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GLOBISH IN EUROPE

GROTIUS

E-KÖNYVTÁR / 68.

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1. Introduction: Multilingualism in Europe

Language is one of the greatest assets of humanity. It allows us to exchange ideas, to express feelings and to preserve our culture. Preserving all the national languages contributes to preserving the national identities, as language is not merely a means of communication, but also a bearer of identity.[1]

Languages and **lingua francas**[2] have always been important for the peoples of Europe. In different historical periods Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Russian and, for a short and strained period, German, had the European hegemony. The two World Wars of the 20th century and the creation of the international system brought a change into this historical pattern, which culminated in the creation of today's European Union. The EU is based on the principle of democracy and non-discrimination, which means that all its official languages are considered to be equal and there are inherent legal checks that ensure multilingualism.

The linguistic diversity of Europe has both its advantages and disadvantages. The EU is committed to preserving its cultural and linguistic heterogenity, as reflected by its very motto *'United in diversity'* – fittingly translated into all its 24 official languages. This, however raises some practical questions; for it seems that what can be stopped via the legal checks cannot be stopped by the market mechanisms of capitalism. Although in theory all languages are equal in importance, there seem to be firsts among equals. In the history of the European Union it was initially French, but nowadays it is increasingly English, which is now more significant than any language has ever been in history. The prevalence of English can be seen not only in the language learning trends within the member states, but also in the institutions' language use, which presents a serious dilemma: should we promote linguistic diversity in accordance with the EU's democratic principles and respect for diversity, or should we rather accept the seemingly inevitable hegemony of the English language in the world and adopt it as a single working language in the EU, making it more efficient and flexible but sacrificing equality? The first part of this paper will examine the language situation in the EU, both with regard to the languages of the peoples within its territory and the languages of its institutions, and will look into the limitations of multilingualism and its

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[1] Caviedes, A. (2003). The Role of Language in Nation-Building within the European Union. *Dialectical Anthropology*, [online] 27, pp.249-268. Available at:
https://www.academia.edu/20393053/The_Role_of_Language_in_Nation-Building_within_the_European_Union [Accessed 1 Apr. 2016].
[2] a common second language in a region where people do not have a common language

possible alternatives. It will analyze the possibility of adopting a simplified version of English called **'Globish'** as a single working language in the EU, comparing it with previous historical attempts to use artificial languages or simplified languages for that purpose in the second part.

After examining Globish, pointing out its strengths and weaknesses, we will argue in this article that it is not suitable for these purposes. To prove my arguments we will analyze its features in detail with special attention to its 1500-word vocabulary and its limitations. During our research we contacted Mr. Jean-Paul Nerrière, inventor of Globish and David Crystal, the world-famous British linguist and author of *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. We used linguistic data from several sources to prove that the vocabulary of Globish is not sufficient for the needs of either everyday use or special uses, such as business or legal language. Finally, at the end of this paper we will conclude that Europe will most likely maintain its multilingual policy in the future while the role of English as a global lingua franca will continue to grow.

2. The languages of Europe: a general review

Europe has very special historical, geopolitical, and demographic features. It is the second smallest continent in size, but the third largest in population. Although it is the least linguistically diverse continent [3] (the number of European languages only accounts for approximately 3% of the world's languages),[4] it is home to some of the most influential and widely spoken languages in the world. English is the most spoken language worldwide. Spanish has the second greatest number of mothertongue speakers after Chinese.[5] German is the language of one of the strongest economies in the world. French is the traditional language of diplomacy, with many overseas speakers, and Portuguese is spoken in many former colonies in Africa and, of course, in Brazil. If we add Russia to the list, whose territory belongs to both Europe and Asia, but whose language is undoubtedly a European one, we can add most of the East European and Central Asian countries to this list. Belgium and the Netherlands can also be added as former colonizers. These languages combined cover most of surface of the globe,[6] their speakers produce most of the world's GDP,[7] and exert their influence in virtually every country in the world. It is easily demonstrated by combining the territories, populations, and economies of the Commonwealth (English), the Francophony (French), the Spanish-speaking world, the Community of Portuguese Language Countries, the German *Sprachraum*, and the territory of the former Soviet Union. Although there are minor exceptions (e.g. the de facto role of Russian is relatively small in remote places of the former Soviet Union and today's Russia, where there are many languages present) and although these languages may not be spoken by the majority of people in the countries which belong in their sphere if influence, they are also influential as second and foreign languages, spoken in important institutions, and are official in most international organizations.[8] With the exception of German, most of their native speakers are outside of Europe, but they have historical and cultural bonds to their European homelands. This phenomenon is unique, as the largest languages of other continents – such as Chinese or Hindi – are spoken by a great population, but still remain regional in their sphere of influence (although there are counterexamples, such

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[3] ethnologue.com

[4] Bradean-Ebinger, N. (2011). EUROMOSAIC - Kisebbségi és regionális nyelvek az EU-ban -. *International Relations Quarterly*, [online] 2(2), pp.1-4. Available at: http://www.southeast-europe.org/pdf/06/DKE_06_M_EU_BEN_9.pdf [Accessed 29 Apr. 2016].

[5] ethnologue.com

[6] in terms of where they are spoken as official or second languages

[7] http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf

[8] Crystal, D. (1995). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of the English language*. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press.

as Swahili or Arabic).[9] This is due to the economic and social development of Western Europe, which in turn is a result of its geopolitical characteristics – its small territory, rugged landscape, and its separation from historical transcontinental trade routes.[10]

2.1. How many languages are there in Europe?

'Language is a dialect with an army and a navy'
/Max Weinreich/

Since the EU has undergone several enlargements during its history and, as it will possibly incorporate more states from Europe, it might be useful to start by looking at the language situation in Europe as a whole. The question of how many languages there are in Europe is not an easy one, mostly because of the difficulty to differentiate between a language and a dialect. As we will see, this distinction is rather arbitrary, and is often related to cultural, historical, and political aspects.

2.1.1 Languages and dialects

The traditional view is that we can talk about dialects as long as there is mutual intelligibility between the speakers.[11] For example, in Great Britain there are many dialects different from Received Pronunciation (RP)[12] in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, or even grammar. But as long as these differences are not so major as to hinder effective communication, we can talk about one language. The case is not always that simple, however, as sometimes we do not consider mutually unintelligible dialects to be distinct languages. Two examples can illustrate this:

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[9] ethnologue.com
[10] Böröcz, J.: The European Union and global social change
[11] Crystal, D. The Cambridge encyclopedia of the English language
[12] Received Pronunciation – the standard British dialect

There are several languages and dialects spoken in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Today Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian, are officially considered to be distinct languages, yet during the existence of the Yugoslav state, people could get along using the same language. While today's Croats and Serbs reject the idea of their languages being identical, linguistically speaking they can be considered the same language with minor regional differences.[13]

On the other hand the territories of today's Italy and Germany have traditionally been home to a number of small kingdoms with very different dialects. Even after the unification of these countries and the selection of a national standard variety (Italian spoken in Rome and High German, respectively), these dialects are so different that they would probably be considered different languages if they happened not to be in the same unified political entity. In cases like these we can speak about a **dialect continuum**. A dialect continuum is a chain of dialects that expands over a territory, the adjacent members of which can generally understand each other, but have difficulties in understanding more remote members of the chain, and may not understand the farthest members at all.[14] Such an expansive continuum links together, for example, all the dialects known as German, Dutch and Flemish languages. This means that the German-speaking people of the Eastern part of Switzerland will not understand those of East Belgium, but are connected by a chain of mutually intelligible dialects that stretches through the Netherlands, Germany and Austria. There are other such European chains, such as the Scandinavian continuum, linking the dialects of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish; the Romance continuum linking Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, French and Italian dialects; and the Northern Slavonic Continuum.[15]

When trying to determine the exact number of the members of such continua, one encounters the problem of how to define the borders between them. Although their standard varieties are mutually unintelligible distinct languages, their local dialects can be relatively close to each other.

Dutch, for example, is linguistically speaking probably not further from High German than Swiss German (schwyzertüüsch).[16] An example for the difference between Standard German and Swiss German illustrates this:

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[13] Tótfalusi: 44 tévhit a nyelvekről és nyelvünkről
[14] Crystal: The Cambridge Encyclopedia of language, p40.
[15] ibid.
[16] Crystal: A nyelv enciklopédiája

„Nicht nur die Sprache hat den Ausländer verraten, sondern auch seine Gewohnheiten"-standard German

„Nüd nu s Muul häd de Ussländer verraate, au syni Möödeli" – Swiss German

This same sentence reads in Dutch as follows:

„Niet alleen zijn taalgebruik verraadde de buitenlander, maar ook zijn gewoontes"

(It was not only his language which revealed he was a foreigner- his way of life revealed it as well.)[17]

As can be seen from these examples, both Swiss German and Dutch deviate greatly from Standard German. The reasons why Dutch is considered to be a language of its own, whereas Swiss-German is not, are cultural, historical and political. Swiss German speakers consider themselves to be part of the German cultural legacy. They do not have a written standard, and use Standard German in official communication. Dialect is thus a more specified concept than language. Everyone speaks dialects that can have either a higher or a lower social acclaim.[18]

If we consider national languages, then the number of European languages is determined by the number of its nations' official languages. If, however we consider all mutually unintelligible variants as distinct languages, and include minority and regional languages, there are much more languages in Europe – according to one estimate as much as 287.[19] Although most of these languages are minor with regards to the number of their speakers and their political and economic influence, every enlargement brings along with it the incorporation of new minority languages into the EU, which presents new challenges and questions for its language policy (such are the famous examples of Irish or Catalan)[20]. Apart from the question of the status of minority languages (which, according to the author of this paper could be a serious issue with regard to, for example the Kurdish people if Turkey were admitted), the issue of working languages also needs to be reconsidered as the increasing number of the languages of new member states puts an increasing burden on the functioning of the EU. This study continues by analyzing the language situation in the EU regarding its institutions and the language skills of its citizens.

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[17] Crystal: The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language
[18] Crystal: The Cambridge Encylopedia of Language pp. 361
[19] ethnologue.com
[20] Bradean-Ebinger Nelu: Kisebbségi és regionális nyelvek az EU-ban

3. The language skills of Europeans and the role of English in the EU:

The word 'multilingualism' has several meanings. On the one hand, it refers to the skill of individuals to use several languages; on the other hand it means the co-existence of linguistically diverse groups within a given geographical territory.[21]

The EU is dedicated to safeguarding multilingualism, both for cultural and political reasons (such as that of identity, social cohesion and integration) as well as because multilingualism contributes to the mobility of the workforce, which is a key to the competitiveness of the economy of the EU.[22] Multilingualism is increasingly seen as an advantage rather than a disadvantage in the EU,[23] and therefore there have been several programmes encouraging language learning for the citizens. The following sections will examine the European Union in terms of its speakers' language competences. This will be followed by an analysis of the language used in its institutions and of the possibility of the adoption of a monolingual language policy.

