs-p3/4
Domanda reiterata di protezione internazionale, N+A+PREP+N+A; N: fs-p3/4.
Doppia cittadinanza, A+N; N: fs-1
Dumping sociale, N+A; N: ms-1

E

Economia informale, N+A; N: fs-p2
Effetto sospensivo, N+A; N: ms-p2
Ente ospitante, N+A; N: ms-p2
Esame della domanda di protezione internazionale, N+PADI+N+PREP+N+A; N: fs- p3/4
Esame ex-nunc, N+A; N: ms-p3
Esclusione sociale, N+A; N: fs-1

F

Falsa dichiarazione di filiazione, A+N+PREP+N; N: fs-p3/4
Famiglia nucleare, N+A; N: fs-1
Fattore di attrazione, N+PREP+N; N: ms-p2
Fattore di spinta, N+PREP+N; N: ms-p2
Fattore di spinta-attrazione, N+PREP+N+N; N: ms-p2
Flusso migratorio, N+A; N: ms-p2
Flusso migratorio misto, N+A+A; N: ms-p2

Foglio di via, N+PREP+ADV; N: ms-1
 Fondo Asilo, Migrazione e Integrazione/FAMI, N+N+N+CONJ+N; N: ms-1
 Fondo fiduciario d'emergenza dell'Unione Europea per l'Africa, N+A+PREP+N+PAD-I+N(+A)+PREP+DET+N; N: ms-1
 Fondo nazionale per le politiche migratorie, N+A+PREP+DET+N+A; N: ms-1
 Fondo rimpatri, N+A; N: ms-1
 Formato Standard ICAO – Organizzazione Internazionale Aviazione Civile, N+A+N; N: ms--.
 N+A+N+A; N: fs-1
 Forum Globale su Migrazione e Sviluppo, N+AGG+PREP+N+CONJ+N; N: ms-1
 Frontiera esterna temporanea, N+A+A; N: fs-p2
 Frontiera esterna UE, N+A+N; N: fs-p3/4
 Frontiera interna UE, N+A+N; N: fs-p3/4
 Fuga dei cervelli, N+PADI+N; N: fs-1
 Funzionario di collegamento incaricato dell'immigrazione, N+PREP+N+A+PADI+N; N: ms-p3

Excerpt from the English simple words glossary on Migration

A

Abduction, N: s-p1
 Accession, N: *s-nf*
 Adoption, N: s-p1
 Alien, N: s-p1
 Amnesty, N: s-p6
 Appeal, N: s-p1
 Applicant, N: s-p1
 Application, N: s-p1
 Assimilation, N: s-p1
 Asylum, N: *s-nf*

B

Bail, N: *s-nf*
 Biometrics, N: p-*nf*
 Bond, N: s-p1
 Boundary, N: s-p6

C

Caregiver, N: s-p1
 Carrier, N: s-p1
 Child, N: s-p7
 Citizen, N: s-p1
 Citizenship, N: *s-nf*

Coercion, N: *s-nf*
Convention, N: *s-p1*
Counselling, N: *s-nf*

D

Dependant, N: *s-p1*
Deportation, N: *s-p1*
Deskilling, N: *s-nf*
Detention, N: *s-nf*
Diaspora, N: *s-nf*
Disaster, N: *s-p1*
Discrimination, N: *s-nf*
Displacement, N: *s-nf*
Domicile, N: *s-p1*

E

Emigrant, N: *s-p1*
Emigration, N: *s-nf*
Entry, N: *s-p6*
Evacuation, N: *s-p1*
Expatriate, N: *s-p1*
Exploitation, N: *s-nf*
Expulsion, N: *s-nf*
Extradition, N: *s-nf*

F

Flow, N: *s-p1*
Foreigner, N: *s-p1*
Fraud, N: *s-nf*
Frontier, N: *s-p1*

Excerpt from the compound words glossary on Migration

A

Acquisition of nationality, N+PREP+N; N: *s-1*
Administrative detention, A+N; N: *s-p1*
Admission into a State, N+PREP+DET+N; N: *s-p4/5*
Admission ban, N+N; N: *s-p4*
Age assessment, N+N; N: *s-1*
Alert list, N+N; N: *s-p4*
Alternatives to detention, N+PREP+N; N: *p-s3*
Alternative care, A+N; N: *s-1*

Ancestry-based residence/nationality, (N+V); A+N/N; N: s-p4
 Armed conflict, A+N; N: s-p4
 Arrival card, N+N; N: s-p4
 Assets forfeiture, N+N; N: p-1
 Assisted migration, A+N; N: s-1
 Assisted voluntary return and reintegration, A+A+N+CONJ+N; N: s-1
 Asylum seeker, N+N; N: s-p4

B

Bilateral labour arrangements, A+N+N; N: p-1
 Bilateral labour migration agreements, A+N+N+N; N: p-1
 Birth certificate, N+N; N: s-p4
 Birth registration, N+N; N: s-1
 Bona fide applicant, (A+N); A+N; N: s-p5
 Border checks, N+N; N: p-s4
 Border control, N+N; N: s-p3
 Border crossing point, N+N+N; N: s-p5
 Border delimitation, N+N; N: s-p4
 Border governance, N+N; N: s-1
 Border health, N+N; N: s-p3
 Border management, N+N; N: s-p3
 Border official, N+N; N: s-p4
 Border surveillance, N+N; N: s-p3
 Brain circulation, N+N; N: s-1
 Brain drain, N+N; N: s-1
 Brain gain, N+N; N: s-1
 Brain waste, N+N; N: s-1
 Burden of proof, N+PREP+N; N: s-1

C

Carrier liability, N+N; N: s-p4
 Carrier sanctions, N+N; N: p-1
 Certificate of identity, N+PREP+N; N: s-1
 Cessation clauses, N+N; N: p-s4
 Change of status, N+PREP+N; N: s-p3
 Child abduction, N+N; N: s-p3
 Child exploitation, N+N; N: s-p3
 Child labour, N+N; N: s-1
 Child trafficking, N+N; N: s-1
 Circular migration, A+N; N: s-p4
 Civil and political rights, A+CONJ+A+N; N: p-s6

Clandestine migration, A+N; N: s-1
Climate migration, A+N; N: s-1
Climate/environmental refugee, A/A+N; N: s-p4
Collective expulsion, A+N; N: s-1
Commercial carrier, A+N; N: s-p4
Community of origin, N+PREP+N; N: s-p3
Community stabilization, N+N; N: s-1
Complementary pathways for refugees admission, A+N+PREP+N+N; N: p-1
Complementary protection, A+N; N: s-1
Consular protection and assistance, A+N+CONJ+N; N: s-1
Consular functions, A+N; N: p-s4
Consular officers, A+N; N: p-s4
Consular registration, A+N; N: s-1
Contiguous zone, A+N; N: s-1
Contract worker, A+N; N: s-p4
Country of destination, N+PREP+N; N: s-p3
Country of origin, N+PREP+N; N: s-1
Country of transit, N+PREP+N; N: s-p3
Country of usual residence, N+PREP+A+N; N: s-1
Credibility assessment, N+N; N: s-1
Crimes against humanity, N+PREP+N; N: p-s3
Cross-border displacement, (V+N); A+N; N: s-1
Cross-border health, (V+N); A+N; N: s-1
Cultural diversity, A+N; N: s-p4
Cultural pluralism, A+N; N: s-1
Custodial measures, A+N; N: p-s4
Customary international law, A+A+N; N: s-p5

D

Data protection, N+N; N: s-1
Debt bondage, N+N; N: s-1
Degrading treatment, A+N; N: s-p4
Deportation order, N+N; N: s-p4
Deprivation of liberty, N+PREP+N; N: s-1
Deprivation of nationality, N+PREP+N; N: s-1
Detained person, A+N; N: s-p4
Detention centre, N+N; N: s-p4
Diplomatic asylum, A+N; N: s-1
Diplomatic protection, A+N; N: s-1
Disaster displacement, N+N; N: s-1
Disaster risk, N+N; N: s-p4

Disaster risk reduction, N+N+N; N: s-p4
 Discretionary forms of protection, A+N+PREP+N; N: p-s4
 Disengaged combatant, A+N; N: s-p4
 Displaced persons, A+N; N: p-s4
 Documented migrant, A+N; N: s-p4
 Documented migrant worker, A+A+N; N: s-p5
 Domestic remedies, A+N; N: p-s4
 Drivers of migration, N+PREP+N; N: p-1
 Dual nationality, A+N; N: s-1
 Due process, A+N; N: s-1
 Durable solution, A+N; N: s-p4

E

Early warning system, A+N+N; N: s-p5
 Economic migrant, A+N; N: s-p4
 Economic migration, A+N; N: s-1
 Electronic passport, A+N; N: s-p4
 Economic, social and cultural rights, A+A+CONJ+A+N; N: p-s6
 Entry ban, N+N; N: s-1
 Entry stamp, N+N; N: s-p4
 Environmental migrant, A+N; N: s-p4
 Environmental migration, A+N; N: s-1
 Exclusion clauses, N+N; N: p-s4
 Exit stamp, N+N; N: s-p4
 Exit visa, N+N; N: s-1
 Expulsion order, N+N; N: s-p4
 Extraterritorial processing, A+N; N: s-1

F

Facilitated migration, A+N; N: s-1
 Fair trial, A+N; N: s-p4
 Family members, N+N; N: p-s4
 Family migration, N+N; N: s-1
 Family reunification, N+N; N: s-1
 Family unity, N+N; N: s-1
 Feminization of migration, N+PREP+N; N: s-1
 First country of asylum, A+N+PREP+N; N: s-1
 Fitness for travel, N+PREP+N; N: s-1
 Flag State, N+N; N: s-1
 Forced/compulsory labour, A/A+N; N: s-1
 Forced displacement, A+N; N: s-p4

*Labelled glossaries in the context of migration:
a proposal for Italian and English*

Forced eviction, A+N; N: s-p4
Forced marriage, A+N; N: s-p4
Forced migration, A+N; N: s-1
Forced return, A+N; N: s-1
Forcible transfer, A+N; N: s-1
Foreign worker, A+N; N: s-p4
Fraudulent document, A+N; N: s-p4
Freedom of movement, N+PREP+N; N: s-1
Frontier worker, N+N; N: s-p4



L'integrazione nella diversità: lo spazio possibile (e necessario) delle lingue di origine degli stranieri residenti nella politica linguistica dell'Unione Europea

Maria Simoniello

1. Le lingue, i parlanti, le nazioni, i governi: il gioco delle parti sulla scena internazionale

Nell'introdurre la dicotomia tra "*éléments internes et éléments externes de la langue*", Saussure (1916, cap. V) coglieva già le interrelazioni esistenti tra le vicende delle comunità parlanti e lo sviluppo delle lingue. In particolare, indicava l'autore, "*les mœurs d'une nation ont un contre-coup sur sa langue, et, d'autre part, c'est dans une large mesure la langue qui fait la nation*" (1917: 40); ancora, sulle connessioni tra lingua e politica, osservava che "*la politique intérieure des États n'est pas moins importante pour la vie des langues [...]. Un degré de civilisation avancé favorise le développement de certaines langues spéciales (langue juridique terminologie scientifique, etc.)*" (*ibid.*, 40-41)¹; infine, richiamava "*les rapports de la langue avec des institutions de toute sorte, l'Église, l'école, etc.*" (*ibid.*, 41), alle quali si affiancano oggi le organizzazioni sovranazionali che agiscono – in modo più o meno diretto – sulla visibilità e sul prestigio riconosciuto alle varietà linguistiche praticate localmente. Sebbene tali osservazioni fossero finalizzate a depurare l'oggetto dello studio linguistico – la *langue* – dalle circostanze del suo utilizzo, indirettamente l'autore individuava altresì i tratti essenziali dello studio dei rapporti tra le entità richiamate, e in particolare – ma l'elenco non è esaustivo – delle spinte impresse dall'organizzazione sociale e politica alla trasmissione ed elaborazione delle varietà linguistiche (nel senso di *Ausbau*, Kloss 1967), delle rappresentazioni identitarie e delle relazioni con il diritto, prefigurando i fondamenti della futura sociologia del linguaggio e delle azioni di *language policy* e *language planning*².

Lo squilibrio tra il numero di entità statali ufficialmente riconosciute dalla comunità internazionale e quello delle lingue viventi attestate nel mondo – 7151 quelle censite da *Ethnologue* nel 2022³, in diminuzione rispetto alle rilevazioni precedenti – suggerisce che la distribuzione delle varietà linguistiche nelle entità politiche è estre-

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¹ A questo proposito, si consideri la spinta impressa dal processo di integrazione europea all'elaborazione di un linguaggio settoriale particolare denominato *euroletto*. Cfr. in particolare Mori 2003, 2020.

² Seguendo Dell'Aquila-Iannàccaro, per *language policy* si intende qui "l'insieme dei presupposti ideologici e politici che stanno alla base di una determinata politica linguistica realmente attuata" (2004: 22). Per un approfondimento esteso sul tema, si rimanda, *inter alia*, a Romaine 2021. Aspetti specifici delle politiche linguistiche sono trattati in Tollefson-Pérez-Milans 2018; Ricento 2006.

³ Cfr. <https://www.ethnologue.com/>. Data ultima consultazione: 20/08/2022.

mamente frastagliata (cfr. De Mauro 2005: 5-7), ed evidenza quanto la diversità linguistica interna a ciascuna di esse sia la norma e non l'eccezione. Osservando più da vicino la distribuzione geografica di tali varietà è possibile individuare zone di "addensamento" – coincidenti con le aree "che esprimono la biodiversità più esuberante" (Grandi 2020: 420) – e altre di "rarefazione" – dove "le comunità umane sono più popolose ed estese territorialmente" (*ibid.*, 420-421) e nelle quali più spesso agiscono politiche centralizzatrici in tema linguistico.

Seguendo Carli, "nella definizione della politica linguistica entrano in gioco diverse forze" (2004: 74), distinguibili in un gruppo di "«attori», ai quali spetta la definizione delle politiche linguistiche" e in altri "«gruppi di interesse» che premono sui primi affinché vengano attuate delle misure volte a promuovere efficacemente la lingua" (*ibidem*). Ciò accade perché le varietà linguistiche in uso presso una data società rispondono certo a una funzione comunicativa ma anche – e soprattutto, per quanto di nostro interesse qui – simbolica (Dell'Aquila-Iannàccaro 2004: 19): esse costituiscono cioè "il veicolo principale e più immediato per la trasmissione di precisi valori identitari, tendenzialmente immutabili nel tempo" (Piergigli 2020: 160), valori che tuttavia costituiscono una "verità non universale, ma piuttosto di tipo storico" (Dell'Aquila-Iannàccaro 2004: 27) e che dunque risentono delle negoziazioni tra le parti, del potere e della visibilità di ciascuna. Ne consegue quindi che, lungi dall'essere storicamente affermati a livello istituzionale, *monolinguisimo*, *multilinguisimo* e *plurilinguisimo* si presentano piuttosto come degli "ideali regolativi" (De Mauro 2005: 7) che agiscono, con fortune alterne, sui rapporti esistenti nella pratica tra le lingue.

