ENGLISH IN EUROPE: FROM NATIONALLY HOMOGENEOUS LANGUAGE TO LINGUA FRANCA

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INTRODUCTION

English has become a language spoken on all continents due to a continuous dissemination far beyond the region of its origin in the British Isles. It is sometimes referred to as 'the language having / exhibiting many faces'[1]. English today is a complex system of typologically, functionally, and historically multifarious forms including national varieties, New Englishes, mixed types of communication such as pidgins and creoles, and a lingua franca. This spread of English is noteworthy in two important contexts: the first one is created by incorporation of English in former colonies where the British administration found support from local societies. The second one is connected to the arrival of the migrant-languages in the countries where English is spoken natively, adaptation to the native-speaking setting and gradual change of cultural and linguistic identity[2]. The growing significance of English is seen in modifying social landscapes all over the world, particularly in Europe, where it is spoken as a native language, by bilinguals as a foreign language and a lingua franca.

A large number of books and articles were published on English in Europe. They addressed issues related to historical changes on the linguistic map of Europe and the reinforcing impact of the English language on multilingual environment[3], the present state and future perspectives of English as a European lingua franca[4]. A profound

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[1] Bloch B., Starks D. The many faces of English: intra-language variation and its implications for international business. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*. 1999. Vol. 4, No. 2. P. 80–88. doi: https://doi.org/10.1108/13563289910268115. Bolton K. World Englishes. *World Englishes: Critical Concepts in Linguistics*. Vol. 1. Bolton K., Kachru B. B. (Eds.). London, New York : Routledge. Taylor & Francis, 2006. P. 190. Giri R. A. The many faces of English in Nepal. *Asian Englishes*. 2015. Vol 17. No. 2. P. 94–115. doi: 10.1080/13488678.2015.1003452. Thirusanku J., Yunus M. M. The Many Faces of Malaysian English. Bangi : Penerbit University Kebangsaan, 2016. 130 p.

[2] Graddol D., Leith D., Swan J. English History, Diversity and Change. London, New York : Routledge, 2003. P. 47–51.

[3] English in Europe: The Acquisition of a Third Language. Cenoz J., Jessner U. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney : Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2000. 271 p. English in Europe Today: Sociocultural and Educational Perspectives. Houwer A. De, Wilton A. Amsterdam / Philadelphia : John Benjamins Publishing, 2011. 170 p.

[4] Graddol D. The Future of English as a European Language. *The European English messenger*. 2001. No. X. 2. P. 47–55.
The English Language in Europe. Hartman R.R.K. (Ed.). Oxford, England : Intellect Books, 1996. 60 p.

research[5] by outstanding European linguists was followed by a fundamental book[6] that attracted more scholars to lexical dynamics and enrichment of their languages with anglicisms.

Another significant theme in European English studies was about the status of English as a second language variety in the EU member states. By analysing the status, form, functions, and the acceptance of the language, S. Moliner[7] concluded on the legitimacy of the label *Euro-English* as well as a potential status of English as a distinctive variety.

The aim in this chapter is manifold. First, to approach English from a sociolinguistic perspective, describe its forms and features of the European lingua franca . Second, to approach English in Europe from a microlinguistic angle by looking into the sources and structure of the lexicon as most flexible and sensitive to social changes level of language. Third, to consider onomasiological and semasiological variation in the European English vocabulary, explain how and why particular lexical means are selected to denote different processes in a changing Europe.

1. The many faces of English in a changing Europe

Employing a witty metaphor to describe a diverse and ever-changing nature of English, S. Romaine portrays the language development as the path "from village to global village"[8]. It was a fair comment for the language that started as a small collection of dialects spoken by a culturally homogeneous society in Europe, later became more dialectally varied, developed its standard form, marked the epoch of modernity with the arrival to the New World, and gave rise to its new forms globally.

The history of the emergence of English as the first foreign language in Europe started with the arrival of American movies early in the 20th century. The original English versions were accompanied by subtitle translations into different languages[9]. As soon as the link between Europe and the USA was established, it turned Europe into a transnational region extending beyond its existing borders[10] and immediately arouse interest in learning English.

