

# **Artificial Intelligence as an Equalizer? Linguistic Barriers and Inequality in Transnational Legal Practice**

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## ABSTRACT

*English dominates in transnational legal practice, structuring access to lucrative global markets, elite professional networks, and high-value cross-border opportunities. Practitioners whose native languages are linguistically distant from English (e.g., native Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean speakers) incur significant cognitive and professional costs in operating within this Anglophone environment, even when their substantive legal expertise matches that of native speakers. This Essay examines whether recent advances in artificial intelligence (AI) mitigate these asymmetries. Drawing on original survey data from Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States, it finds that respondents frequently deploy AI tools and widely view them as enhancing efficiency in language-intensive tasks such as drafting, translation, and legal research. These gains, however, are limited. While AI reduces the productivity costs associated with English-language legal work, it does not displace the symbolic and relational dimensions of professional advantage. Cultural literacy, market knowledge, and professional networks remain central to success, and aspects of linguistic habitus that signal status and reproduce hierarchy persist. AI thus appears more likely to reconfigure—rather than eliminate—the distribution of professional capital that structures hierarchy within the transnational legal profession.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

The transnational legal market is vast, expanding, and marked by persistent structural inequalities.<sup>1</sup> It remains disproportionately dominated by elite, white, male professionals from advanced Western economies.<sup>2</sup> While certain dimensions of this stratification have attracted sustained scholarly attention, one remains comparatively under-examined and under-theorized: linguistic inequality. Though an emerging body of scholarship explores linguistic hierarchy in international law and underscores the disadvantages faced by speakers of minority languages, it has largely focused on access to justice and the preservation of multilingualism in formal legal processes.<sup>3</sup> This Essay shifts the analytical lens to an equally important yet neglected dimension of linguistic inequality in transnational legal practice: the systematic disadvantages borne by practitioners whose native languages are linguistically distant from English, the dominant lingua franca of transnational legal work.

English functions as the primary working language of transnational legal practice, which this Essay defines broadly as legal activity involving a significant cross-border element. International arbitration proceedings and cross-border transactions are frequently conducted in English,<sup>4</sup> and much of

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1 For discussion about the expansion of transnational practice, more narrowly defined than in this Essay, see, e.g., Richard L. Abel, *Transnational Law Practice*, 44 CASE W. RES. L. REV. 737 (1993); Glenn Morgan & Sigrid Quack, *Institutional Legacies and Firm Dynamics: The Growth and Internationalization of UK and German Law Firms*, 26 ORG. STUD. 1765 (2005); Jacques deLisle, *Lex Americana: United States Legal Assistance, American Legal Models, and Legal Change in the Post-Communist World and Beyond*, 20 U. PA. J. INT'L ECON. L. 179 (1999); Sida Liu, David M. Trubex & David B. Wilkins, *Mapping the Ecology of China's Corporate Legal Sector: Globalization and Its Impact on Lawyers and Society*, 3 ASIAN J.L. & SOC'Y 273 (2016).

2 See, e.g., Nienke Grossman, *Shattering the Glass Ceiling in International Adjudication*, 56 VA. J. INT'L L. 1 (2016); YVES DEZALAY & BRYANT G. GARTH, *DEALING IN VIRTUE: INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL ARBITRATION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A TRANSNATIONAL LEGAL ORDER* (Univ. Chi. Press. 1996); Sergio Puig, *Social Capital in the Arbitration Market*, 25 EUR. J. INT'L L. 387 (2014). For summaries of the debates about some structural biases of the entire international law system, see, e.g., Bhupinder S. Chimni, *The Past, Present, and Future of International Law: A Critical Third World Approach*, 8 MELB. J. INT'L L. 1 (2007); Bhupinder S. Chimni, *Customary International Law: A Third World Perspective*, 112 AM. J. INT'L L. 1 (2018); Hilary Charlesworth, *Feminist Methods in International Law*, 93 AM. J. INT'L L. 379 (1999); HILARY CHARLESWORTH & CHRISTINE CHINKIN, *THE BOUNDARIES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: A FEMINIST ANALYSIS, WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION* (Manchester Univ. Press. 2022).

3 See, e.g., JACQUELINE MOWBRAY, *LINGUISTIC JUSTICE: INTERNATIONAL LAW & LANGUAGE POLICY* (Oxford Univ. Press. 2012); Jacqueline Mowbray, *Language Rights and Linguistic Justice in International Law: Lost in Translation?*, 1 JUST. JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE RTS. & MINORITIES [REVISTA DE DRETS LINGÜÍSTICS I MINORIES] 1 (2022); JOHANNA LAAKSO ET AL., *TOWARDS OPENLY MULTILINGUAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES: ASSESSING MINORITY LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE ACROSS EUROPE* § 11 (2016).