3.1 Programs for linguistic diversity

The European Union set the the long-term objective that every citizen should have practical skills in at least two foreign languages, in addition to their own mothertongue. Programs for this include the Socrates, Da Vinci, Erasmus, and the Life-long Learning programmes.[24] The year 2001 was declared by the European Union and the Council of Europe to be the European Year of languages (from now: EYoL), promoting linguistic diversity by supporting teachers, intitutions, students and programs such as Socrates and the Leonardo da Vinci programs in many member states. The main message of the EYoL was described by the creators as follows:

'Europe is multilingual and will remain so; learning languages opens new horizons; everyone is capable of learning new languages.'[25]

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[21] Bradean-Ebinger, N.:EUROMOSAIC - Kisebbségi és regionális nyelvek az EU-ban
[22]Eurobarometer 2012
[23] Bradean-Ebinger: Kisebbségi és regionális nyelvek az EU-ban
[24] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy/linguistic-diversity/index_en.htm
[25] Cowderoy Natália: A nyelvkérdés az Európai Unió Intézményeiben

To further promote language learning the Barcelona European Council in 2002 called for action to '*to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particular by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age.*'

3.2. The Eurobarometer survey

The Eurobarometer survey, which was conducted in 2005 and 2012 is a series of questionnaires aimed at determining the language skills of European citizens. Its results help us get a broader picture of the Europeans' knowledge of languages.

3.2.1 Most spoken mothertongues

The most spoken mothertongue in the EU is German (leading at 16%), followed by Italian/English (13% each), French (12%), and Polish/Spanish (8% each). These values more or less reflect the demographic realities of Europe: the most populous country as of 2015 is Germany with more than 81 million people; the second most populous is France with 66,4 million; followed by the United Kingdom with 64,8 million; and Italy with 60 million.[26] German is furthermore spoken in altogether 6 countries as an official language, and in many others as a minority language. French is official in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Luxemburg, Monaco, and in parts of Italy and the Channel Islands,[27] though it must be noted that, as opposed to German, it has a significant background of native speakers outside of *Metropolitan France.*[28]

3.2.2 Most spoken foreign languages

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[26] http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat

[27] ec.europa.eu

[28] the mainland part of France, not including her overseas regions and collectivities. These territories are members of the EU via France – [wikipedia.org/Metropolitan France]

However, when we take a look at the most spoken foreign languages, we can see a different picture: the five most spoken languages are English (38%), French (12%), German (11%), Spanish (7%) and Russian (5%).[29] This indicates that although German has a great weight as a regional language in Europe, it is lesser used as a lingua franca than English, which leads by far the list of foreign languages. This is also confirmed by the further findings of the Eurobarometer survey in relation to foreign languages depicted below.
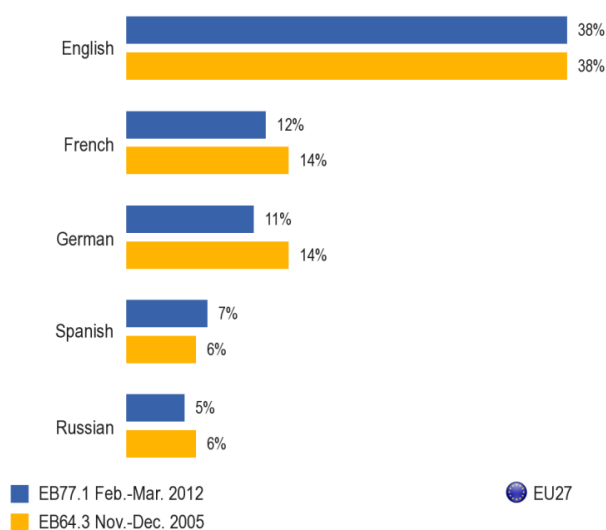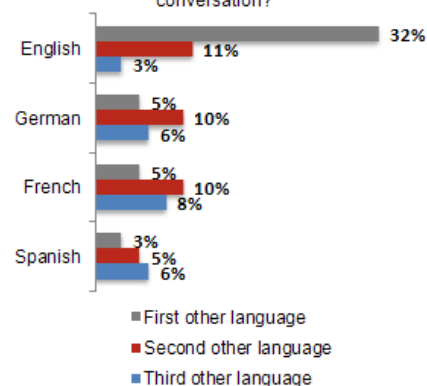
Source: Eurobarometer 2012

The first chart testifies that, apart from a minor growth in Spanish, every big regional language lost ground compared to the 2005 state – except for English, which continues to retain its place.

The survey also shed light on socio-demographic implications of language learning. According to its findings, the groups most likely to speak at least two foreign languages are 15-24 year olds (37%); those still studying (45%); those who finished their full-time education aged 20 or more (42%); those holding management occupations (38%); those who use the internet daily (35%), and those who place themselves high on the sEFL-positioning social staircase.[30]

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[29] Eurobarometer 2012
[30] Eurobarometer 2012

The role of the Internet is of special significance. It is of no doubt that the omnipresence of the English language on the Internet and in some of the most influential media is a key to its expansion.

The results of the survey indicate that the EU' multilingualism goals that every citizen should speak two foreign languages have not been achieved. 7 states have a rate of bilingualism above 90%, whereas the EU-average rate is 54%, meaning that just over half of the EU citizens claim to speak at least one foreign language. The average difference between the 2005 survey and the 2012 survey is -2 points. The results are even more discouraging when it comes to trilingualism: 25% claim they can speak two additional languages (the difference to the 2005 state is -3) and Luxemburg is the only state with more than 80% of trilingual people (Luxemburg is the most multilingual and Hungary the least). According to respondents the source of this is the lack of motivation (34%), the lack of time (28%) and the cost of the language lessons (25%).

3.3 The role of English

According to the survey English is the most widely spoken foreign language in the majority of states. Furthermore, 2/3 of Europeans consider English to be one of the two most useful languages.

QE1a Thinking about languages other than your mother tongue, which two languages do you think are the most useful for your personal development?

answers: languages with more than 3%

Language	Percentage
English	67%
German	17%
French	16%
Spanish	14%
Chinese	6%
Italian	5%
Russian	4%
Don't know	3%
None – don't think any other languages are useful	12%
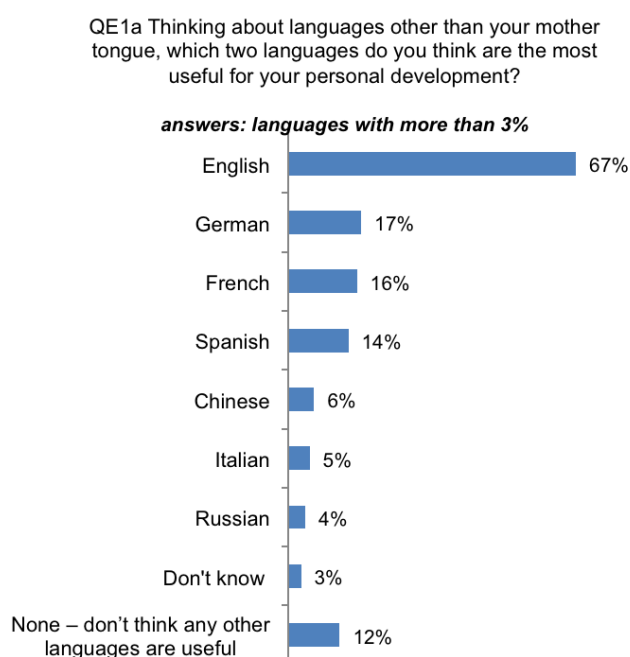
Additionally, 53% of the respondents agree that the EU institutions should adopt a single language when communicating with citizens.[31] English also leads in book translation, both as a source language (60,44% in 2006), and a target language with a 62,7% share of the number of books translated within the European Union in 2009.[32] It also has by far the most interpreters,[33] and is the most widely studied foreign language at every level of education. In several countries more than 90% of pupils are learning English.[34] According to data from the Hungarian Educational Authority[35] of all the 134,966 language exams taken in 2015, 96,615 were in English. This was followed by German that came as a second with 28,310 exams.

After a general introduction of languages and their speakers in Europe, this paper continues by looking at the language policies and the language use in the institutions of the European Union.

4. Linguistic diversity in the EU and its implications for its institutions

As of today, the European Union has 28 member states and 24 official languages,[36] which is more than any international organization – it is sometimes called 'the biggest translation service in the world'. 24 working languages mean that there are 552 possible translation variations, which puts an enormous burden on the functioning of the EU. According to some opinions, as a consequence of multilingualism, EU legislation requires five times the amount of time for passing as compared to the US.[37]

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[31] Eurobarometer 2012, p 39.
[32] European Commission Directorate-General for Translation, (2009). The size of the language industry in the EU. [online] Available at: http://www.termcoord.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Study_on_the_size_of_the_language_industry_in_the_EU.pdf [Accessed 24 Apr. 2016].
[33] European Commission Directorate-General for Translation, (2009). *The size of the language industry in the EU*. [online] Available at: http://www.termcoord.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Study_on_the_size_of_the_language_industry_in_the_EU.pdf [Accessed 24 Apr. 2016] pp. 44.
[34] ibid.
[35] Magyar Oktatási Hivatal
[36] ec.europa.eu
[37] Csomor Ágnes Fabióla:EU-bővítési nyelvlecke. Kulturális örökség vagy pénzügyi racionalitás

There have been several proposals on how to solve this issue. These will be dealt with after a detailed review of the situation.

4.1 The history of multilingualism in the institutions of the EU

'*United in diversity*'

/official motto of the European Union/

The question of official languages has been a matter of dispute since the beginnings of the European integration process. In 1951, when the European Coal and Steel Community was founded there was a dispute between France and Germany over the official language of the community. Since the cooperation was initiated by Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet, whose native language was French the Treaty was written in this language. Based on this France wanted that French remain the only official language but Germany wanted the unconditional equality of Dutch, French, German and Italian – the four founding members. Eventually all four languages had come to be acknowledged as 'authentic languages of the treaty'.[38]

The 1958 resolution regulated the language regulation of the EEC, this was later expanded to ECSC and the EURATOM, recognising all four languages as official and working languages. The 1992 Treaty of Maastricht recognized not only the 10 languages of the Community, but also those of the would-be members, Finland and Sweden.[39] The Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 also declared the right for multilinguism.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights in 2000 also declared that '*The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.*'[40]

4.2 The current situation

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[38] Cowderoy Natália: A nyelvkérdés az Európai Unió Intézményeiben
[39] Treaty of Maastricht, 1992, Art. 53. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/

[40] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/portal/en

In theory, the EU is determined to maintain its multilingual policy. However, this is not the case in the functioning of the institutions. In order to analyze the language use in the institutions of the EU a clarification between working languages and official languages is needed.

4.2.1 Working languages and official languages

The term 'official language' refers to languages used in external communications. Various documents, releases, applications are published in official languages. Working languages are those used outside of the official sessions, during preparations, in internal communication and in the daily work of eurocrats.[41]

The EU has currently 24 official languages, all of which are legally acknowledged as working languages as well.[42] All regulations and documents of general use are issued in each of the official languages. Member states and citizens may use their own language when communicating with an institution (this includes non-official minority languages as well); representatives of the Parliament may use their own language during sessions.

4.2.2 Language use in the EU institutions

According to Natália Cowderoy in her study '*A nyelvkérdés az Európai Unió intézményeiben* '[43] the main institutions of the EU can be divided into two groups according to their working language policy:

'I. Trilingual institutions:

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[41] Szabari Krisztina: Milyen nyelven beszéljünk az unióval? In: Világgazdaság 1997. April 9, in: Frank Ágnes: A brüsszeli Bábel

[42] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy/linguistic-diversity/official-languages-eu_en.htm

[43] Cowderoy Natália: A nyelvkérdés az Európai Unió Intézményeiben

- **The European Commission** is multilingual on principle, and its members decide on the working languages during a given session. Mostly English, French and German are used.