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[5] A Dictionary of European Anglicisms: A Usage Dictionary of Anglicisms in Sixteen European Languages. Görlach M. (Ed.). Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2001. 351 p.

[6] English in Europe. Görlach M. (Ed.). Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2002. 348 p.

[7] Mollin S. Euro-English: Assessing Variety Status. Tübingen, Gunter Narr Verlag, 2006. 230 p.

[8] Romaine S. English: from village to global village. *World Englishes: Critical Concepts in Linguistics.* Vol. 1. Bolton K., Kachru B. B. (Eds.). London, New York : Routledge. Taylor & Francis, 2006. P. 46–54.

[9] The English Language in Europe. Hartman R.R.K. (Ed.). Oxford, England : Intellect Books, 1996. P. 26.

[10] Gueneli B. Fatih Akin's Cinema and the New Sound of Europe. Bloomington, Indiana : Indiana University Press, 2019. P. 45.

After the Second World, there were some changes in the linguistic situation in Europe. The role of German as "the second language of the cultured and intellectual middle class in Central and Eastern Europe"[11] diminished and the dominance of French as a lingua franca was restricted to the southern regions. Those factors excited the European spread of English.

The pervasive use of English in Europe was later motivated by Anglophone popular culture products. It did not take the young generation long to realize that English could be an efficient lingua franca in Europe.

Under such circumstances, English is learnt to understand native-speakers along with speakers of other languages. J. Jenkins[12] suggests that there is some difference between lingua franca users and speakers of English as a foreign language. Learners of a foreign language master it to approach the norms of native speakers, while the paramount goal of lingua franca users is to be intelligible to non-native speakers. This is what makes European linguistic situation distinctive as English is a means of communication in both native and non-native settings.

Today, English as a lingua franca has no rivals in Europe. Having developed in response to a need in communication among speakers of various languages, it is used in the European Union and other international organizations. Up to 80% of the internal documentation in the European Commission is written in English[13].

In contrast to other regions where English performs a limited number of functions as a lingua franca, European English takes place in different types of communication and its users are to exploit much more than a restricted encoding of a Frankish tongue can offer. It is a national language in the United Kingdom and Ireland and the first widely spoken foreign language throughout Europe[14]. According to Eurobarometer[15], over 60% of Europeans choose English as the most useful language for their personal development while about 80% believe it is essential for their children to learn it for the future. The majority of respondents are convinced that they

[11] Clyne M. G. The German Language in a Changing Europe. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1995. P. 7.

[12] Jenkins J. ELF at the gate. The Position of English as a Lingua Franca. *The European English messenger*. 2004. No 13.2. P. 63.

[13] Eurostat: English reinforces its status as Europe's 'lingua franca'. Euroactive network. EURACTIVE. Com. Sep 27, 2013. URL: https://www.euractiv.com/section/languages-culture/news/eurostat-english-reinforces-its-status-as-europe-s-lingua-franca/ (retrieved 25 August, 2019).

[14] Hamilton L., Webster P. The International Business Environment. 2nd ed. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2012. P. 107.

[15] Europeans and their languages. Special Eurobarometer 386. European Commission. 2012. 23 p. URL: http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/General/index (retrieved May 14, 2018).

are confident speakers and have better than basic skills. Over 45% of Europeans confirm they use English on a more than occasional basis and somewhat less than 20% do it almost every day. The number of those who can use it on the Internet in their e-mails and Facebook, follow television programmes, read news, etc. reaches 25–26%.

In spite of the multilingual environment in today's Europe, where 60% of secondary school students learn 2 foreign languages or more[16], "Continental teachers of English have no problems motivating students to learn"[17]. According to Eurostat, 73% of children study English in primary and lower secondary education while 100% of them do it at the middle and higher levels of secondary education[18].