4 Kabir A. N. Duggal & Amanda Lee, *In Search of Civilization - Uncovering Overlooked Manifestations of Homogeneity in International Arbitration: Accent and Language*, KLUWER ARB. BLOG (Jan. 16, 2023), <https://legalblogs.wolterskluwer.com/arbitration-blog/in-search-of-civilization-uncovering-overlooked-manifestations-of-homogeneity-in-international-arbitration-accent-and-language/> [<https://perma.cc/NE4H-WQAA>]. (For instance, English was used in most arbitration awards at top international arbitral institutions); TSEDAL NEELEY, *THE LANGUAGE OF GLOBAL SUCCESS* (Princeton Univ. Press 2017).

the world's international legal scholarship is produced and disseminated in the language.<sup>5</sup> The widespread adoption of English facilitates communication across borders and reduces transaction costs in global markets.<sup>6</sup> Yet this linguistic convergence also generates a distinct form of professional inequality. Lawyers whose native languages are linguistically distant from English must invest substantially greater time and cognitive effort to acquire and deploy the language at the level required for sophisticated legal work,<sup>7</sup> placing them at a structural disadvantage in transnational legal markets.

Recent advances in artificial intelligence (AI) may begin to attenuate these disparities. AI-assisted tools for drafting, translation, analysis, and communication enable lawyers to access English-language materials and produce legal texts in English with substantially less time and effort than in the past.<sup>8</sup> These technologies have the potential to lower one of the most persistent barriers faced by transnational practice lawyers from non-English-speaking jurisdictions. A rapidly expanding literature examines the implications of generative AI for the legal profession.<sup>9</sup> Some focus on efficiency gains, arguing that AI-assisted tools can automate or augment routine legal tasks, thereby reducing the time and cost of legal service delivery.<sup>10</sup> Related scholarship examines generative AI may alter the division of labor within law firms and the broader legal profession by automating tasks traditionally performed by junior lawyers, thereby enabling more senior lawyers to concentrate on higher-value strategic and advisory work.<sup>11</sup> A parallel strand of literature addresses risks and constraints, including concerns about bias, hallucination, confidentiality, professional responsibility, and the limits of AI in tasks requiring judgment,

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<sup>5</sup> Odile Ammann, *Language Bias in International Legal Scholarship: Symptoms, Explanations, Implications and Remedies*, 33 EURO. J. INT'L L. 821 (2022).

<sup>6</sup> W. Travis Selmier & Chang Hoon Oh, *The Power of Major Trade Languages in Trade and Foreign Direct Investment*, 20 REV. INT'L POL. ECON. 486 (2013).

<sup>7</sup> Jian Yang, *Learners and Users of English in China*, 22 ENG. TODAY 3, 6 (2006) (Non-native speakers must invest at least hundreds of hours to achieve professional working proficiency in English).

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Jonathan H Choi, Amy B. Monahan & Daniel Schwarcz, *Lawyering in the Age of Artificial Intelligence*, 109 MINN. L. REV. 147 (2024). Andrea Bucher, *Navigating the Power of Artificial Intelligence in the Legal Field*, 62 HOUS. L. REV. 819, 825-29 (2024) (discussing the efficiency gain of AI); Robert J. Couture, *The Impact of Artificial Intelligence on Law Firms' Business Models*, HARV. L. SCH. CTR. ON THE LEGAL PRO. (Feb. 24, 2025), <https://clp.law.harvard.edu/knowledge-hub/insights/the-impact-of-artificial-intelligence-on-law-law-firms-business-models/> [<https://perma.cc/JC2H-3W6U>].

<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Alarie, Anthony Niblett & Albert H. Yoon, *How Artificial Intelligence Will Affect the Practice of Law*, 68 U. TORONTO L.J. (2018); Choi, Monahan & Schwarcz, *supra* note 8; Dan Hunter, *The Death of the Legal Profession and the Future of Law*, 43 UNSW L.J. 1199 (2020); John O. McGinnis & Russell G. Pearce, *The Great Disruption: How Machine Intelligence Will Transform the Role of Lawyers in the Delivery of Legal Services*, 82 FORDHAM L. REV. 3041 (2013).

<sup>10</sup> Alarie, Niblett & Yoon, *supra* note 9; Choi, Monahan & Schwarcz, *supra* note 8; Dana Remus & Frank Levy, *Can Robots Be Lawyers: Computers, Lawyers, and the Practice of Law*, 30 GEO. J. LEGAL ETHICS 1 (2017).

<sup>11</sup> McGinnis & Pearce, *supra* note 9, at 3054 (2013); Couture, *supra* note 8.

contextual understanding, and normative reasoning.<sup>12</sup> Still another strand situates AI within broader debates on inequality in the legal profession, asking whether these technologies democratize access to justice.<sup>13</sup> Despite these advances, the literature has paid limited attention to how generative AI implicates linguistic inequality in transnational legal practice—a gap this Essay seeks to address. To what extent do lawyers whose native languages are linguistically distant from English adopt AI tools in their professional work? Do these technologies meaningfully mitigate language-based disadvantages? And what limits remain?

