

Conference Paper: The EU language policy and interpreting/translation practices: the case of Croatia's application for EU membership¹

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The EU is considered by most to have exemplary language and interpreting/ translating (I/T) policies: EU parliamentarians may use their own language when speaking in parliament and the 20 official languages of all 25 member states have equal status in regard to I/T services. This paper traces official EU and Croatian policies in regard to language choice and examines some of the translation practices employed by both the EU and Croatia. So far, bi-directional translation practices have involved a language variety that is unmistakably Croatian and one of the EU's 'working languages', usually English. But interpreting practices have not always followed the same pattern and EU-employed interpreters do not always interpret into Croatian. There is some evidence to suggest that the form and name of the language in EU-Croatia contacts may not always remain uniquely Croatian. If Croatian continues to be employed, this may be a consequence not only of principles applied by EU (or Croatian) bureaucrats. Rather, it may in some part be due to the absence of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia-Montenegro as co-applicants for EU membership. Thus, amongst the rhetoric of respecting member states' language designations and most Croats' adherence to the term 'Croatian' as their native language it is the absence of Bosnian/Bosniak and Serbian (and possibly Montenegrin) as closely related codes which may co-determine the EU's I/T practices just as much as its official language policies.

1. EU language policies

The European Union (EU) is a political institution that has 25 member states in Europe. Since its inception in 1957 (then as the European Economic Community and later as the European Community) it has pursued a policy of equal status for all official languages of its member states.

Thus, Council Regulation No. 1 of 1958 states that: "Residents of member states have the right to communicate with [the EU] institutions in their own language" (European Commission 2004).

Thus, the right of all EU member states to communication in their own language necessitates the availability of interpretation and/or translation services all official EU languages. This has consequences on the necessary provision of services for interpreting and translating (hereafter 'I/T') that the EU provides (see Section 2 below).

The rationale that all speakers of official languages of member states should be able to communicate with EU institutions is based on logistics and ideology. As the EU has dealings with almost all parts of each member state's civil administration and apparatus (e.g. Agriculture, Internal Affairs, Justice) it is logistically easier for the EU to be the 'caretaker' of I/T services rather than this being left to various bodies in member states. The advantages of this are manifold for all stakeholders: member states are relieved of the obligation and cost of I/T; the EU is responsible for the quality and content of I/T services (i.e. member states cannot 'misinterpret' documents or verbal texts to their advantage or disadvantage); the EU is able to apply a uniform and egalitarian policy for I/T services for all member states, regardless of the size or prestige of their national languages. Ideologically as well, an 'even-handed' language policy is necessitated through the synonymous relationship of 'language = national identity' in most European countries. The non-availability of I/T services for a member state's language may even be perceived as an affront to that state's national identity.

While the EU adopts and recognises the official languages of its member states, it also adopts and recognises the language planning decisions made by its member states in regard to what are 'official language/s' of a member state. Council regulations further state: "Each country, before it joined, stipulated which language it wanted to have used as an official language for EU purposes. The agreement on this matter is then recorded in the Act of Accession" (European Union 2005a).

Official languages of each member state therefore automatically become official languages of the EU. An exception to this has been Ireland which did not automatically insist that Irish, one of the official languages of Ireland, become an EU official language.³ Similarly, although Cyprus has two official languages, Greek and Turkish, Cyprus has for the moment nominated only Greek as its desired EU official language. Thus, there is some flexibility in the implementation of a member state's official language/s and consequences for EU language policy. It is clear here from these two cases, that decisions of which language/s become designated EU official languages are co-determined by both EU agencies and the member state.

Those languages that do not have official status in a member state therefore do not have official status for the EU. The following categories contain examples of languages that lack official EU status.

Table 1: Categories and examples of languages that are not official national languages in EU member states

Language category	Examples
Regional languages ³	Frisian, Welsh
Minority languages	Ladinian, Cymbrian, Sorbian
Non-official indigenous languages	Romany, Yiddish
Non-official 'semi-indigenous' languages	Russian (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania)
Non-official non-indigenous languages	Arabic (France), Berber (Netherlands)

Thus, EU language policy reflects entirely the language planning decisions of member states.

