

European Union multilingual primary term creation and the impact of its neologisms on national adaptations

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Abstract

The principle of equal authenticity of the different official language versions has been codified in European Union (EU) law. In this article, we discuss aspects of neology creation that can be observed in equally authentic texts written in the 24 official languages of the EU. Translators working in collaboration with legal specialists and drafters in a complex process of controlled text production within the European institutions play a key role in coining Euro-terminology in the text versions of their first language. These neologisms were in most cases first expressed in Euro-English, the main procedural language at present. In accordance with Fisher (2010), we suggest considering Euro-neologisms in 24 Euro-languages as examples of “multilingual primary term creation”, and we point out some of the complexities involved. The heritage of several legal cultures and their discursive traditions appear to have an impact on EU terminological neologisms. The relative impact of the transposition of European directives and their neologisms on existing terminology in national law is shown by comparing Euro-Dutch terminology in a directive on migration to terminology in Dutch legal documents and in legal documents in Dutch in Belgium after adopting the national provisions that are necessary to comply with the directive. In our case study the impact of Euro-Dutch on legal Dutch in the Netherlands and in Belgium appears to be minimal.

Keywords

Neologisms, primary term creation, secondary term creation, multilingual primary term creation, Euro-language

Term creation in European policy making has been studied from several perspectives in legal translation studies for a long time (see Fischer, 2010, for an overview). Recently, insights into how dynamicity of understanding is related to term creation and in the prototypically structured understanding of terminology in context have been taken aboard by the discipline (Robertson, 2010; Kjær, 2014). Terms may have to be created by the translator producing an informative translation (e.g. into English) of legal codes to help understand or give access to an original text, as dealt with by Garzone (2000), Biel (2014) and Peruzzo (2014). The drafting and translation of EU legislation has been described as a process of interlingual text reproduction necessary to ensure consistency among all the language versions (Kjær, 2014). Other topics of interest include the role of lawyer-linguists in term creation within the EU institutions (e.g. in Šarčević & Robertson, 2013), translation and mediation between legal systems (e.g. in Engberg, 2014), and how the EU Court of Justice deals with neologisms in divergent language versions (e.g. Schilling, 2010; Derlén, 2014).

In terminology studies, term creation has been dealt with from the perspective of terminological dependency on English (e.g. Ibáñez Sanchez & García Palacios, 2014), and variation of terminology as a cognitive device has been opposed to the needs for standardization, harmonization and transposition in the European context (e.g. Pecman, 2014; Kerremans, 2016). Within the discipline of terminology studies, term creation is now acknowledged as part and parcel of a process of more and better understanding that can be observed in several types of sociocognitive context. In more and more studies the prototypical nature of categorization and understanding are considered (Temmerman & Van Campenhoudt, 2014).

The present article is about neology creation in the EU context. We will first define primary term creation and secondary term creation in one language (section 1) and then introduce what is meant by multilingual primary term (MPT) creation within Euro-language (section 2). In section 3 we elaborated on the impact of the transposition of a European directive on existing terminology in Member State law. We discuss examples of primary Euro-Dutch terms in a directive on migration and observe how this terminology gets adapted in Dutch legal documents and in Dutch language legal documents in Belgium. In the concluding remarks (section 4) we deal with equal authenticity as diversity in unity and link this to the idea of understanding as a prototypically structured phenomenon.

1. Primary term creation and secondary term creation

Primary term creation is part of a process of understanding within the confines of one language in a specific domain. Examples can be found in all scientific and societal fields. For instance, in the domain of molecular biology, primary neologisms were created in English, the first language in scientific communication e.g. *molecular cloning*, *polymerase chain reaction (PCR)*, *messenger RNA (mRNA)*, *mRNA splicing*, *spliceosome*. Secondary term creation means that an equivalent is created in language B (e.g. French or Dutch) for a unit of understanding that was primarily part of a process of understanding in language A (Temmerman, 2015).