This Essay addresses these questions through an empirical examination of Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States, defined here as native Chinese speakers engaged in legal practice in the United States. This group constitutes a useful limiting case for analyzing both language barriers faced by transnational practitioners whose native languages are linguistically distant from English (e.g., Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Arabic speakers) and how they use generative AI to mitigate the barriers. Chinese lawyers in the United States represent a highly selective segment of transnational practitioners: almost all have received formal legal education in the United States and operate within an English-dominated professional environment, placing their English proficiency among the strongest within the broader population of Chinese lawyers engaged in cross-border practice. If linguistic constraints persist even within this relatively advantaged group, they are likely to be more pronounced among practitioners with less exposure to English-language training. Conversely, if generative AI meaningfully reduces such constraints in this setting, its equalizing potential in transnational legal practice becomes more plausible. Examining how these lawyers use and evaluate AI therefore provides insight into both the technology's capacity to alleviate language-related disadvantages and the limits of its equalizing effects.

The analysis yields three principal findings. First, Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States report frequent use of AI tools, particularly for language-intensive tasks such as drafting, editing, research, and translation. Second, respondents widely perceive AI as improving both the efficiency and quality of their English-language legal work. Third, these benefits are bounded: institutional knowledge and social and professional

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12 Varun Magesh et al., *Hallucination-Free? Assessing the Reliability of Leading AI Legal Research Tools*, 22 J. EMPIRICAL LEGAL STUD. 1 (2025); Maxi Scherer, *Artificial Intelligence and Legal Decision-Making: The Wide Open?*, 36 J. INT'L ARB. 539 (2019); Michael Hatfield, *Professionally Responsible Artificial Intelligence*, 51 ARIZ. ST. L.J. 1057 (2019).

13 McGinnis & Pearce, *supra* note 9, at 3055; Colleen V. Chien & Miriam Kim, *Generative AI and Legal Aid: Results from a Field Study and 100 Use Cases to Bridge the Access to Justice Gap*, 57 LOY. L.A.L.REV. 903 (2025); Raymond H. Brescia, *Robots vs. Predators: Can Generative Artificial Intelligence Help to Address the Justice Gap in Consumer Debt Litigation?*, 51 FORDHAM URB. L.J. 1553 (2024); Emily S. Taylor Poppe, *The Future is Complicated: AI, Apps & Access to Justice*, 72 OKLA. L. REV. 185 (2019).

networks remain key sources of advantage in transnational legal practice, and enduring features of linguistic habitus that signal social and professional status persist. Collectively, these findings contribute to debates about structural inequalities in transnational legal systems and the burgeoning literature on AI and the legal profession.

The remainder of this Essay proceeds as follows. Part II examines how the dominance of English in transnational legal practice generates structural barriers for lawyers whose native languages are linguistically distant from English. Part III analyzes whether AI mitigates these barriers, drawing on original survey evidence from Chinese lawyers in the United States. Part IV concludes by reflecting on the Essay's contributions and outlining directions for future research.

## II. LANGUAGE, PRODUCTIVITY, AND HIERARCHY IN TRANSNATIONAL LEGAL PRACTICE

In legal practice, proficiency in the working language functions simultaneously as human capital and symbolic capital.<sup>14</sup> At the individual level, linguistic proficiency enhances productivity by facilitating the acquisition of legal knowledge and the production of legal work, including drafting, negotiation, and client communication. At the level of the professional field, language operates as a social mechanism that both produces and reinforces hierarchy.<sup>15</sup> Features of one's linguistic habitus such as accent, vocabulary, and speech style signal status and authority, thereby shaping access to valuable networks, institutional positions, and career opportunities.<sup>16</sup> In transnational legal practice, where English predominates, proficiency in the language structures both productive capacity and positional advantage.

English has long displaced French as the primary working language of transnational business,<sup>17</sup> cross-border dispute resolution,<sup>18</sup> and international legal scholarship.<sup>19</sup> This predominance reflects a confluence of historical and institutional forces, including the global diffusion of British legal institutions during the colonial period and the continuing economic, political, and legal influence of the United States. As cross-border trade and investment expanded, English emerged as a coordinating language that reduces transaction costs among actors operating across linguistic

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14 *For more on the concept of symbolic capital, see* PIERRE BOURDIEU, *LANGUAGE AND SYMBOLIC POWER* (Polity Press 1991).

15 *Id.* at 19.

16 *Id.* at 17.