English is creatively used by Europeans in slam poetry, popular in France, Italy, Germany[19], in bilingual advertising where it supplants French, German[20] and other European languages.

English that is emerging in Europe becomes considerably more variable which is reflected in a number of names with positive and negative connotations (*English in Europe*, *Euro-English*, *European English* "English spoken in Europe"; *Brussels-English*, *Eurospeak* "political register of the EU English language discourse"; *Eurojargon* "the EU's lingua franca, however, reduced to words of political jargon").

The growing importance of English is gradually changing the old linguistic environment, attitudes to the language, and speech behaviour of Europeans.

2. Sources of European English vocabulary

Discovering origins of European English vocabulary requires a separate and thorough investigation into various aspects of really fascinating word histories. We will limit our discussion to a brief overview of the main sources of European English vocabulary and their productivity.

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[16] European Commission/EACEA/ Eurydice. Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe – 2017 Edition. Eurydice Report. Luxembourg : Publication Office of the European Union, 2017. URL : https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/73ac5ebd-473e-11e7-aea8-01aa75ed71a1/ language-en/format-PDF (retrieved August 7, 2019). P. 60.

[17] The English Language in Europe. Hartman R.R.K. (Ed.). Oxford, England : Intellect Books, 1996. P. 29.

[18] Eurostat: English reinforces its status as Europe's 'lingua franca'. Euroactive network. EURACTIVE. Com. Sep 27, 2013. URL: https://www.euractiv.com/section/languages-culture/news/eurostat-english-reinforces-its-status-as-europe-s-lingua-franca/ (retrieved 25 August, 2019).

[19] Ponte M. Poetry Slam and Futurist Poetry Competitions. International Book of Futurism Studies. Berghaus G. (Ed.). Berlin : Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2016. P. 357.

[20] Hashim A. Englishes in Advertising. *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes*. Kirkpatrick. A. (Ed.). New York : Routledge, 2010. P. 522.

Words and expressions used in communication in English throughout Europe include a massive lexical layer used in General (or Common) English. The etymologies of those words, whether established or still unknown, are registered by the English language dictionaries. In terms of their genesis, such words are related to the system of the English language whose archaic ancestry is found in Proto-Indo-European. Though not straightly obvious, the common roots and similarities between English and other daughter languages are quite traceable in the Indo-European family history.

For instance, the phrase *European identity* is used to refer to what makes Europeans feel European: " *'United in diversity' <…> Better words could not have been chosen to describe the double, national and common identity of Europe. **European identity** does not contradict national identity, it does not rival it; instead, both complement each other like two sides of the same coin*"[21]. The phrase is frequent in the contexts discussing the issues of unique characteristics of an individual, relations with others, membership in social categories and other similar things. The head element *identity* is well established in General English to verbalise a complex concept comprising a range of phenomena concerning perceptions of a person. Without this "paradoxical combination of sameness and difference" [22] we would be unable to adequately deal with the nature of multicultural environment. These interpretations can be retrieved from the history of the word *identity* that dates back to *c*1600 "sameness, the state of being the same" when the stem of Latin origin (*īdem* "the same") found its way into English through Middle French (*identité*). The Latin and French etymons are continuants of the reconstructed pronominal stem PIE **i-*[23].

Our calculation results show that about 90 per cent, or 1350 out of 1500, of lexical units in question come from the already established layers of the English lexicon to denote significant concepts of integration processes in Europe. The common origin and cognates in many daughter branches, including over 20 languages that belong to Germanic, Romance, and Slavonic groups, give such words a big advantage over recent loans. As similar units are easier recognized and processed, they enhance mutual intelligibility between English and other languages.

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[21] Schäuble W. Preface. *Karolewski I. P. European Identity: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Insights.* I. P. Karolewski, V. Kaina (Eds.). Berlin : LIT Verlag Münster, 2006. P. 8.

[22] Lawler S. Identity: Sociological Perspectives. Cambridge : Polity Press, 2008. P. 2.

[23] The American Heritage College Dictionary. 3d ed. Boston, New York : Houghton Mifflin Company, 1993. P. 674, 1597.