Se considerassimo le sole lingue ufficiali dell'Unione Europea, dovremmo certamente collocare l'Europa⁴ linguistica tra le zone di 'rarefazione', dove a ciascun Paese si associa *ufficialmente* una sola varietà, fino all'ammontare di 24 lingue ufficiali, 26 considerando il caso delle lingue 'nazionali' di alcuni Paesi (cfr. Tosi 2020: 75). Tuttavia, qualsiasi cittadino dell'UE, beneficiando della libertà di circolazione delle persone tra gli Stati membri, potrebbe certamente sperimentare che la "diversità linguistica orizzontale" (Grandi 2020: 416) è invero molto più ampia e pervasiva di quella emergente considerando il solo tratto dell'*ufficialità*, che è in ultimo una categoria giuridica, mirante a produrre effetti laddove l'uso della lingua abbia rilevanza a livello pubblico (cfr. Piergigli 2001: 21-22) e che nulla ha a che fare con la *langue* saussuriana. Muovendosi tra i Paesi europei, si imbatterebbe ancora in circa 60 lingue *regionali*⁵, in numerosissime varietà locali nonché nelle varietà linguistiche delle comunità immigrate di recente insediamento (cfr. dati Commissione Europea 2012). Allo stesso tempo, però, lo stesso cittadino potrebbe altresì notare il monolinguisimo prevalente nella toponomastica, nella comunicazione pubblica, nell'istruzione entro i singoli Stati, che parrebbe contraddire quanto affermato sul carattere plurilingue dell'Unione, per mettere in luce piuttosto un insieme di "*multilingual monolingualism[s]*" (Romaine 2013: 120).

La situazione linguistica dei non-cittadini residenti negli Stati membri costituisce l'oggetto delle osservazioni proposte. Al 1 gennaio 2021 sono 23,7 milioni gli stranieri

⁴ Quando non altrimenti specificato nel testo, l'aggettivo *europeo* riferisce dell'Unione a 27 Paesi.

⁵ Cfr. a questo proposito la riflessione proposta da Dell'Aquila-Iannàccaro 2005: 105-107.

provenienti da paesi terzi presenti nella UE – per ragioni fatte convergere nella macro-categoria “immigrazione” – pari al 5,3 % della popolazione totale⁶. In Italia, il numero di stranieri regolarmente presenti al 31 dicembre 2020 è 5.013.215, pari all’8,5% della popolazione complessiva (Centro Studi e Ricerche IDOS 2021: 331). Al 1 gennaio 2020, il Paese si collocava al quinto posto in Europa per numero di stranieri residenti e al quindicesimo per incidenza della popolazione straniera (Ministero dell’Interno 2021: 8).

Se questi dati consentono di determinare la portata quantitativa del fenomeno, più complessa appare invece l’individuazione dei suoi connotati “qualitativi”, intendendo con questi le implicazioni che la sopravvenuta “*diversification of diversities*” segnalata da Vertovec (2007) ha impresso alla società, quale parte consustanziale ai processi insiti alla globalizzazione. La presenza di cittadini stranieri ha difatti determinato la comparsa nel paesaggio linguistico (Landry-Bourhis 1997) informale europeo di “più di 100 gruppi linguistici minoritari extraeuropei” (Feraci 2014: 36). Nonostante la loro rilevanza quanti-qualitativa, tuttavia, tali gruppi sono scarsamente presenti nel discorso pubblico sul plurilinguismo e nel dibattito politico in tema di integrazione della popolazione immigrata, a livello nazionale ed euro-comunitario. Pare dunque possibile rilevare una certa discrepanza tra le istanze del “plurilinguismo integrale” (Carli 2004: 60) promosso dall’Unione e il plurilinguismo effettivamente diffuso – nella consapevolezza e nella pratica – tra i cittadini (e non) degli stati membri, che di fatto limita la percezione della pluralità presente e futura della società europea.

La riflessione sul posto mancato delle lingue di origine degli stranieri stabilmente residenti in Europa nella politica linguistica dell’Unione (ma non solo) è dunque l’occasione per discutere gli assunti alla base delle misure esistenti ad oggi e sulla funzionalità di queste, conducendo a due interrogativi. Il primo concerne il posto al quale le varietà comparse di recente possano effettivamente aspirare allo stato attuale del dibattito euro-unitario sul tema. Il secondo investe, mettendoli in discussione, i presupposti stessi del plurilinguismo euro-unitario nel suo complesso: da un lato, infatti, si rileva una distanza netta tra il funzionamento plurilingue degli organi istituzionali e l’effettiva diffusione della competenza plurilingue tra i cittadini nei singoli Stati; dall’altro, le politiche linguistiche di tipo “«utilitaristico»-«protezionistico»” (Carli 2004: 74) promosse a livello comunitario e statale e improntate a una considerazione ridotta del plurilinguismo effettivo, paiono corroborare la perplessità avanzata in modo molto diretto da Orioles (2019). Questi, mettendo in discussione il declino del monolitismo linguistico rilevato invece da De Mauro (2005), di recente si è chiesto se fossimo davvero di fronte a un’evoluzione delle rappresentazioni sociali del linguaggio o, piuttosto, a un discorso politicamente corretto (cfr. Orioles 2019: pt. 43), con il quale si semplifica la complessità sociale che accompagna e differenzia gli usi linguistici, aspetto particolarmente controverso nel caso del trattamento dei caratteri culturali-identitari delle comunità straniere.

⁶ Fonte dei dati: Commissione Europea. *Statistiche sull’immigrazione in Europa* https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/priorities-2019-2024/promoting-our-european-way-life/statistics-migration-europe_it#cifre-complesive-sullimmigrazione-nella-societ-europea. Data ultimo accesso: 19/05/2023.

Partendo dalla constatazione della pressoché totale esclusione delle lingue comparse recentemente negli Stati membri dagli strumenti interpretativi del “plurilinguismo societario” (Carli 2004: 60), il contributo presentato approfondisce le ragioni di questa parzialità e gli spazi di aggiornamento possibili, nel tentativo di rispondere alle due questioni emerse *supra*: c'è spazio per una riflessione europea sull'estensione formale del concetto di plurilinguismo alle varietà linguistiche dei gruppi di stranieri stabilmente residenti negli Stati membri dell'Unione? Si tratta, ad oggi, di un plurilinguismo delle istituzioni o dei cittadini?

Dopo alcune precisazioni terminologiche, nelle prossime pagine si tratterà – in modo necessariamente breve – il tema delle lingue di origine della popolazione straniera presente nell'Unione e, più in particolare, nel contesto italiano e si proporrà una rassegna teorica delle principali problematiche osservabili nel trattamento istituzionale del plurilinguismo migratorio.

2. Alcune precisazioni terminologiche

Alcune precisazioni terminologiche sono necessarie a definire con maggiore precisione l'oggetto delle riflessioni proposte⁷. Nella letteratura italiana di interesse sociolinguistico è invalso il riferimento alle varietà in uso presso le comunità straniere quali “nuove minoranze linguistiche”. Tale formulazione fu introdotta da De Mauro nel 1974, originariamente per riferire della condizione linguistica dei gruppi di italiani emigrati all'estero, ma successivamente estesa all'indicazione dell'alterità linguistica determinata dai flussi migratori contemporanei, venendo accolta anche nella letteratura in lingua straniera nella dicotomia *old e new minorities* (cfr. *inter alia* Medda-Windischer 2008; Eide 2014). Una seconda designazione largamente in uso in ambito italiano è “lingue immigrate”, in riferimento agli idiomi delle comunità straniere radicate in un territorio circoscritto (cfr. Vedovelli 2004: 598-599), opposta a “lingue migranti”, quando “caratterizat[e] dall'intensa mobilità entro lo spazio linguistico” (*ibid.*, 597). Ancora dal gruppo di studi senese proviene la qualificazione della comparsa delle lingue di origine degli stranieri negli spazi urbani italiani quale *neoplurilinguismo* (Bagna *et al.* 2007), suggerendone – al pari del riferimento al modello minoritario – una continuità rispetto al plurilinguismo italiano storicamente noto.

Se è indubbio che tutte le denominazioni richiamate abbiano contribuito a mettere in luce l'esistenza di una sopravvenuta diversità linguistica, allo stesso tempo queste generano delle distorsioni interpretative relativamente a tre aspetti del fenomeno: a) la possibilità di ascrivere formalmente tali comunità al quadro di “minoranza”, condizionandone dunque le modalità di trattamento; b) l'esaltazione della prospettiva territorialista nella definizione della rilevanza di tali varietà; c) l'idea di una continuità sostanziale rispetto al plurilinguismo storico.

⁷ La questione terminologica non è soltanto formale: l'ascrizione di un dato fenomeno a un certo quadro interpretativo ne condiziona la percezione e il trattamento effettivo. Per un esame delle politiche linguistiche europee mediante un'analisi lessicale *corpus based* della terminologia ivi impiegata, si veda Gallina 2021.

Rispetto all'estensione della denominazione demauriana, occorre innanzitutto rilevare che, sebbene parlare di *minoranze linguistiche* consenta certamente di riferire dell'asimmetria quantitativa tra i gruppi identificati in base ai connotati linguistici, tale denominazione rinvia a un inquadramento che, in assenza di una definizione unanimemente condivisa (cfr. Pizzorusso 1993) e dinanzi all'interesse degli Stati coinvolti al mantenimento di una certa autonomia nella selezione dei gruppi meritevoli di tutela (Caretti-Cardone 2014: 101), ha assunto nel tempo una portata restrittiva, per la quale il formale riconoscimento della minoranza dipende dal soddisfacimento di specifici requisiti di tipo storico, etnicistico o religioso (cfr. Pizzorusso 1993: 56), normalmente considerati mancanti nel caso delle comunità straniere, risultando nella generale esclusione di queste dai dispositivi di tutela delle situazioni minoritarie. In assenza di un'azione istituzionale esplicita che trasformi la situazione meramente esistenziale di minoranza quantitativa in una giuridicamente rilevante (cfr. Toniati 1997: 298) e dunque suscettibile di tutela attiva, il ricorso all'indicazione di "nuove minoranze" appare quindi fuorviante.

La dicotomia proposta in ambito senese tra "lingue migranti" e "lingue immigrate" evidenzia il carattere allogeno delle lingue portate dalle comunità straniere e riferisce della relazione tra il grado di stabilità della comunità entro un certo territorio e le condizioni di possibilità per un effettivo contatto linguistico (cfr. Bagna-Barni 2005: 333-334). Tuttavia, anche questa denominazione pare presentare, ad avviso di chi scrive, dei limiti applicativi nel contesto della valutazione del trattamento di tali varietà in prospettiva sovra-nazionale. *In primis*, essa assume il punto di vista del territorio di arrivo, considerando tali lingue "immigrate" in un ambiente caratterizzato da altre varietà. Se questo è indubbiamente vero, pare tuttavia necessario considerare altresì la comunità parlante, la sua organizzazione e coesione interna, per spostare il focus sulla possibilità che questa agisca quale "gruppo di interesse". Secondariamente, parlare di "lingue" nasconde la presenza nei repertori stranieri di varietà linguistiche di incompleto apprendimento – *truncated* (Blommaert 2010) – che per loro conformazione sono sfuggenti rispetto alle categorie descrittive normalmente assunte in particolare in sociolinguistica, ma che diventano centrali quando ci si avvicina alla questione dell'integrazione e della partecipazione alla vita sociale.

In ultimo, l'idea di una differenziazione solo cronologica tra le "minoranze di antico insediamento" e le "nuove minoranze" parrebbe configurare le due realtà quali manifestazioni diverse di uno stesso fenomeno, differenziate solo dall'ordine cronologico di apparizione, offuscando così i tratti di ordine sociale e storico peculiari a ciascuna realtà (cfr. Ganfi-Simoniello 2021: 336), ma che sono invece, come si rileverà in relazione alla considerazione che delle lingue di origine degli stranieri si dava nella *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (cfr. *infra* § 2), dei tratti necessari e sufficienti a motivare la necessità di un inquadramento *ad hoc* che sottolinei il tema dell'integrazione, considerato come esistente solo relativamente alle "nuove minoranze" (cfr. Zorzella 2014; Biondi Dal Monte *et al.* 2013).

Per ovviare ai limiti evidenziati, si propone di riferire dell'oggetto trattato come "lingue di origine degli stranieri stabilmente presenti in Europa" (abbreviato in LOS).

Si ritiene in questo modo di poter ovviare al ricorso fuorviante al modello di minoranza e alla sua connotazione in termini cronologici. Secondariamente, il riferimento alla sola origine straniera delle varietà considerate consente di ricomprenderne anche gli usi nelle seconde generazioni, che hanno vissuto l'esperienza migratoria indirettamente e le cui competenze in lingua di origine possono essere parziali e non riconducibili – per premesse e conseguenze – alla definizione di “lingue immigrate”. Si ritiene così di assumere la molteplicità delle specificità rilevabili, svincolandole dal solo radicamento territoriale, che appare un criterio pertinente solo relativamente alla valutazione dell'impatto sul territorio di insediamento e non idoneo a qualificare il fenomeno nel suo complesso. In ultimo, si ritiene opportuno il ricorso a *stranieri* anziché *immigrati* in ragione delle connotazioni che quest'ultimo ha assunto nel tempo, ovviando così al richiamo a uno “schema concettuale in cui prevalgono gli aspetti di fissità e di definitività, amplificato dal riferimento al passato insito nel concetto [...] a una condizione strutturale, a uno status sociale [...]” (Regalia 2020: 18) non più idoneo a riferire della situazione attuale del fenomeno.

3. Le lingue di origine degli stranieri stabilmente presenti: coordinate di lettura e riferimenti alla situazione europea

Come si diceva, il tema delle lingue di origine degli stranieri costituisce il tassello più recente nel mosaico europeo del plurilinguismo e si lega necessariamente – per premesse e implicazioni – a quello più ampio e dibattuto della gestione delle migrazioni internazionali. In questa sede, al fine di proporre una riflessione che superi le sole dichiarazioni di principio sull'opportunità (o meno) di considerare uno specifico spazio di promozione delle LOS, si partirà dall'approfondire preliminarmente un aspetto delle politiche migratorie idoneo a condizionare il discorso sul “plurilinguismo integrale” europeo (Carli 2004: 59) e sulle sue modalità: la potenzialità di queste (o altre ad esse correlate) di modificare i futuri assetti societari in termini culturali, linguistici e di distribuzione dell'autorità giuridica e politica (cfr. Croce-Salvatore 2012: 132-133).