17 NEELEY, *supra* note 4.

18 Duggal & Lee, *supra* note 4.

19 Ammann, *supra* note 5.

boundaries.<sup>20</sup> The prominence of Anglo-American law firms and legal institutions has further consolidated its centrality within global legal markets.<sup>21</sup>

The significance of English proficiency is particularly evident in cross-border dispute resolution. Proceedings before major arbitral institutions, including the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) and the Singapore International Arbitration Centre (SIAC), are frequently conducted in English even when neither party originates from an English-speaking jurisdiction.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, proceedings before international courts, such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the dispute settlement body of the World Trade Organization (WTO), often rely on English as a principal working language.<sup>23</sup> Lawyers and arbitrators with limited proficiency in English therefore operate at a structural disadvantage in participating effectively in these proceedings.<sup>24</sup>

Language also plays a constitutive role in the production and circulation of legal knowledge. Academic publishing in international law is heavily concentrated in English-language journals, determining whose ideas acquire visibility, credibility, and epistemic authority within global legal discourse.<sup>25</sup> Scholars and practitioners with greater proficiency in English accordingly enjoy structural advantages in disseminating their work and participating in transnational intellectual exchange. The predominance of English thus structures not only the delivery of legal services but also the broader intellectual ecology of the field, influencing the trajectory of scholarship, professional training, and doctrinal development.

The dominance of English imposes substantial productivity costs on lawyers from non-English-speaking jurisdictions. Achieving even conversational fluency requires significant investment for practitioners

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<sup>20</sup> The English language has been shown to incur the least transaction costs in international trade and investment. Selmier & Oh, *supra* note 6.

<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., Carole Silver, *Globalization and the US Market in Legal Services-Shifting Identities*, 31 L. & POL'Y INT'L BUS. 1093 (2000); Carole Silver, Nicole De Bruin Phelan & Mikaela Rabinowitz, *Between Diffusion and Distinctiveness in Globalization: US Law Firms Go Glocal*, 22 GEO. J. LEGAL ETHICS 1431 (2009); Jonathan V. Beaverstock, Richard G. Smith & P.J. Taylor, *Geographies of Globalization: United States Law Firms in World Cities*, 21 URBAN GEO. 95 (2000); James R. Faulconbridge et al., *Global Law Firms: Globalization And Organizational Spaces of Cross-Border Legal Work*, 28 NW. J. INT'L L. & BUS. 455 (2007).

<sup>22</sup> See Duggal & Lee, *supra* note 4.

<sup>23</sup> Marco Tulio Molina Tejada & Tatiana Yanguas, *Litigating WTO Disputes in Spanish or French*, 16 GLOB. TRADE & CUSTOMS J. 523 (2021) (French and Spanish are also official languages of the WTO and disputes can be litigated in these two languages. However, most proceedings are still conducted in English).

<sup>24</sup> Gregory Shaffer & Henry Gao, *China's Rise: How It Took on the US at the WTO*, 2018 U. ILL. L. REV. 115 (2018) (The Chinese government, for instance, has invested heavily in learning and adapting to the WTO dispute settlement system).

<sup>25</sup> Ammann, *supra* note 5; Oona A. Hathaway & John D. Bowers, *International Law Scholarship: An Empirical Study*, 49 YALE J. INT'L L. 101 (2024); Kathleen Claussen, *The World of International & Comparative Law Journals*, 55 GEO. J. INT'L L. 61 (2023).

whose native languages are linguistically distant from English,<sup>26</sup> and professional legal practice in English demands a still higher level of competence. Legal reasoning depends on precise terminology, fine-grained distinctions among closely related words and concepts, and mastery of specialized rhetorical forms. Drafting contracts, regulatory filings, or briefs requires not only grammatical accuracy but also familiarity with technical vocabulary and stylistic conventions rooted in Anglo-American legal traditions. Even minor imprecision may alter legal meaning or introduce interpretive ambiguity. Producing legal work in a second language therefore typically entails greater temporal and cognitive burdens than performing comparable tasks in one's native language.

This structural disadvantage is especially pronounced for lawyers whose native languages are linguistically distant from English. Linguistic distance refers to structural differences in grammar, phonology, and writing systems. Languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Arabic diverge substantially from English along these dimensions.<sup>27</sup> Practitioners trained in these linguistic traditions must therefore invest substantially greater resources to acquire, maintain, and use English at a professional level. Even when their substantive legal expertise is comparable to that of their English-speaking counterparts, the additional temporal and cognitive demands associated with English-language work can reduce productivity and diminish their competitiveness in transnational legal markets.

English proficiency also carries symbolic power.<sup>28</sup> Features of linguistic habitus such as accent, vocabulary, and speech style both reflect and reproduce social hierarchy. In transnational legal practice, language is often implicitly associated with social and economic status, and proficiency in English facilitates access to elite law firms, arbitral institutions, and influential professional networks. In international commercial and investment arbitration, for example, practitioners with tight connections with the United States and the United Kingdom have long occupied many of the most prominent positions.<sup>29</sup> Even in jurisdictions such as China, elite arbitrators frequently list English, acquired through years of hard work and often investment in U.S. or U.K. education, as a primary working language.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See Yang, *supra* note 7.