The second source for European English is the vocabulary of global governance, i.e. internationalised words and phrases employed in tackling matters of global economics and international market, law, politics, transnational society, multiculturalism, healthcare, etc. Being borrowed directly or calqued simultaneously into many languages, these words are found in various semantic fields to denote key aspects of the EU environment. Examples that follow are selected from the multilingual EU's terminology database and other sources[24]: politics and enlargement (*decentralization* "the process whereby management of European Union funds is delegated to the administrations of the beneficiary countries, centralization"); law and human rights (*democratic deficit* "a term used to argue that the EU institutions and their decision-making procedures suffer from a lack of democracy and seem inaccessible to the ordinary citizen due to their complexity"); budget matters, customs and taxation (*grant* "direct financial contribution"; *declarant* "the person making the customs declaration"); industrial relations (*multi-sector* "covering several sectors"); climate change and ecology (*abiotic* "non-living; devoid of life"); social matters (*cosmopolitanism* "the idea of diverse cultural and social experience in Europe"); communication (*Eurodiscourse* "codified language used in written and spoken communication relating to European integration issues"; *procedural language* "a working language of the European Commission", *corporate social responsibility* "the EU principle according to which companies take responsibility for their social impact"); language policy (*lingua franca*, *linguistic imperialism*, *language planning*, *bilingualism*); education and teaching (*interlanguage, intercomprehension, portfolio, intercultural competence, stereotype*).

What is remarkable is that "on average, adult Europeans have 4000 of these easily recognizable words at their disposal"[25]. The increasing use of international words stimulates participation in European integration affairs, rises speakers' competence in social issues, shapes public opinion as to the rule of law, human rights, etc. The use of international words is necessitated by funding and project activity, trainings, reform movements and other means of public involvement in policy-making, promotion of the EU enlargement. This can be instanced here by the terms *democracy promotion* "the relationship of the European Union and its potential

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[24] Interactive Terminology Database. IATE. URL: https://iate.europa.eu/home (retrieved June 29, 2019). A Short English-Ukrainian Dictionary of European Studies. 270 words and expressions. Kozlova N. (Ed.). Zaporizhzhia : Status, 2018. 156 p.

[25] Doyé P. Intercomprehension. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Language Teaching and Learning.* M. Byram, A. Hu (Eds.). 2nd ed. New York : Routledge. Taylor & Francis, 2017. P. 342.

members as a donor and the recipients of democracy" or *democracy promoter* "a government or an international organization that seeks to provide resources to democratically oriented groups, etc." as they are used in the contexts concerned with the EU enlargement matters: "*Can EU Act as a **Democracy Promoter**?*"[26]; "***Democracy Promoter** or Interest Defender? How the European Commission Influences Non-Electoral Representation by Civil Society Organizations*"[27]; "'*Business as Usual' in EU **Democracy Promotion** Towards Morocco? Assessing the Limits of the EU's Approach towards the Mediterranean after the Arab Uprisings*"[28].

More importantly, when English is used as a lingua franca, international vocabulary is frequent in code-switching to realize particular needs in communication. Convincing data were collected and analysed by T. Klimfinger[29] to demonstrate code-switching in academic interactions. It was argued that the code-switching 'English > speaker's native language' was necessitated by asking for assistance (1) or introducing a new idea (2):

(1) S2 – a native speaker of French; S7 – a native speaker of Dutch

S2: … and located in one's side, or or two programs interconnected or … **consecutifs**? {consecutives}

S7: consecutive

S2: and consecutive …

(2) S1 – a native speaker of German; S3 – a native speaker of Dutch

S1: …to have also a system together with the netherlands we have a… **visitatiecomissie** {visiting commission} … [30]

S3: mhm [an interjection used to show a careful thought or contentment].

S1: it's called for certain programs and so they visit they come and visit the university and stay at the university and they then there is an overall assessment.