- **The European Court of Auditors** has three working languages – English, French, German;

-In the **European Central Bank** and the **European Investment Bank** there is a hegemony of English, although French and German are also used;

-In the **European Ombudsman** French was the original working language, but later English and German also became working languages.

II. Multilingual group, which includes

- the **European Economic and Social Committee** and the **Committee of the Regions**
- in the **Court of Justice of the European Union** the language of the procedure is determined by that of the suitor, which can be any of the official languages, although the internal working language is French
- In the **European Parliament** the principle of *integral multilinguism* is realised since 'as all European citizens are eligible in the elections they can not all be obliged to speak a relay language[44] perfectly'
- In the **European Council** the policy is also integral multilingualism, but in practice English, French and German are used.

As it can be seen all organs are either trilingual, using the English-French-German combination or are multilingual using all working languages of the EU. This reflects the EU's intention to reconcile economic and practical needs with the principle of linguistic diversity and non-discrimination within the EU. This however is a huge burden on the EU both in terms of money and time.[45]

4.3 The implications of multilingualism in the EU-institutions:

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[44] a language used when direct interpretation between two languages is not possible
[45] Cowderoy Natália: A nyelvkérdés az Európai Unió Intézményeiben

According to the data of the European Commission's interpretation service,[46] it employs 795 interpreters, who on average can interpret from 4 foreign languages into their mother tongue, and 1700 translators. Most of the interpretation is done into English and its total cost is 117 million euros.[47] It had 94,224 interpretation days in 2015. The Directorate General for Interpretation and Conferences supplies interpreters for the meetings of the European Parliament. The number of interpreters in different EU institutions is as follows: **EU Commission:** 1750; **Parliament:** 1200; **Court of Auditors:** 120; **Court of Justice:** 800; **Investment Bank:** 30; **Central Bank:** 70; **Committee of the Regions, European Social and Economic Committee:** 360, **European Council, Secretariat:** 700.[48]

These figures demonstrate why the EU is sometimes called 'the biggest interpretation service in the world'. Other questions related to the multilingual policy of the EU include the difficulties of translating legal terminology for would-be member states, which can be particularly hard when the countries involved have significantly legal systems and languages.[49]

5. Possible alternatives for multilingualism

There have been and are several ideas to solve the 'Tower of Babel' situation within the EU institutions. The current system is characterised by what can be called 'multilingualism with compromises' that is, implementing the principle of the equality of languages with many institutions using 1-3 languages for internal work. The advantages of this compromise are obvious: the EU can function more effectively by restricting its use of languages where possible, while at the same time maintaining the principle of linguistc

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[46] 'The Directorate General for Interpretation (DG Interpretation – also known as SCIC)'
[47] European Commission interpretation figures 2015
[48] European Commission, Directorate-General for Translation:The size of the language industry in the EU
[49] Temesvári Csilla: A többnyelvűség problémája az EU intézményeiben és az autentikus szerződések esetében

diversity. It is questionable, however, whether this compromise can be maintained on the long run.

5.1 Trilingualism

Since there are institutions in which trilingualism has been realised and there are others in which it is present as a tendency, it might seem logical to introduce the universal usage of these three languages in all institutions. This seems to be further reinforced by the study of Asger Ousager, a philosopher and historian of the Danish Research Acedemy, according to whom the member states of the EU can be divided into groups according to which of these languages they can adapt to most easily based on their attitudes. This can have historical and cultural reasons (e.g. the influence of German culture in the Central European region). According to Ágnes Frank, however, English and French are the most frequently used working languages in both oral and written communication and the use of German is negligable in this respect.

This concept would have a number of advantages (for example the reduction of translation variations from 552 to 6) but also some drawbacks. It contradicts the EU's dedication to democracy and equality and would also require the countries involved to put more energy into language learning and teaching in the given languages.

5.2 Monolingualism

The simplest way would be to choose a single language and make it the official language of the European Union. This, however raises the obvious question: which language should it be?

5.2.1 French

The use of French as the language of diplomacy has a long history. French was the lingua franca of Europe in the 18th century and it remained the most important language in diplomacy until the end of WWI. French was the original language of the founding treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community. Its leading role in the EU lasted until 1973, the admission of Great Britain and Ireland, although it remained had been the sole language of press conferences until 1995 when Delors quit the leadership of the European Commission and two English-oriented states joined putting an end to the hegemony of French. French is still widely used in the institutions of the EU, but it is obviously losing ground: it was already less used than English as early as 2003.[50]

5.2.2 German:

If we look at the demographic data of the EU, the widespread use of German seems to be justified. Not only is it the official language of the most populous country in the Union, but it is also official in 5 more states and is the most widespread minority language, spoken in 2/3 of member states.[51] However, despite the large number of its speakers and its economic weight it does not have the privileged role of English and French: it was not intended to be an official language of the Community and only became a working language in 1994. For historical reasons German has little prestige in politics,[52] and it is not one of the official languages of the United Nations Organisation. According to Patsch, the Germans' relationship to their language can be characterised as 'cold', and there is a widespread use of everyday English words in today's spoken German. These tendencies are also reflected in the institutions' language use. For these reasons it does not seem likely that German once have a hegemonic role in the EU.

5.2.3 English:

English seems to be the most obvious choice. It has become something we might call a global lingua franca that is spoken and understood in every country. Its power is not that of its

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[50]Benczik Vilmos in Frank Ágnes: A brüsszeli Bábel p. 50

[51] Bradean-Ebinger Nelu: Kisebbségi és regionális nyelvek az EU-ban

[52] Sylvia M. Patsch: A brüsszeli Bábel. pp. 119-120

native speakers but the multitude of people who speak it as a second language or as a foreign language (the difference between these concepts will be clarified). According to Crystal, non-native speakers already outnumber native speakers and this tendency will possibly keep growing. As could be seen from the Eurobarometer reports English is considered to be the most useful foreign language and is thus by far the most learnt one.

Despite these facts the exclusive use of English within the EU institutions would oppose its strong commitment to democracy, giving an unfair advantage to native English speakers.

5.2.4 Artificial languages: Esperanto or Globish

Using an artificial language would have several advantages. It would circumvent the problem of language imperialism: since they are not anyone's mothertongue, no one would have an unfair advantage over the others. They would be a challenge for everyone to learn, although a relatively easy one; for mostly they are created in a way so that they can be learnt very quickly. Furthermore, they are created to be free from cultural elements; artificial languages do not intend to be anyone's mothertongue, they are conceived to be universal second languages. The next chapter will examine in detail whether their use could be implemented and what it would impose on the EU.

6. Artificial languages:
'And the Lord said, "Indeed the people are one and they all have one language, and this is what they begin to do;

now nothing that they propose to do will be withheld from them.

6 Come, let Us go down and there confuse their language,

that they may not understand one another's speech."

7 So the Lord scattered them abroad from there over the face of all the earth,

and they ceased building the city.

8 Therefore its name is called Babel, because there

the Lord confused the language of all the earth;

and from there the Lord scattered them abroad over the face of all the earth.'

/ Genesis 11:4–9/

There have been many attempts to construct a universal lingua franca. The advantages of such a language would be multiple: firstly, it would not belong to any nation or culture, thus its neutrality would be guaranteed. This would be good news for people or nations that have bitter experiences under the colonial rule of a 'big' language – that of English or French, for example, meaning, everyone could identify with it. The second major advantage is the unquestionable quality of a constructed language that it does not give an unfair edge to anyone: if there are no native speakers, no one has an advantage, everyone is placed on the same level. When it comes to discussing, reasoning, arguing or convincing, nobody would suffer a loss because of being a non-native speaker. Such a language would require more or less the same level of effort and commitment from everyone and ensure that there would be no 'firsts among equals'.

But rejecting the opportunity of being firsts among equals is not so easy. After the French Revolution nationalism emerged in Europe and as language was one of the cornerstones of national identity rather than religion or belonging under the same crown, it is all but natural that a race began among nations for the most prestigious language. Nations began to think about their own language as being the most perfect, most expressive, most developed one. Since as early as the 16th century but increasingly in the 19th and early 20th century different nations tried to prove that their tongue was the first and foremost among all of them.

Aside from nationalistic ideas the 19th century brought about profound changes in the lives of everyday people. The second industrial revolution resulted in telecommunication becoming much quicker and it also revolutionised transportation. Life became faster and Earth became smaller. The idea of a global *lingua franca* became more realistic than ever. In the 1880 several attempts were made –Spelin, Pasilingua, Volapük, Esperanto – of which two will be dealt with.

6.1 What are artificial languages?

Artificial or constructed languages are the opposite of natural languages; they are not naturally developed by a community of speakers, but are created with specific aims (international auxiliary languages, fictional languages) and according to certain criteria (aestheticity, simplicity etc.). They are mostly meant to be adopted as second languages.

Artificial languages can be divided into two categories: a priori languages, which are conceived as entirely new languages and a posteriori languages that are created from the elements of languages already existing.

6.2. A priori

A priori artificial languages are created as 'clean slates', that is, free of any influence of existing natural languages. The choice of elements and their combinations is arbitrary, depending on their inventor and is usually motivated by an intention to create a most logical system.

6.2.1 Solresol

An early example is *Solresol,* created by Jean François Sudre, a French musician between 1817-1866, which was the first artificial language to be taken seriously as an interlanguage[53]. A language that is based on the seven notes of musical notation, it had combinations of 7 one-syllable words, 49 two-syllable words, 336 three-syllable words, 2268 four-syllable and 9072 five-syllable words. The number of syllables a word is made up of depended on the specificity of the concept it referred to: one syllable words had very basic meanings such as 'yes' 'and' or 'no'; personal pronouns had two syllables and most words of everyday use were three-syllabled ones. Words close to each other in meaning were usually in the same form with minor changes and subcategories of the group were created by an additional syllable, much like the system of categorizing books in libraries. Solresol was an

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[53] omniglot.com

amusing concept, allowing seven different ways of communication: 1. sentences can be spoken or written; 2. they can be sung or played on an instrument; 3. they can be noted down; 4. they can be written down using special quick-writing symbols; 5. they can be written down using the first seven Arabic numerals; 6. they can be depicted using the seven colours of the rainbow and; 7. they can be expressed by sign language. Although the language had supporters like Alexander von Humboldt, Victor Hugo and even Napoleon III., it proved unsuitable for everyday use.[54]

6.2.2 Other examples

Other, more recent examples of such languages include even fictional languages such as *Quenya* invented by *Tolkien* or *Klingon*, the language used in the science fiction series *Star Trek*. Other interesting ideas include written-only artificial languages such as Sir Francis Bacon's proposition of 'real characters' or another example called *Bliss* which intended to be a non-spoken language, in a similar fashion to Chinese characters (or, even any set of symbols used among many communities, such as numbers),[55] which are pronounced differently by different communities but are universally comprehensible for everyone in a written form. Although these languages seem practical, none of them managed to gain widespread use for practical reasons and are mostly studied by marginal groups on the Internet.