<sup>27</sup> *Languages*, U.S. DEP'T OF STATE: DIPLOMACY IN ACTION, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/m/fsi/sls/orgoverview/languages> [<https://perma.cc/Q6RW-KZQF>].

<sup>28</sup> BOURDIEU, *supra* note 14.

<sup>29</sup> DEZALAY & GARTH, *supra* note 2; Sergio Puig, *Social Capital in the Arbitration Market*, 25 EUR. J. INT'L L. 387 (2014); Florian Grisel, *Competition and Cooperation in International Commercial Arbitration: The Birth of a Transnational Legal Profession*, 51 L. & SOC'Y REV. 790 (2017).

<sup>30</sup> Gregory Shaffer, Ji Li & Henry Gao, *China and International Economic Dispute Settlement: Disaggregating the State*, J. INT'L ECON. L. 1 (2026).

In sum, conceptualizing language as both human capital and symbolic capital provides a coherent analytical framework for understanding this under-examined dimension of structural inequality in transnational legal practice. To the extent that linguistic barriers shape both productivity and professional hierarchy, technologies that reduce these barriers may alter the distribution of advantages in transnational legal markets. Recent advances in AI precisely raise this possibility.

### III. AI AND LINGUISTIC INEQUALITY IN TRANSNATIONAL LEGAL PRACTICE

Recent advances in AI may mitigate the linguistic barriers identified in Part II. If English proficiency operates both as human capital that enhances productivity and as symbolic capital that structures access to valuable resources within transnational legal markets, technologies that automate and augment English text production may reshape the distribution of advantages in transnational legal practice. AI-assisted tools for drafting, translation, and legal research can substantially reduce the temporal and cognitive costs associated with producing sophisticated English-language legal work. To the extent that these tools also standardize written output and attenuate stylistic variation, they may weaken certain status signals embedded in linguistic performance, thereby narrowing one of the most persistent structural disadvantages faced by lawyers from linguistically distant jurisdictions.

Earlier generations of translation and text-generation software were limited in their ability to capture contextual meaning, rhetorical structure, and stylistic nuance. Contemporary systems, by contrast, rely on large language models (LLMs) capable of generating contextually appropriate text, identifying grammatical and stylistic inconsistencies, and producing translations and written materials that approximate professional-level drafting, though a gap may still exist with the very best human-made products.<sup>31</sup> For non-native English-speaking lawyers, AI thus functions as a form of linguistic augmentation. Tasks that previously required substantial manual efforts such as drafting, editing, and translation can now be performed more efficiently through AI tools. A practitioner may, for example, develop an initial analysis in their native language and rely on LLMs to generate an English-language version, which can then be refined for precision and accuracy. Similarly, AI-powered writing tools can improve clarity, coherence, and conformity with professional conventions. These capabilities reduce the costs associated with working in a second

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<sup>31</sup> Choi, Monahan & Schwarcz, *supra* note 8. For inadequacy in translation between English and a distant language, see Amjad Mohammad Badah et al., *The Usage of Artificial Intelligence in Legal Translation: Bridging the Gap between Law and Language*, 16 AMPERSAND 1 (2025).

language and enable lawyers to reallocate effort toward substantive legal analysis, strategy, and client engagement.<sup>32</sup>

AI technologies may also expand access to transnational legal knowledge. As noted earlier, much of the scholarship that shapes transnational legal practice is produced in English.<sup>33</sup> AI-enabled translation and summarization tools lower barriers to accessing, interpreting, and synthesizing these materials for non-native English speakers. Meanwhile, AI facilitates the translation of non-English legal texts, potentially allowing doctrinal developments and scholarly perspectives from a wider range of jurisdictions to circulate within global legal discourse. In this respect, generative AI may reduce informational asymmetries created by linguistic barriers and enable professional competition to turn more directly on substantive expertise rather than linguistic proficiency alone.

These equalizing effects, however, are incomplete. AI cannot eliminate all dimensions of linguistic habitus, particularly those manifested in oral communication and informal interaction. While AI may assist in drafting prepared remarks or scripts, it cannot erase accents, cadence, or other embodied features of speech that may signal status within social and professional settings. Nor can it substitute for spontaneous communication in contexts such as negotiations, client interactions, and professional networking, where trust, rapport, and credibility are established. As a result, although generative AI may reduce disparities in written production, it is less likely to displace the relational and symbolic dimensions of linguistic inequality.