Collier osserva che la diversità sociale portata dalle migrazioni costituisce indubbiamente un arricchimento in termini culturali ed economici per il Paese di arrivo (cfr. 2016: 252); tuttavia, egli nota altresì che – in una prospettiva preminentemente economica – “al di là di un certo livello, una maggiore diversità potrebbe cominciare a mettere a repentaglio i giochi di cooperazione e minare la disponibilità a ridistribuire il reddito” (*ibidem*), “reddito” che nel nostro caso è intendibile quale insieme di risorse da allocarsi in misure di tutela e valorizzazione di varietà normalmente ritenute estranee al patrimonio linguistico europeo e dunque considerate destinatarie “illegittime” di misure *ad hoc*. Ne consegue – ed è il punto che si assume nel discorso – che “la domanda corretta da porre riguardo alla diversità non è se sia un bene o un male [...] ma quale sia il giusto grado di diversità” (*ibidem*). La necessità di porsi tale interrogativo nasce dalla constatazione dell'eterogeneità delle politiche migratorie da Paese a Paese, a seconda della percezione degli interessi nazionali e delle connesse priorità politiche di ciascuno (cfr. Pastore 1999: §2), e dell'esclusione della possibilità di un'azione diretta

dell'Unione nel diritto interno dei singoli Stati nelle scelte in materia di immigrazione, integrazione e naturalizzazione (cfr. Piergigli 2020: 154; TFUE, art. 79), che risulta nella difficoltà di un accordo comune sul potenziale riconoscimento ufficiale delle LOS. L'individuazione stessa di un "modello europeo di integrazione" (Piergigli 2020: 157) appare ancora prematura: al pari – e in conseguenza – di quanto avviene a livello statale (cfr. qui *infra*), "nonostante il carattere sempre più multiforme e plurilingue del tessuto sociale, le istituzioni euro-comunitarie non sono titolari di competenze dirette in materia linguistica o di protezione delle identità minoritarie" (ibid., 150). Un maggiore accordo pare rilevabile nell'attenzione alle LOS nell'evoluzione delle politiche educative conseguente alla strutturalizzazione dei fenomeni migratori. In Italia, la C.M. n. 214 del 4 luglio 1981 sulla formazione scolastica dei figli dei lavoratori immigrati (cfr. Napoli 2017: 259) – che recepisce la direttiva del Consiglio delle Comunità Europee n. 77/486 – anticipa di cinque anni la prima misura italiana di esplicita governance dell'immigrazione, la l. 30 dicembre 1986, n. 943. Questo scarto temporale è emblematico della celerità con cui l'istituzione scolastica, "luogo privilegiato di formazione delle future generazioni e di costruzione di una società coesa e al tempo stesso aperta alle differenze ed equa" (Biondi Dal Monte 2015: 5), per prima abbia saputo accogliere le trasformazioni in corso, parallelamente al mondo accademico, che in quegli stessi anni, circa un decennio dopo l'avvento dei flussi (cfr. Colucci 2018), avviava l'analisi del fenomeno e ne prefigurava le evoluzioni (relativamente agli aspetti linguistici, cfr. Vedovelli 1989a, 1989b; Giacalone Ramat 1986, 1988). Negli anni, le indicazioni sul tema nel quadro inter-nazionale sono state molteplici e di ampio respiro (cfr. Commissione Europea 2017; Consiglio d'Europa 2022; per l'Italia, cfr. da ultimo Ministero dell'Istruzione 2022). Non potendoci soffermare puntualmente su ciascuna, ci limiteremo a sottolineare come le politiche educative, prescindendo dalla possibilità di un inquadramento delle comunità parlanti quali minoranze linguistiche, abbiano virtuosamente riconosciuto la centralità della lingua di origine nella costruzione e nel mantenimento dell'identità e ne abbiano promosso la conoscenza.

Le ragioni dell'esclusione delle varietà linguistiche delle comunità straniere dagli attuali strumenti di tutela della diversità linguistica e culturale non sono tuttavia da imputarsi soltanto all'impossibilità di rintracciare una chiara politica migratoria condivisa. Anche la generale adozione di una considerazione "storicistico-idealista" della lingua (Caretti-Cardone 2014: 100) ha contribuito a orientare le misure nazionali ed europee verso un'interpretazione restrittiva del modello plurilingue. L'azione livellatrice esercitata dall'affermazione del modello di stato nazionale moderno nel XIX secolo – quando l'uniformità linguistica divenne strumento dell'unità nazionale (Palici di Suni 2002: 8) – determinò la gerarchizzazione, in termini di prestigio, delle varietà linguistiche esistenti nei confini dello stato (Toso 2008: 16). Solo in tempi relativamente recenti si è proceduto a una loro "riabilitazione" mediante azioni di promozione esplicita. Tuttavia, tali azioni non mirano generalmente alla creazione di diritti, quanto a tutelare il portato storico-culturale delle lingue e delle comunità parlanti, più in particolare in favore di specifici gruppi selezionati per ragioni storiche o di rivendicazione politica. Il caso della legge italiana n. 482/1999 è esemplificativo in tal senso: facendo seguito al disposto

dell'art. 6 Cost., questa definisce misure di salvaguardia a vantaggio di alcune delle alloglossie storicamente presenti nel Paese, individuate dal legislatore sulla base di tre criteri strettamente interrelati: la territorialità, la storicità e la rilevanza quantitativa nel territorio. Il significato di "territorialità" è invero molto ampio. In un'accezione generale, il termine indica un "radicamento ben definito in un determinato territorio" (Orioles 2003: 18-19); secondariamente, esso può intendersi quale "appartenenza a un territorio" (Treccani online, s.v. "territorialità") e dunque quale autoctonia, significato che ingloba anche il criterio di storicità, in quanto i gruppi autoctoni vengono a un certo punto a essere considerati "propri del luogo" (Marra in Orioles 2003: 19); viene, ancora, a contrapporsi al "nomadismo", tratto caratterizzante invece le cosiddette varietà non territorializzate, anch'esse escluse dall'elenco all'art. 2 della legge⁸; in ultimo, la territorialità si oppone alla personalità del diritto. Nel testo della legge le accezioni proposte qui vengono a co-agire: la territorialità è intesa come durata dello stanziamento e, parimenti, quale collocazione entro un'area amministrativa nella quale la disposizione produce i propri effetti, insieme al ricorso all'aggettivo "storiche", che suggerisce la vocazione "a una conservazione intesa come di un patrimonio, con la sua museizzazione" (Soravia 1998), che non considera – o considera solo limitatamente – il potenziale funzionale e comunicativo delle varietà considerate.

Tale inquadramento – e si arriva qui al centro del problema – non è un *unicum* italiano. Già la *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* promossa dal Consiglio d'Europa nel 1992 si incentrava sul valore culturale delle lingue (cfr. Bequiraj 2016: 3), impiegando i medesimi parametri di territorialità e storicità rilevati *supra* nell'identificazione delle varietà suscettibili di tutela, escludendo da queste ultime tanto i dialetti – nelle varie accezioni – quanto le LOS (art. 1, lett. a, punto ii). Tale esclusione viene argomentata nell'*Explanatory Report* che accompagna il testo affermando che "*in the case of populations speaking such [new, often non-European] languages, specific problems of integration arise*" (1992: 3, pt. 15). Sebbene questo passaggio evidenzi la consapevolezza presso gli estensori del documento della specificità costituita per tali gruppi dall'integrazione, d'altro canto negli specifici strumenti legali auspicati nello stesso punto – effettivamente implementati, in forme diversificate, come nel progetto *Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants*, promosso ancora dal Consiglio d'Europa dal 2006, e dell'impegno contro il razzismo (cfr. da ultimo COM (2020)565) – al di fuori del quadro dell'integrazione nessun'altra considerazione specifica è prevista per le LOS.

Orientamenti analoghi si rinvergono nei documenti dell'Unione Europea. Nel 2001, nel Parere del Comitato delle regioni sul tema "Promozione e salvaguardia delle lingue regionali e minoritarie" (G.U. n. C357, 2001) al punto 1.1, (iii) si ribadisce – in linea con quanto rilevato *supra* – che tale denominazione non comprende le lingue dei migranti. Ancora, il documento 2013/2007(INI), *Endangered European languages and linguistic diversity in the European Union*, declina nuovamente il tema della promozione del plurilinguismo europeo mediante l'adozione di azioni miranti a proteggere "*the unique diversity in the Union's linguistic and cultural heritage*", riprendendo quella visione della lingua quale patrimonio assunta già dal Consiglio d'Europa e nel quadro italiano. In

⁸ Sull'esclusione delle varietà non territorializzate dalla legge generale di tutela, si veda Soravia 1998.

ultimo, è rilevabile nell'iniziativa dei cittadini europei denominata *Minority Safepack – one million signatures for diversity in Europe* avviata nel 2013 secondo le modalità previste dall'art. 11, par. 4 del TUE, nella quale si richiedeva all'UE l'adozione di misure finalizzate al potenziamento della protezione delle persone appartenenti alle minoranze nazionali e linguistiche, al fine di rafforzare la diversità linguistica e culturale dell'Unione. L'iniziativa appare particolarmente interessante nella prospettiva adottata qui: la dinamica *bottom-up* dell'azione dimostra infatti l'esistenza di una sensibilità tra cittadini di Paesi diversi⁹ al tema della tutela delle lingue regionali e minoritarie, in particolare nell'incentivo agli usi pubblici di queste e dunque a un potenziamento della loro rappresentazione sociale e di prestigio, nonché per l'emersione di una consapevolezza circa il valore rappresentato dall'intervento euro-unitario nella protezione delle situazioni di minoranza linguistica (cfr. Piergigli 2020: 164). Tuttavia, il focus è ancora su varietà parte del patrimonio storico europeo, determinando l'esclusione delle LOS dall'orizzonte attenzionale, stavolta degli stessi cittadini. La risposta della Commissione Europea C(2021)171 non ovvia alla mancanza rilevata in quanto, benché diversi riferimenti alla situazione delle LOS siano presenti, gli obiettivi primari rimangono l'integrazione e la coesione sociale.

4. Le LOS nelle politiche dell'immigrazione in Italia

Nel caso italiano, se nessun riferimento alle LOS si rileva nelle misure formali di politica linguistica del Paese – costituendo comunque un'implicita posizione – nelle misure italiane di *governance* delle migrazioni emerge invece una discreta attenzione a riguardo. Si tratta di un nodo centrale: nella necessità rilevata di un distanziamento rispetto al modello minoritario, è nella gestione dei rapporti tra le parti e degli spazi di azione riconosciuti alla componente straniera che bisogna individuare i presupposti per una possibile promozione delle comunità straniere tra gli attori del plurilinguismo integrale europeo.

Un esame delle politiche italiane sull'immigrazione rivela un passaggio graduale dalle previsioni di tutela in favore del mantenimento dei tratti linguistico-culturali di origine a un focus crescente sull'integrazione, culminato nell'introduzione nel 2009 dell'*Accordo di integrazione*, che vincola gli stranieri extracomunitari a prendere parte a un percorso finalizzato al raggiungimento di specifici obiettivi (cfr. Biondi Dal Monte-Vrenna 2013: 234) corrispondenti a valori e tratti propri della società di arrivo, tra i quali rileva la necessità della conoscenza della lingua italiana parlata equivalente al livello A2 del Quadro Comune Europeo¹⁰. Le aperture rilevabili verso le LOS almeno fino all'inizio del nuovo millennio paiono essere la conseguenza di una lettura del fe-

⁹ Informazioni dettagliate sull'iniziativa sono presenti alla pagina web dedicata https://europa.eu/citizens-initiative/initiatives/details/2017/000004_en. Data ultima consultazione: 30/08/2022.

¹⁰ Il regime dell'integrazione si articola così su due piani: da un lato gli stranieri comunitari – che nel caso italiano rappresentano il 29,3% del totale (Centro Studi e Ricerche IDOS 2021: 331) – che beneficiano della libertà di circolazione tra gli Stati membri e sono dunque esenti tanto dall'ottenimento del permesso di soggiorno quanto dai test concernenti l'integrazione; dall'altro, i cittadini di Paesi terzi, che costituiscono attualmente la maggioranza nello spazio UE e che risultano unici destinatari dei provvedimenti introdotti dall'*Accordo*, che assume una natura fortemente simbolica (cfr. Biondi Dal Monte-Vrenna 2013: 254; Piergigli 2020: 155-156). Un esame più dettagliato dei temi accennati nel presente paragrafo è presente in Simoniello 2023.

nomeno migratorio improntata “alle categorie tipiche di un Paese di emigrazione” (Ministero dell’Interno 2007: 27), che inizialmente intendeva risolto il tema dell’integrazione degli stranieri garantendo a questi le medesime condizioni richieste a suo tempo per gli emigrati italiani: “una dignità che si fondi sulla possibilità di apprendere efficacemente la lingua del nuovo paese e di mantenere la conoscenza della propria lingua di origine” (Vedovelli 2001: 224). Il tema del mantenimento della lingua e cultura di origine è effettivamente presente nelle prime misure italiane di governance del fenomeno migratorio. La già richiamata legge 30 dicembre 1983, n. 943 seguita alla ratifica da parte dell’Italia della convenzione OIL 143/1975 (cfr. Einaudi 2007: 121) all’art. 3 riferisce esplicitamente dell’assunzione di azioni dirette a “la tutela della lingua e della cultura dei lavoratori immigrati e la loro istruzione» (art. 3, c. 1, lett. f). L’art. 9, c. 3 esplicita altresì la considerazione temporanea della permanenza in Italia, prevedendo la possibilità di disporre progetti per il reinserimento dei lavoratori extracomunitari nei Paesi di origine. Negli anni Novanta, la crescita esponenziale delle presenze straniere (cfr. Colucci 2018: 79) e l’entrata in vigore degli accordi di Schengen sulla libera circolazione delle persone tra i Paesi aderenti (cfr. Einaudi 2007: 152-153) accelerarono l’evoluzione delle politiche migratorie: il d. lgs. 25 luglio 1998, n. 286 (da qui T.U.)¹¹ definisce la cornice normativa entro la quale collocare la gestione dell’immigrazione nel Paese. Le lingue di origine degli stranieri regolarmente presenti trovano menzione in più punti del testo: dapprima l’art. 3, c. 3 prevede interventi pubblici finalizzati a favorire “l’inserimento sociale e l’integrazione culturale degli stranieri residenti in Italia, nel rispetto delle diversità e delle identità culturali delle persone”, misura tuttavia ancora accompagnata dalla previsione di “ogni possibile strumento per un positivo reinserimento nei Paesi di origine” (*ibidem*); all’art. 38, c. 3 et seq. relativo all’inserimento degli alunni stranieri nella scuola italiana, si promuovono le iniziative volte alla accoglienza e alla tutela delle lingue e culture di origine; l’art. 42, c. 1, lett. c), concernente le misure di integrazione sociale, prevede l’erogazione – da farsi coinvolgendo gli enti territoriali impegnati nella cultura e le istituzioni culturali straniere – di corsi di lingua e cultura di origine e, tra altre iniziative, la raccolta di materiali audiovisivi prodotti nella lingua originale del Paese. Benché tali iniziative paiano perpetrare ancora quelle categorie tipiche dei Paesi di emigrazione (cfr. Ministero dell’Interno 2007: 27) richiamate poco fa, nell’introduzione, nell’ultima disposizione, del concetto di integrazione nel complesso di misure che riguardano enti e situazioni rivolte anche ai cittadini italiani, pare possibile cogliere una possibile apertura verso una più ampia considerazione della questione. Tali misure tuttavia ebbero vita breve: i fatti dell’11 settembre 2001 contribuirono a rafforzare “un processo di ripensamento già in atto in tutta Europa sui diversi modelli di integrazione degli immigrati e in primo luogo del multiculturalismo” (Einaudi 2007: 346), che portò a un’accentuazione dei loro doveri, traducendosi nell’introduzione per legge di nuovi obblighi legati all’apprendimento della lingua, dei valori e della legislazione del Paese di arrivo (cfr. *ibid.*, 349) con l’obiettivo di preservare l’ordine pubblico e la convivenza civile (cfr. Biondi Dal Monte *et al.*, 2012: 255). La legge n. 30 luglio 2002, n. 189 prima e, succes-

¹¹ Il testo è consultabile alla pagina seguente: <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/1998/08/18/098G0348/sg>. Data ultimo accesso: 28/06/2023.

sivamente, l'introduzione nel 2009 del c.d. "Accordo di integrazione" – poi disciplinato dal D.P.R. 14 settembre 2011, n. 179 – modificano nuovamente il quadro sull'integrazione e indirettamente sulle LOS¹². In particolare la disciplina dell'"Accordo" è stata da subito giudicata come particolarmente controversa. Nel discorso condotto qui rilevavo in particolare due aspetti. Il primo concerne la distinzione tra cittadini comunitari e di Paesi terzi adottata dal provvedimento (cfr. *supra*, n. 12), che vincola solo questi ultimi – i soli per i quali sia richiesto il rilascio del permesso di soggiorno – alla stipula dell'Accordo, confermandone la natura prettamente simbolica (cfr. Biondi Dal Monte *et al.*, 2013: 254). Secondariamente, il vincolo alla conoscenza di un adeguato livello della lingua parlata non controbilanciato da misure che promuovano invece la conoscenza delle specificità linguistico-culturali straniere tra la popolazione nativa – pur auspicata dalla definizione che si dà di integrazione nella modifica apportata all'art. 4 del T.U. del 1998 come "reciproco impegno [...]" (Zorzella 2014: 124-126) – ha determinato non solo uno slittamento semantico del concetto, per il quale il maggior onere grava in ultimo sullo straniero (cfr. Regalia 2020: 17), ma anche una progressiva riduzione degli spazi d'uso e di visibilità possibile delle LOS.