Within the EU, several official languages have more than one codified norm. Thus, the situation of pluricentric languages such as German (e.g. German as spoken in Germany vs. German as spoken in Austria) has meant that there can be provision for a variety of terms according to the codified norms of each member state. Thus, when Austria joined the EU in 1995, it negotiated a list of 23 words specific to Austrian German (largely those relating to food or culinary items) which were to be used in conjunction with those terms commonly used only in Germany (de Cillia 1998:81). In a similar sense, British English is the favoured variety of English used in translating and interpreting, as opposed to American or other varieties of English. The notion of a pluricentric language, as applied to Croatian (and Serbian and other South Slavic languages) is problematised by Brozović (1991). I will return to this briefly below in Section 6.1.5.

2. EU I/T practices

EU parliamentarians may use their own language when speaking in parliament and the 20 official languages of all 25 member states have equal status in regard to I/T services. The equal status of the 20 languages means that the EU requires a comprehensive I/T infrastructure.

Before the accession of the ten new member states on 1 May 2004 the Directorate General for Interpretation employed 450 staff interpreters and 200-300 freelance interpreters per day clocking up 145,000 interpreter days per year. The total cost of the Directorate-General's operations in 2003 was €105,000,000. In 2004, the Directorate-General for Translation employed 1,650 full-time and 500 freelance translators. In that year, more than 1,270,000 pages were translated. With the addition of nine languages on 1 May 2004, a further 429 full-time translators were recruited and the volume of translations has risen between 30 to 50% (EU Business 2005).

There are possible threats to this policy of linguistic egalitarianism. Periodically, critics (e.g. Bolkestein in Todd, Fabbi and Sandler 2004; cf. reactions of Phillipson 2003) suggest that such a policy could be changed. The most common complaint is that such an I/T apparatus is costly, unwieldy and will only become more so with further accessions to the EU adding further official languages requiring I/T services. There is also a precedent of other institutions such as Europol or the European Centre for Patent Registration which have only one 'working language'. At present, the EU has three working languages (English, French, German) one of which is employed at most face-to-face meetings, usually English. Interpreting services are nearly always conducted into and from one of these languages into all other 19. Critics such as Bolkestein suggest that these three working languages (or even one of them, e.g. English) should be awarded the status of sole EU official language/s. Some see no value in linguistic diversity and an I/T policy that clearly upholds it.

By the time Croatia accedes to the EU, there will be at least 23 official EU languages (including Irish, Romanian and Bulgarian) and possibly many more closely preceding or succeeding it, e.g. Norwegian, Icelandic, (Swiss) Romance, Macedonian, Moldovan, Ukrainian, Belarusian (formerly known as 'Byelorussian'), Russian, Serbian, Bosnian/Bosniak⁴ Albanian and Turkish. A total of 35 official EU languages would mean a significant further increase in logistics and finances for I/T services. The Council of Europe services a similar number of languages. However, its areas of responsibility are far narrower than those of the EU and it cannot be compared to a governing administration such as the EU. If eventual changes are made which alter the current equal status of each language it is likely that languages with smaller speech communities such as Croatian may possibly be allocated a subordinate status. An alternative, but less likely, is a rationalisation of languages according to geography. A possible outcome of such a rationalisation might be that only one language from each area is awarded official status, i.e. one 'Iberian' language, one 'Scandinavian' language, one Finno-Ugric language (either Finnish, Estonian or Hungarian), one 'Baltic' language, one 'West Slavic' language, one 'South Slavic' language. The temptation to then group Croatian with Slovenian, Bosnian/Bosniak, Serbian and Macedonian into one 'South Slavic' language group is remote but conceivable.