As Sager states “secondary term formation occurs when a new term is created for a known concept [...] as a result of knowledge transfer to another linguistic community” (1990, p. 80). The French secondary terms for the English primary neologisms mentioned before are (see Figure 1): *clonage moléculaire*, *amplification en chaine polymérase* (and the English abbreviated form *PCR*), *ARN messenger (ARNm)*, *épissage ARNm*, *splicéosome*. The Dutch secondary neologisms are: *moleculair klonen*, *polymerase kettingreactie* (and the English abbreviated form *PCR*); *boodschapper RNA* (and the English abbreviated form *mRNA*), *mRNA splicing*, *spliceosoom*). These French and Dutch neologisms are secondary neologisms as they

are translations of the English terms that were created first. Because over the past decades English has become predominant in science and in international politics, it conditions the creation of new lexical units in other languages. Ibáñez Sánchez and García Palacios (2014, p. 107) believe that this can result in “terminological dependency, a linguistic phenomenon arising from a unidirectional transfer of specialized denominations between two languages”.

ENGLISH	FRENCH	DUTCH
molecular cloning	<i>clonage moléculaire</i>	<i>moleculair klonen</i>
<i>polymerase chain reaction (PCR)</i>	<i>amplification en chaine polymérase</i> (and the English abbreviated form PCR)	<i>polymerase kettingreactie</i> (and the English abbreviated form PCR)
PCR	PCR	PCR
<i>messenger RNA (mRNA)</i>	<i>ARN messenger (ARNm)</i>	boodschapper RNA (and the English abbreviated from mRNA)
mRNA	ARNm	mRNA
<i>mRNA splicing</i>	<i>épissage ARNm</i>	<i>mRNA splicing</i>
<i>spliceosome</i>	<i>splicéosome</i>	<i>spliceosoom</i>

Figure 1. Primary English neologisms and secondary terms in French and Dutch in the field of molecular biology

As the above examples illustrate, terminological dependency is very prominent in the field of molecular biology and in many other scientific domains. Primary term creation occurs as part of the development of new ideas in all domains. An example from the world of finance and banking is the neologism *hedge fund*, which was based on a metaphor that was also introduced in equivalents in several languages. The word "hedge", meaning a line of bushes around a field, has long been used as a metaphor for the placing of limits on risk. Early hedge funds sought to hedge specific investments against general market fluctuations by shorting the market, hence the name. At the time of the financial crisis in 2008 the term featured among other primary terms like *sub-prime mortgages*, *collateralized debt-obligations*, *frozen credit markets* and *credit default swaps* (see also Kristiaensen, 2012). In discussing this phenomenon, financial experts and journalists used several synonyms in English as well as in other languages. Dutch has the English loan term *hedge fund* and the synonyms *hedgefonds*, *hefboomfonds*, *risicodekkingsfonds*, *waarborgfonds*. French has borrowed *hedge fund* as well but also has *fond spéculatif* and *fond alternatif*.

This example illustrates the role of terminological variation in a process of understanding in a societal context and, again, the dominance of English. The question is whether, in the multilingual EU, this phenomenon of terminological dependency on English can be observed as well. If so, we may have an indication that European linguistic equality is very difficult or that it is a myth as Shuibhne (2008) claims. Yet another aspect should not be overlooked: whereas the dominance of English as a lingua franca within the European institutions has been growing steadily since 1973, when both the United Kingdom¹ and Ireland joined the EEC and English became one of the official languages of the EU, it should likewise be recognized that in its early years the French language was the first working language within the institutions

¹ On 23 June 2016, the majority of UK citizens voted against the continuation of UK membership of the EU in a referendum.

and that the joining of Northern and Eastern European countries, whose citizens were less well instructed in the French language, contributed to the primacy of the English language.

After having illustrated primary and secondary term formation in English and in other languages, in the next section we will turn to multilingual primary term creation in Euro-language.

2. Multilingual primary term (MPT) creation in Euro-language?

Multilingual primary terms are created in multilingual national (e.g. Belgium) or international contexts (e.g. EU) of equally authentic legal documents in several official languages. According to Fischer (2010), *multilingual primary term-creation* is not about translation, but it is a simultaneous, multilingual activity aiming at the designation of one concept in several languages. Belgium, for instance, has three official languages: Dutch, French and German. Only Dutch and French are used for drafting the authentic versions of the law. A German translation is published later in the *Moniteur Belge/Belgisch Staatsblad* for information purposes only. The Belgian administration pays particular attention to achieving an effective parity between French and Dutch (Directorate-General for Translation of the European Commission, 2010). The Belgian Council of State provides a manual on legislative techniques for drafters of legislative or regulatory texts. In this manual rules and best practices concerning drafting can be found. The general drafting rules mentioned aim at comprehensibility, readability, transparency and consistency. A good drafting approach is claimed to enhance the chances of good quality bilingual texts. The manual specifies that drafting a bilingual text goes well beyond a mere translation of one version into the other. It suggests that texts should be co-drafted in collaboration with a native speaker of the other language, and consistency of the two texts should be ensured by systematically comparing them. In case of neology creation the general drafting rules will be put to practice.