Dalla disamina condotta emerge che l'attenzione esplicita alla diversità portata dalle LOS nelle misure di politica linguistica decresce in modo proporzionale all'aumentare delle dimensioni quantitative del fenomeno. Se l'obbligo di conoscere la lingua italiana potrebbe apparire coerente con la necessità di fornire agli stranieri gli strumenti della partecipazione alla vita sociale ed economica del Paese di arrivo, d'altro canto, se letta nel contesto di una progressiva precarizzazione del welfare state in conseguenza degli eventi geopolitici e sanitari recenti, potrebbe ragionevolmente tradursi in una progressiva erosione della cooperazione sociale, delle identità e della forzatura della loro interpretazione in modelli inadeguati a cogliere il cambiamento in corso.

5. Lo spazio possibile (e necessario) delle LOS nell'integrazione europea. Conclusioni e prospettive future di approfondimento.

Nel 2011, Extra rilevava l'esistenza di una "descending hierarchy" tra le lingue usate in Europa, nella quale le "*immigrant minority languages across Europe*" si collocavano all'ultimo posto (cfr. 2011: 467).

Al termine della breve riflessione condotta proponiamo delle risposte agli interrogativi presentati in apertura e delle prospettive di ulteriore sviluppo del tema. Le limitate possibilità di intervento diretto della UE nelle questioni linguistiche nazionali, l'interpretazione restrittiva della portata del plurilinguismo e la rilevazione di un intrinseco legame tra il trattamento delle LOS e il quadro più generale delle politiche migratorie – intese non solo relativamente alla gestione dei flussi, ma anche alla regolamentazione della presenza di cittadini stranieri nel lungo termine – paiono rendere ancora lontana la possibilità di una risalita delle LOS nella gerarchia individuata da Extra. La difficoltà – pratica e descrittiva – di rilevare presso tali gruppi un *animus comunitario* (cfr. Pizzorusso 1993: 200-201) ne impedisce il riconoscimento quale "grup-

¹² Si veda ancora Simoniello 2023: 149-155.

po di interesse", né il quadro dell'integrazione, nella conformazione attuale, pare mostrare i vantaggi effettivi dell'accresciuto plurilinguismo, tanto in termini culturali che di potenziale economico (cfr. Gazzola 2016). Tuttavia, allo stato attuale del fenomeno in Europa e dinanzi alle sfide poste dalle nuove migrazioni innescate dagli eventi geopolitici recenti, il tema del ripensamento dei modelli attuali di interpretazione della diversità linguistica e culturale appare, in particolare per l'UE, estremamente urgente. La promozione e il mantenimento delle LOS nei repertori individuali e comunitari è la *conditio sine qua non* per l'esistenza della diversità e dunque presupposto per l'integrazione e la cooperazione. Urge dunque un'analisi mirata di stampo giuridico-socio-linguistico, per permettere una migliore ricognizione internazionale delle configurazioni di tali comunità, al pari di quanto rilevabile nelle politiche linguistico-educative, al fine di improntare misure *ad hoc* rivolte alla promozione delle LOS al di fuori dei quadri tradizionali di trattamento delle minoranze linguistiche.

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Multilingual communication: the role of gaze, physical contact, and time perception and organization in intercultural interactions

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1. Introduction

In recent years Italy has become one of the primary recipients of immigration in Europe (Eurostat statistics online¹), and has become a multilingual and multicultural society. Yet, this phenomenon is rather new, and it is often met with hostility. At a national level, programs are set up to promote the inclusion and integration of the 'new Italians' in the social and cultural scene. These programs tend to prioritise linguistic and cultural communication, while, in general, less attention is given to non-verbal elements and how their culturally determined interpretation affects social interactions. However, it is well-known that non-verbal language plays a major role in human communication, and that, to a large extent, its interpretation is framed by culture (though speakers may not be fully aware of its uses and meanings) (Hall 1959; Hofstede 1980; Clyne 1987; Müller et al. 2014). Thus, in intercultural encounters differences in non-verbal codes may be a source for misunderstandings and stereotypes and, by affecting speakers' perception of the 'other', may hinder inclusion and integration. The need is felt for a greater understanding of the dynamics of intercultural non-verbal communication.

This paper investigates how intercultural differences in the use and interpretation of gaze, physical contact, and time can affect interactions between migrants and social workers. The data are drawn from responses to focus groups and online questionnaires submitted by social workers working in northern Italy and supporting migrants in their integration in the society. The first section discusses the role of non-verbal communication, and particularly gaze, physical contact, and time, in intercultural interactions. Section two presents the study aims and methodology. Section three presents the study results, showing that variations in gaze, physical contact and time perception and organization, which are subjected to considerable individual and cultural variation, may be causes of disruption in communication in intercultural settings.

This investigation is part of the project *Integrazione dei Migranti con Politiche e Azioni Coprogettate sul Territorio* [Integration of Migrants through Policies and Actions

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¹ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=First_and_second-generation_immigrants_-_statistics_on_main_characteristics

Codesigned on the Territory] (IMPACT), co-funded by the European Union through the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF)² and the *Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali* (Italian Ministry of Employment and Welfare); beneficiary of this action is the Veneto Region.

2. Non-verbal communication in intercultural interactions

The spread of globalisation, economic crises and wars transforming the global geopolitical dynamics contribute significantly to the increase in migration flows. In Italy, the recent rise in immigration numbers is mainly connected to two factors: Italy's geographical position in the Mediterranean Sea and the country's development and labour market characteristics, which allow migrants to find employment and improve their socio-economic conditions (Zanfrini 2007, 2013).

The growing presence of foreigners in Italy has led to an increasing need to promote actions favouring inclusion and integration. These are often based on intercultural communication approaches that are aimed at understanding and bridging cultural differences by examining and interpreting culture-specific patterns of communication and social interaction (Hall 1959; Hofstede 1980; Bennett 2005; Ting-Toomey 2018). The underlying assumption is that speakers' cultures closely influence interaction (Clyne 1987; Li 2004) and, if not correctly interpreted, can compromise mutual understanding and impair communication. For example, greetings differ from culture to culture and generally reflect specific norms of use. As a consequence, knowing the conventions and forms of greetings, as well as being able to interpret them correctly, requires multicultural knowledge. Misunderstandings can happen due to the speakers' inability to interpret the interlocutor's non-verbal codes correctly. As this paper shows, this is particularly true for those non-verbal codes that speakers may be less conscious of, such as gaze, physical contact and time perception and organization. Studies (Sarangi 2014; Holliday 2016; Zhu Hua et al. 2022) have criticised intercultural communication research claiming that it has a reductionist approach because it creates generalisations. Though generalisations always pose problems, intercultural communication research does provide a lens to observe cultures and can be considered a valid tool to promote awareness on cultural issues.

2.1 Beyond gestures: elements of non-verbal communication

A growing body of research has examined linguistic, cultural, and social aspects of intercultural communication (Argyle 1982; Ting-Toomey 1999; Scollon et al. 2012; Jackson 2014; Knapp 2015). However, fewer studies have addressed intercultural non-verbal communication and its central role in intercultural interactions (Birdwhistell 1970; Molinsky et al. 2005; Moore et al. 2010; Burgoon et al. 2021). Non-verbal communication has been defined as the set of codes produced non-linguistically,

² The fund promotes national interventions on migrants' integration and inclusion in the society. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/funding/asylum-migration-and-integration-funds/asylum-migration-and-integration-fund-2021-2027_en

and includes (1) kinesic codes, such as gestures, facial expressions and gaze, (2) proxemic codes, such as speakers' use of space, (3) chronemic codes or individuals' time perception and organization, (4) paralinguistic codes, such as voice tone, volume and speech rate, (5) haptic codes, that is the dynamics of speakers' touch of interlocutors in interactions, (6) appearance codes, such as clothes, make-up and tattoos, and (7) olfactory or smell codes (Moore et al. 2010).

The interpretation of non-verbal codes varies depending on contextual factors such as situation, culture and individual attitudes. A number of studies have focused on the meanings of gestures (e.g., Kendon 1981, 2004; McNeill 1992; Poggi 2006) and facial expressions (e.g., Ekman and Friesen 1971; Ekman et al. 1987) both in intracultural and intercultural communication. Other non-verbal codes, such as gaze, physical contact and time perception and organization, have been the object of fewer investigations. However, cultural differences in the use and interpretation of gaze, physical contact and time may create misunderstandings as well as trigger interlocutors' reactions and thus undermine social relationships. For instance, speakers from cultures that value direct eye contact as a sign of attention and respect will potentially misinterpret interactants that avoid direct gaze. This may cause the disruption of smooth communication or alter the speakers' relationship. Similarly, speakers from cultures where public displays of physical contact is not encouraged may develop feelings of invasion of personal space or privacy when interacting with people whose cultures consider physical contact during interactions commonly acceptable. Finally, people having different cultural perceptions of time will tend to assign different values to punctuality, and this might have an impact on relationships and social encounters, especially in work-related settings.

This paper addresses the importance of gaze, physical contact, and time perception and organization in intercultural interactions; the aim is to raise awareness on the use and interpretation of these non-verbal codes which have not been the object of extensive research. The focus will be on the interactions between social workers and North African migrants in Italy.

2.1.1. Gaze

Gaze conveys more (and faster) information than touch and hearing and it plays a fundamental role in communication (Hall 1966; Rutter and Stephenson 1977; Goodwin 1980; Kendon 1981; Adams and Kleck 2005; Patterson et al., 2007). According to Moore et al. (2010) eye contact has four different functions: (1) it regulates the conversational turns by signalling the beginning and end of a speaker's turn; (2) it provides conversational feedback, since it reflects the listener's interest and attention; (3) it conveys speakers' emotions in speech; and (4) it expresses the type of relationship between interactants, for instance individuals with an intimate relationship will tend to prolong their eye contact, whereas strangers will avoid prolonged eye contact (Lunenburg 2010). In foreign language speaking, speakers may use gaze to help communicating and overcoming linguistic barriers (Li 2004).

Research on eye contact suggests that cultural upbringing determines the way individuals gaze at each other and use eye contact in conversations (Kendon 1981; Kleinke 1986; Li 2004; Rossano et al. 2009; Zhang and Kalinowski 2012). At the same time, the use of gaze is also affected by other factors, such as the individuals' gender and social roles. Though a number of studies have examined the cultural dimensions of gaze (Pierson and Bond 1982; Kleinke 1986; Iizuka 1995; Blais et al. 2008), fewer studies have investigated this topic from an intercultural perspective (Ezlinga 1978; Uono and Hietanen 2015).

2.1.2. Physical contact

Haptics, or physical contact in social interactions, is also a powerful communication tool. The way speakers touch their interlocutor(s) while communicating expresses different meanings such as the speakers' role in society and their degree of intimacy. For instance, touching the interlocutor can be interpreted as a sign of closeness and familiarity. Touching can also convey speakers' emotions, e.g., agreement, approval, comfort, etc. (Paludi and Paludi 2010; Goodwin 2017). Like other non-verbal codes, the extent to which public displays of physical contact are accepted in a society is influenced by the speakers' culture (Hans and Hans 2015; Hamilton 2019). While in some cultures it is not considered appropriate to touch the interlocutor, in others it is common. Hall (1966) distinguishes between high-contact and low-contact cultures. In high-contact cultures, typically found in high-density regions of the world (e.g., China, India, metropolitan areas), people are used to restricted spaces, and physical contact is accepted and frequent. In low-contact cultures, typically found in low-density regions of the world (e.g., Scandinavia, North America, rural areas), physical contact tends to be avoided and speakers maintain a distance while conversing. Similarly to gaze, physical contact is also influenced by factors like speakers' gender, social relationship and context.

Studies have examined the different use of touch in Western and Eastern countries (Barnlund 1975; Di Biase and Gunnoe 2004; Kitayama et al. 2006; Tsai et al. 2019; Suvilehto et al. 2019; Burgoon et al. 2021), but little research has focused on the cultural differences in haptics between Italian and North African cultures.

2.1.3. Time perception and organization

Chronemics, or time perception and organization, is another central, yet understudied, aspect of non-verbal communication. It concerns individuals' use of time, e.g., their attitude towards punctuality or lateness, their tendency to carry out more than one activity at the same time, and the value given to each activity (Moore et al. 2010). Hall (1966) distinguishes between monochronic and polychronic cultures. The first ones perceive time as something tangible that can be organised and planned in small and precise units. In these cultures, time is seen as something that can be spent, saved and wasted. Examples are the USA, Germany, and Japan. Punctuality is valued and expected, lateness is viewed as a lack of respect. On the contrary, polychronic cultures

view time as flexible and fluid, and punctuality is of secondary importance. Some examples are the Middle East, Latin America or Eastern Europe that have a relaxed attitude towards time (Levine 2006). Studies have examined the ways in which culture influences time perception and organization (Merriam 1983; Lin and Jones 2005; Vargas-Urpi 2013; Burgoon et al. 2021) but, to the authors' knowledge, research is lacking on the differences in chronemics between the Italian and North African cultures.

3. This study

This paper presents the results of a pilot study on the use and interpretation of non-verbal language in intercultural interactions. The aim was to collect data on the awareness of the differences in non-verbal codes existing between cultures, and to understand whether such differences may determine misunderstandings and communication breakdowns which, in the long term, could lead to prejudice and stereotypes and hinder migrants' inclusion and integration in the Italian society. To this end, opinions were collected, through focus groups and questionnaires, of social workers residing in the Veneto, Emilia Romagna, and Lombardy regions.

3.1 Method

Nine focus groups were carried out, in the months of February and March 2022, with social workers operating in organisations, NGOs and Italian language schools for migrants in northern Italy (the Veneto, Emilia Romagna, and Lombardy regions). The focus groups had a semi-structured interview style: every participant was asked the same questions, but was also allowed to expand on any topic they considered relevant. The data was audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. On the basis of the focus groups responses, four online questionnaires were created to be sent to the same organisations. The questionnaires aimed at gathering more structured data on three aspects of non-verbal language in communicative interactions with migrants which appeared particularly understudied in the literature, that is: gaze, physical contact and time. Data relating to four geographical areas and cultures were targeted: North Africa, Sub Saharan Africa, Eastern Europe and South Asia. However, only the data relating to North African cultures, and specifically Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt, is presented here because of the significant presence of migrants from these areas in the associations that took part in the study and in the northern part of Italy. The questionnaires were distributed between May and June 2022, through *Google Forms*, a tool that allows to collect users' information through a personalised online quiz. The participants (social workers) were asked to answer anonymously and specify only the name of the association they work for and the kind of services the association offers. The focus group consisted of open-ended questions regarding gaze, physical contact and time perception. Short videos and pictures representing gestures were used to motivate the participants to share their own experiences on the interpretation of the migrants' non-verbal language. The questionnaire (shown in the appendix) included single and multiple-choice questions together with an open-ended section ('other'),

where participants could specify the culture and the gender of the migrants they work with. For each culture, the questionnaire was divided in two parts: the first aimed at gaining quantitative information on the social workers, the migrants and the services offered by the association; the second was designed to collect qualitative data on intercultural differences concerning gaze, physical contact and time between the Italian and the North African cultures.