3. Language designations in the Republic of Croatia

The Republic of Croatia occupies areas which, over the last 300 years, have been parts of other, multi-ethnic and multilingual entities, i.e. Austro-Hungarian Empire, Venetian Empire, Ottoman Empire, Napoleon-controlled Europe, fascist Italy and more recently the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, (1919-1928), Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-1941), Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1974) and then as the Socialist Republic of Croatia as part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1974-1991). Names for the language of the local indigenous Croatian population have reflected ethno-political (e.g. *slavenski* 'Slavonic'), historical-geographical (e.g. *ilirski* 'Illyrian'), ideological (e.g. *srpskohrvatski* 'Serbocroatian'), regional (e.g. *dalmatinski* 'Dalmatian'), dialectal (e.g. *Kajkavština* 'Kajkavian') pronunciation (*ikavica* 'Ikavian') colloquial/Titoist (*jugoslavenski* 'Yugoslav') and even neutral/anonymous (e.g. *naš jezik* 'our language') designations. I will not provide a detailed explanation of the reasons and factors responsible for this variety of labels (cf. Selak 1992; Moguš 1993; Samardžija 1999). Many of these labels were encouraged on the basis of ideology, e.g. *Serbo-Croatian* as the linguistic equivalent of proposed Serbian and Croatian political fraternity since the late 19th century and adopted officially by post-WWII socialist Yugoslavia. As a result, many of these labels remained unused and unloved by the local population. The most common and widespread label that Croats have given to their language over time is *hrvatski* ('Croatian'). To demonstrate the legacy of other labels, such as *Serbo-Croatian*, and to show that they invariably coincide with the ideology of the power-brokers of the day, I list the official name/s of the language in today's Republic of Croatia together with other labels that were widely used, whether encouraged or not.

Thus, while the current term *Croatian* has been in place since 1991, and has been used at least as a semi-official term for much longer, there remain fears that the widely-used hypernym *Serbo-Croatian* or a more recent euphemism *Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian* may offer themselves as alternative terms.

Table 2: Designations for language in Croatia

Period	Designated language name/s
Pre-1919	Croatian Also: Serbo-Croatian, Illyrian, Dalmatian, Slavonian, Slavic, Slavonic, Serbian, Bosnian
1919-1928	Croatian and Serbo-Croat-Slovenian Also: Serbo-Croatian, Serbian
1929-1939	Serbo-Croatian Also: Croatian, Serbian
1939-1941	Croatian Also: Serbo-Croatian, Serbian
1941-1945	Croatian
1946-1953	Croatian Also: Serbian
1953-1967	Croatian and Serbian Also 'Our language', Croato-Serbian, Serbo-Croatian
1967-1990	Croatian Literary Language Also: Croatian and Serbian, Croato-Serbian, Serbo-Croatian, 'Our language'
1991-present	Croatian

4. Designations elsewhere

Terms such as *Serbo-Croatian* or *Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian* have very limited validity only in terms of a genetic classification of linguistic features and are employed in order to subsume a number of language communities under one hypernym. For example, while the University of Hamburg still teaches a language under the name of *Serbo-Croatian*, other institutions have abandoned the hyphenated term and chosen labels that separate the names *Croatian* and *Serbian* somewhat, but nonetheless keep them together as Siamese twins. At the University of Vienna there is a three-way division that is united to form one university level subject. Generally, universities in other countries have retained a single discipline or subject but have altered their designations to signify a somewhat 'more separated' relationship.

Table 3: Some universities' designations for a 'common' language formerly known as 'Serbo-Croatian'

University	Current designation
Uni. of Hamburg	Serbo-Croatian
Humboldt Uni. Berlin	Serbian / Croatian
Uni. of Munich	Serbian / Croatian
UCLA	Serbian / Croatian
Uni. College London	Croatian / Serbian
Harvard	Croatian and Serbian
Uni. of Vienna	Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian

These terms refer not only to the first language of Croats and Serbs, but also to that of Bosniaks and Montenegrins and their grouping together clearly indicates that these groups' languages are essentially the same language. The economic benefit of 'servicing' more than one language community with only one language designation cannot be underestimated. In fact it is this economic benefit which is, I believe, the main motivation for the choice of the term 'Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian' at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague.