Whether, and to what extent, AI mitigates linguistic inequality in transnational legal practice therefore remains an empirical question. To examine this question, this Essay analyzes how lawyers whose native languages are linguistically distant from English use AI tools within an English-dominated professional environment. It adopts a limiting-case research design by focusing on Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States. A limiting case refers to an empirical setting in which the conditions relevant to a hypothesis are especially pronounced, allowing underlying mechanisms to be observed with greater clarity.<sup>34</sup> Where a theoretical proposition holds even under such demanding conditions, its broader applicability may be inferred with correspondingly greater confidence.

Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States provide a particularly informative case for several reasons. First, the linguistic distance between Chinese and English is among the greatest of any major language pair,

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<sup>32</sup> Couture, *supra* note 8.

<sup>33</sup> Ammann, *supra* note 5.

<sup>34</sup> Ji Li, *Does Law Matter in China? An Empirical Study of a Limiting Case*, 46 GEO. WASH. INT'L L. REV. 119 (2014).

reflecting substantial differences in grammar, vocabulary, phonology, and writing systems.<sup>35</sup> These differences impose significant learning and usage costs on Chinese practitioners operating in English-dominated professional environments. Second, Chinese lawyers in the United States constitute a highly selective segment of transnational practitioners. Most have received formal legal education in the United States, typically through LL.M. or J.D. programs, and have undergone extensive training in English-language legal reasoning and writing (see Figure 1 below). Their English proficiency is therefore among the strongest within the broader population of Chinese lawyers engaged in transnational legal practice. Third, these lawyers operate within a legal market in which English is usually the exclusive medium for professional activity. If linguistic constraints persist even within this relatively advantaged group, they are likely to be more pronounced among other Chinese transnational practitioners. Conversely, if generative AI materially attenuates these barriers for this highly selected group, its equalizing potential becomes more plausible for the broader population.

The empirical analysis draws on an anonymous survey of Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States, distributed through online professional networks. To qualify, respondents were required to (1) have been born in China, (2) hold a license to practice law in at least one U.S. state, and (3) reside in the United States at the time of the survey. Administered in November 2025, the survey included forty questions and yielded 124 complete responses. The questionnaire collected demographic information and examined respondents' use of, and attitudes toward, AI in their U.S. legal practice.<sup>36</sup> Although the sample is not probabilistic, it captures a diverse set of respondents across age, gender, geographic location, and practice settings. The analysis proceeds with appropriate caution, recognizing the potential limitations associated with self-selection and non-random sampling.

#### *A. Generative AI and the Reduction of Linguistic Barriers*

As expected, nearly all Chinese lawyers in the sample received their legal education in the United States. As shown in Figure 1, 67% earned a J.D. and 42% obtained an LL.M.<sup>37</sup> Admission to U.S. law schools requires international applicants to demonstrate English proficiency through standardized tests, ensuring substantial language skills prior to enrollment. Respondents also tend to graduate from highly ranked institutions: the

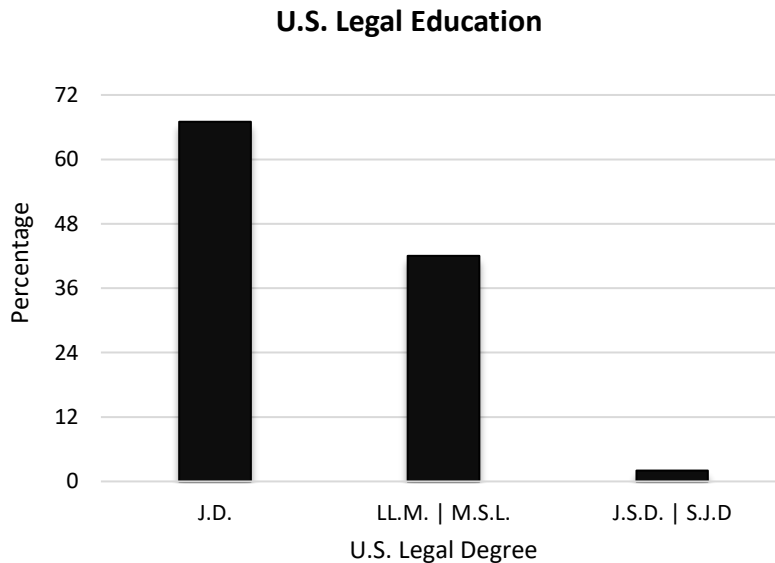
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<sup>35</sup> See *Languages*, *supra* note 27.

<sup>36</sup> The author has been conducting annual surveys of Chinese lawyers in the United States since 2022. For this essay, data from one question of the 2023 survey will also be analyzed to show that these lawyers consider language barriers a major challenge to their career advancement. See Figure 2 for more details.