3.1.1. Participants

A total of 40 participants (i.e., social workers) took part in the pilot study. The focus groups were carried out with 9 associations that are located in northern Italy and work closely with migrants and that agreed to participate both in person and online. 20 social workers participated in the focus groups. The questionnaires were distributed via email to the same associations. Every email contained four questionnaires, each one designed specifically for one of the four different geographic areas (see section 3.1), so that the participants could choose the questionnaire according to the origin of the migrants they work with. 17 associations participated in the survey on the North African cultures: 7 from Veneto, 3 from Lombardy and 7 from Emilia-Romagna. The total number of responses received was 20, including more than one staff member per association.

4. Data analysis and results

This section presents the results of the transcriptions of the focus groups, when relevant, as well as the responses to the questionnaire. The questionnaire data are presented in percentages. These were calculated, in the single response questions, out of the totality of the participants, that is to say out of 20 responses; in the multiple-choice questions and open-ended questions, they were calculated out of the total number of responses obtained for each question. Before discussing the focus groups, section 4.1 presents the information on the participants' sample, as collected from the questionnaire.

4.1 Information on the participants

Questions 1.1 and 1.2 of the questionnaire aimed at collecting information on the participants (e.g., name, activities carried out by the social worker and the association).

The data are shown in Figure 1. 18.67% of the associations offer generic orientation activities such as help with job orientation; 14.67% provide Italian language courses; 12% legal and administrative services; 10.67% linguistic and cultural mediation; 9.33% school activities such as training courses, after-school activities, and curricular courses; 8% provide shelter for the refugees; 6.67% provide job placement and listening centres and 6.67% include a listening point inside the association; 5.33% offer services such as promotion to associationism, charity and family support, edu-

cational and therapeutic activities for drug addicts and cultural activities; 4% offer home finding services; and finally, 4% help migrants find a home and offer psycho-pedagogical services.

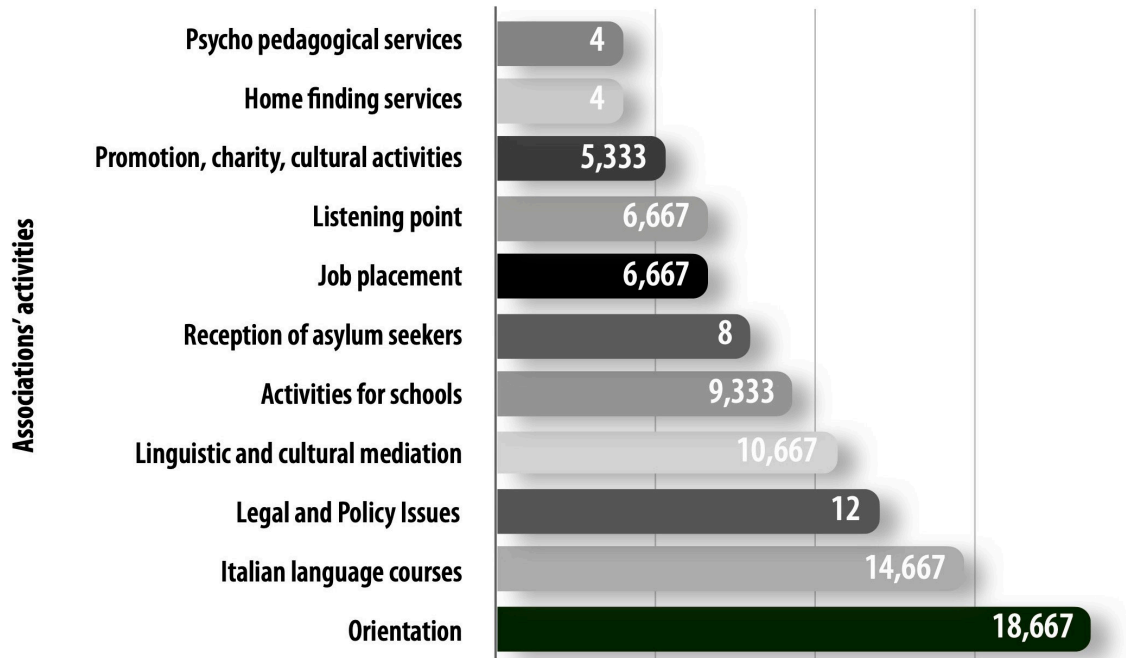


Figure 1: Associations' activities

Questions 1.3-1.5 were aimed at getting information on the participants' citizenship, the migrants' status and their age. 95% of the participants have Italian citizenship; 5% has Moroccan citizenship (Figure 2). The migrants' statutes are shown in Figure 3: expatriates (43.24%), asylum seekers (27.03%) and refugees (21.62%); 8.11% (grouped under the category 'other') are prisoners, Italian citizens and individuals addicted to drugs. Figure 4 shows the migrants' age: 35.85% is between 19 and 30 years old; 33.96% is between 31 and 50; 20.75% is over 50 and 9.43% are minors.

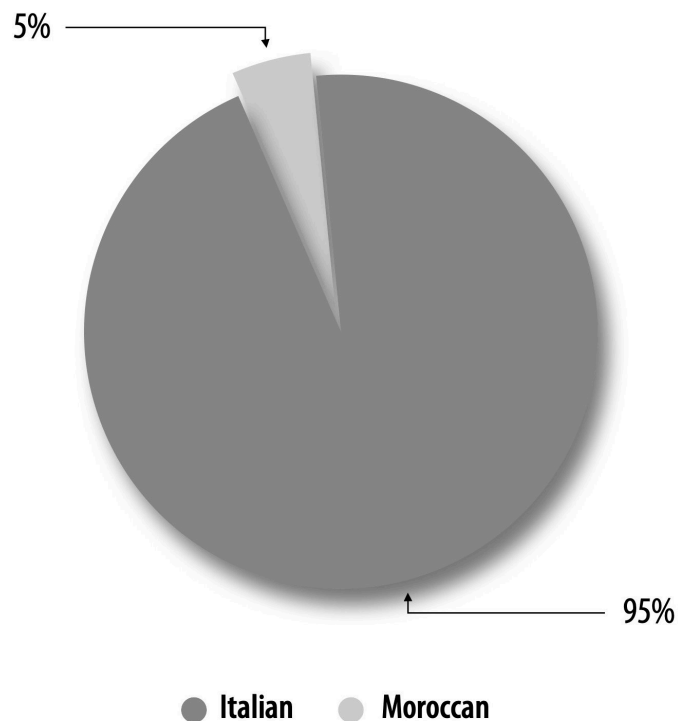


Figure 2.: Participants' citizenship

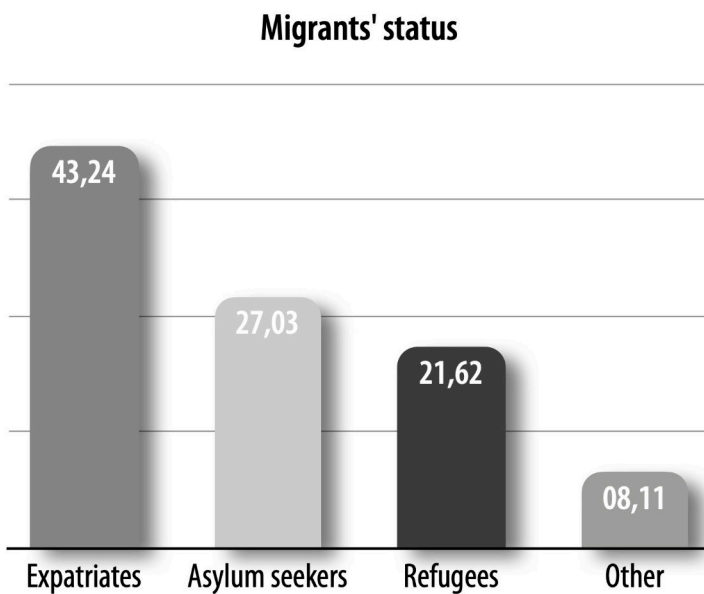


Figure 3.: Status of the migrants using the associations services

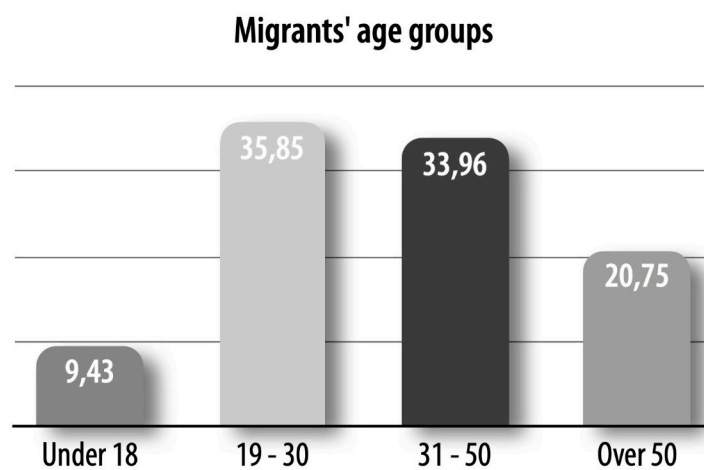


Figure 4.: Migrants' age groups

migrants speak with interlocutors of different gender, they use direct eye contact; according to 25% of the participants migrants use indirect gaze with social workers of different gender.

Questions 2.3 and 2.4 investigated how the use of eye contact can vary depending on the migrants' duration of their stay in Italy. In question 2.3 40% of the participants responded that migrants who have arrived recently to Italy use direct gaze; 60% said that newly-arrived migrants use indirect gaze. Two social workers specified that women tend to lower their gaze compared to men.

Question 2.4 investigated the gaze of migrants settled in Italy. 94.74% of the participants said that long term north African migrants use direct eye contact; 5.26% said that gaze tends to be indirect despite the migrants' time spent in Italy. This suggests that, overall, the use of gaze tends to change when migrants have been in Italy for several years.

4.2 Gaze

4.2.1. Focus groups

The responses of the focus groups show that most participants are aware of intercultural differences in the use of gaze. Particularly, speakers tend to use indirect eye contact with interlocutors of different gender. The participants also underlined that in the North African cultures gaze changes according to the situation and the speakers' role and age. Some of the participants' observations are reported in table 1.

4.2.2. Questionnaire

The analysis of the questionnaire confirmed what emerged in the focus groups. In question 2.1 90% of the participants reported that in interactions with speakers of the same gender, migrants' gaze is direct, while 10% of the participants said it is indirect. In question 2.2 75% of the participants said that when migrants speak with interlocutors of different gender, they use direct eye contact; according to 25% of the participants migrants use indirect gaze with social workers of different gender.

<p>If the meeting is between a man and a Muslim woman, the gaze is indirect: a small direct hint of a gaze, quick and respectful, then the gaze is lowered;</p>
<p>When there is a male presence, African women use a direct gaze, whereas if the husband is present, the woman tends to use an indirect gaze. The same can be said for the parents' presence with minors;</p>
<p>The cultural influence on gaze can also be related to religion, and not being aware of that can cause problems in intercultural interactions;</p>
<p>It happened with a Moroccan or Tunisian man. In the first meetings he was using an indirect gaze, then after a while, since he was coming often (to our institution), he broke his inhibitions, and started to look at me in the eyes;</p>
<p>If we're meeting to have tea then we can also look at each other in the eyes, but if two hours later I have a meeting with the same person in the city hall then we don't use direct gaze anymore;</p>
<p>An anecdote that comes to my mind is with a person I have a great confidence with, and that happened the day after the beginning of the Ramadan. I didn't know it, and for a week the person didn't look at me in the eyes. I personally got upset because I thought: what did I do wrong? [In fact, during Ramadan, Muslims are encouraged to avoid direct eye contact in order to be as 'pure' as possible].</p>

Table 1.: Examples of participants' experiences relating to migrants' eye contact

4.2.3. Discussion

The participants' answers show the awareness of the existence of differences in the use of gaze between the Italian and the North African cultures. The focus groups indicate that gender influences the use of gaze, and that women tend to avoid direct eye contact with men. On the other hand, the analysis of the questionnaire shows that in most participants' opinion the different uses of eye contact are not influenced by gender but rather by the duration of the migrants' stay in Italy. In general, newly arrived migrants tend to use a lower gaze and adopt indirect eye contact; on the contrary, migrants that have lived in Italy for several years tend to use more direct eye contact. This may indicate that, with time, migrants adopt not only the verbal code but also aspects of the non-verbal codes of the society where they want to integrate.

4.3 Physical Contact

4.3.1 Focus groups

The analysis of the focus groups shows a general awareness of the differences in physical contact between the Italian and the North African cultures. 50% of the participants underlined that being aware of the differences in physical contact between different cultures is important and it can help avoid situations of discomfort and misunderstandings. Some of their observations are reported in Table 2. The participants

I faced situations of discomfort because of physical contact;
I felt uncomfortable when a migrant was shaking his/her hand very tightly;
Usually, the discomfort is felt by the migrant because of the social workers' behaviours in using physical contact (shaking hands or hugging).

Table 2.: Examples of participants' experiences of discomfort due to differences in use and interpretation of migrants' physical contact

also appeared to be aware of the existence of differences in physical contact due to factors such as gender, social relationship and religion. Some observations are reported in Table 3.

I perceived differences in the use of physical contact between migrants coming from different geographical areas and with different religious beliefs;
There are differences in the use of physical contact between interlocutors of different gender;
The way two teachers of different gender greet each other can create a situation of discomfort for migrants;
For many Africans, physical contact, especially between people of different gender and between those who are not in an intimate relationship, is strictly forbidden;
Moroccans are used to seeing displays of affection, they aren't a taboo for them. Nevertheless, men and women don't shake hands, nor do they kiss in public in Italy or in Morocco;
It is very important who is introducing you in the relationship with Moroccans. If you are introduced by friends or family members, physical contact is accepted, if the role is external (social worker/teacher) there's no physical contact;
Students from Islamic countries do not want to be touched or touch people of different gender;
Physical contact is not well received during Ramadan.

Table 3.: Examples of participants' experiences showing awareness of differences in physical contact due to gender, social relationship and religion

4.3.2. Questionnaire

The awareness of differences in physical contact is confirmed by the participants' responses to the questionnaire. In Question 2.5 the participants were asked to rate, on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 indicated no differences and 4 many differences, their perceived extent of migrants' differences in physical contact. All the participants (100%) declared that physical contact is different in the Italian and North African cultures. Specifically, 47.37% of the participants said that the differences are many (rating = 4); 31.58% reported a few differences (rating = 2), and 21.05% reported plenty of differences (rating = 3).