[26] Ustun, C. Can EU Act as a Democracy Promoter? Analysing the Democratization Demand and Supply in Turkey-EU Relations. *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*. 2017. Vol 17, No 1. URL: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2983767 (retrieved March 25, 2019).

[27] Kröger S. Democracy Promoter or Interest Defender? How the European Commission Influences Non-Electoral Representation by Civil Society Organizations. *The Challenge of Democratic Representation in the European Union*. Kröger S., Friedrich D. (Eds.). London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. URL: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9780230355828_13 (retrieved July 14, 2019).

[28] Colombo S., Voltolini B. 'Business as Usual' in EU Democracy Promotion Towards Morocco?. Assessing the Limits of the EU's Approach towards the Mediterranean after the Arab Uprisings. *Centre international de formation européenne*. 2014. 1, No 371. P. 41.

[29] Klimfinger T. "She's mixing two languages together" – Forms and Functions of Code-Switching in English as a Lingua Franca. *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*. Mauranen A., Ranta E. (Eds.). Newcastle : Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009. P. 348–371.

[30] Ibid. P. 363–364.

However, while the use of internationalised lexicon "contribute[s] to the creation of professionals who speak from the framework of an international agenda"[31], it remains unclear whether lingua franca users appropriate the new idiom to the same extent.

A great amount of commonly known English words have been taken in by speakers of various languages and become more current in Europe since the 1990s[32]. The instances include widely adopted expletives such as *all right* and *OK* "satisfactory in good condition", *aftershave* "scented lotion" (presently current in almost all European language in spite of existing equivalents), *action* "exciting activity; fight, conflict; a political action" distinguished by its colloquial use[33]. Although these lexical items are borrowings from English into different languages, they provide some evidence for the convergence tendency in Europe.

It is a truism that many of English loans are assimilated or partly-assimilated in the recipient languages. For instance, adjectives and verbs borrowed from English into Polish approximate relevant shapes and grammatical paradigms to achieve agreement in case, number, gender and person: E. *computer* > Pol. *komputer*, E. *install* v. > Pol. *zainstolować*, E. *mail* v. > Pol. *mailować* ("*W komputerze mam wszystko zainstolowane <...> i mailujemy do siebie*"[34] / I have everything installed in [my] computer <...> and we mail each other). The point is that when words and phrases retain their English spelling and pronunciation, it is uncertain whether they are to be qualified as non-assimilated loans or cases of code-mixing between a European language and English.

Some English-based words are coined and regularly used by speakers whose native language is not English. The meanings of such words differ from those in Standard English. If we apply the criterion of form correspondence and meaning incompatibility, these are mere interlingual homonyms: cf. E. *handy* adj. "useful, convenient; clever in using hands" and the word *handy* n. used by Germans in the sense "a mobile phone" (Ger. *Mobiltelefon*)[35].

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[31] Çali B., Ergun A. Global Governance and Domestic Politics: Fragmented Visions. *Criticizing Global Governance*. Lederer M., Müller P. S. (Eds.). New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 171.

[32] A Dictionary of European Anglicisms: A Usage Dictionary of Anglicisms in Sixteen European Languages. M. Görlach (Ed.). Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2001. P. XV.

[33] Ibid. P. 2–3.

[34] Dołowy-Rybińska N. "Nikt za nas tego nie zrobi". Praktyki językowe i kulturowe młodych aktywistów mniejszości językowych Europy. Toruń : Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2017. P. 318.

[35] Kennedy A. F., Hauksson K. M. Global Search Engine Marketing: Fine-Tuning Your International Search Engine Results. Indianapolis, Indiana, USA : Que Publishing, 2012. P. 95.

Vocabulary introduced by non-native speakers of English could be viewed as a potential source for English. In future, coinages might acquire a wider usage than they presently have as constituents of local or specialist idioms. Their proliferation will probably be encouraged by writing system conventions, homogeneous alphabets, and such communicative advantages as brevity of form or expressivity. In addition, cognitive and pragmatic factors are likely to intervene when speakers establish a bridge between the concepts expressed in their native language and English ('a phone used anywhere its signals can be received' > 'a useful, convenient gadget'). This undermines the ground for homonymy due to the fact that the existing and coined meanings do not appear to be completely incommensurate.