The ICTY employs the hybrid koine *Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian* as a language choice which is thought to be comprehensible to all Bosniak, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian indictees, defendants, lawyers and witnesses. Most interpreters appear to be from Bosnia-Herzegovina and speak either Bosnian/Bosniak or Serbian as it is spoken by Bosnian Serbs. Interpreters speaking these languages appear to make no change to their language, regardless of whether they interpret for Bosniaks, Croats or Serbs. The translation practices of the court also reflect a policy of a trinomial label representing one language. This can be seen on the ICTY's website where the trinomial term *bosanski/hrvatski/srpski* is employed.

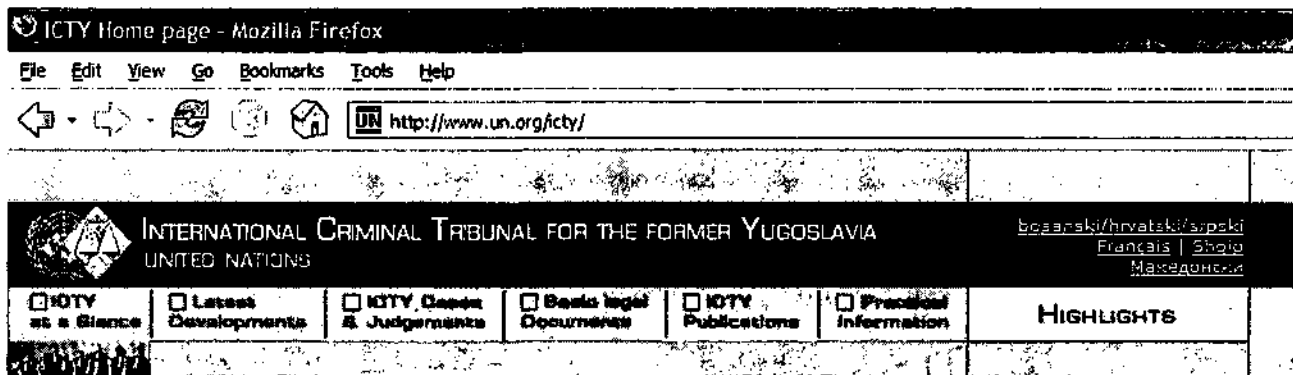


Figure 1: Homepage of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

Positions for translators at the ICTY require applicants to have proficiency not in three languages but in one, in addition to English: "For the post advertised, a perfect command of English and an excellent knowledge of Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian as tested and demonstrated by the UNICTY's translation/revision examination." (ICTY 2005).

The language practices of the ICTY show that a major, international and UN-sponsored institution considers the first language of Bosniaks, Croats, Montenegrins and Serbs to be one language. Occasional complaints from defendants (e.g. Vojislav Šešelj, April 2004) that the language interpreters use is not the defendants' own usually remain unaddressed. Further, the power relationship between the court and defendants is asymmetrical. The court is unlikely to accede to I/T services additional to the ones it provides where a defendant makes a request that the court may consider nebulous or redundant.

Another international, but European-specific is the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). The OSCE, which has a very strong presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina and lesser so in Serbia-Montenegro and offers language services in all three languages of its target groups: Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina speaking Bosnian/Bosniak, Croatian and Serbian, respectively. While the aims and duties of each organisation are different, it is perhaps no accident that the type of interaction each organisation has with the local population in successor states of SFRY results in different language policies.

5. EU-Croatia I/T practices

Since the mid-1990s when Croatia first applied to commence negotiations for accession to the EU, the EU and Croatia have been engaged in frequent and detailed contact in a variety of areas: economic policy, law-making, agriculture etc. Such contacts require extensive I/T services.

So far, bi-directional translation practices have involved a language variety that is unmistakably Croatian and one of the EU's 'working languages', usually English. By the end of 2005, the direction and type of typical translation practices can be summarised as in the following table:

Table 4: EU-Croatia translation practices and direction of translation

Type of translation	Typical direction of translation
Existing document, e.g. Croatian laws and regulations e.g. EU laws and regulations	Cro → Eng Eng → Cro
Proposed documents, e.g. Drafts for new Croatian laws	Eng → Cro

Almost all EU-Croatia translations are performed by translators based in Croatia. For this reason, the language (in both name and form) of the applying candidate state is clearly Croatian.