Given the European principle of equal authenticity for all 24 official language versions of legal documents, multilingual primary term formation is part of the EU language policy but will be harder to achieve than in the Belgian context. Multilingual neology creation in the European Union context is a multilingual dynamic process, which is embedded in EU harmonization, transposition and application. Translation is fundamentally part of this process. MPT creation is part of prototypically structured understanding situated in the EU context. In what follows we will first explain what Euro-language is (2.1) and then illustrate aspects of the European language paradox i.e. the fact that Europe pledges allegiance to multilingualism in order to assure equal rights for all citizens but that it has English as its main procedural language (2.2). In section 2.3, we examine the previous role of French as the main working language. In section 2.4, we illustrate the complications that can derive from the use of abbreviations and acronyms in multilingual EU settings, before drawing a picture of variation within MPT in section 2.5.

2.1 What is Euro-language?

Euro-speak, Euro-jargon, Eurolect, EUese, Euro-Legalese, Union legalese, Eurofog, EU language etc. tend to have negative connotations. Biel (2014, p. 337) believes that "(...) EU language should be perceived as a multilingual legal language realised in distinct legal varieties of national languages with an interdependent conceptual system". We could say that Euro-language is the sum of 24 EU-variants i.e. Euro-Bulgarian, Euro-Czech, Euro-Croatian, Euro-Danish, Euro-Dutch, Euro-English, etc. However, there is a European linguistic paradox. According to Shuibhne (2008), the European multilingual policy amounts to little more than a 'myth of equality' among languages as today most of the EU's information flow moves from

an original draft in **Euro-English** to official translations into Euro-varieties of (in principle and at least) all the other 23 languages (Euro-Czech, Euro-Italian, Euro-Dutch, Euro-Maltese, Euro-Finnish, etc.). Whereas Europe pledges allegiance to multilingualism, the use of English as a procedural language (sometimes together with French or German) and a lingua franca in communication has an impact on the other official languages, as we will illustrate in the next section with the example of *flexicurity*.

2.2 A Euro-language MPT: flexicurity

A typical example of MPT creation in Euro-language is the term *flexicurity*, defined as a welfare state model with a pro-active labour market policy. The model is a combination of easy hiring and firing (flexibility for employers) and high benefits for the unemployed (security for the employees)².

The creation of EU terminology can be described as a two-step process: *primary term-creation for a working language (English or French or German) followed by a secondary activity, an intra-conceptual term-transfer* to all other EU languages.

Whereas politicians, experts and drafters (depending on the stage of decision-making) carry out the process of understanding and designation and create European primary neologisms, secondary terms are often created in the translation process by the translators-terminologists and lawyer-linguists and revisers in the EU institutions.

The results of the translators' and terminologists' and legal linguists' efforts can be studied in EUR-Lex³. Figure 2 is a screenshot of a bilingual display. It shows the terms *Flexicurity*, a loan term in Euro-German (so not: *Flexisicherheit) and a loan translation in French *flexicurité*.