Question 2.6 asked the participants about their perception of physical contact in interactions between interlocutors of the same gender, and in particular whether, when talking to them, the North African migrants showed a tendency to touch them, to touch them only to get their attention, say hello, or similar, or to avoid touch altogether. 28.57% of the participants responded that in their experience migrants tend to avoid physical contact; 66.67% said that they use physical contact to get attention; 4.76% said that physical contact occurs during conversations.

Question 2.7 asked about the interactions between speakers of different gender. 75% of the participants said that physical contact is avoided, and 20% that it is limited to get attention; only 5% said that the use of physical contact is used in interactions.

4.3.3. Discussion

The analysis of the focus groups showed that the social workers are generally aware of the existence of differences in physical contact between the Italians and the North Africans. The responses in the focus groups show that for 50% of the participants the differences in physical contact are influenced by culture and subjected to variables like gender, social relationships and religion; 50% of the participants have experienced situations where intercultural differences in physical contact have created discomfort. The responses to the questionnaire confirm that the participants perceive differences in the use of physical contact, and particularly between interlocutors of different gender.

4.4. Time perception and organization

4.4.1. Focus groups / participant’s observation

Punctuality is a big problem that social workers have to face;
There is a big problem relating to punctuality perception and this is a huge limit to integration;
The ways different cultures organise time is a critical factor in the association’s activities;
When migrants that have studied one year of Italian but still don’t speak the language arrive, we ask ‘what did you do during this time?’ and they answer that they waited. If I had to wait one year, I would get crazy but they wait one year. In this context our staff doesn’t know what to do. [...] The goal is what counts to them, not time;
Migrants tend to focus on the goal they want to achieve, without considering time or deadlines;
I was surprised by the migrants’ patience and their ability “to wait 5 years just for a document”;
Migrants have a tendency “to live in the present” and have no projects for the future;
In their countries they tend not to have goals, to have a goal is a European concept. The idea of a project starts when there’s something concrete, when they learn that here it is done like that;
We would like to teach them to organise time, but this is difficult.

Table 4.: Participant’s observations regarding the migrants’ time perception and organization

The opinions expressed in the focus groups show that the social workers are aware that different cultures perceive punctuality differently, and this is regarded as a potential problem and a possible limit to integration. The social workers agree that migrants need to be taught that Italian time perception and organization is different from theirs, and that this would help them integrate better in the Italian society. However, the participants are aware that teaching this is complicated.

4.4.2. Questionnaire

In Question 2.8 the participants had to choose, on a scale from 1 to 4 where 1 indicated no differences and 4 many differences, what was the extent of the dissimilarity between the punctuality concept of the Italian vs the North African cultures. 85% of the participants showed awareness of differences in punctuality between the cultures. Specifically, 25% of the participants rated these differences as 3 on the scale; 55% rated them as 2; 5% rated them as 4. 15% of the participants reported noticing no difference in punctuality between the cultures and rated these differences as 1 on the 1-to-4 scale.

It should be noted that many associations activities do not require punctuality (e.g., help desk for legal consultations or home finding), while for other activities, like Italian language classes or mediation services, punctuality is important. For this reason, many social workers may not have experienced the migrants' lack of punctuality. On the other hand, in the 'Other' option, shown in Table 5, the participants appear to be aware that punctuality depends on many factors. Two participants noted that punctuality often depends on how the migrant organises time in relation to their duty or activity. Factors such as the number of children in the family or the transportation the person uses can also have an influence on punctuality.

More than on education, punctuality depends on many factors: first of all, on how many people you need to organise before going out, on your responsibilities (children, husband and other family members), then on the transportation you can use (bus, cycle, car);

The presence of children and the family situation needs to be taken into account. In the majority of the cases women that are late are the ones with children, often young. They seem to take care of them alone;

Egyptian men, if they don't have other work duties, are always quite on time. Moroccan women are always punctual.

Table 5.: Examples of participants' experiences regarding the migrants' punctuality (section 'other' of the questionnaire)

In Question 2.9 and 2.10 the participants were asked to rate, on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 indicated early and 5 indicated that the person does not show up, their perceived extent of the migrants' punctuality in formal and informal settings.

In formal meetings 18.18% of the participants said that migrants tend to arrive early (rating = 1); 50% said that they tend to arrive on time (rating = 2), and 27.27% experienced situations where the migrants arrived a little late (rating = 3). 4.55. % said that migrants tend not to show up (rating = 5).

In informal meetings, 8.70% of the participants said that migrants tend to arrive early (rating = 1); 34.78% that they tend to arrive on time (rating = 2); 43.48% that they arrive a little late (rating = 3); 4.35% over 20 minutes late, (rating = 4); and 8.70% that they don't show up (rating = 5).

Some observations from the open comment section (the 'Other' option) are reported in Table 6. They indicate that men do not show up unless the meeting is official, like for example receiving a participation certificate. In pre-scheduled meetings (e.g., Italian language classes) Egyptian men tend to arrive on time or a bit late (15-20 minutes). Migrants, women in particular, arrive tendentially on time.

Egyptian men do not show up for the Italian language class unless the meeting includes the delivery of a participation certificate. Egyptian men tend to arrive on time or a bit late (15/20 minutes) for Italian classes with pre-scheduled timings and days;
In general, migrants from the Maghreb region tend to arrive early;
Moroccan women are always punctual;
Women that can participate in informal meetings do it for the pleasure of being together;
Women know how fundamental it is to be there at the given time, especially for the difficulties and the limits of the people that will receive them (very often there is no one available that knows some words, or a person that could translate or mediate).

Table 6.: Examples of participants' experiences regarding the migrants' punctuality in informal settings (section 'other' of the questionnaire)

In Question 2.11 the participants were asked to rate, on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 indicated before the deadline and 4 the task is not finished, their perceived extent of migrants' respect for deadlines. 19.05% of the participants said migrants complete tasks before the deadline (rating = 1); 38.1% said that migrants tend to complete tasks the day of the deadline (rating = 2); 33.33% said that migrants tend to complete tasks after the deadline (rating = 3); 9.25% said migrants do not complete the task at all (rating = 4). It is likely that the kind of activities offered by the associations has an influence on the participants' answers. For instance, services such as listening points or orientation services do not require migrants to meet specific deadlines, hence the participants may have no experience of migrants' respect for deadlines.

4.4.3. Discussion

The answers given in the focus groups show the participants' awareness of the cultural differences in the organisation of time, and how this can affect relationships

and hinder integration. The answers of the questionnaire are less clear-cut. This might be due to the fact that focus groups allow participants to express themselves freely by sharing their personal experiences, while with questionnaires participants are more constrained by multiple-choice questions. Not all the participants consider the differences in time organisation a central element in intercultural interactions, nor do they perceive considerable differences with their own culture. Rather, they observe that the migrants' punctuality is affected by a plurality of factors. For instance, women may be late due to the number of responsibilities and chores they have at home and in their life. The type of circumstance may also have an effect on the migrants' punctuality. For instance, migrants may arrive late to informal meetings but not to formal meetings. Also, events that are considered important, like collecting a language course certificate or meeting mediators or interpreters, call for punctuality. Finally, differences between men and women may exist.

5. Conclusions

This paper presents the results of a preliminary study aimed at investigating the differences in the use and interpretation of gaze, physical contact and time between the Italian and North African cultures. Social workers' awareness of these differences and their possible impact in social relations were also investigated.

The analysis shows that the social workers who participated in this study are aware of the existence of intercultural differences in gaze, physical contact and time, though these may be subjected to variables such as the migrant's gender, type of relationship with the interlocutor and religion, as well as individual factors. The length of time in which the migrant has been in Italy is also a factor. The way in which these differences are interpreted depends on the specific circumstances in which the interaction takes place, as well as the area in which the association operates, the services it provides and the participants' role inside the association. For instance, the non-verbal codes used in an Italian language class may differ from those used in an asylum seekers' shelter. In general, though, the difference in use and interpretation of gaze, physical contact and time does seem to create some sort of hindrance in communication and may be a source of discomfort in rapports.

There is some discrepancy between the responses given in the focus groups and in the questionnaire. The former report the social workers' personal experiences and anecdotes about the difficulties in understanding the migrants' non-verbal codes. The latter do not evidence the existence of great differences between the Italian and the North African cultures, especially with regards to gaze and time. This mismatch may be due to the fact that in the focus groups participants are free to share their personal opinions and are not constrained by pre-set questions.

Though the data presented in this paper is only preliminary, we believe it does provide indications that gaze, physical contact and time perception and organization may be the cause of intercultural misunderstandings and have the potential to undermine communication and social relationships. Thus, this study suggests the need

to investigate these non-verbal elements of communication in interactions with migrants. Raising awareness on the use and interpretation of all non-verbal codes of communication is functional to promoting integration and inclusion between different cultures.

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Appendix 1. Questionnaire on North African cultures

<p>This questionnaire aims to collect observations and perceptions on non-verbal codes in intercultural interactions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Please respond based on your personal experience; ➤ While some questions may seem like generalisations, these are a starting point for investigating some issues; ➤ In the “other” section you can report your personal experiences; ➤ The questionnaire takes ten minutes to complete. 	
<p>Part 1: Information on the association, the social workers, the migrants and the services offered</p>	
1.1 What is the name of the association/cooperative in which you work?	
1.2 In which field does the association/cooperative you belong to operate? You can choose more than one answer.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reception of asylum seekers - Italian language courses - Linguistic and cultural mediation - Psycho-pedagogical services - Legal and Policy Issues - Job placement - Listening point - Activities for schools - Home finding services - Orientation - Other
1.3 What is your citizenship?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Italian - Other
1.4 Which is the status of the people you work with? You can choose more than one answer.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expatriates - Asylum seekers - Refugees - Other
1.5 What is the age of the people you work with? You can choose more than one answer.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Under 18 - 19 - 30 - 31 - 50 - Over 50
<p>Part 2: Data on intercultural differences concerning non-verbal codes that can cause intercultural communication misunderstandings between Italian and North African cultures.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Please respond based on your personal experience; ➤ In the “other” section you can report the culture you are referring to, for example “Morocco”, “Egypt” ...; you can also specify the gender “man”, “woman” or “other”. 	
2.1 You have contacted migrants of the same gender to offer a service (accompanying to police headquarters / Italian lesson / mediation / other). In your experience, migrants from North African cultures tend to use...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Direct gaze: they have no problem looking at me in the eyes - Indirect gaze: they don't look at me in the eyes or they look down
2.2 You have contacted migrants of the different gender to offer a service (accompanying to police headquarters / Italian lesson / mediation / other). In your experience, migrants from North African cultures tend to use...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Direct gaze: they have no problem looking at me in the eyes - Indirect gaze: they don't look at me in the eyes or they look down
2.3 You have contacted migrants that have newly arrived to Italy to offer a service (accompanying to police headquarters / Italian lesson / mediation / other). In your experience, migrants from North African cultures tend to use...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Direct gaze: they have no problem looking at me in the eyes - Indirect gaze: they don't look at me in the eyes or they look down

<p>2.4 You have contacted migrants who have been in Italy for several years to offer a service (accompanying to police headquarters / Italian lesson / mediation / other). In your experience, migrants from North African cultures tend to use . . .</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Direct gaze: they have no problem looking at me in the eyes - Indirect gaze: they don't look at me in the eyes or they look down
<p>2.5 Do you think there are differences regarding physical contact between Italians and North African migrants? Check the "other" box and write the specific culture and gender.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No differences 2. Few differences 3. Some differences 4. Many differences
<p>2.6 You are talking to North African culture migrants of the same gender as you. In your experience, they tend to: Check the "other" box and write the specific culture and gender.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Touch you while they were talking or while you were talking. 2. Touch you to get your attention, say hello, etc. 3. Never touch you
<p>2.7 You are talking to North African culture migrants of the different gender. In your experience, they tend to: . . . Check the "other" box and write the specific culture and gender.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Touch you while they were talking or while you were talking. 2. Touch you to get your attention, say hello, etc. 3. Never touch you
<p>2.8 Do you think there are differences regarding the idea of punctuality between the Italian and North African cultures? Express your opinion on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 indicates no difference and 4 many differences. Check the "other" box and write the specific culture and gender.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No differences 2. Few differences 3. Some differences 4. Many differences
<p>2.9 You have set up a formal meeting to offer a service to a migrant (accompanying to the police headquarters / Italian language classes / mediation / other ..). In your experience, migrants from North African cultures tend to arrive. . . Express your opinion on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates early, 4 very late and 5 'don't show up'. Check the "other" box and write the specific culture and gender.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Early 2. On time 3. A little late (15-20 min) 4. Very late (over 20 min) 5. Don't show up
<p>2.10 You have set up an informal meeting, for example a party in your association/cooperative. In your experience, migrants from North African cultures tend to arrive. . . Express your opinion on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates early and 5 very late. Check the "other" box and write the specific culture and gender.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Early 2. On time 3. A little late (15-20 min) 4. Very late (over 20 min) 5. Don't show up
<p>2.11 You have asked to complete a task or an activity with a deadline (fill documents, complete an Italian language exercise, other...). In your experience, migrants from North African cultures tend to finish. . . Express your opinion on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 indicates before the deadline and 4 indicates incomplete task. Check the "other" box and write the specific culture and gender.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Before the deadline 2. The day of the deadline 3. After the deadline 4. The task is not finished

Book Reviews



Morelli, Umberto; Sondel-Cedarmas, Joanna (2022). *Storia dell'integrazione europea. Nuova edizione*, Milano: Edizioni Angelo Guerini e Associati, 350 pp.

Lara Piccardo

Crisi economica, Brexit, pandemia, emergenza ambientale, guerra russo-ucraina: in questo contesto così complesso, in cui le contraddizioni del processo di costruzione comunitaria emergono prepotentemente, Umberto Morelli, coadiuvato da Joanna Sondel-Cedarmas, ha rimesso mano al suo volume sulla storia dell'integrazione europea edito nel 2011. Purtroppo è l'ultimo volume di un Maestro, di uno studioso e di un uomo che ha saputo vedere, analizzare e proporre gli ideali dell'integrazione europea, ancorati ai valori della pace e dei diritti e non già meri segmenti di politiche estere statali. Le tematiche europee sono ormai ampiamente trattate in molte discipline, data la ricaduta delle politiche europee su quelle nazionali e internazionali. Ma, se è facile intravedere ora questi filoni di ricerca già tracciati dalla realtà in cui viviamo, molto più lungimirante è stato intraprendere un percorso di studi in modo pionieristico come fece il Prof. Morelli già agli esordi della sua carriera.

Questo nuovo volume aggiornato rappresenta una sintesi fondamentale non solo dei suoi studi, ma anche di quella conoscenza più ideale della costruzione europea, che non può essere appieno compresa se non nella sua dimensione originale e autonoma di "processo d'integrazione", cioè di un percorso che avanza verso un funzionale completamento mediante opportune addizioni e compensazioni. Nel loro volume, Morelli e Sondel-Cedarmas sono in grado di far dialogare passato e presente in una prospettiva dinamica, trattando una storia a noi temporalmente vicina, in costante divenire e che peraltro assume una valenza diversa in virtù dei futuri, possibili, esiti del delicato processo in corso.