To sum up, English in Europe is likely to appeal to the internal resources. Even though many lexical items are earlier borrowings from classical and other languages, or modern internationalized loans, they are well-established, systemic constituents of the English lexicon. To a certain extent, the use of internal resources determines the ways of the English vocabulary variation in European environment.

3. Onomasiological and semasiological variation of English

The approach applied here to types of lexical variation distinguishes between onomasiological and semasiological variation. Onomasiological variation includes word-formation whereas semasiological variation embraces denotational and connotational aspects of lexical meaning.

In its development, language avoids disbalance by optimality of resistance and openness to change. These competing tendencies become even more apparent with the emergence of English as a European lingua franca. Adherence to historical and cultural heritage of the English language is in hand with urge for responsivity to changing circumstances and current events. To prevent communicative gaps and naming lacunae, users of European lingua franca are appearing to be selective about the ways of vocabulary formation as well as they are about the sources. Vocabulary enrichment follows productive in modern English patterns and rules: construction of extended phrases, composition, abbreviation, blending and derivation.

Words of general usage realise their terminological potential and are combined into multicomponent phrases: *(the) Common Security and Defense Policy* "the EU's course of defense and crises management, deployment of military and civilian missions, strengthening peace and

international security", *equal opportunities* "the EU principle providing individuals with fair possibilities to have education, training, employment, career development whatever their sex, race, language, religion, economic or family situation might be". Noun phrases with attributive adjectives (*procedural language* "language which is regularly used in the EU institutions") and *of*-phrases (*harmonisation of laws* "a key concept in the European Union for making identical rules in areas of governance, introducing the same or similar systems of laws in different companies, countries, etc.") prevail over noun phrases with attributive nouns (*treaty language* "a language that is used as an authentic language for important documents such as treaties"). Very long recursive arrangements seem to be avoided.

The same trend is apparent in compounds with the order of stems rather following the pattern Adj+N (*global competence* n. "the complex total of required knowledge of international significant issues, appreciation of cultural diversity and values, competitive skills, proficiency in foreign language") than the pattern N+N (*gender equality* n. "fair treatment, equal opportunities, and chances of economic and social achievements despite the fact of being male or female").

Why are N+N formations, prevalent in modern English, are outnumbered by Adj+N structures and *of*-phrases in European discourse terminology? The answer is in the strive to decrease cognitive complexity. The N+N concatenations, i.e. just liking elements of the same category together in a series, pack a lot of information into a small space which may pose difficulties for decoding. In contrast, the Adj+N sequences where the first elements contain common or relatively common derivational affixes are more transparent: *humanistic thinking* "a system that lies at the core of the European mode of thought and action: making decisions with primary focus on the human interests, values, and dignity" (that is 'relating to humanism' in contrast to *humanist* adj. 'believing in humanism'). In *of*-constructions, where the noun after *of* plays a role like the object of the verb, it is the objective meaning that increases the productivity of this pattern in dealing with abstract concepts, particularly important for Eurointegration interactions.

Other productive processes result in blends (*Bremain* < *B[ritain's/ritish]-* + *-remain*), *Brexit* < *Br[itain's]-* + *-exit, Grexit* < *Gr[eece]-* + *-exit* "the exit from the European Union"), neoclassical compounds with Latin or Greek stems as final combining forms (*Eurocrat*, *Europhile*, *Europhilia*, *Europhobe*), and abbreviations. It is

noteworthy that Eurostat lists approximately 2500 various types of abbreviated terms used in government documents and Eurostat jargon almost every day[36]. Productivity of blending, exploiting combining forms as well as abbreviation can be attributed to the high semantic density of the units developed in these ways.