6.3 A posteriori

As opposed to *a priori* languages, *a posteriori* (or naturalistic) languages take existing languages as a basis and use their vocabulary and grammar to create a new (usually simplified) version of a language.

6.4.The features of an ideal artificial language

According to David Crystal, an ideal artificial language must have the following features: it must be easy to learn with a simple grammar, spelling and sound system; it should bear resemblances to already existing natural languages and contain international words; it

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[54] http://www.nyest.hu/
[55] Tótfalusi: Bábel örökében

must be suited to fit both specialised and everyday needs; it must be standardized with an authoritative body overseeing changes; it must be neutral; and finally, it must provide insight.[56] Considering these points it can already be seen why *a priori* artificial languages are problematic: they follow a strict logic that makes them impractical, unsuitable for everday purpose.

A posteriori languages, on the other hand seem to fulfil these requirements. In order to understand the problem of making a constructed language a universal lingua franca, let us review two examples from history: Volapük and Esperanto.

6.5.Volapük

In 1879, Johann Martin Schleyer, a German priest created his international auxiliary language called Volapük (the name derives from two elements meaning 'world' and 'speak', respectively), which he claimed to have invented on divine inspiration. His aim was to create a language which was "capable of expressing thought with the greatest clearness and accuracy" and was easy for as many people as possible to learn.[57]

Despite scarce interest at first a society to promote the language was set up in Vienna in 1882 and from then on, Volapük gained strength rapidly. In 1884 interest in Volapük spread to Belgium and the Netherlands. By the late 1880s, there were Volapük societies springing up all over Europe, North and South America, Russia and parts of Asia. In 4 years the textbook published by Schleyer had been translated into 10 languages. A number of periodicals in Volapük were published and conferences were held. The first world congress of Volapük was held in Germany in 1884, the second in 1887, the third in 1889. At its peak, Volapük had over 100,000 speakers, 28 journals and 283 associations and more than 1000 language teachers and an academy set up to organize the movement and form the language. Typically, Volapükists were mainly middle-aged educated males in the German-speaking regions.[58]

The movement started to unravel after the third world congress in 1889 at which Professor Auguste Kerckhoffs, an enthusiastic French advocate of the language, was elected

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[56] Crystal: The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language
[57] omniglot.com
[58] Garvía Soto: Esperanto and its rivals

president of the then established Volapük Academy. Schleyer refused to recognise the authority of the Academy, which led to a schism within the movement. Several attempts were made for structural reforms, but within a few years the Volapük movement had collapsed and after a decade, the language turned almost completely into oblivion.

6.5.2 What is Volapük like?

A typical a posteriori constructed language, Volapük had word roots selected from English, German and Latin. The phonology was created in a way that the inventor tried to eliminate sounds that would be difficult for speakers of other languages to pronounce.[59] He wanted to use words as simple as possible, so most word roots consisted of few elements.[60] It featured four grammatical cases, compound words, and particles indicating tense, person, voice. The sound system was made up of 19 consonants and 8 vowels, and root words had to begin and end with a consonant.

6.5.3 Why was Volapük not successful?

The reason for the failure of Volapük can be captured in one word: its **arbitrariness**. Schleyer, the inventor of Volapük was arbitrary not only in terms of its grammatical rules (e.g. which cases it includes), or its morphophonology (what words should look like, preference for words made up of three sounds, words should end and begin with consonants) or replacing international words with unusual, not easily distinguishible ones (numbers from 1-10: 'bal', 'tel', 'kil', 'fol', 'lul', 'mäl', 'vel', 'jöl', 'zül', 'deg') or spelling rules ('c' is pronounced /ch/, j is pronounced /sh/, which are rather uncommon), but also in the way in which he wanted to organise the movement. From the very beginning he envisaged a hierarchical system with him at the top being the only authority to be able to make changes in his language.

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[59] omniglot.com
[60] Garvía Soto: Esperanto and its rivals

Schleyer proclaimed himsEFL supreme leader of the organization. But as the Volapük Academy was founded with a president different from the inventor of the language, reform initiations started to destabilise the language. Schleyer saw this as a threat and refused to acknowledge the authority of the academy and at the same time made constant changes and upgrades in its vocabulary and grammar, that was different from that adopted by the president Auguste Kerckhoffs, leading to a strife and confusing its followers.[61] The 1890 Volapük congress eventually ended in a failure, with the delegates not being able to use the common language.

After its failure, the shortcomings of the language and a lack of sensible language policy were noticed and carefully avoided by the inventor of another constructed language, an optician from the then Tsarist Russian city of Białystok,[62] who expressed his attitude towards the language he had constructed with the very pseudonym he had chosen as a pen-name for his introductory book: Dr. Hopeful.

6.6 Esperanto   *'Esperanto is the Latin for the proletariat.'*

/Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (allegedly)/

Ludwig Zamenhof was an optician born in the Polish city of Białystok in a linguistically diverse environment populated by ethnic Germans, Poles, Russians, Lithuanians, Belorussians and Yiddish-speaking ethnic Jews.[63] Zamenhof himsEFL was a polyglot, speaking Russian, Polish, German and Yiddish fluently and who also had knowledge in French, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, English, Belorussian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian. He studied in Moscow, Warsaw and Vienna.

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[61] Tótfalusi: Bábel örökében. pp.167-179
[62] today: Poland
[63] Garvía Soto: Esperanto and its rivals

During his university studies Zamenhof became sceptical about nationalism, considering it dangerous to draw linguistic limits that divide people (for example, he considered Russian an imperial language that was not acceptable for the majority) and developed a firm conviction that the ultimate way that would lead to peace among the nations of the world would be a single, neutral language available to everyone, that would even out cultural differences, creating a *'non-national, cosmopolitan identity' that would replace ethnonationalism.*[64] He wanted to create a language that is easy to learn, democratic and is free of any cultural burdens that made the languages of colonializing powers unlikeable to many.

6.6.1 A short history of Esperanto

In 1878, he created 'Lingwe Uniwersala' the first draft of his language. In this concept he defined the basic elements of his language.[65] His constructed language was finally published in 1887 under the title 'Internacia Lingvo' (International language).[66] The book was later called 'Unua Libro by the Esperanto community[67] –and included the first dictionary of the language, with more than 900 word roots. Since he was wary of the failure of Volapük, he cautiously chose not to use his own name and instead used the pseudonym 'Dr. Esperanto' ('the one who hopes'). In 1888 his followers adopted this pseudonym for the language, out of respect for the inventor.[68]

In 1905 the book '*Fundamento de Esperanto'* (the foundation of Esperanto) was published, including the fundamental rules of the language. The book included a foreword outlining the 16 basic rules of Esperanto in 5 languages as well as exercises and a universal dictionary.

In the same year the introduction of annual Esperanto Congresses took place.[69] By 1914 there were 1400 participants in the Paris Congress.[70] Finally, the outbreak of WWI put an abrupt end to this quick expansion.

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[64] Garvía Soto:Esperanto and its rivals
[65] Princz Oszkár: Az eszp. élő nyelvvé válásának fontosabb állomásai
[66] original title: 'международный язык'
[67] Garvia Soto: Esperanto and its rivals
[68] Princz: Az eszperantó élő nyelvvé válásának fontosabb állomásai
[69] Gados: A nyelvpolitika és a közös közvetítő nyelv kérdése az Európai Unióban. p. 102
[70] Természetes nyelvek – mesterséges nyelvek. p. 48

After the shocks of WWI, the consecutive Spanish flu epidemic and the ensuing crisis caused the emergence of radical ideas and growing nationalism that penetrated Esperanto discriminating its ideological basis. After the war several attempts were made to revive and reform the language but none of them could compete with the increasing role of English.

6.6.2 The idea behind Esperanto

Zamenhof's idea was essentially different from that of Schleyer. First of all, his language had a political mission, rather than being an instrument. He saw it as a key to achieve the ultimate aim of world peace.

Secondly, as opposed to Schleyer, he only saw himsEFL as the initiator rather than the creator of the language[71] and in his first language book he renounced all his personal rights for it. He placed it on democratic values, giving it to the people and rather than pursuing personal success as did Schleyer, he wanted to serve a cause.[72]

Thirdly, he considered change an essential element of his language. He was aware of the fact that there will be new elements coming in the language and whether they will be used or not will be determined by the users. In one letter he argued that once there will be a central authority setting the norms for the language it should not try to eliminate words that prove impractical, but rather let time and language users decide about it. His idea proved to work, as Esperanto continued to grow after his death, even to the point of having native speakers.

6.6.3 What is Esperanto like?

Zamenhof wanted to create a language that can be comprehensible with a dictionary in a matter of hours.[73] He tried many ways to create a vocabulary for his language. After a few initial failed attempts he had become firmly convinced that the words should be taken from Germanic and Romance languages as these already include widespread international words, known by most nations, which he considered a treasure to be made use of.

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[71] Zamenhof: *'Mi ne volas esti la kreinto de la lingvo, mi volas esti nur iniciatoro* – I don't want to be the creator of the language, merely the initiator' (author's translation)
[72] Garvía Soto: Esperanto and its Rivals. p. 69
[73] Princz: Az eszperantó élő nyelvvé válásának fontosabb állomásai. p. 71

According to dr. Ottó Haszpra[74] and various other sources it takes about 200 working hours to become fluent/reach a B2 level in Esperanto. For Hungarians, this is about 3-5 times less than what is required for the same level of fluency English and one tenth of a time required for most natural languages. Although the difficulty of languages compared to each other is by no means easy to determine, it is widely agreed upon that Esperanto is generally much easier to learn than natural languages because of its easy grammar and logical word formation, easy phonology, consistent writing, and generally, because of its lack of exceptions. It has also proven very easy to learn for the speakers of various languages who otherwise struggle with Western European languages (for example, it was very popular at a time in China).[75] One of its greatest benefits is its propadeutic value;[76] that is that learning it makes other languges much easier to learn.

Esperanto is based on 16 rules that Zamenhof declared unalterable, but he otherwise encouraged any changes that would make his language more perfect. The 16 "fundamentoj" (basic rules) include among others that word endings determine the grammatical class of the word (every noun ends with –o, every adjective with –a, every adverb with –e, etc.); that spelling should be consistent with pronunciation; that stress is fixed (it always falls on the penultimate syllable); that there are three basic verbal tenses with endings –as, -is, -os, and so on. These rules are meant to make the language transparent and easy to use. Other simplifications include having a single word only for positive adjectives, the negative counterparts of which can be created using a certain prefix ('bona' – good, 'malbona' – bad, 'ami' – to love, 'malami' – to hate), or having the suffix '-in-' for female nouns, having other affixes for diminutive forms (such as the '–chen', '–lein' endings in German), having suffixes for numerical specifications and other functions. Using these various affixes only a small number of basic words are needed to be learnt and words with more specific meanings can easily and logically be formed.

A famous example of this logical derivational morphology Esperanto uses is demonstrated by Zamenhof himsEFL in '*50 words from one word*' in '*Fundamento'*. In this demonstration he show how it is possible to create more than 50 words fro a single word root using the affixes he included in his language.