Il volume di Morelli è anche un eccezionale volume di storia, una ricostruzione e un'interpretazione di fatti che rinvia a conoscenze maturate dall'autore nell'ambito della sua attività di docente di Storia delle relazioni internazionali e di Storia politica dell'integrazione europea e di titolare di una cattedra Jean Monnet al Dipartimento di Culture, Politica e Società dell'Università di Torino e alla Scuola Universitaria Interdipartimentale in Scienze Strategiche (SUISS), oltre che di direttore del Centro studi sul federalismo di Moncalieri, nonché all'interno di un percorso di studi che ha spaziato dall'approfondimento delle figure di Luigi Einaudi e di Altiero Spinelli alla disamina delle istituzioni e delle politiche dell'Unione Europea, senza dimenticare la costante attenzione dedicata alle vicende dei movimenti per l'unità europea. L'antecedente

immediato è ovviamente rappresentato dal volume *Storia dell'integrazione europea*, Guerini, 2011, ma importante è stato anche *L'unificazione europea: cinquant'anni di storia*, scritto dall'autore in collaborazione con Lucio Levi e pubblicato nel 1994 per la Celid, integrato però con la ricostruzione degli eventi successivi al Trattato di Maastricht e aggiornato facendo riferimento a una storiografia sull'integrazione europea che va arricchendosi di anno in anno sia sul piano nazionale che internazionale e che a livello di sintesi complessive, attenendoci soltanto al contesto italiano, annovera opere significative come quelle di Bino Olivi, Giuseppe Mammarella e Paolo Cacace, ed Emilio Papa.

Il volume di Morelli e Sondel-Cedarmas si apre con un capitolo introduttivo sulle radici del processo d'integrazione europea che porta il lettore indietro nei secoli, alla ricerca di quei valori di pace e democrazia storicamente associati all'idea di Europa, pur nella consapevolezza che solo la crisi dello Stato nazionale sovrano, e più segnatamente le tragedie novecentesche delle guerre mondiali e del totalitarismo, hanno potuto creare le condizioni storiche per rendere possibile l'unità europea, facendo così uscire tale progetto dal limbo delle utopie. Non a caso risale al giugno 1940 la proposta inglese di un'Unione franco britannica, e viene ultimato nella primavera del 1941 il *Manifesto di Ventotene* di Ernesto Rossi e Altiero Spinelli, il cui titolo preciso è in realtà *Per un'Europa libera e unita. Progetto d'un manifesto*, sotto questo aspetto il documento più importante dell'antifascismo e della Resistenza europea: si tratta, in entrambi i casi, di tentativi operati dalle migliori menti della politica e della cultura europea per provare a dare risposta alla implosione del vecchio sistema geopolitico continentale nella fase più drammatica del conflitto, quella contrassegnata cioè dalle schiacciante vittorie delle armate hitleriane. Nell'immediato secondo dopoguerra furono invece i movimenti per l'unità europea da una parte, e gli Stati Uniti d'America dall'altra, a promuovere l'avvio del processo d'integrazione continentale. I primi organizzarono all'Aja, nel maggio 1948, un grande Congresso dell'Europa, mentre gli USA, nel nuovo contesto internazionale caratterizzato dalla guerra fredda, attraverso il piano Marshall, che subordinava la concessione degli aiuti economici all'elaborazione di un piano comune di ricostruzione, favorirono la creazione dell'Organizzazione europea per la cooperazione economica (OECE), la prima forma di organizzazione comune degli Stati dell'Europa occidentale. Ulteriori passi in avanti sulla strada dell'integrazione furono invece realizzati dai governi degli Stati europei grazie al Trattato di Bruxelles e, soprattutto, alla nascita del Consiglio d'Europa, che annoverava tra le sue istituzioni, seppur con poteri molto limitati, anche un'Assemblea parlamentare sovranazionale. Non è il caso di ripercorrere la vicenda dell'Europa comunitaria, che, com'è noto, prende le mosse dalla dichiarazione Schuman del 9 maggio 1950 e con la firma del Trattato istitutivo la Comunità europea del carbone e dell'acciaio, firmato a Parigi l'anno successivo. Piuttosto vale la pena sottolineare la precisione con cui viene ricostruita questa storia, la capacità di metterne costantemente a fuoco il contesto politico e la dimensione istituzionale, l'attenzione dedicata al ruolo dei movimenti per l'unità europea. Il volume affronta anche la dimensione economica e finanziaria, descrivendone sia i successi della CEE che le caratteristiche del Sistema monetario europeo, sia il comple-

tamento del mercato unico che, in tempi a noi più vicini, i traguardi conseguiti dall'Unione economica e monetaria. Di grande interesse risultano poi aspetti forse un po' meno studiati all'interno del processo d'integrazione, come ad esempio quelli relativi al fallimento dell'Euratom, al piano Werner, agli aiuti della Comunità europea ai Paesi in via di sviluppo e agli stessi accordi di Schengen. In assoluto sono però gli anni a noi più vicini, quelli cioè dell'Unione europea e ancor più quelli successivi alla nascita dell'euro, gli anni che attirano particolarmente la nostra attenzione, consapevoli delle difficoltà di trattare una materia non ancora sufficientemente sedimentata e studiata, al di là delle rapide, e talvolta superficiali, sintesi giornalistiche. Ci riferiamo in particolare al Trattato costituzionale europeo del 2004, bocciato in fase di ratifica dai cittadini francesi e olandesi, al Trattato di Lisbona del 2007, e alla recente crisi, che evidenzia la contraddizione di una moneta senza uno Stato e, quindi, l'assenza di un governo dell'economia, fa sentire ancora più acuto e intollerabile il tradizionale problema del deficit democratico delle istituzioni europee e rende non solo necessario, ma a questo punto anche urgente, un salto qualitativo verso una maggiore integrazione dei Paesi membri. L'ultima parte è dedicata alle sfide degli ultimi dieci anni: la crisi finanziaria, l'annessione della Crimea e i difficili rapporti con la Russia, l'emergenza dei rifugiati, il terrorismo, la Brexit, l'affermarsi dei sovranismi, la pandemia e il Next Generation EU e le sanzioni dell'UE alla Russia all'indomani dell'invasione ucraina.

Il volume di Morelli e Sondel-Cedarmas si chiude con una preziosa cronologia, che in circa venti pagine prende in esame un arco temporale compreso tra il 1940 e la metà del 2022.

Non si tratta solo di un manuale: questo libro è una lezione fondamentale che Morelli lascia alla comunità, quella di chi con caparbietà e intelligenza ha creduto nella possibilità di dar corpo ad una cultura compiutamente europea con la quale legittimare pienamente le istituzioni continentali.



«L'Europe en formation», n. 2/2022, *Défense européenne et unité politique : Les leçons de l'échec de la Communauté européenne de défense (1954)*, 252 pp.

Guido Levi

Poche volte prima del 24 febbraio 2022 la difesa europea è stato un tema tanto dirimente. Si tratta di una tematica spinosa, di cui gli Stati membri dell'UE parlano spesso, ma con scetticismo in tempo di pace e con affanno inconcludente in tempo di guerra. Il secondo numero monografico del 2022 della rivista «L'Europe en formation» è dedicato proprio al tema della difesa europea e alla lezione storica che la vicenda della CED ha lasciato: *Défense européenne et unité politique : Les leçons de l'échec de la Communauté européenne de défense (1954)*.

In effetti, come ben si ricostruisce nell'introduzione di Daniela Preda e Robert Be-
lot, quando l'Europa non esisteva ancora "Europa", i paesi "europei" impiegavano molta energia nelle vicende belliche. Nel 1515 Erasmo da Rotterdam lanciò un appello per la pace in un'Europa in guerra. Il suo volume si intitola, non a caso, *La Complainte de la paix*. Centrale, in queste pagine è l'interrogativo sul perché gli inglesi siano nemici dei francesi, i francesi dei tedeschi, i tedeschi degli spagnoli, originando così una guerra permanente. La risposta è semplice: la divisione nasce dalla diversità superficiale dei nomi di uno stesso Paese.

Costruire l'Europa significa costruire la pace: questo è l'assioma che ritroviamo in tutti coloro che hanno promosso l'idea di Europa, a partire dal progetto politico del duca di Sully (1559-1641), ministro del re di Francia Enrico IV, passando poi per l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre (1713) e Emmanuel Kant (1795). Poiché questa utopia non resiste al vuoto politico europeo, per lungo tempo la condizione della possibilità della pace è stata pragmaticamente pensata attraverso la nozione vestfaliana dell'equilibrio di potere in Europa e dell'arbitrato, oppure l'umanizzazione della guerra. L'idea di una difesa comune dei valori democratici si ritrova, ad esempio, in Montesquieu, per il quale la "confederazione" deve assumere una missione di sicurezza contro i nemici esterni.

Ma fare l'Europa, e fare dell'Europa un attore geopolitico a sé stante, significa anche organizzare militarmente la difesa dell'Europa, e fare l'Europa della difesa significa fare l'Europa. È un movimento dialettico.

L'idea europea, fin dall'antichità, è dunque intimamente legata al desiderio di pace. In età contemporanea, i combattenti della Resistenza che, in tutti i Paesi, hanno combattuto contro il nazifascismo lo hanno fatto legando il loro impegno a questo obiettivo pacifico. Alcuni di loro sono andati oltre nel processo e hanno unito questo desiderio di pace con il desiderio di Europa e di unità mondiale. Si pensi, in particola-

re, al primo numero del giornale del Movimento Federalista Europeo (maggio 1943) che auspica l'avvento di una "unione federale" come «l'unica formula che consentirebbe all'Europa di entrare in un ordinamento giuridico capace di assicurare la cooperazione pacifica di tutti i paesi del mondo».

È questo approccio che Robert Schuman ha fatto suo nella dichiarazione del 9 maggio 1950: «L'Europa non è stata fatta, abbiamo avuto la guerra». Si dice talvolta, con una forma di disprezzo, che l'Europa non è la madre della pace, ma la figlia della pace.

Gli articoli raccolti in questo numero monografico si interrogano sul modo in cui nel secondo dopoguerra l'Europa, che cominciava ad emergere come un'Europa unita e organizzata, cercava di tener conto del problema della sua difesa. L'Europa può diventare se stessa senza armi? Come testimonia la guerra russo-ucraina, la questione è ancora aperta.

Analizzato a lungo termine e a posteriori, il fallimento del CED rivela un paradosso, quello che potremmo chiamare il "paradosso dell'impotenza" (o quello che Robert Kagan chiama "la psicologia della dipendenza"). In effetti, la CED è stata rifiutata dalla Francia in nome della conservazione della sovranità nazionale, ma questo rifiuto, ispirato per alcuni (gollisti) dall'antiamericanismo e dalla paura della Germania, e per altri (comunisti) dalla preoccupazione di essere sulla linea anti-europea dell'URSS, poneva la Francia, e l'Europa, in uno stato di dipendenza strategica dagli Stati Uniti e consentiva il riarmo della Germania, ma fuori dall'Europa. La sconfitta della CED è dunque anche la sconfitta degli anti-Cedisti. D'altra parte, la Francia, riluttante ad accettare il suo nuovo *status* di media potenza, perse un'opportunità inaspettata di accedere alla *leadership* politica all'interno dell'Europa occidentale e alla fine esasperò i suoi partner. Questa è la prima e paradossale "lezione" politica di questa disavventura.

Ciò che questo fallimento suggerisce anche è che l'Europa, a differenza degli Stati Uniti, ha vissuto il trauma delle guerre totali nel XX secolo e che questa Europa, che sta cercando di ricrearsi dal 1945, è stata pensata sulla base di una visione del mondo pacifista e conciliante, nonostante la guerra fredda, ancorata all'idea che il progresso economico sia l'unico modo per stringere legami intraeuropei e recuperare potere all'esterno, un potere benefico. Il rifiuto della CED, almeno per la Francia, è forse l'effetto di vasta portata e profondo del trauma delle due guerre mondiali che hanno reso illegittimo, se non immorale, il potere e che si sono tradotte in una politica della "norma senza forza". Si aggiunga che l'Europa in rovina nell'immediato dopoguerra e il ricordo di tragedie personali non favoriscono proiezioni in un futuro collettivo di riconciliazione sovranazionale che integri una Germania responsabile di questa catastrofe assoluta. Sarebbe un errore pensare che la Resistenza all'Europa "nazifascista" sia tutta unita nell'ideale europeo. La Resistenza francese non poteva unirsi in un progetto politico su scala europea. Già nel 1946 la filosofa Hannah Arendt comprese che "i francesi della Resistenza" sono "uomini veri" ma che "sono naturalmente una minoranza in via di estinzione"; e nel 1952, quando conobbe Henri Frenay, rimase affascinata dal combattente resistente antifascista ed europeista, ma pensò che lui "farebbe bene a fare politica invece di perdere tempo in questa crema dell'Europa che è perso comunque".

La terza lezione della rinuncia alla CED è che, per far avanzare l'Europa sulla via dell'autonomia geopolitica, sarebbe necessario prima compiere un salto dirimpante e sostenibile per i popoli europei e per i loro rappresentanti: la costituzione di uno Stato politico che riuscirebbe a liberarsi dal dogma della sovranità assoluta degli Stati. I francesi non erano pronti ad attraversare il Rubicone. Probabilmente perché l'Europa non era la sua "priorità assoluta", Pierre Mendès France sembrava aver dimenticato il suo motto ("governare è scegliere"): ha avuto il coraggio analizzare la questione, ma ha esitato, provocando un'immensa delusione nei movimenti federalisti che credevano fosse giunto il loro momento. Tutte le famiglie politiche (gollisti e comunisti esclusi) si divisero, portando all'abbandono del progetto e provocando incomprensioni in altri Paesi europei, sorpresi da questa ritirata. Ma non bisogna dimenticare la responsabilità e la doppiezza della Gran Bretagna, che aveva un esercito "vero" e sperimentò il suo primo test nucleare nell'ottobre 1952. Churchill aveva lanciato l'idea nel 1950, ma non firmò il trattato del maggio 1952. L'Europa occidentale era disunita.

Tornare alla CED significa riesaminare le condizioni per la possibilità di un'era di post-sovranià in Europa. Di qui l'importanza di ragionare sulla questione della difesa europea partendo dalla storia dell'idea europea e dalla sua lenta e difficile incarnazione politica. Il fallimento della CED, analizzato da nuove fonti e questioni, è una lezione che dovrebbe aiutare a situare meglio le questioni e illuminare decisori e opinioni sul senso della storia europea e sul suo posto sulla scena della comunità internazionale, e quindi sulla capacità dell'Europa di essere un attore geopolitico genuinamente autonomo, forte della propria identità, e non solo una piccola potenza, cioè una componente dell'Occidente sotto la guida americana a cui ha delegato in gran parte il proprio potere strategico.

Book Recommendations



Antonio Calabrò, Maurizio Ferrera, Piergaetano Marchetti, Alberto Martinelli, Antonio Padoa-Schioppa, Paola Profeta, *Essere Europa*, Milano, La Nave di Teseo, 2022, 112 pp.

Già il Manifesto di Ventotene aveva previsto che il vero spartiacque sarebbe stato non tra destra e sinistra ma tra nazionalisti e federalisti, cioè conservatori e progressisti. Questa considerazione appare oggi quanto mai attuale, soprattutto nell'Italia del 2022, quando la caduta del governo Draghi e la campagna elettorale hanno riaperto i toni e riattizzato le ideologie. L'Europa è uno dei temi più caldi su cui si scontra la sensibilità degli europeisti con quella delle forze antieuropeiste, che vorrebbero un'Italia fuori da un'Europa che, come spesso appare da tante dichiarazioni, pare non essere capita né conosciuta.

Questo agile volumetto si pone nel cuore del dibattito, affrontando le ragioni più importanti dell'europeismo, ribadendo la necessità dell'adesione piena dell'Italia all'Europa: legata a temi inaggirabili di natura economica, di politica nazionale e internazionale, a vincoli amministrativi, sociali e culturali.