<p>MITTEILUNG DER KOMMISSION AN DAS EUROPÄISCHE PARLAMENT, DEN RAT, DEN EUROPÄISCHEN WIRTSCHAFTS- UND SOZIALAUSSCHUSS UND DEN AUSSCHUSS DER REGIONEN</p> <p>Gemeinsame Grundsätze für den Flexicurity-Ansatz herausarbeiten: Mehr und bessere Arbeitsplätze durch Flexibilität und Sicherheit</p> <p>{SEK(2007) 861}{SEK(2007) 862}</p> <p>INHALTSVERZEICHNIS</p> <p>1. Die Herausforderungen und Chancen von Globalisierung und Wandel 3</p> <p>2. Ein integrierter Flexicurity-Ansatz 4</p> <p>3. Flexicurity-Strategien: Die Erfahrung der Mitgliedstaaten 8</p> <p>4. Flexicurity und der soziale Dialog 9</p> <p>5. Entwicklung gemeinsamer Grundsätze für den Flexicurity-Ansatz 10</p> <p>6. Flexicurity-Optionen 12</p> <p>7. Die finanzielle Dimension der Flexicurity 13</p> <p>8. Die nächsten Schritte: Flexicurity und die Lissabon-Strategie für Wachstum und Beschäftigung 14</p>	<p>COMMUNICATION DE LA COMMISSION AU PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN, AU CONSEIL, AU COMITÉ ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL EUROPÉEN ET AU COMITÉ DES RÉGIONS</p> <p>Vers des principes communs de flexicurité: Des emplois plus nombreux et de meilleure qualité en combinant flexibilité et sécurité</p> <p>{SEC(2007) 861}{SEC(2007) 862}</p> <p>TABLE DES MATIÈRES</p> <p>1. Les défis et les opportunités de la mondialisation et du changement 3</p> <p>2. Une approche intégrée de la flexicurité 4</p> <p>3. Les politiques de la flexicurité: l'expérience des États membres 8</p> <p>4. Flexicurité et dialogue social 9</p> <p>5. Définir des principes communs de flexicurité 10</p> <p>6. Les parcours de la flexicurité 11</p> <p>7. La dimension financière de la flexicurité 12</p> <p>8. Prochaines étapes: La flexicurité et la stratégie de Lisbonne pour la croissance et l'emploi 14</p>
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Figure 2. Illustration of bilingual display in EUR-Lex showing the EU-term *flexicurity* in German and French

² http://europa.eu/abc/eurojargon/index_en.htm (accessed 13 July 2015).

³ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html?locale=nl> (accessed 13 July 2015).

2.3 A Euro-French primary term

The *terminological dependency* of all official languages is primarily on English nowadays. However, the first drafting language used to be French. The EU jargon still has several remnants of French terms that were borrowed by most other languages. An example is “*passerelle clause*”. Kaczorowska (2013, p. 31) writes:

Article 48(6) and (7) TEU sets out two new simplified procedures for revision of the Treaties which are often referred to as “self-amending” or “*passerelle*” provisions which translates into English as “bridging” provisions. “*Passerelle*” provisions are ones which allow the reduction of procedural requirements, or the making of adjustments or amendments to the Treaties, without the necessity to have recourse to formal Treaties revision procedures as described in Article 48(1)–(5) TEU.

A *passerelle clause* is a clause in treaties of the EU that allows the alteration of a legislative procedure without a formal amendment of the treaties. The use of a *passerelle clause* required unanimity of all Member States although member states with opt-outs and those not participating in an area under enhanced cooperation may not have a vote. Unlike formal treaty revision, their use does not require national ratification. It is a metaphorical term as *passerelle* is French for a small bridge. In Euro-Dutch the term *passerelle clausule* was coined, keeping the metaphor and the French word. English borrowed this term from French.

2.4 Euro-language primary terms and their abbreviations

Euro-terminology exists in 24 languages but there are a number of problematic issues. One problem concerns abbreviations and letter words. A clear example of the complexity that may arise is *OMC*. Soft law mechanisms (such as guidelines, benchmarking and sharing best practice) have become an integral part of the *open method of co-operation* (abbreviated as *OMC*), which was endorsed by the 2000 Lisbon Council as being appropriate to help the Member States to develop national policies with a view to achieving the ambitious Lisbon Agenda (Kaczorowska 2013, p. 142).

The *OMC* is a framework for cooperation between the Member States, whose national policies can thus be directed towards certain common objectives. Under this intergovernmental method, the Member States are evaluated by one another (peer pressure), with the Commission’s role being limited to surveillance. The European Parliament and the Court of Justice play virtually no part in the *OMC* process. The fact that in English “*OMC*” is the abbreviation for *open method of coordination*, that in Dutch it is “*OCM*” for *open coördinatiemethode* (even though the term *open samenwerkingsmethode* is found as well – see Figure 3–), that in French “*MOC*” is the abbreviated form for *méthode ouverte de coordination* and that German has “*OMK*” for *offene Methode der Koordinierung* may be challenging in multilingual communication.