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[74] http://www.eszperanto.hu/
[75] Chan, G.: China and the Esperanto Movement, pp. 1-18.
[76] https://en.wikipedia.org/

6.6.4. Criticisms of Esperanto

Despite all its simplicities, Esperanto does have its shortcomings. First of all, many argued that Zamenhof did not use every opportunity to make the language as simple as possible. For instance, there are three genders in third person singular, just like in English and other Indo-European languages. It also features the accusative case and unusual characters not used in other languages like 'ĥ' or 'ŭ'. Another subject of criticism relates to the vocabulary of Esperanto. In order to be as consistent as possible it uses constructed words whenever it is possible, sometimes replacing better-known and simpler international words. For example the word '*malsanulejo*'[77] is arguably less practical than the internationally recognized word *hospital* or *school*, which is, following a similar logic 'lernejo' in Esperanto. Consistent as it is, most people would probably consider these words harder to remember than their international counterparts.

There are some unusual features in its word formation as well. The suffix '–ino' , which is used to denote female professions or relatives, is used in such basic words as 'mother' (patrino), sister (fratino) or daughter ('filino'). This way of exclusively deriving the female versions from the male root can be considered an old-fashioned sexist approach. Other examples prove word formation to sometimes be illogical or unusual to native speakers of various languages.

Another source of criticism is that Zamenhof used almost exclusively Indo-European roots, which is discriminating against languages belonging to other language families. This is a typical feature of *a posteriori* constructed languages, as pointed out by David Crystal.[78]

6.6.5 The afterlife of Esperanto

The success of Esperanto was eventually halted by the two world wars, the increasing nationalism and the emergence of many of its reformed variants the most famous of which is called Ido (meaning 'offspring' in Esperanto). Nevertheless, its success is not to be underestimated. No artificial language has ever been so successful as Esperanto; in fact, given

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[77] 'mal' being the prefix for negative meaning, 'sana1 meaning healthy, 'ul' meaning 'person' and '–ejo' meaning 'place', thus malsanul-ejo – the place for sick people
[78] Crystal: A nyelv enciklopédiája

the lack of a mothertongue community and an economic and military power, the survival of any constructed language is no mere feat in itsEFL. Of all the artificial languages created at the end of the 19th century Esperanto is the only one still thriving,[79] what's more, it has since been transformed into a fully-fledged, legitimate language, suitable for everyday use in any field.[80] It has native speakers, and with that point we can conclude that it underwent a kind of 'nativization' similarly to the case of pidgin languages undergoing creolization.

But in spite of all these facts Esperantists have to accept the fact that although Zamenhof's language won the battle of artificial languages, it has by no means become a universal lingua franca, the second language of humanity its creator once intended it to be. Today, Esperanto has no official recognition as an international language.[81]Although there have been several propositions to make Esperanto an official language. The two most notable cases were its proposition as an official language of the UN-forerunner organization League of Nations, which failed mainly because of the opposition of the French, who arguing that the world does not need a world language when it already has one, which is certainly French.[82] Another case was a campaign in 1966 when a million signatures were collected which were submitted to the UN Secretariat, but eventually to no avail, as the question was not even put on agenda due to resistance from proponents of English and those of other artificial languages. And a relatively recent proposal came from the Danish Esperantists who suggested the use of Esperanto as a mediator language to put everyone on equal grounds.[83]

As of today there is a relatively small number of Esperanto speakers scattered across the globe, but mostly in East European states, East and Southwest Asia and areas of South America (mainly Brazil).[84] Estimates vary greatly as for the number of speakers; a thorough study conducted to determine the exact number of speakers suggests that it is around 2 million. The number of its native speakers is estimated to be between 200-2000.[85]

6.7 Problems with artificial languages

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[79] W. Terrence: UNDOING BABEL

[80] www.eszperanto.hu

[81] ethnologue.com

[82] Tótfalusi: Bábel Örökében pp. 167-183.

[83] Cowderoy Natália: A nyelvkérdés az Európai Unió Intézményeiben

[84] ethnologue.com

[85] Wandel: How many people speak Esperanto?

As opposed to natural languages artificial languages have no native speakers, no century-long traditions of use and no cultural bonds. In order for them to be successful these sentiments thus have to be created similarly to their grammar and vocabulary. David Crystal enlists the following problems artificial languages must encounter:

6.7.1 Motivation:

Since they are nobody's mothertongue an incentive has to be made for people to learn them. This means that at the same time as giving people motivation to learn the language one must also organize language teaching. Mastering a new language is always a costly task, both financially and timewise. But since language is a tool to exchange, store and create information, even if it is relatively easy to master (as is the case with Esperanto), it has opportunity costs and will not prove a worthy investment unless there is the prospect that it can be used to communicate with many other people.[86] This corresponds to the idea of **path dependency**: namely, that people tend to follow a language or any other standard if they believe that there will be a significant number of others who will likely follow suit. This comes as no surprise, since international languages are meant for common use and because of their objective they are useless unless they reach a critical number of people and institutions who are willing to adopt it. Zamenhof knew this well enough, and therefore he included promissary forms at the end of his introductory book that read: 'I, the undersigned, promise to learn the international language proposed by dr. Esperanto if it appears that 10 million people have publicly given the same promise.' – however, the book containing all the names and addresses was never published.[87]

6.7.2 The problem of identity

One of the functions of language is to express identity, which explains a large number of lingustic differences. Artficial languages aim to stay uniform and neutral. They are

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[86] Dezséri: Gondolatok a nyelv gazdaságtanáról. p.107.
[87] Crystal: The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language. p. 355

naturally in conflict with movements who aim to retain and express national, religious and social identities.[88]

6.7.3 Linguistic bias

It refers to the fact that artificial languages tend to be exclusively based on Indo-European languages. However, we can argue that since Western European languages exported part of their vocabulary to the world making them international choosing them to form a basic vocabulary seems more rational than other languages.

6.7.4 Semantic differences

This means that paradoxically, elements with fixed meanings may have different meanings for different native speakers as words are not exact counterparts of each other in different languages. This way the universal language achieves the opposite goal, by causing confusion rather than mutual understanding.

6.7.5 Antagonism

Many movements of artificial languages resemble cults with a very strong expression of faith in the movement.[89] This might be discouraging for would-be followers. This is also obviously part of the reason why, for instance, Esperanto was persecuted.[90]

6.7.6 The lack of military and political power

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[88] ibid.

[89] ibid.

[90] Garvía Soto: Esperanto and its rivals

 Finally probably the most important obstacle in the way of artificial languages is their lack of military, economic and political power, which, according to Crystal are the most important aspect of spreading a global language.[91]

6.8 Modified natural languages:

According to Crystal several proposals have been made to simplify existing natural languages.[92] Such was Charles Key Ogden's Basic English in 1930. The acronym BASIC referred to *'British, American, Scientific, International, Commercial'*. It used 850 general words, including 400 nouns, 200 objects, 100 general adjectives, 50 opposites, and 100 other words. Other words could in principle also be replaced by these words.

Although this concept had support in the 1940s (for instance, Churchill and initially Roosevelt, who later became sceptical about it),[93] it has its serious disadvantages: the simplification of the vocabulary is achieved at the expense of a more complex grammar and a greater reliance on idiomatic construction and replacement forms often involving lengthy circumlocations. Basic English proved easy to learn to read but hard to write in a way that preserves the meaning. However it can be considered a useful tool as a stepping stone to English rather than a replacement.

The last chapter will deal with a concept very similar to Basic English, a concept that meant to be the language of the 'global village' of the 21st century: Globish.

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[91] Crystal: A nyelv enciklopédiája
[92] Crystal: The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language
[93] W. Terrence: UNDOING BABEL: C.K. Ogden's Basic English

7. Globish

The term 'Globish' was coined by a French businessman, Jean-Paul Nerrière. During his business activity he noticed how it was easier for English as a Foreign Language (EFL) speakers to understand each other than to understand native speakers, despite their comparably limited command of the language. It became his firm conviction that sharing the same limitations can be an advantage. In his words: 'having the same limitations is like having no limitations at all'. Thus he created his idea of a simplified version of English, suited for these common limitations. He gave this English the name Globish (global + English), deliberately not referring to it with the name 'English (as for example, 'Basic English') in order to reflect the fact that English is not owned by its native speakers anymore.

Globish can hardly be thought of as an a posteriori constructed language, since it relies entirely on English grammar as its basis, albeit with limitations. It can perhaps be viewed as a sort of pidginised variety of English, although it has not come into living as a result of the interaction between groups of speakers of different mothertongues. Nerrière himsEFL rejects the idea of Globish being a pidginised version of English, calling in instead 'decaffeinated English' or 'English Light'. It mostly resembles Charles Kay Ogden's Basic English.

Nerrière views his invention not as a language, but rather as a tool for a more effective communication, the aim of which is not to replace national languages. According to him *'Globish is not a language. Globish is no more than a communication tool. A language is a device for transmitting culture and heritage. (...) Globish does not represent anything. It*

merely facilitates easier communication among people who speak different languages.[94] His idea includes the limitation of grammar, the eradication of idioms and special phrases. He suggests using short sentences with no conjunctions, and possibly no more than around 15 words, and, most importantly, the reduction of the vocabulary to 1500 key words. He argues that most non-native speakers of English do not need an excellent command of English and that learning English higher than the basic level drastically and unnecessarily increases the cost of language learning. Based on his experiences he argues that the edge of native speakers can ultimately be a problem for them, as their excellent use of their language discourages non-native speakers[95] from communicating with them. He believes that EFL speakers are less afraid to use their imperfect English when it comes to talking to other EFL speakers. Furthermore, he suggests that the fact that most of the world's communication in English takes place between non-native speakers[96] is already a testimony that it is no longer the native speakers who own the language.
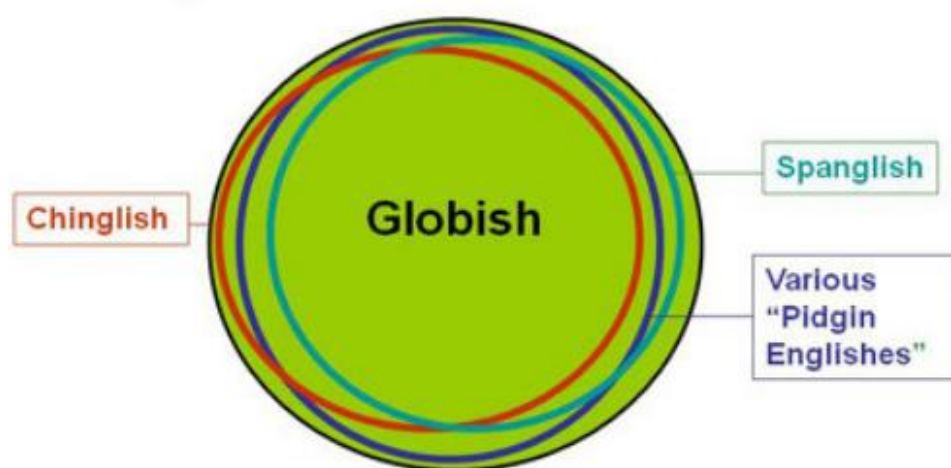
Illustration of the 'the common limitations' of speakers of various Englishes. Source: *Globish the World Over*

7.1 The elements of Globish

Globish the World Over lists the differences between Globish and Standard English. Globish uses 1500 words; fewer sounds; mostly the active voice; short sentences; nonverbal gestures and no idioms.