The situation may be slightly different for interpreting. Table 5 below gives the direction of typical practices between the EU and Croatia.

Table 5: EU-Croatia interpreting practices and language designations

Type of Interpreting	Typical direction of interpreting
EU delegations visiting Croatia	Eng ↔ Cro
Croatian delegations visiting Brussels, Strasbourg	Cro ↔ Eng, S-C? ↔ Eng

In the case of EU delegations visiting Croatia, all interpreting services are carried out by interpreters based in Croatia. Thus, Croatian, along with one of the EU 'working languages', invariably English, remains the chosen variety. However, within EU institutions in Brussels or Strasbourg, for example, both Croatian-based and EU-based, (and EU-employed) interpreters are employed. The language choice of Croatian-based interpreters remains Croatian, while the language choice of EU-employed interpreters can vary. Such EU-employed interpreters need not be of Croatian origin. It is the language skills, not ethnicity, that are important in the selection of interpreters. An important feature in official contacts is that an interpreter is fully competent in conveying information into another language, including specialist terminology. This is where the language proficiency of many interpreters becomes apparent. Western European, non-native interpreters of Croatian often received language training in their foreign language in areas outside Croatia, usually Belgrade, the capital of the former SFRY where domestic language teachers and I/T specialists were nearly always speakers of Serbian. Thus, some Western-based interpreters with foreign language training have language proficiency in a language which is comprehensible to Croats, but which is not Croatian. There are other Western-based interpreters whose first language is one of the languages of former SFRY but not Croatian, instead another one, usually Serbian, sometimes Bosnian/Bosniak. Such interpreters have also been known to be employed in EU-Croatia meetings. I therefore subsume their language proficiency (in terms of choice of name and form) as 'S-C', i.e. *Serbo-Croatian*, the popular hypernym used widely in SFRY.

To be sure, the General-Directorate of Translating and the General-Directorate of Interpreting have issued invitations to potential translators and interpreters for *Croatian*. But only a relatively small amount of I/T work has been undertaken by either directorate and most work is still performed by Croatian institutions. The situation will change further when Croatia becomes a member of the EU and Croatian will, in turn, be a source country of EU I/T professionals. Invitations have been issued to professionals to begin training as I/T specialists (European Union, 2005b).

6. Conclusion

What are the possible scenarios in terms of EU language policy? I summarise those factors which could account for why Serbo-Croatian or Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian may be chosen by the EU as its designated term for the first official language of not only Croatia, but also future candidates Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia-Montenegro.

6.1 Factors in favour of 'Serbo-Croatian' or 'Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian'

6.1.1 Historical legacy of Serbo-Croatian. Serbo-Croatian was the official language in three of SFRY's constituent republics, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and for some time in Croatia. Now Croatia has Croatian, Serbia-Montenegro Serbian and Bosnia-Herzegovina has three official languages: Bosnian/Bosniak, Croatian and Serbian. The term 'Serbo-Croatian', while largely unused and unpopular in all four former republics, was and still is used by those who support a unitarist language policy. Such individuals are sometimes described by others as being overly nostalgic for SFRY, i.e. *jugonostalgizari*, and sometimes even self-identify as such. Such individuals serve as examples for those who claim that Serbo-Croatian is still an amenable and acceptable term.

6.1.2 Official designations. Hybrid labels such as Serbo-Croatian still have some currency in academic and other circles (see Section 4). Most universities mirrored the official language designation of the country whose major 'official language' was Serbo-Croatian, namely SFRY. In many cases, SFRY provided language instructors who invariably taught a language known only as Serbo-Croatian. Many institutions are loath to change this practice, notwithstanding the monumental changes which have happened in the area once occupied by SFRY. Opposition to abandon the Serbo-Croatian label (or to abandon any other equivalent term such as Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian) can be motivated by financial or ideological factors, perhaps combined by a general conservatism to ditch a term which seemed to serve its purpose reasonably well.

6.1.3 Cost-cutting: one 'language' to cover three candidate states. Arguments which appeal for cost-cutting as a determining factor in political-linguistic decision-making have not had great weight in the EU, historically. Nonetheless, this always remains a factor in all decision-making processes.