<sup>37</sup> Percentages exceed 100% because some respondents received both LL.M. and J.D. degrees.

median respondent attended a top-50 law school, and LL.M. students typically enroll in even higher ranked schools.<sup>38</sup> Since 2013, roughly 500 Chinese students have earned J.D. degrees and more than 1,000 have completed LL.M. programs from U.S. law schools each year.<sup>39</sup> Those who ultimately remain in the U.S. legal market have generally satisfied bar admission requirements and secured positions at U.S. law firms—qualifications that suggest higher English proficiency than most of their counterparts who have returned to China.



*Figure 1: U.S. Legal Education Among Surveyed Chinese Lawyers*<sup>40</sup>

A 2023 survey of Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States, conducted prior to the recent advances in generative AI, asked respondents to identify the principal challenges affecting their career development.<sup>41</sup> As shown below in Figure 2, inadequate language proficiency is one of the most frequently cited obstacles, surpassed only by the “lack of social networks”. Approximately 26% of respondents identified practicing law in English (“inadequate language skills”) as a major barrier to advancement, whereas only 13% regarded “prejudice against lawyers of Chinese origin”

<sup>38</sup> Data from 2023 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author).

<sup>39</sup> The numbers were much lower during the COVID lockdown. Carole Silver & Ritika Giri, *Is Post-Graduate Legal Education in the U.S. Still Globally Attractive?*, AALS ANNUAL MEETING 2025 (2025) (panel of the Section on Post-Graduate Legal Education).

<sup>40</sup> Data from 2023 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author) (survey question: “What law degree did you receive in the United States? [select all that apply]”).

<sup>41</sup> 163 survey respondents answered this question in the 2023 survey.

as a major challenge. Although these categories are not strictly commensurable, the disparity suggests that linguistic constraints may constitute a more immediate and pervasive impediment to professional mobility for lawyers whose native languages are linguistically distant from English. These findings underscore the importance of treating linguistic inequality as a central, rather than peripheral, dimension of stratification in transnational legal practice.

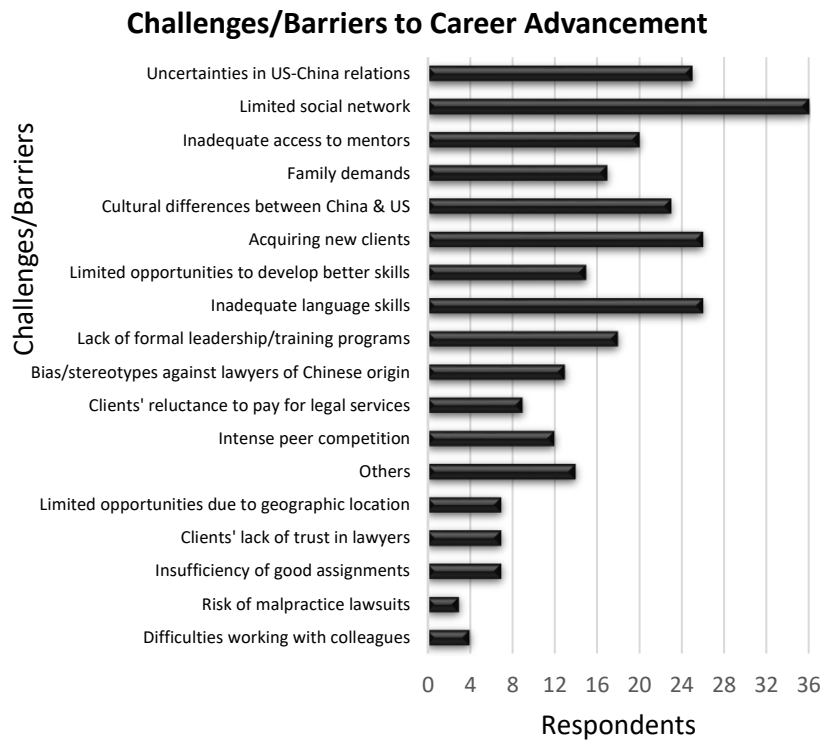


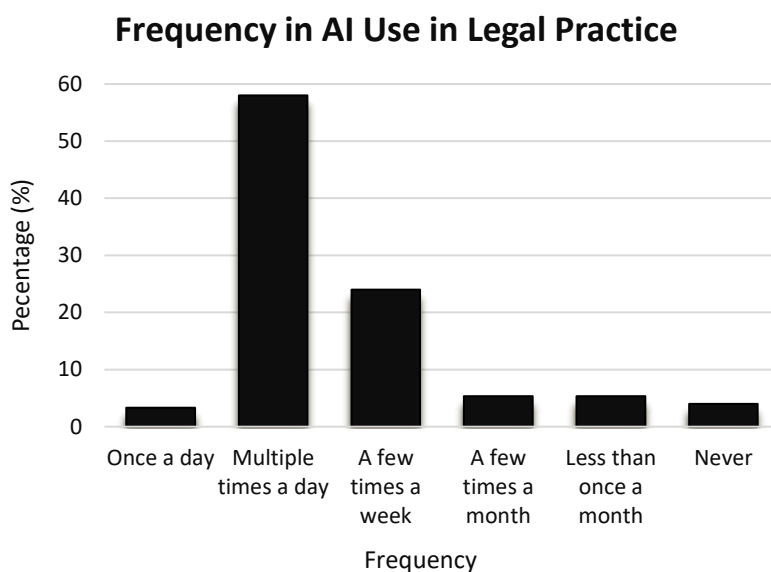
Figure 2: Major Career Challenges or Barriers<sup>42</sup>

