

Book review: *Brexit, Language Policy and Linguistic Diversity* (2018) by Diarmait Mac Giolla Chríost and Matteo Bonotti. Cham: Palgrave Pivot.

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The alliance of Diarmait Mac Giolla Chríost, professor in linguistics, and Matteo Bonotti, lecturer in politics and international relations, resulted in this fascinating and comprehensive work about the different linguistics issues related to Brexit. Based on an expert symposium held at Cardiff University in March 2017 on 'Brexit, English, and the Language Policy of the European Union', this small book of only 80 pages presents a great range of topics. From the potential impact of Brexit on minority languages in the UK to the status of the English language in the EU pre and post Brexit, every question seems to be covered. Languages may not be the first issue one thinks of when Brexit is mentioned, and it is true that language policies have not officially been discussed yet, however, it is certain that languages will be affected in different ways once the UK leaves the EU. In this book, the authors argue that Brexit will "re-shape the legal framework, the public policy norms, and the ideational and ideological stances taken in relation to linguistic diversity in the UK" (p.46). They also discuss the place of the English language as a lingua franca in the EU currently and post Brexit, and the different questions and issues related to it. Should English still be used in official institutions in Europe post-Brexit? What would that mean for every other language in Europe, but also for Malta and the Republic of Ireland, the only two countries in the EU that have English as one of their official languages?

Each chapter is presented like an academic paper with an abstract, keywords, introduction, main body and conclusion, and could therefore almost be read individually. It is practical for instance if the reader is mainly interested in one of the aspects of Brexit and language policies in particular. The main body in each chapter is divided into two to three sections, sometimes containing subparts themselves, like in Chapter one. This is making it clear and easy to follow, and very pleasant to read.

In the first chapter, "An Empirical Overview of the Constitutional, Legal, and Public Policy Status of the Languages of the UK and the EU", the authors provide an overview of language policies in the UK and in the EU. This first part, that could be seen as an introduction, is very useful to gain the basic knowledge about this topic and understand the issues discussed in the next chapters.

The authors argue that although English is often considered as the de facto official language of the public life in the UK, it is nevertheless granted de jure recognition in several laws. (p.2) They highlight the different key dates in the history of the status of the English language in the UK, from the Pleading in English Act of 1362, when English replaced Law French in the courts in England, to the Immigration Act of 2016 stating that 'A public authority must ensure that each person who works for the public authority in a customer-facing role speaks fluent English (Immigration Act 2007, part 7). The different laws that have regulated the autochthonous languages in Wales, Ireland and Scotland and those regarding the allochthonous languages are then also listed.

The second part of this chapter uses the same approach for the EU's language policies this time. It aims at giving the reader an overview of the different EU policies and issues regarding languages since the 1950s to nowadays. The authors remind us for instance that when the

ECSC, the ancestor of the EU, was created, the four official languages were the ones of the signatory states: French, German, Italian and Dutch. (p.11) They also explain that when the UK, followed by other European countries joined the ECSC and then EU, English started to be the main working language within EU institutions (p.12). However, EU citizens can write to these institutions in any languages, in order to equally recognize every language in Europe. It is finally also noted that, as explained by Modiano (2017), the rise of the English language in the EU is not the direct cause of British colonialism, but it is because of what Van Parijs (2011) named 'probability-driven learning and maxi-min use'. Probability-driven learning means that people will be more willing to learn a language when they know that they will be using it to communicate with others. Maxi-min use is when speakers of different languages are communicating, they should choose the language known best by the speaker who knows it least. (p.18) English being already widely spoken all over the world is therefore a logical choice.

In the light of everything mentioned in the first chapter, the second one lists and comments the potential consequences of Brexit on the autochthonous languages in the UK. The authors argue that Brexit will "strengthen the case for the statutory recognition of English as the official language of the UK" (p.46) Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland will be disconnected from their European peers and the autochthonous languages spoken there will no longer be protected by European laws.

Finally, the last chapter may be the most developed and original one. It details all the issues related to English as a lingua franca in the EU: cost and benefits, parity of esteem, and equality of opportunity. Based on the work of Phillippe Van Parijs (2011) on the inequalities that English as a lingua franca implies for non-native speakers of this language, the authors discuss the future of English in the EU post-Brexit. Although it was argued by some that English should no longer be used in official institutions and should be replaced by French for instance, it is very unlikely to happen. Former Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti among others claimed that English should be given an even more important role now that the UK has left the EU. Van Parijs (2011) also defends this idea. According to him, English should be the lingua franca of the EU. There are three levels in the role of a lingua franca in the EU that should be taken into consideration: its use in EU institutions, among EU citizens, and in the public sphere (television, radio, Internet, working and studying in different EU states etc.).

Van Parijs (2011) recognises that English as a lingua franca involves different injustices. The first one is about costs and benefits. He argues that learners of English must invest time and money to study this language, whereas native speakers do not have to. Therefore, there should be a form of compensation, such as a tax on native speakers, which is implausible, or not paying for the information in English available on the Internet for instance. However, the authors note that after Brexit only 2% of the EU population will be native English speakers (in Ireland and Malta), therefore the injustice will be reduced, and these measures might not be necessary as it would not be as morally problematic as it is now. (p.57)

The second injustice is the parity of esteem. Van Parijs (2008) explains that people's self-respect is affected by the official status granted to their language (p.66), which is the reason why all the languages in the EU are granted equal official status. Nevertheless, once again in the two anglophone countries remaining in the EU, English is only a co-official language. Consequently, English could no longer be seen as the language of one European country, but more as a neutral language, such as Esperanto.

Finally, the third injustice mentioned in this part is the equality of opportunity. Native or very proficient speakers of English will have more opportunity of work or study for instance than less proficient speakers (p.69). Van Parijs (2011) suggests dubbing English language films or TV programmes should be banned, as it was proven to be an efficient way to learn a language. Nevertheless, this injustice will once again be reduced post-Brexit, as very few people will speak RP English, as argued by Modiano (2017). Therefore, this last chapter demonstrates that the status of English in the EU is controversial and raises questions of injustice that should be discussed officially in the years following Brexit.

In conclusion, this book offers interesting insights on the different issues related to languages and Brexit and gives the reader an idea of changes in language policies that could occur post Brexit. It is for now, as mentioned in the introduction, one of the only studies published about this matter. Although it is impossible to know exactly what will change and when, it is still important to already consider what the issues are and what the solutions could be, especially considering that these questions have not been addressed officially yet, as explained in the conclusion.

This book is accessible to a specialist and non-specialist public and could therefore be of interest not only to linguists and policy makers, but also to anyone who thinks that Brexit and languages are two distinct matters that are not related in any way.

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