6.1.4 General mutual 'intelligibility' between speakers of Croatian, Bosnian/Bosniak, and Serbian (and Montenegrin). Mutual 'intelligibility' exists already for other language groups (e.g. Danish and Swedish, Czech and Slovak) and has had no effect on decision-making.

6.1.5 Serbo-Croatian or Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian as an example of a pluricentric language. While some have posited a label such as 'Central South Slavonic Language (Brozović 1991:357) for the common linguistic heritage shared by most Bosniaks, Croats, Montenegrins and Serbs this term has been restricted to linguistic circles and the notion of a pluricentric language is better suited to a language which shares a common label and whose speakers agree on the common origin and common legacy of their linguistic code, e.g. English, Spanish, French. This is not the case with Croatian and Serbian where both languages developed being spoken by different peoples with their own, peculiar histories of language development, notwithstanding more recent efforts to amalgamate and unify them. The argument that Croatian is a variety of a larger, pluricentric language has been addressed and disputed by a variety of sources, e.g. Kačić (1995); Katičić (1997).

6.1.6 The small number of speakers of Croatian (just over 4.5 million) compared to a larger number (20 million?) of speakers of Serbo-Croatian or Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian. Language communities may feel that they can command attention and wield influence commensurate to the size of their group. This is probably true. However, a feeling of numerical inferiority has not led to other language groups to abstain from their entitlements or to band together with other, similar language groups to form a larger, combined group. Indeed there are other language groups with similarly small numbers of speakers, e.g. Lithuanian, Slovak, Danish and many groups with significantly smaller numbers of speakers, e.g. Maltese, Slovenian, Latvian, Estonian.

6.1.7 Clustering of languages is congruent to the EU's policies of promoting regionalisation cf. 'Western Balkans'. There is only a very remote possibility that a policy of regionalisation could also lead to each region having one nominated 'official' or dominant language. Such a policy would not be congruent to the EU's long-standing policy of respecting linguistic diversity.

6.1.8 Attempts to use linguistic means to promote reconciliation between Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia-Montenegro. There is only a remote chance that linguistic means could be used overtly by the EU to foster rapprochement between the three countries. Other means such as investments in educational, cultural and infrastructure bridge-building are usually used to serve the cause of reconciliation. Those more-experienced EU bureaucrats would know that promoting linguistic unitarism would not result in a lessening of inter-ethnic tensions. Rather, the reverse is likely to be the result.

Of the above-listed factors, only those in Sections 6.1.2, 6.1.3 and 6.1.4 are likely to be of any significance in the decision-making process. These factors are matched against those which would lead the EU to adopt Croatian as an official EU language once Croatia has been admitted to the EU.

6.2 Factors for Croatian

6.2.1 Only official national language in Croatia. Today's Republic of Croatia has only one official language, Croatian. Minorities in Croatia have the right to use their language in the media and in educational and cultural settings and the use of minority languages, e.g. Serbian, Italian, Hungarian, is both guaranteed and regulated. But there remains only one official language, Croatian. Unless the EU is able to come to some other agreement with Croatia, it is bound to accept such a decision made by this candidate member state.

6.2.2 Favoured designation by Croatian government and people. The term Croatian is not only the official designation for the first language of most inhabitants of Croatia, it is also the term that enjoys unreserved support by both the government and populace, even non-Croats. It makes little sense to label a language any differently to that label that already enjoys widespread acceptance and support.

6.2.3 Croatian has an established, codified and standardised norm. By the end of the 19th century Croatian already had a standardised and codified norm which has hardly changed since apart from minor orthographic reforms. Serbo-Croatian was an amalgam of two norms, one based in Serbia, the other based in Croatia, with some influence from two further norms (those of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro) which, neither in its spoken or written or written form could be faithful to both (or all four) norms. Speakers and writers made decisions about which forms they would choose and in doing so, could not incorporate both norms that make up the double-barrelled name, Serbian and Croatian. Thus, speakers of Serbo-Croatian had at their disposal the codified and standardised norms of at least two source languages, but in 'speaking' or 'writing' Serbo-Croatian could not avail themselves of an independent, codified and standardised Serbo-Croatian as opposed to Serbian or Croatian. The political and ethnic configurations of SFRY meant that the language of the politically most dominant and also most numerous ethnic group, Serbian, became the norm that was imposed on speakers of other languages. This kind of cross-fertilisation wasn't always appreciated and Serbo-Croatian can be characterised as having contained different and competing norms, with one norm being 'more equal than the others'.