Candidate countries should strengthen their efforts in the areas of social inclusion and employment to prepare for their future participation in the open method of cooperation at EU level and for their preparation for the future intervention of the European Social Fund.	Les pays candidats devraient consolider leurs efforts dans les domaines de l'inclusion sociale et de l'emploi pour préparer leur participation future aux méthodes ouvertes de coopération au niveau de l'Union européenne et pour leur préparation aux interventions futures du Fonds social européen.	De kandidaat-lidstaten zouden hun inspanningen op het gebied van sociale insluiting en werkgelegenheid moeten versterken om zich voor te bereiden op hun deelname aan de open samenwerkingsmethode op EU-niveau en de toekomstige activiteiten van het Europees Sociaal Fonds.
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Figure 3. English, French and Dutch equally authentic fragments⁴

According to Robinson (2014) the EU translators working on legislation have to accomplish various balancing acts. On the substance, their translations of EU legislation have to be vague enough for the diplomats, precise enough for the lawyers and technical specialists in the sector concerned, and clear enough for the ordinary user. At the same time the language they use has to be true to the original but accessible to the reader in the Member States. This given is bound to result in variation, even within the core terminology of the EU, as we will illustrate in the next section and also in section 3.

2.5 Variation in EU core terminology in all languages

EU official language has a number of “core expressions” (ways of phrasing) and specific terminology that form part of Euro-language. In what follows we explain the difference between a regulation, a directive and a decision using core expressions and terminology (see Figure 4). We will also look at the equivalents in Euro-French, Euro-Dutch and Euro-German for the core expressions and terminology in Euro-English. This will bring us to the problems of variation and the risk of confusion in a multilingual setting, following from that.

Article 288 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) defines regulations in the following terms: “A regulation shall have general application. It shall be binding in its entirety and directly applicable in all Member States.” A **regulation** is “adopted” at first reading when the Council approves the European Parliament’s position on the Commission’s proposal. It “enters into force”, that is to say, becomes a formal part of the body of EU legislation, on the date specified in its final article or else by default on the twentieth day following that of its publication in the Official Journal of the EU. Generally, the final article will also specify the date from which it is to “apply”, that is to impose obligations or confer rights on individuals. If no such date is specified, the regulation will apply from the date on which it enters into force (see Robinson, 2014, p. 205).

Directives are defined in the following terms in Article 288 of the TFEU: “A directive shall be binding, as to the result to be achieved, upon each Member State to which it is addressed, but shall leave to the national authorities the choice of form and methods.” A **directive** adopted by the European Parliament and the Council generally also enters into force but it specifies a date by which the Member States must “transpose” it, i.e. adopt the national provisions that are necessary to comply with the directive. Directives may also specify a different date from which the Member States must apply their national provisions. By “implementation” of the directive both steps of adopting the national provisions and applying them are referred to.

⁴ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-FR-NL/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52002DC0700&from=pl> (accessed 7 October 2014).

Each year the EU institutions also adopt a large number of **decisions** that are binding on those to whom they are addressed. Generally, they do not “enter into force” but “take effect” when they are notified to the addressees (see Robinson, 2014, p. 205). Decisions have no general scope of application unless addressed to all Member States. They may be addressed to all or to a particular Member State, or to any legal or natural person or they may have no addressees. The effect of a decision is specified in Article 288 of the TFEU, which states that: “A decision shall be binding in its entirety. A decision which specifies those to whom it is addressed shall be binding only on them.”