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[94] Harretz.com
[95] Nerriere: Globish the world over
[96] Graddol: English Next in: Globish the World Over

7.2 Vocabulary:

One of the key elements of the simplicity of Globish is the reduced number of words and sounds it uses. Jean-Paul Nerrière proposed a vocabulary of 1500 words, without the idioms of different varieties of English, technical terms and various irregular verb forms. The list of the 1500 words can be found in the appendix of *Globish the World Over* and is also included in the present thesis.

Having 1500 words as the vocabulary of a language raises two main questions:

1. Is this number of words enough? How many words do we need for everyday language use?

2. If a given set of words (in this case, 1500) is enough which words should we choose for this purpose?

The following sections will deal with both questions in detail.

7.2.1 The number of words

The number of words to be learnt for effective communication is by no means an exact question, most importantly because it entirely depends on what level we wish to achieve, and what we mean by 'effective communication' (Furthermore what qualifies as a 'word' is an additional problem that will be reviewed). It is by no means easy to specify the size of vocabulary for a given level as evidenced in *Europe and language learning: The challenges of comparable assessment*[97]. Most standards specify levels of competence in somewhat vague means without reference to the actual number of words. To cut this issue short, we will refer to the standards of the Common European Framework of Languages (CEFR), the common standard set by the Council of Europe, that defines the various levels of language competency from A1 (Basic User) to C2 (Proficient User). For the sake of simplicity we will only refer to the standards of speaking and listening. The first level (A1) is defined the following way:

Speaking: 'I can use simple phrases and sentences to describe where I live and people I know'

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[97] Kusseling & Decoo: Europe and language learning: The challenges of comparable assessment

Listening: 'I can understand familiar words and very basic phrases concerning mysEFL, my family and immediate concrete surroundings when people speak slowly and clearly'

For our purposes, let us assume that the target level of an average language learner is B2 (referred to as 'Independent User/Vantage'). This level of competence is described as follows:

'Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialistaion. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.'[98]

Speech production: *'Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible. Can take an active part in discussion in familiar contexts accounting for and sustaining my views.'*

Listening: *'Can understand extended speech and lectures and follow even complex lines of argument provided the topic is reasonably familiar. Can understand most TV news and current affairs programmes. I can understand the majority of films in the standard dialect'*[99]

It can be clearly seen that these descriptions lack any reference to actual numbers. As pointed out in *Europe and language learning: The challenges of comparable assessment*, authors of academic literature have different views about what amount of vocabulary is necessary for these levels. For example, suggested numbers for the B2 level vary between 2,000 and 14,000 (the latter put forward by *Instituto Cervantes,* 2006).

According to the inventor of Globish there are several ways to expand the vocabulary of 1500 words. These are: the different use of the same word; combinations; adding suffixes; using phrasal verbs. He concludes that using these methods can create between 3,000 to 4,000 words, 'which is the average amount of words used by a person who speaks English as his mother tongue.' The latter statement is highly debatable.[100] Nerrière's inspiration to use 1500 words originated from a radio programme of 'Voice of America' that used a restricted

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[98] http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf
[99] Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
[100] http://testyourvocab.com/blog/2013-05-10-Summary-of-results

vocabulary, which Nerrière reviewed, deciding on which words to keep and which to discard. His conclusion was that the 'Special English' of the programme was enough for all purposes; this idea is, however, refuted by David Crystal's account of simplified Englishes. He mentions as one of the problems with these languages that although it is relatively easy to understand their written or spoken forms, it is very hard to produce spoken or written texts.[101]

7.2.2 What is a word?

Another problem making the issue of the vocabulary of Globish more difficult is the actual question of what qualifies as a word. This problem might be familiar to anyone who has ever studied the question of what vocabulary a certain language has, or entertained the idea of comparing languages according to their wordstock. For example, it is not easy at all to define the size of English vocabulary, or that of any language, for that matter. Most readers would agree on the fact that e.g. 'bird', 'eye', 'view' are words. But can we say that e.g. 'bird's-eye-view' is a single word? Surely, it is a compound that includes the meaning of all three elements, yet refers to something else an educated reader could be familiar with. We might say that compound words should not be treated as single units, but this statement is really precarious, for no one would agree that the meaning of 'pancake', 'rainbow', 'mistletoe' or 'hourglass' can be computed from the meaning of their respective elements for a theoretical language learner who is not familiar with these words. Also, what we deem a compound word and what not is again, arbitrary. Should 'hot dog' be treated as a compound word despite the fact that it is not one unit?[102] Would elements beginning with the word 'foster', such as 'foster parents', 'foster care', 'foster home' be considered separate elements?[103] If one opposes this by saying that these are isolated examples, their attention should be drawn to the fact that word formation is a constant phenomenon in English (and certainly, all living languages) with recently emerged and newly emerging words such as bucketlist (or bucket list?), or truncations like 'blog' (web+log), smog (smoke+fog), brunch (breakfast+lunch), paratrooper (parachute + trooper), or motel (motor + hotel). (This problem

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[101] Crystal: The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language

[102] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/words/how-many-words-are-there-in-the-english-language

[103] Crystal: English as a global language

is even more striking in other languages, for example German, where there is a potentially infinite number of words, as most words can be combined to form a single noun.) This is probably further accelerated as the age of the Internet accelerates the introduction of new words such as 'to twitter', 'emoji', or 'Brexit'.

Another issue is that of loan words. As a matter of fact, the English language has incorporated a vast number of foreign words (estimates suggest that 60% of all English words have Latin origin). During its history, English has been in contact with various languages, and longer periods of cohabitation necessarily meant a mutual influence on the vocabulary. It is a widely known fact for example, that the entire English vocabulary in connection with cooking and law originates from French.

Of course, no one would argue that loanwords are not part of the English vocabulary. Just because 'idiosyncracy' or 'crisis' are Greek in origin, they still qualify as English words. However, there are a number of words, less frequently used than in these examples which are so rarely used that it can be argued whether they form a part of English vocabulary, or not. Such are special medical and scientific terms e.g. the names of chemical compounds most English users never use.

But if this phenomenon is still happening today then how can one tell which word is a part of the vocabulary and which is not? If 'pizza' is English, is 'prosecco' also English? Are commonly used foreign expressions such as 'deja vu', 'faux pas' or 'ius cogens' part of the English vocabulary? How do we draw the line between loanwords and foreign words?

Finally, there is the problem with the very concept of 'word'.[104] The problem of considering two words as two elements or a single one has been discussed already. From a non-linguistic perspective, most people would probably define 'word' as a single unit made up of sounds that has a distinctive meaning on its own. The problem with this description is multifold:

1. a given word can have several meanings related to one another ('second1': the unit of time measurement smaller than a minute, 'second2': the ordinal number between 'first' and 'third'). These are called polysemes.[105]

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[104] since the topic under discussion is the vocabulary of Globish, I only considered the written forms of words, as spoken forms would raise additional questions

[105] words that share the pronounced form but have different –although related – meanings. (In Hungarian: *többjelentésű szavak*)

2. in the case of true homonyms[106], words not related to one another can share the same pronounced form and spelling (such as 'row1':a straight line of things, 'row2': to move a boat);

3. words with the same meaning, but a different function and in different circumstances may have different forms. If we count the vocabulary of English, should we include the forms 'is, are, am, was, were' under the same heading? Or, conversely, if they are separate words, what stops us from considering other allomorphs, such as e.g. 'mice', 'oxen', 'children', or 'swum' separate words, where usually they are considered alternative forms of a single word? For practical reasons it would be more useful to speak of lemmas (the abstract sum of the word of its forms that can be created using e.g. inflection).

7.2.3 The choice of words for Globish

The author of the present thesis studied the vocabulary list of the 1500 words which can be found in the appendix of „*Globish the World Over*". As a part of the research, it has been contrasted to an American linguistic database of the 5000 most frequently used words.[107] They have also been analysed in terms of whether there are synonyms among them, and whether there are essential words missing from the list.

The most striking thing about the list is its arbitrariness. Similarly to Zamenhof, Jean-Paul Nerriere is not a linguist himsEFL. The analysis of the author of this paper revealed the following problems:

7.2.4 Synonyms:

If one is to construct a practical 1500-word basic language, it seems obvious to include only the most important, practical words. This means that in case of synonymous words we should use the simpler, more convenient variant.[108] In Globish there are words like 'paste', 'parcel', 'possess', 'postpone', 'prevent', 'silence', 'starve', 'substitute', 'suppress',

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[106]words that share the pronounced form but have different, unrelated meanings. (In Hungarian: *azonos alakú szavak*)

[107]http://www.wordfrequency.info/

[108] English is famous for having both Romance and Anglo-Saxon variants for many expressions. The general rule is that in the case of these words, the Romance variant is considered more elevated

'surround'. These words, however useful they are, could be replaced by either phrasal verbs or synonymous words like 'put in', 'pack(age)', 'have', 'put off', 'stop', 'quietness', 'hunger to death', 'replace', or 'oppress'. Although phrasal verbs should also be given different entries, as their meaning is not the sum of their elements, the nature of the endeavour (to express as many things with as few elements as possible), would make it legitimate to stick to them. Also interesting is the fact that there are examples in the list for homonyms such as tear1 – as in tear apart, and tear2 - as in a drop of tear, but this is also arbitrary, as other words which have several meanings, such as 'that' are not included several times.

7.2.5 Spelling:

If we are consistent with the simplification of the language, we might also wonder why Globish does not tackle one of the greatest difficulties of English – the spelling. It would be logical that a universal international language be as simple as possible – with clear, uniformized and consistent spelling rules that reflect pronunciation. In this respect, Globish doesn't deviate from English – the spelling of which itsEFL is in fact a result of tradition and is a highly debated issue in English. Since Globish promotes common limits and not sticking to standards or perfection, when it comes to words and pronunciation, it is curious why this principle is not followed in the case of spelling, replacing Standard English spelling by a much more practical system.

7.2.6 Almost synonymous words:

Simplification could also be used in the case of the meaning of words. If we want to reduce the vocabulary of our language to as few words as possible, perhaps it would be sensible to refer with the same word to meanings that are relatively close to each other, (which in fact is destined to happen with this size of a vocabulary). The distinction between words such as 'voice' – 'sound' or 'tree – wood', which is not made in most languages, or 'tell-talk-speak-say', which are relatively close to each other in meaning, is perhaps not necessary.

7.2.7 The lack of essential words

Finally, apart from the inclusion of surprisingly rare words, the other – and perhaps most striking – problem is the lack of some very common words. As a part of the analysis the vocabulary has been contrasted with the list of the 5000 most frequent English words of an American scientific database.[109] The vocabulary of Globish included words that were far from the actual 1500 most frequent words – sometimes as far as between 4000-5000. Words like 'tourist' or 'translate', or those referring to body parts, directions or everyday tools cannot be found among the 1500 words. Another shortcoming is the lack of business-related words, which is all the more striking, as the inventor intended the language to be a tool for primarily business communication. A few example of missing words include: 'agreement', 'bargain', 'bargain price', 'contract', 'counter-offer', 'discount', 'know-how', 'joint venture', 'stock', 'capital'.