Antonio Calabrò guarda all'Unione dal punto di vista delle imprese, a cui serve «un'Europa dinamica, più giusta e integrata». Sarebbe un'illusione per il sistema produttivo italiano pensare di farne a meno per cercare di riallinearsi con i grandi sistemi economici, cosa dimostrata anche dagli investimenti su una frontiera tecnologica come l'intelligenza artificiale, nella quale «nessuno Stato, nessuna impresa, per quanto solida ed efficiente, può pensare di farcela in solitudine».

Piergaetano Marchetti ricorda quanto l'Unione sia ancora oggi un antidoto ai conflitti, dopo settant'anni senza che alcuna famiglia abbia pianto un morto al fronte. Un risultato troppo spesso dato per scontato e che può sembrare poca cosa a generazioni mai vissute in guerra. Con il rischio, addirittura, che il "prezzo" pagato con l'Europa, cioè la presunta perdita di sovranità, sia considerato eccessivo per un bene comune come la pace che nessuna nazione sovrana da sola è più in grado di assicurare ai propri cittadini.

Alberto Martinelli si sofferma sulle questioni identitarie e di cittadinanza per sottolineare la scarsa consapevolezza che come italiani abbiamo dei nuovi diritti acquisiti in quanto cittadini europei, diritti vengono dati troppo spesso per scontati senza attribuirne il merito all'Unione, a cominciare da quello più importante, che è il diritto alla libera circolazione nei membri UE.

Antonio Padoa-Schioppa descrive e spiega l'evoluzione dell'assetto istituzionale, dalla CECA del 1951 a oggi, che ha portato alla nascita dell'Alta Autorità prima e della Commissione europea poi, del Parlamento europeo, ma anche del Consiglio euro-

peo, che riunisce i capi di Stato e di governo dei Paesi membri. Il potere di veto in quest'ultima sede è ciò che però impedisce all'UE di fare il salto federale e tiene fuori dalla competenza comunitaria settori cruciali quali politica fiscale, bilancio pluriennale e quasi tutte le materie legate alla politica estera, a cominciare dalla difesa. Per rispondere alle sfide che gli Stati europei hanno di fronte «la cattedrale va completata» perché da ciò «può dipendere il futuro non solo dei cittadini europei ma quello dell'intero Pianeta».

Il volume si profila come un "simposio", un invito a ragionare e a guardare con grande cautela alla criminalizzazione dell'Europa, a rendersi conto di quanta strada si è fatta, anche nella vita di ogni giorno, e a non sottovalutare i motivi di crisi, di ritardi e difficoltà cercando anche qualche soluzione.

Abstracts and Keywords



Comment encadrer juridiquement la communication sur internet des institutions européennes en matière de multilinguisme ?

Laure Clément-Wilz

Cet article porte sur l'encadrement juridique de la communication sur internet des institutions européennes en matière de multilinguisme. Il analyse le droit applicable, les pratiques institutionnelles et les évolutions juridiques possibles. Le contexte juridique donne une importante marge de manœuvre aux institutions de l'Union européenne, à faveur d'une jurisprudence de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne assez peu formaliste. Il n'est pas imposé formellement aux institutions européennes de communiquer sur internet dans les 24 langues officielles de l'Union européenne et ce indépendamment de leur contenu et de l'importance de ces sites internet dans la politique de communication des institutions de l'Union.

Cependant, l'analyse des pratiques institutionnelles sur internet (sites internet et réseaux sociaux) montre, à l'appui du récent rapport remis à la commission CULT du Parlement européen, que le manque de transparence des régimes linguistiques et la publication de contenus ayant potentiellement des effets juridiques et des effets sur les intérêts des usagers les exposent potentiellement à une violation du Règlement No1 et plus largement à une inadéquation avec les besoins des résidents de l'Union européenne qui utilisent les sites et médias sociaux. Il faudrait donc opérer une distinction selon le type de contenu, et fixer ainsi aux institutions les priorités.

En définitive, il apparaît possible d'identifier des obligations juridiques en matière de multilinguisme, en renouvelant l'interprétation du droit en vigueur pour l'adapter à la réalité de la communication en ligne. La CJUE pourrait faire évoluer sa jurisprudence. De même, les plaideurs et les juridictions nationales ne devraient pas hésiter à la saisir afin que de nouvelles obligations en matière de multilinguisme soient fixées. Le temps de modifier le Règlement No1 est aussi peut-être venu, pour l'adapter aux nouvelles réalités, institutionnelle et numérique.

Mots-Clés: Union européenne; EU institutions; Communication sur internet; Multilinguisme; Droit applicable en matière de multilinguisme; Règlement No1

This article focuses on the legal framework of the European institutions' communication on the Internet with regard to multilingualism. It analyses the applicable law, institutional practices and possible legal developments. The legal context gives the European Union institutions considerable leeway, thanks to the fairly informal case law of the Court of Justice of the European Union. The European institutions are not formally required to communicate on the Internet in the 24 official languages of the European Union, regardless of their content and the importance of these websites in the communication policy of the EU institutions.

However, the analysis of institutional practices on the Internet (websites and social networks) shows, in support of the recent report submitted to the CULT Committee of the European Parliament, that the lack of transparency of language regimes and the publication of content with potential legal effects and effects on the interests of users potentially expose them to a violation of Regulation No 1 and more broadly to a mismatch with the needs of EU residents using websites and social media. A distinction should therefore be made according to the type of content, thus setting priorities for the institutions.

Ultimately, it seems possible to identify legal obligations in the area of multilingualism, by renewing the interpretation of existing law to adapt it to the reality of online communication. The CJEU could amend its case law. Similarly, litigants and national courts should not hesitate to refer to the Court of justice to have new multilingual obligations established. The time may also be for amending Regulation No. 1, in order to adapt this Regulation to the new institutional and digital realities.

Keywords: European Union; EU institutions; Communication on internet; Multilingualism; Legal rules concerning multilingualism; Regulation No1

English Language and Brexit: A Linguistic Analysis of the Legal Texts of the EU

Ornella Guarino

To this date, English is one of the working languages of the EU and, most importantly, it is the 'de facto' lingua franca of the EU, as the source language of most European documents is mainly English (Crystal 2017). Despite Brexit, English remains the most studied language in Europe (Kuźelewska 2020), not to mention the fact that it is the language of globalization. However, the UK's exit from the EU prompts the question as to what will be the development of English in the post-Brexit landscape.

In light of this, the present article aims at conducting a linguistic analysis of Euro-English in order to assess if and how such type of English differs from the Standard English (SE). If yes, is it possible that the Brexit phenomenon will contribute even further to the consolidation of a new variety of English in its own terms? There is an ongoing debate on this issue, which is perhaps more topical today than ever before.

The purpose of this article is therefore to analyze the current status of the English language used in EU legislation. In order to do so, this article provides a brief introduction of the linguistic landscape of the EU, by assessing the historical process of multilingualism and the EU egalitarian language policy. Subsequently, the article goes on to the analysis of a corpus of EU legislation (Directives, Regulations, Decisions, Recommendations, Opinions) drawn up in English in the last decades (1992-2022) to assess whether Euro-English has specific linguistic features at the lexical, morphosyntactic, and textual levels. The selected corpus of EU legal texts is compared to a corpus of UK legislation elaborated during the same time frame and the data are processed using the WordSmith Tools 8.0 software.

Keywords: English Language; Euro-English; Brexit; Legal Discourse; Legislative Drafting

Le multilinguisme, levier de légitimation pour la présidente de la Commission Européenne ?

Représentation d'Ursula von der Leyen en figure d'autorité polyglotte

Juliette Charbonneaux

Depuis son arrivée à la tête de la Commission Européenne en 2019, Ursula von der Leyen s'est fait (re)connaître, notamment, par sa capacité à s'exprimer en plusieurs langues de l'Union. Ses différents « discours sur l'État de l'Union » ont ainsi été l'occasion pour elle de manifester son aisance dans sa langue maternelle, l'allemand, mais aussi en anglais ou en français, aisance qui n'a pas manqué d'être relevée et soulignée par les médias couvrant cet événement discursif et politique bien ritualisé. Partant de ce constat, cet article entend interroger le rôle légitimant, pour le politique, que peut endosser le multilinguisme dans le cas de la communication d'une institution bien spécifique, la Commission Européenne, et de la « figure d'autorité » qui la dirige. Pour ce faire est déployée une analyse sémiologie-discursive de productions communicationnelles et médiatiques dans lesquelles se construit, s'affirme ou se discute l'ethos plurilingue de la figure d'Ursula von der Leyen. Cette analyse permet de mettre en lumière le rôle normatif des médias vis-à-vis des pratiques linguistiques du politique.

Mots-clefs : autorité, Commission européenne, Europe, légitimité, multilinguisme

Since her arrival at the head of the European Commission in 2019, Ursula von der Leyen has made herself (re)known, in particular, by her ability to express herself in several languages of the Union. Her various "State of the Union speeches" have thus been an opportunity for her to demonstrate her fluency in her mother tongue, German, but also in English and French, a fluency that has not failed to be noted and emphasized by the media covering this well-ritualized discursive and political event. Based on this observation, this article intends to question the legitimizing role that multilingualism can play for the politician in the case of the communication of a very specific institution, the European Commission, and of the "authority figure" who directs it. To this end, a semiological-discursive analysis of communicative and media productions in which the multilingual ethos of the figure of Ursula von der Leyen is constructed, affirmed or discussed is deployed. This analysis sheds light on the normative role of the media with regard to the linguistic practices of politics.

Keywords: authority, European Commission, Europe, legitimacy, multilingualism

Labelled glossaries in the context of migration: a proposal for Italian and English

Ferdinando Longobardi, Valeria Pastorino

This paper investigates the way in which the words used to talk about migration are described by international organisations and public administrations. It proposes a more detailed description of the words that takes into account the morphological characteristics of each word, starting from corpora drawn from the Italian version of the EMN Glossary on Asylum and Migration and the English version of the IOM Glossary on Migration. The study introduces original excerpts of morphologically labelled glossaries comprising of the most frequent words in the migration context. The labelled glossaries present the description of the word units and an explanation of their grammatical behaviours, using tools and techniques from the Lexicon-Grammar theory to account for words' features usually considered as mere irregularities. The addition of these morphological labels to describe the behaviour of the words in the context of migration would allow them to be used with confidence by speakers, even those whose first language is not that of the country in which they find themselves, thus putting the individual at the core of the issue by giving those most affected the power to voice their opinions.

Keywords: labelled glossaries, morphology, linguistics, migration, EU, dictionaries

L'integrazione nella diversità: lo spazio possibile (e necessario) delle lingue di origine degli stranieri residenti nella politica linguistica dell'Unione Europea

Maria Simoniello

Il numero di lingue ufficiali degli Stati membri esprime solo parzialmente la portata del plurilinguismo esistente nell'Unione Europea. La molteplicità di lingue in uso presso le comunità immigrate strutturate nei diversi Paesi, in particolare, costituisce la manifestazione più recente di tale fenomeno, alla quale tuttavia non ha fatto seguito alcuna esplicita revisione dei quadri interpretativi che ne determinano il trattamento. Al contrario, questi paiono ancora protendere – tanto a livello comunitario quanto nel diritto interno dei singoli Stati – verso una considerazione delle lingue quali beni storico-culturali (Savoia 2001; Caretti-Cardone 2014) e strettamente legata al modello di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche (cfr. Extra 2011), categoria dalla quale le lingue parlate dagli immigrati sono generalmente escluse (cfr., tra gli altri, Orioles 2007; Caretti-Cardone 2014), come si nota da ultimo nella risoluzione 2020/2846(RPS). Sorgono così degli interrogativi sull'avanzamento del percorso di definizione dei diritti linguistici (Poggeschi 2010) nell'Unione: c'è spazio per una riflessione euro-unitaria su un'estensione formale del modello di promozione del plurilinguismo alle varietà portate dai gruppi immigrati? Parliamo ad oggi di plurilinguismo delle istituzioni o dei cittadini?

Partendo dalla considerazione di questi limiti, il contributo proposto approfondisce la posizione delle lingue di origine degli stranieri residenti nel quadro della promozione euro-unitaria del plurilinguismo, con l'obiettivo di individuare degli spazi di azione possibili per un'estensione delle attuali misure che superi il ricorso al solo modello minoritario e colga invece le peculiarità socio-culturali proprie del fenomeno e le conseguenti implicazioni per il tema dell'integrazione.

Parole chiave: diritti linguistici; plurilinguismo europeo; politica linguistica; minoranze linguistiche; Unione Europea.

Integration in diversity: the possible (and necessary) attention to the languages of foreign people resident in Europe in the language policies of the European Union. The number of official languages spoken in the States member of European Union accounts only partially of the actual dimension of European plurilingualism. Particularly the number of languages spoken by communities of foreign people permanently resident in the European Countries represents the most recent manifestation of this phenomenon. However, despite its quantitative and qualitative relevance, no modifications of the interpreting frameworks of European plurilingualism have been undertaken. In contrast, policies seem to persist in adopting – both at the national and EU level – a consideration of languages as part of an historical-cultural heritage (see among others Orioles 2007; Caretti-Cardone 2014), and closely related to the model of protection applied to historical minority languages (Extra 2011), a category from which the languages spoken by foreigners are generally excluded (see, among others, Orioles 2007; Caretti-Cardone 2014), as recently shown by the resolution 2020/2846(RPS). Considering this circumstances, two questions about the progression of the debate on linguistic rights (Poggeschi 2010) in the EU arise: Is it possible to individuate the conditions for an European action on the official extension of the

plurilingualism framework at the languages stemming from recent migrations? Do we intend an institutional or a social European plurilingualism?

This paper aims at investigating the position of the languages of origin of foreign people in the European framework on plurilingualism, with the objective to identify possible actions in order to extend the current policies promoting plurilingualism and overcome the minority model, to include the socio-cultural specificities of the phenomenon and its implications for the integration.

Keywords: Linguistic Rights; European Plurilingualism; Language policy; Linguistic minorities; European Union.

Multilingual communication: the role of gaze, physical contact, and time perception and organization in intercultural interactions

Maria Grazia Busà, Chiara Facciani, Arianna Notaro

Research on multilingualism and intercultural communication has been gaining large recognition. However, a number of subject areas are still largely underexplored. For example, verbal communication is prioritised while little emphasis is given to the multimodality of multilingual and multicultural interactions. Also, while some studies focus on the role of gestures in intercultural communication, elements such as gaze, physical contact, and time are far less researched. However, the lack of attention to some non-verbal elements can create misunderstandings, particularly when people share a spoken code only partially, as is the case with non-native speakers. Thus, non-verbal language should be given a wider scope in multilingual and intercultural research. This paper is a preliminary investigation of how intercultural differences in the use and interpretation of non-verbal codes of communication can affect interactions between migrants and social workers in Italy. The focus is on gaze, physical contact, and time perception and organization. The paper provides a qualitative analysis of focus groups and online questionnaires submitted to social workers working in northern Italy and supporting migrants in their daily integration in the society. The results show that the use and interpretation of gaze, physical contact and time vary considerably depending on the individual migrant as well as their culture of origin. Considerations are drawn on the extent to which cultural differences in the interpretation of non-verbal codes can create misunderstandings and undermine migrants' integration.

Keywords: Intercultural communication; non-verbal communication; migration; gaze; physical contact; time



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