6.2.4 Risk of antagonising both the Croatian government and people. As explained above in Section 6.2.2 a designation that is different from the accepted and favoured name used by the population, even non-Croats, would antagonise both Croatian officials and the general population.

6.2.5 Less politically contentious. The label Serbo-Croatian, as discussed above, was a product of a utopian and unsuccessful unitarist language policy. It was and remains politically contentious. The term 'Croatian language' is congruent with other attributes referring to aspects of Croatia, e.g. 'Croatian coast', 'Croatian currency' etc. It is the term which is commonly accepted to refer to the first language of people living in the Republic of Croatia and/or all Croats, wherever they reside.

6.2.6 Low likelihood of other candidate states encompassed by Serbo-Croatian or Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian to join the EU in the near future. In the remote chance that the EU favours the term Serbo-Croatian or Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian over Croatian and other designations, e.g. Bosnian/Bosniak and Serbian (and possibly Montenegrin), this decision would

only make sense if Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia-Montenegro were likely to also join the EU in the near future. This does not appear to be the case. Therefore, the absence of other states which could be used as a pretext for a generic term such as Serbo-Croatian or Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian means that there is little justification for such a pretext or for such a term to be adopted.

6.3 Likely choice: Croatian

This last factor cannot be underestimated. Certainly, factors 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 above are compelling reasons for why Croatian should be uncontroversially accepted as a future EU official language. But, I argue, if Croatian continues to be employed, this may be a consequence not only of the principle that the EU automatically adopts the official language of a member state. Rather, Section 6.2.6 above argues that such a decision is likely to be made due to the absence of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia-Montenegro as co-applicants for EU membership.

Thus, amongst the rhetoric of respecting member states' language designations and most Croats' adherence to the term 'Croatian' as their native language it is the absence of Bosnian/Bosniak and Serbian (and possibly Montenegrin) as closely related codes which may co-determine the EU's I/T practices just as much as its official language policies.

Notes

1. This paper is an abridged version of a paper presented at the Translation and/as Culture conference, held at Monash University on 11-12 September 2005.
2. Although Irish has not been an 'official' EU language, EU treaties have been published in Irish and institutions and individuals in Ireland have been able to make written submissions to EU institutions in Irish. In June 2005, all EU foreign ministers agreed that Irish would become the EU's 21st official language on 01.01.2007.
3. The Spanish government recently sought official status for Basque, Catalan-Valencian and Galician. In June 2005 the EU Council authorised limited use at EU level of languages recognised by member states other than the official languages. Thus, this ruling applies not just to those languages nominated by Spain, but applies to any language "whose status is recognised by the Constitution of a member state on all or part of its territory or the use of which as a national language is authorised by law" (European Union, 2005c). This ruling further underlines the EU's commitment to multilingualism and is a partial consequence also of the EU's encouragement of (cross-border) regionalisation.
4. In 1992, the ethnic-religious group who had previously self-identified and been identified as *Muslimani* ('Muslims') domiciled in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Sandžak, renamed themselves *Bošnjaci* ('Bosniaks'). At the same time, they also reaffirmed that their mother tongue ('maternji jezik') is *bosanski* ('Bosnian'). This term, *Bosnian*, has become accepted both within and without Bosnia-Herzegovina as the national language of the Bosniaks. The term *Bosniak* is added here to *Bosnian*. The late Bosniak writer, linguist and author of the first post-Yugoslav Bosnian dictionary, Alija Isaković, also employs both terms in the labelling of his language: "*Naziv bosanski (bošnjački) jezik bio, međutim, veoma raširen.*" [The name Bosnian (Bosniak) language was, however, widely used..] (Isaković 1992:16. Round brackets his, translation mine.)

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