Although most of these terms can possibly be explained using the words of Globish, these circumlocations seem tiresome and unnecessary, given the fact that such words form a basic part of business language. The inventor himsEFL suggests short descriptions instead of the missing words, such as 'my brother's child' instead of 'nephew'. Although these simple definitions can be built in everyday speech it is questionable whether they are simpler than using single words instead. There are also words which are not easily explained with the vocabulary of Globish. To demonstrate this, the author of this paper turned to definitions of the 'Simple English' version of Wikipedia[110] and used the Globish software, which is the inventor's tool that scans non-Globish-compatible words of any inserted text (these words are highlighted in red). The 'Simple English' version of the word 'stock' is the following:

'In financial markets, stock is the capital that a firm gets by giving out and distributing shares.

A person or organization which holds shares of stocks is called a shareholder. The whole value of the stocks that a firm has issued is called its market capitalization.'

As can be seen, not only is the main word not compatible with Globish, but also words of the definition. This means that these words should also be defined as well, which goes against the inventor's principle of using simplicity and would result in what David Crystal referred to *as 'lenghty circumlocations'.*

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[109] http://www.wordfrequency.info/
[110] a version of English intended to be as simple as possible

Another example is taken from the written form of a debate of the European Parliament, 27 April, 2016:

'*Mr President, I would like to congratulate the citizens of Serbia, who, during recent elections, made it perfectly clear to everybody that they want a European future for their country. I would also like to congratulate the Serbian Progressive Party for their extraordinary election results, which will allow them to carry on with the reforms for the benefit of Serbia's European integration and for the benefit of its citizens. Thirdly, as a Hungarian, I want to congratulate the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians, the EPP's only associated member party from Serbia, for the election results, which will help the Hungarian minority in Serbia to maintain strong political representation at all levels. During recent months the Serbian Government delivered strong results, leading to the opening of the first chapters of the accession negotiations. You could also witness great commitment in handling the migration crisis and fostering regional cooperation. Now it is time for the European institutions to deliver. Therefore, I would like to call on the Commission and the Council Presidency to do their utmost in order to clear all remaining obstacles hindering the opening of new chapters, especially Chapter 23.*'[111]

The lack of essential expressions is not the only problem. Nerriere's idea that Globish could be used in international institutions or the EU raises other questions as well. An example is the wording of legal documents. As pointed out previously, different countries have not only different official languages but also different legal systems, and therefore the correct translation of legal documents can be a serious issue. An example for this is the case with three German words, whose translations had different connotations in French, Italian or Hungarian.[112] Such subtleties can not be handled with an extremely limited vocabulary.

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[111] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/

[112] Temesvári Csilla: A többnyelvűség problémája az eu intézményeiben és az autentikus szerződések esetében

7.3 Concluding remarks on Globish:

Despite all these shortcoming Globish has its proponents. David Graddol believes that the use of Globish might become a universal phenomenon as a consequence of the decentralization of English. Nerriere himself accepts changes to his language, as it is evidenced by his correspondence with the author of this paper. He thinks about his language rather as a set of guidelines than a system of strict rules. This, however raises the question of why it is necessary to specify exact limits. As demonstrated by this analysis, these limits can be a difficulty both for native speakers and language learners. Native speakers would most likely find it very difficult to simplify their communication to a set of arbitrary rules (remembering, for example, which words not to use) and languge learners would also not benefit from not learning key elements of the English vocabulary. David Crystal, one of the most acknowledged world authorities on English, whom the author of this paper also contacted stated in his response e-mail:

[The idea] *'is totally unrealistic, and a huge distance from the realities of the vocabulary needs of everyday situations. A few moments observing, for example, a business conference, would show the level of vocabulary needed, which goes way beyond what is recognized by Globish.(…) There is a huge distance between what it is possible to express using proposals such as Globish and the real communicative needs of business people, conference attendees, politicians, and so on.'*

Another essential problem with Globish is its inventor's misperception of the role of Standard and World Englishes. Although today English is spoken by more non-native speakers than native speakers, the political power is still exercised by its native population as the standard variety has the highest social recognition. Just like Zamenhof, Nerriere fails to see that it is not in the interest of the language hegemons to use a different variety of their

language, nor does the non-native speaker world have the political power to implement the universal use of Globish.

Despite its weaknesses, Globish, just like Basic English might prove useful as a tool for learning English. But in order to achieve this, it should re-evaluate its goals and accept the fact that most English learners intend to achieve a higher level of vocabulary and grammar than that of Globish.

8. Conclusion

In our paper we reviewed the subject of multilingualism in the European Union and examined several ideas to diminish the number of its official and working languages. We argued that the democratic principles of the European Union and the traditional struggle for hegemony strongly oppose the idea of adopting a single language. We cited data to prove that English is still the most popular foreign language within the European Union and this is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future due to the economic, military and political power of the United States and the widespread use of English as a global *lingua franca*. We thoroughly analyzed Jean-Paul Nerriere's Globish as a special kind of artificial language contrasting it with historical examples of artificial languages that were created to become universal second languages in Europe, arguing that the lack of necessary military and political might does not allow these languages to achieve these goals. We analysed Globish as an interesting concept, combining the elements of artificial languages and today's global *lingua franca*. We paid particular attention to its vocabulary, pointing to its shortcomings and flaws, arguing that the idea is not as evolved as that of Esperanto. The detailed analysis of its vocabulary clearly showed that it is not fit for becoming an official language in the EU and is not suitable for professional purposes. Given the data used for this paper We therefore conclude that Europe will retain its multilingual policy while the role of English will keep increasing in the foreseeable future.

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Appendix: the 1500-word vocabulary of Globish

a	**an**gle	bar	**boy**cott	catch	com**mu**nicate	**cu**stom
able	**an**gry	**ba**rrier	brain	cause	com**mu**nity	cut
a**bou**t	**a**nimal	base	brake	**ce**lebrate	**com**pany	**da**mage
a**bove**	anni**ver**sary	**bas**ket	branch	**cen**ter	com**pare**	dance
ac**cept**	an**nou**nce	battle	brass	**cen**tury	com**pe**te	**dan**ger
accident	a**no**ther	be	brave	**ce**remony	com**ple**te	dark
ac**count**	**an**swer		bread	**cer**tain	**com**plex	date
ac**cuse**		beat	break	chain	**com**promise	
a**cross**	any	**beau**tiful	breathe	**chair**man	com**pu**ter	**dau**ghter
act	a**po**logize	be**cau**se	brick	**cham**pion	con**cern**	day
activist	ap**peal**	be**co**me	bridge	chance	con**demn**	
actor	ap**pea**r	bed	brief	change	con**di**tion	dead
add	**ap**ple	be**fore**	bright	charge	**con**ference	deaf
adminis**t**	ap**poi**nt	be**gin**	bring	chase	con**firm**	deal
ration	ap**pro**ve	be**hind**		cheer	con**gra**tulate	dear
ad**mit**	**a**rea	be**lie**ve	**broad**cast	cheese	**con**gress	de**ba**te
ad**ult**	**ar**gue	bell	**bro**ther	**che**mical	con**nect**	debt
		be**long**	brown			de**ci**de
ad**ver**tisement	arm					de**cla**re
ad**vise**	**ar**my	be**low**	brush	**che**mistry	con**ser**vative	de**crea**se
af**fect**	a**roun**d	bend	**bu**dget	chest	con**si**der	deep
af**raid**	ar**rest**	best	build	chief	con**tain**	de**feat**
after	ar**rive**	be**tray**	**buil**ding	child	**con**tinent	de**fend**
a**gain**	art	be**tter**	**bu**llet	choose	con**tin**ue	**de**ficit
a**gainst**	ar**til**lery	be**twee**n	burn	church	con**trol**	de**fine**
age	as	big	burst	**ci**rcle	con**ven**tion	de**gree**
agency	ash	bill	**bu**ry	**ci**tizen	cook	de**lay**
ag**gre**ssion	ask	**bi**llion	bus	**ci**ty	cool	**de**licate

ago · a**gree** · **a**griculture · aid · aim · air · air force · **air**plane · **air**port · **al**bum · a**live** · all · **al**ly · **al**most · a**lo**ne · a**long** · al**rea**dy · **al**so · al**though** · **al**ways · ammu**ni**tion · a**mong** · a**mount** · **an**archy · **an**cestor · **an**cient · and · **an**ger

as**sist** · as**tro**nomy · at · **at**mosphere · at**tach** · at**tack** · at**tem**pt · at**ten**d · at**ten**tion · au**tho**rity · auto**ma**tic · **au**tomobile · **au**tumn · **av**erage · a**void** · a**wa**ke · a**ward** · a**way** · **ba**by · back · bad · bag · **ba**lance · ball · bal**loo**n · **ba**llot · ban · bank

bi**ol**ogy · bird · birth · bite · black · blade · blame · **blan**ket · bleed · blind · block · blood · blow · blue · board · boat · body · bomb · bone · book · **bor**der · born · **bo**rrow · both · **bo**ttle · **bo**ttom · box · boy

business · **bu**sy · but · **bu**tter · **bu**tton · buy · by · **ca**binet · call · calm · **ca**mera · camp · cam**pai**gn · can · **can**cel · **can**cer · **can**didate · **ca**pital · **cap**ture · car · card · care · **ca**reful · **ca**rriage · **ca**rry · case · cash · cat

ci**vi**lian · claim · clash · clean · clear · **cli**mate · climb · clock · close · cloth · cloud · coal · coast · coat · **co**ffee · cold · **co**llar · col**lect** · **co**llege · **co**lony · **co**lor · com**bine** · come · **com**fort · com**mand** · **co**mment · com**mi**ttee · **co**mmon

co**o**perate · **co**py · cork · corn · cor**rect** · cost · **co**tton · count · **coun**try · court · **co**ver · cow · crash · cre**ate** · **cre**ature · **cre**dit · crew · crime · **cri**minal · **cri**sis · **cri**ticize · crush · cry · **cul**ture · cup · cure · **cu**rrent · **cur**tain

de**mand** · de**mo**cracy · **de**monstrate · den**oun**ce · de**ny** · de**pend** · de**ploy** · de**pre**ssion · des**cri**be · de**sert** · de**sign** · de**sire** · des**troy** · detail · de**ve**lop · de**vi**ce · dic**ta**tor · die · diet · **di**fferent · dig · **di**nner · **di**plomat · di**rect** · di**rect**ion · dirt · disap**pear** · dis**arm**