Derivation of terminology and general vocabulary is carried out with the help of common and mostly abstract affixes providing names of the 'doer of the action' (*Bremainer*, *Brexiteer*) and various nominalisations (*Europeanisation*). A number of words are formed with the help of initial formatives reflecting processes and counter-processes (*globalization – **de**globalization* "processes or situations resulting in the increase of nationalism, segmentation, and priorities against globalization"), opponents and proponents of ideas, plans of action, and so forth (***pro**-Europeanism – **anti**-Europeanism* "a political neologism used in various contexts to refer to sentiments or polices that imply criticism, opposition, or hostility to Europe", *immigration – **anti**-immigration* "in negative views on European citizenship politics, sentiment that immigration is socially wrong and disadvantageous, and should be restricted").

Few terms result from full or partial conversion of multi-word units (*opt out* v. > n. "negotiation of the EU member states not to participate in certain policy areas").

Other newly derived words do not find any compliance with Standard English. They resulted from misspellings, mispronunciations and misinterpretations of the UN workers who are non-native speakers of English: *comitology* (from misspelling of the Standard English *committee* and misuse of the suffix *-ology* "the study of") "committee procedure" in Euro-English. Although such formations are infuriating opponents of political and linguistic unification in Europe, the Google search suggests that there has been a recent rise in the occurrence of these words in various types of discourses. For instance, in academic discourse: "*Considering the centrality of comitology for the implementation of EU legislation, the paper addresses the question whether the 'big bang enlargement' of 2004/2007 has had a significant impact on comitology...*"[37]. It is not that normative forms are inaccessible to non-native speakers of English in Europe, such random or characteristic errors

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[36] Abbreviations and Acronyms. Eurostat. European Commission. URL: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/ramon/cybernews/abbreviations.htm (retrieved September 14, 2019).

[37] Alfé M., Christiansen T., Piedrafita S. Comitology Committees in the Enlarged European Union. *ARENA Working Papers*. 2008. No 18. URL: https://ideas.repec.org/p/erp/arenax/p0268.html (retrieved July 25, 2019).

might result from unpredictable and unconstrained ways of communication, shifts of attention and other factors deviating language conventions in actual speech production. The fact that some misuses are becoming accepted in European lingua franca shows that there are common European deviations from Standard English. That is why peripheral performance is a psycholinguistic factor that cannot be ignored in tackling the issues of language change and variation. In this context, it would be reasonable to mention the acquisition errors by the Vikings that induced some variance features in Northern Middle English[38].

From semasiological point of view, variation mostly takes place in denotational aspect of lexical meaning, though not confined to it. Word meanings are rather specialised than generalised. For instance, the word *planification* n. (< Fr. *planifier* "to plan") entered English in the1950s in the meaning of "the management of resources according to a plan of economic or political development" and became specialised with the added semantic components 'detailed, better (planning)' in Euro-English. Generalisation of meaning involves the reduction and/or substitution of components in the semantic structure: *foresee* "to predict" ('expect something to happen') > in Euro-English "to plan, provide" ('state something must happen, intend to do something').

Connotational changes can be illustrated by amelioration of meaning which seems to be a more developing trend in Euro-English than pejoration (*incite* "to encourage someone to do something unpleasant, violent or illegal, such as a riot, racial hatred, etc." > "to encourage someone to perform a desirable action or behavior, such as buying an electric car").

Metaphoric and metonymic transfers are less productive: *soft Brexit* and *hard Brexit* "in reference to *the closeness of the UK's relationship with the EU*"; *Europe à la carte* from Fr. *à la carte* "ordered by separate items" to express negative connotations reflecting a concept that some countries will favour a greater (or smaller) degree of European integration than others.