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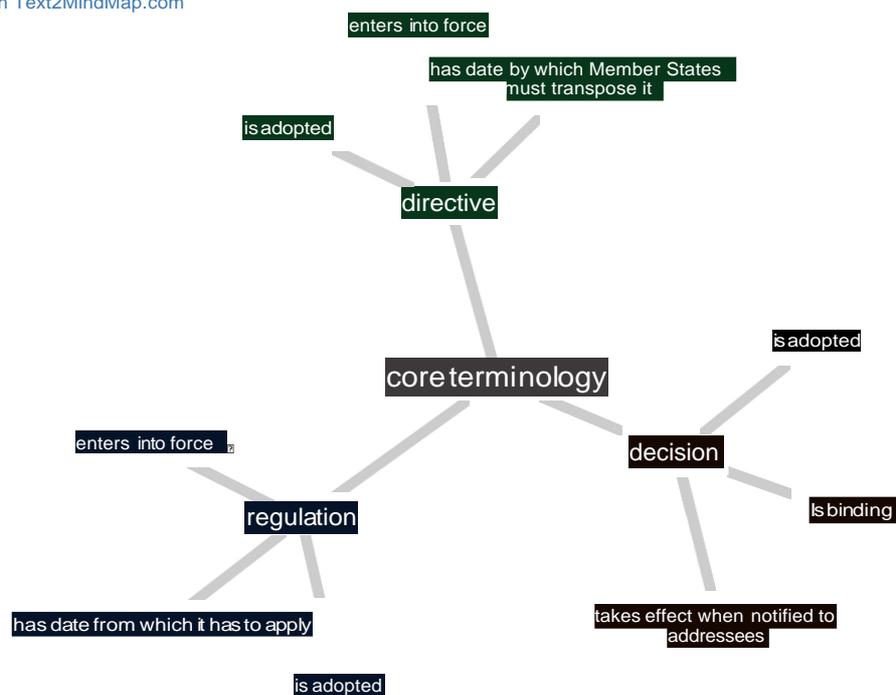


Figure 4. Mind map showing three core terms in EU terminology and their core expressions in Euro-English

Regulations, directives and decisions are mentioned in the context of the Maastricht Treaty (1992), which provides that the European Parliament and the Council adopt them jointly. The equivalents for this expression can be found in IATE,⁵ which refers to “Règlement intérieur du Conseil, art. 11, JOCE L 268/1979 (JOCE L 291/1987; JOCE L 281/1993)”:

En: **regulations**, directives and decisions **adopted** jointly by the European Parliament and the Council

Fr: les **règlements**, les directives et les décisions **adoptés** conjointement par le Parlement européen et le Conseil

De: **Verordnungen**, Richtlinien und Entscheidungen, die vom Europäischen Parlament und vom Rat gemeinsam **angenommen** werden

Nl: **verordeningen**, richtlijnen en beschikkingen die door het Europees Parlement en de Raad gezamenlijk worden **aangenomen**

⁵ IATE: Interactive Terminology for Europe is the European multilingual terminology base http://iate.europa.eu/SearchByQueryLoad.do;jsessionid=faOS5InQH3FiJYZHn5Fem8Afk6DsqOSjHW_G9t27JTFEvIKoVr7g!-551934622?method=load (accessed 20 September 2014).

However, in Regulation (EC) No 1882/2003 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 29 September 2003 adapting to Council Decision 1999/468/EC,⁶ we can read the following wording:

(English) THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION,
Having regard to the Treaty establishing the European Community (...) Having regard to
the proposal from the Commission, (...) After consulting the Committee of the Regions
(...), HAVE ADOPTED THIS REGULATION:

(French) LE PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN ET LE CONSEIL DE L'UNION EUROPÉENNE,
vu le traité instituant la Communauté européenne (...)
vu la proposition de la Commission, (...) après consultation du Comité des régions (...), ONT
ARRÊTÉ LE PRÉSENT RÈGLEMENT:

(Dutch) HET EUROPEES PARLEMENT EN DE RAAD VAN DE EUROPESE UNIE,
Gelet op het Verdrag tot oprichting van de Europese Gemeenschap (...)
Gezien het voorstel van de Commissie (...) Na raadpleging van het Comité van de Regio's
(...), HEBBEN DE VOLGENDE VERORDENING VASTGESTELD:

(German) DAS EUROPÄISCHE PARLAMENT UND DER RAT DER EUROPÄISCHEN UNION -
gestützt auf den Vertrag zur Gründung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft (...) -
auf Vorschlag der Kommission (...) nach Anhörung des Ausschusses der Regionen (...)
HABEN FOLGENDE VERORDNUNG ERLASSEN:

In this second IATE entry we find that: *the regulation is adopted* (English); *le règlement est arrêté* (French); *de verordening wordt vastgesteld* (Dutch); *die Verordnung wird erlassen* (German). Whereas both IATE entries show that in Euro-English *regulations are adopted*, we find that two different verbs are found in French (*être arrêté* and *être adopté*), Dutch (*aangenomen worden* and *vastgesteld worden*) and German (*angenommen werden* and *erlassen werden*). This is an example of lexical variation in the core phraseology of the EU. This specific example questions the feasibility of consistency of terminology in equally authentic documents. It may very well be that *arrêté* and *adopté* are perfect synonyms in these contexts and that they are interchangeable without distortion of the context of the message expressed. It may also be the case that for the texts under discussion the drafting language was French and that the translators who needed to translate into English were not aware of a possible meaning distinction between the meaning of *être arrêté* and *être adopté*. This question would require further investigation.

Observations like these instruct us on at least two aspects. One, the IATE resource does not give us the information needed to find the answer to the question whether there is meaning difference between the two verbal phrases. Two, if even in the core EU terminology and phraseology variation is recurrent, the objective of equal authenticity may prove to be a myth. Consequently, we may have to approach multilingual Europe using a different theoretical model on languages and meaning. In section 3 we will discuss an alternative approach to EU terminology referring to prototypical categorization.

3. Do EU directives have an impact on earlier Member State terminology?

In an attempt to find solutions for problems, like e.g. the migration crisis, the European Union adopts directives. As explained in 2.5, the directive is one of the legal instruments available to

⁶ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/FR-EN-NL/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32003R1882&from=FR> (accessed 20 September 2014).

the European institutions for implementing European Union policies. It is a flexible instrument mainly used as a means to harmonize national laws that requires EU countries to achieve a certain result but leaves them free to choose how to do so. Unlike a regulation, which is applicable in EU countries' internal law immediately after its entry into force, a directive is not directly applicable in EU countries. It must first be transposed into national law before governments, businesses and individuals can have recourse to it. So, for a directive to take effect at national level, EU countries must adopt a law to transpose it. Because EU countries have room to maneuver in this transposition process, they can take into account specific national characteristics. Transposition must take place by the deadline set when the directive is adopted (generally within two years).⁷

Directives are likely to hold new terminology and in directives existing terminology will often be redefined. Moreover, when a directive is transposed into national law, the European primary terms will be confronted with the existing legal terminology in the Member State law. Existing terms in member states laws may be replaced by European terms or they may have to be redefined and therefore undergo a shift in meaning.

Van Wallendael (2016) studied the interaction between European and national terminology within the domain of migration and asylum demands. She tried to figure out what the impact of Euro-Dutch terminology is on the legal terminology in Belgium and in the Netherlands. A close reading procedure revealed what 'a person seeking international protection' is referred to in a European directive in its Euro-Dutch language version using Euro-Dutch terminology and the directives on how to deal with such a person are transposed through a Belgian and a Dutch revision of law following the directive. The hypothesis was that the Euro-Dutch new terminology was going to replace the earlier terminology in the Member States laws in the Netherlands and in Belgium (where the Dutch language is one of the official languages). The terms were extracted from the texts under analysis and studied on the basis of frequency of appearance and on how they relate to one another within the text (lexical chain analysis [Rogers, 2007]). Van Wallendael did a close reading analysis looking for the core terminology and the frequency of the terms used in the following documents: an EU directive⁸ in English, its equivalent in Euro-Dutch⁹, the Belgian Act of 10 August 2015 concerning changes to the Act of 15 December 1980 concerning migration,¹⁰ and the Dutch Act of 8 July 2015 concerning implementation of Directive 2013/32/EU on international protection and Directive 2013/33/EU on international protection.¹¹

⁷ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV%3A114527> (accessed 13 July 2015).

⁸ Directive 2013/32/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013 on common procedures for granting and withdrawing international protection (recast). <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=celex%3A32013L0032> (accessed 13 July 2015).

⁹ Richtlijn 2013/32/EU van het Europees Parlement en de Raad van 26 juni 2013 betreffende gemeenschappelijke procedures voor de toekenning en intrekking van de internationale bescherming (herschikking).

¹⁰ Wet tot wijziging van de wet van 15 december 1980 betreffende de toegang tot het grondgebied, het verblijf, de vestiging en de verwijdering van vreemdelingen om beter rekening te houden met de bedreigingen voor de samenleving en de nationale veiligheid in de aanvragen tot internationale bescherming.