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dis**co**ver	**en**emy	far	**for**ty	hat	ice	jump
dis**cuss**	**en**ergy	fast	**for**ward	hate	i**de**a	**ju**ry
dis**ease**	en**for**ce	fat	four	have	i**den**tify	just
disk	**en**gine	**fa**ther	frame	he	if	keep
dis**miss**	engin**eer**	fear	free	head	ill	key
dis**pute**	en**joy**	**fea**ther	**free**dom	headquarters	il**le**gal	kick
dissident **dis**tance	en**ough** **en**ter	feed feel	freeze fresh	heal health	i**ma**gine im**me**diate	kill kind
di**vi**de	en**vi**ronment	**fe**male	friend	**heal**thy	im**port**	kiss
do	**e**qual	**fer**tile	**fri**ghten	hear	im**por**tant	kit
doctor	e**qui**pment	few	from	heart	im**pro**ve	knife
document	es**cap**e	field	front	heat	in	know
dog	es**pe**cially	fierce	fruit	**hea**vy	**in**cident	k**now**ledge
dollar	es**ta**blish	**fif**teen	fuel	**he**licopter	in**clu**de	**la**bor
door	**es**timate	fifth	full	help	**in**crease	la**bo**ratory
doubt	**eth**nic	**fif**ty	fun	her	indep**en**dent	lack
down	**e**vaporate	fight	**fu**ture	here	indi**vi**dual	lake
drain	**e**ven	fill	gain	hers	**in**dustry	land
dream	ev**ent**	film	game	hide	in**fect**	**lan**guage
dress	**e**ver	**fi**nal	**gar**den	high	in**fla**tion	large
drink	**e**very	fin**an**ce	gas	**hi**jack	**in**fluence	last
drive drop	**e**vidence **e**vil	find fine	**ga**ther **ge**neral	hill him	in**for**m infor**ma**tion	late laugh
drug	e**xa**mine	**fin**ger	get	his	inj**ect**	law
dry	ex**am**ple	**fi**nish	gift	**hi**story	**in**jure	lead
during	**ex**cellent	fire	girl	hit	**in**nocent	leak
dust	ex**cept**	firm	give	hold	ins**ane**	learn
duty	ex**chan**ge	first	glass	hole	ins**pect**	leave
each ear	exc**use** exec**ute**	fish fist	go goal	**ho**liday **ho**llow	ins**tead** **ins**trument	left leg
early	**ex**ercise	fit	god	**ho**ly	**in**sult	**le**gal
earn	**ex**ile	five	gold	**ho**me	in**su**rance	lend
earth	**ex**ist	fix	good	**ho**nest	in**te**lligence	less
ease	exp**and**	flag	**go**vern	**ho**nor	in**ten**se	**le**tter

east	exp**ect**	flat	**go**vernment	hope	**in**terest	**le**vel
ea**sy**	ex**pe**rience	float	grass	**ho**rrible	inter**fe**re	**li**brary
eat	ex**pe**riment	floor	great	horse	inter**na**tional	lie
e**co**logy	**ex**pert	flow	green	**hos**pital	**in**to	life
e**co**nomy	ex**plain**	**flo**wer	grey	**hos**tage	in**va**de	lift
edge	ex**plo**de	fl**u**id	ground	**hos**tile	in**vent**	light
edu**ca**tion	ex**plo**re	fly	group	hot	in**vest**	like
eff**ec**t	ex**port**	fog	grow	**ho**tel	in**ves**tigate	**li**mit
effort	ex**press**	**fo**llow	**gua**rantee	hour	in**vi**te	line
egg	ex**tend**	food	guard	house	inv**ol**ve	link
eight	**ex**tra	fool	guide	how?		lip
					iron	
either	ext**rem**e	foolish	gu**il**ty	**ho**wever	**is**land	**li**quid
el**as**tic	eye	foot	gun	huge	**i**ssue	list
elect**ri**city	face	for	hair	**hu**man	it	**li**sten
el**e**ven	fact	for**bid**	half	**hu**mor	**ja**cket	little
else	**fac**tory	force	halt	**hun**dred	jail	live
embassy	fail	**fo**reign	hand	**hun**ger	**je**wel	load
e**mer**gency	fair	**fo**rest	hang	hunt	job	loan
e**mo**tion	fall	for**get**	**ha**ppen	**hu**rry	join	**lo**cal
empl**oy**	false	for**give**	**ha**ppy	hurt	joint	lock

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empty	**fa**mily	form	hard	**hus**band	joke	long
end					judge	look
	famous	**for**mer	**har**mony	**I**		
loose	**mo**del	**nu**mber	**pa**tient	**pri**son	re**du**ce	**sa**crifice
lose	**mo**derate	o**bey**	pay	**pri**vate	refu**gee**	sad
loud	**mo**dern	**o**bject	peace	prize	**re**fuse	safe
love	**mo**ney	**ob**serve	pen	**pro**bable	reg**ret**	sail
low	month	**o**ccupy	**pen**cil	**pro**blem	re**ject**	salt
loyal	moon	**o**cean	**peo**ple	**pro**cess	re**la**tion	**sa**me
luck	**mo**ral	of	per**cent**	pro**du**ce	re**lea**se	sand
ma**chi**ne	more	off	**per**fect	pro**fes**sor	re**li**gion	**sa**tellite
maga**zi**ne	**mor**ning	of**fen**sive	per**form**	pro**fit**	re**mai**n	**sa**tisfy
mail	most	**of**fer	**per**iod	**pro**gram	re**mem**ber	save
main	**mo**ther	**of**fice	**per**manent	prog**res**s	rem**ove**	say
ma**jo**rity	**moun**tain	**of**ficer	per**mit**	**pro**ject	re**pair**	**sca**le
make	mouth	of**fi**cial	**per**son	**pro**perty	rep**eat**	school
male	move	**o**ften	**phy**sical	pro**pose**	rep**or**t	**scien**ce
man	**mo**vie	**oi**l	**pic**ture	pro**te**ct	**re**present	sea
manu**fac**ture	much	old	piece	**pro**test	re**ques**t	search
many	**mu**rder	on	pig	prove	re**qui**re	**sea**son
map	muscle	once	**pi**lot	pro**vi**de	**res**cue	seat
march	**mu**sic	one	pipe	**pu**blic	re**sear**ch	**se**cond
mark	must	**on**ly	place	**pu**blish	re**si**gn	**se**cret
market	my	**o**pen	plan	pull	re**sist**	se**cu**rity
marry	**my**stery	**o**perate	plant	**pu**nish	reso**lu**tion	see
match	nail	o**pi**nion	pl**as**tic	**pur**chase	re**sour**ce	seek
ma**te**rial	name	**o**pposite	plate	pure	res**pect**	seem
matter	**na**rrow	opp**res**s	play	**pur**pose	res**pon**sible	seize
may	**na**tion	or	please	push	rest	**sel**dom
mayor	**na**tive	**o**range	p**len**ty	put	rest**rai**n	sEFL
meal	**na**tural	**or**der	**po**cket	**qua**lity	re**sult**	sell
mean	**na**vy	**or**ganize	point	**ques**tion	re**tir**e	**se**nate
measure	near	**o**ther	**poi**son	quick	re**tur**n	send
meat	**ne**cessary	our	po**li**ce	quiet	rev**ol**t	**se**nse
media	neck	ours	**po**licy	quit	rew**ard**	**sen**tence
medicine	**nei**ther	oust	**po**litics	race	rice	**se**parate
meet	nerve	out	pol**lu**te	radar	rich	**se**ries
member	**neu**tral	**o**ver	poor	radi**ati**on	ride	**se**rious
memory	**ne**ver	owe	**po**pular	radio	right	serve
mental	new	own	popu**la**tion	raid	riot	set
mercy	news	page	port	rail	rise	**se**ttle
message	next	pain	po**si**tion	rain	risk	**se**ven
metal	nice	paint	poss**ess**	raise	**ri**ver	**se**veral
method	night	pan	**pos**sible	rare	road	se**ve**re
middle	nine	pants	post**pon**e	rate	rob	sex
might	ninth	**pa**per	po**ta**to	ray	rock	shade
military	no	pa**ra**de	pour	reach	**ro**cket	shake
milk	noise	**pa**rallel	**pow**der	react	roll	shall
million	**no**minate	**pa**rcel	**po**wer	read	roof	shame
mind	noon	**pa**rent	praise	**rea**dy	room	shape

mine	**nor**mal	**par**liament	pray	real	root	share
minister	north	part	**pre**gnant	rea**lis**tic	rope	sharp
minor	nose	**par**ty	**pre**sent	**rea**son	rough	she
minute	not	pass	**pre**sident	rec**ei**ve	round	shEFL
miss	note	**pa**ssenger	press	re**ces**sion	**ru**bber	shell

mist	nothing	**pas**sport	**pre**ssure	**re**cognize	ruin	**shel**ter
mis**ta**ke	now	past	pre**vent**	**re**cord	rule	shine
mix	nowhere	paste	price	re**co**ver	run	ship
	nuclear	path		red		shirt
shock	soon	sun	thick	try	week	yours
shoe	sort	**su**pervise	thin	tube	weight	zero
shoot	soul	**su**pply	thing	turn	**wel**come	
short	sound	**su**pport	think	twelve	well	
should	south	**su**ppose	third	t**wen**ty	west	
shout	space	**su**ppress	thirteen	twice	wet	
show	speak	sure	thirty	two	what	
shrink	**spe**cial	**sur**face	this	under	wheat	
shut	speech	sur**pri**se	though	under**stand**	wheel	
sick	speed	sur**ren**der	thought	u**ni**te	when	
side	spend	surr**oun**d	th**ou**sand	**u**niverse	where	
sign	**spi**rit	sur**vi**ve	**threa**ten	uni**ver**sity	which	
signal	sport	sus**pec**t	three	un**less**	while	
silence	spread	sus**pen**d	through	un**til**	white	
silk	spring	**swa**llow	throw	up	who	
silver	spy	swear	tie	urge	whole	
similar	square	sweet	tight	**ur**gent	why	
simple	stand	swim	time	us	wide	
since	star	**sym**pathy	tin	use	wife	
sing	start	**sys**tem	**ti**red	**u**sual	wild	
single	starve	table	to	**va**lley	will	
sister	**sta**tion	tail	**to**day	**va**lue	win	
sit	**sta**tue	take	to**ge**ther	**ve**getable	wind	
si**tua**tion	stay	talk	to**mo**rrow	**ve**hicle	**win**dow	
six	steal	tall	tongue	**ve**rsion	wine	
size	steam	**tar**get	**to**night	**ve**ry	wing	
skeleton	steel	taste	too	**ve**to	**win**ter	
skill	step	tax	tool	**vi**cious	wire	
skin	stick	tea	tooth	**vic**tim	wise	
skirt	still	teach	top	**vic**tory	wish	
sky	**sto**mach	team	**tor**ture	**vi**llage	with	
slave	stone	tear	**to**tal	**vio**late	**with**draw	
sleep	stop	**tec**hnical	touch	**vio**lence	with**ou**t	
slide	store	tech**no**logy	**to**ward	**vi**sit	**wo**man	
slip	storm	**te**lephone	town	voice	**won**der	
slow	**sto**ry	**te**levision	trade	vote	**won**derful	
small	straight	tell	tra**di**tion	wage	wood	
smash	strange	ten	**tra**ffic	wait	wool	
smell	street	term	train	walk	word	
smile	stretch	**te**rrible	**tran**sport	wall	work	
smoke	strike	**te**rritory	tr**a**vel	want	world	
smooth	strong	**te**rror	**trea**son	war	**wo**rry	
snake	st**ruc**ture	test	**trea**sure	warm	worse	
sneeze	**stru**ggle	than	treat	warn	worth	
snow	**stu**dy	thank	tr**ea**tment	wash	wound	
so	**stu**pid	that	tr**ea**ty	waste	wreck	

soap	**sub**ject	the	tree	watch	write
social	**sub**stance	th**e**ater	trial	**wa**ter	wrong
so**cie**ty	**sub**stitute	their	tribe	wave	year
soft	**su**cceed	theirs	trick	way	**ye**llow