There are several intertwining explanations to the above-mentioned findings. As a spread from a broader category of things to a narrower class to denote a particular type of entities, meaning specialisation is essential to express specific concepts of current life in Europe, the EU integration, principles and values. Semantic transfers are less involved due

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[38] Koch A., Taylor A., Ringe D. The Middle English Verb-Second Constraint: A Case Study in Language Contact and Language Change. *Textual Parameters in Older Languages*. Herring S. C., Reenen P. van, Schøsler R. (Eds.). Amsterdam / Philadelphia : Benjamins, 2000. P. 353–392.

to the cognitive challenge of establishing ties between entities in question: metaphor is grounded on analogies between different domains of knowledge, and metonymy calls for associative relations within the same domain of experience. In contrast, generalisation and specialisation of meaning take less cognitive effort as cognisers just move up and down between the category levels. Because accelerated social processes require immediate influx of names, sign-makers prefer to save cognitive resources. Whether we fully or partly accept G. Lakoff and M. Johnson's point of the pervasiveness of metaphor in our mental operations[39], we have to admit that metaphors give concreteness to previously unidentified, abstract concepts. In forming vocabulary of the European lingua franca, speakers mostly deal with transnomination of previously cognized entities and ideas. Quite a number of Euro-English terms appear just to give more precise names to phenomena which already have some lexical units to denote them. The naming task is to be decided with the help of already exiting terms instead of new creations, because nominative density calls for appropriateness of application choice and hence might prevent the easiness of communication in a multilingual community.

CONCLUSIONS

Today, English is one of the most widely spread and varied languages whose international significance has caused the change of linguistic landscape in the world and particularly in Europe. From a nationally homogeneous and regionally restricted language it has turned into a European lingua franca to play a number of social functions.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, it has enhanced a new type of bilingualism bridging communication in multilingual and multicultural Europe. European English contributes into globalisation, political, economic, social and cultural unification by providing the common core of specialist and common vocabulary. It has become a symbol of new European identity reflecting the optimal mix of culture-specific and common European features.

The formation of Euro-English vocabulary mostly relies upon the internal resources and follows the general trend in current English away from 'a friendly to borrow' and toward 'a friendly to share' language.

Naming processes appeal to new and previously denoted notions related to everyday life and specialised fields, particularly politics,

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[39] Lakoff G., Johnson M. Metaphors We Live By. Chicago, London : University of Chicago Press, 1980. P. 3.

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business and marketing, cultural exchange, ecology, education, and language policy in the EU.

In terms of their structure, English words and expressions employed in international interactions exhibit complex but transparent arrangement. Vocabulary formation follows productive ways and is targeted at multiword structures, compounding, blending, abbreviation, and derivation with the help of combining forms, initial formatives, common or relatively common affixes to internationalise the vocabulary and enlarge the communicative space in the European society and the EU. As to semantic derivation, specialisation of meanings prevails over their generalisation, shifts in connotation, metaphoric and metonymic transfers. Such selectivity can be explained by the desire of linguistic sigh-makers to achieve transparency, compactness, efficiency in communication, to ease the exchange of ideas, and accelerate integrational processes.

Despite the arguments put forward by opponents of English as a European lingua franca, we have to recognize its essential role in the historically inevitable extension of economic, social, cultural, and intellectual space within and far beyond the existing national borders in Europe.

SUMMARY

English as a lingua franca is a significant theme in European studies. The purpose of this chapter is to address European English from sociolinguistic and linguistic perspectives. It is argued that European English lexicon is dynamic, relies upon well-established internal resources and selectively employs productive word-formation means. Onomasiological and semasiological variation of English is shaped by the specificity of current processes and a new type of bilingualism in a changing Europe. Lexical changes are influenced by the strive of linguistic sigh-makers to achieve efficiency in communication. The findings demonstrate the significance of non-native speakers' contribution into the development and variance of the present-day English. In spite of all claims against Euro-English, we cannot deny that it is a necessity of contemporary life, a stimulus and a result of integration processes in Europe.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Adj, adj. – adjective

c – circa / approximately

Cf. – confer

E. – English

Fr. – French

Ger. – German

i.e. – id est / that is

ibid. – ibidem / in the same place

N, n. – noun

PIE – Proto-Indo-European

Pol. – Polish

* – reconstructed form

< – developed from

> – developed into

> – developed into, derived from

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