¹¹ Wet tot wijziging van de Vreemdelingenwet 2000 ter implementatie van Richtlijn 2013/32/EU van het Europees Parlement en de Raad van 26 juni 2013 betreffende gemeenschappelijke procedures voor de toekenning en intrekking van de internationale bescherming (PbEU 2013, L 180) en Richtlijn 2013/33/EU van het Europees Parlement en de Raad van 26 juni 2013 tot vaststelling van normen voor de opvang van verzoekers om internationale bescherming (PbEU 2013, L 180).

She came to the conclusion that the impact of the Euro-Dutch terminology on the legal language of the Netherlands and Belgium in the adapted national legislation is relatively limited. The terminology that already existed in the Member States' legal texts was hardly changed. '*Vreemdeling*' ('foreigner'), a term no longer used by the EU institutions for reasons of political correctness, is kept in the laws of both countries. EU directive provisions on how to treat the "*people on the move*" or *applicants* (Euro-Dutch '*verzoekers*') have Euro-Dutch terminology that is not adopted by either of the Member States having the Dutch language as an official language.

Of course, we cannot generalize going by this particular case study. Further research is required based on larger and thematically more varied case studies in order to understand the impact of Euro-Dutch on the legal terminology in Belgium and the Netherlands. What has been proven by this small-scale study of a bachelor student at Vrije Universiteit Brussel is that the understanding of the world in one language, as well as in a multilingual situation, is prototypically structured. Understanding the world and understanding the language used by other interlocutors to communicate about the world can hardly ever be split up in clearly definable units. The meaning of words is situated in contexts (linguistic context, cultural context, legal context, cognitive context, etc.) and evolves over time. The meaning of Euro-terminology is not different in that respect. It regularly occurs that the result of a European negotiation process on a specific topic needs to be transposed at the Member State level. Each time prototypically structured understanding will come into play and those responsible for the transposition at the national level will have to understand the phenomenon of diversity in unity. In the end it will be these legal specialists at national level who will decide on how to transpose and adapt the law in their situational, political and historical context using their native speaker competencies and their knowledge on the subject and on the potential consequences of changing existing legislation.

4. Concluding remarks

In this article, we have defined and illustrated the difference between primary and secondary term formation, and we have pointed out what multilingual primary term formation means for Euro-language. We have argued that the potential created by the sum of 24 Euro-language varieties appears to be quite complex, and looking at examples of Euro-neologisms in context provided us with evidence of Shuibhne's (2008) stance on the myth of European linguistic equality. It is difficult to achieve linguistic equality in the EU for several reasons. We have shown some of the complexities involved in multilingual term creation, like abbreviations and variation in the core terminology of the EU. We then reported on a case study concerning the impact of Euro-Dutch terminology on Dutch language legal documents in the Netherlands and in Belgium where it was found that the impact is surprisingly low.

Edward Sapir (1949, p. 162) wrote that human beings do not live in an objective world but are very much at the mercy of the particular language that has become the medium of expression for their society. He added to this that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. His idea inspires us to say that EU citizens are at the mercy of the particular language that has become a new medium of expression for EU societies: Euro-language, having 24 variants. As we pointed out in section 1, Europe is at the mercy of the English language in the world of domain-specific scientific language, which implies that most neologisms in scientific language are coined in English and translated into other languages or borrowed in a later phase. In the world of international politics and specifically of EU politics, Europeans are driven by Euro-language that is highly influenced by Euro-English. This is the paradox in Europe: on one hand, Euro-English has become the lingua

franca and, on the other hand, Europe has pledged allegiance to linguistic diversity (multilingualism). The paradoxical linguistic situation in Europe has become even more complex since the United Kingdom voted for Brexit. Scholars in translation and terminology studies will observe how the withdrawal of the British from the EU will impact EU primary term creation. Will the English language remain the first working language within the EU without the UK? This is very likely but directives in Euro-English will no longer need to be transposed by the UK. Will the result of Brexit be that other Euro-languages will impact multilingual primary term creation more than is the case now? Nobody can tell at this point in time but it is certain that multilingual neology creation will be essential in all future negotiations between the UK and the EU. Interesting times for neology watchers can be expected.

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