Figure 3 indicates that AI tools are widely integrated into the professional workflows of Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States. A majority of respondents (58%) report using AI multiple times per day, with an additional 3.33% using it once daily and 24% several times per week. Only a small minority report limited use: 5.33% use AI a few times per month, another 5.33% report rare use, and 4% indicate that they never use such tools. These patterns suggest that AI has already become embedded

42 Data from 2023 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author) (survey question: "What are the major challenges or barriers to your career advancement? [select all that apply]"). The summation of the percentages exceeds 100% because respondents could select multiple options.

in the routine practice of most respondents, mirroring its broader adoption within the U.S. legal profession.<sup>43</sup>

If anything, usage rates among the broader population of Chinese lawyers engaged in transnational practice may be even higher. Lawyers with lower levels of English proficiency face stronger incentives to rely on AI tools for drafting, translation, and research. This is likely reinforced by comparatively receptive attitudes toward AI in China<sup>44</sup> and the Chinese government's active promotion of digital technologies across public administration and professional services.<sup>45</sup>



*Figure 3: Frequency of AI Use in Legal Practice*<sup>46</sup>

For which professional tasks do Chinese lawyers deploy AI tools? As shown in Figure 4, the most common application is the drafting or editing of non-legal materials such as client communications or marketing content

<sup>43</sup> Choi, Monahan & Schwarcz, *supra* note 8.

<sup>44</sup> Vivian Wang, *Where Are China's A.I. Doomers?*, N.Y. TIMES (Mar. 4, 2026), <https://www.nytimes.com/2026/03/04/world/asia/china-ai-enthusiasm.html> [<https://perma.cc/PL2G-NERX>].

<sup>45</sup> See, e.g., Xin Dai, *Who Wants a Robo-Lawyer Now?: On AI Chatbots in China's Public Legal Services Sector*, 26 YALE J.L. & TECH. 527 (2023); Yi Chen, *Artificial Intelligence and Adjudication: A New Pathway to Justice in China?*, 60 COMPUT. L. & SEC. REV. 1 (2026); Rachel E. Stern et al., *Automating Fairness? Artificial Intelligence in the Chinese Courts*, 59 COLUM. J. TRANSNAT'L L. 515 (2020); Ji Weidong, *The Change of Judicial Power in China in the Era of Artificial Intelligence*, 7 ASIAN J.L. & SOC'Y 1 (2020); Angela Huyue Zhang, *The Promise and Perils of China's Regulation of Artificial Intelligence*, 63 COLUM. J. TRANSNAT'L L. 1 (2025).

<sup>46</sup> Data from 2025 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author) (survey question: "How often do you use AI tools in your legal practice?").

(69.29%). Although these lawyers have trained and practice in an English-dominated professional environment—and therefore generally possess strong legal English proficiency—non-legal communications continues to present challenges for non-native speakers. The frequent use of AI in this domain likely reflects efforts to refine tone, improve grammatical accuracy, and achieve stylistic fluency in client-facing and business contexts.

AI is also widely used for legal research (62.86%) and for drafting or editing legal documents such as contracts or memoranda (57.14%). Together with non-legal writing, these activities are among the most linguistically demanding aspects of legal practice. A substantial proportion of respondents further report using AI for translation-related tasks, including the translating non-legal materials (49.29%) and legal documents (41.43%). Additional uses include reviewing documents for accuracy or consistency, assisting with discovery and document review, and answering basic legal questions.

### Task Supported by AI Tools



Figure 4: Professional Tasks Supported by AI Tools<sup>47</sup>

47 Data from 2025 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author) (survey question: “In which of the following ways do you use AI tools in your legal practice? [select all that apply]”). Percentages exceed 100% because respondents could select multiple options.

These patterns suggest that AI adoption is concentrated in tasks that rely heavily on linguistic competence. Writing, editing, research, and translation—the core processes through which legal texts are produced and communicated—are precisely the domains in which generative AI exhibits the greatest practical utility. More broadly, these empirical findings affirm the Essay’s central claim that recent advances in AI are beginning to attenuate language-based barriers in transnational legal fields.

The extensive reliance on generative AI for language-intensive tasks suggests strong user satisfaction. As shown in Figure 5, a substantial majority of respondents rate the overall effect of AI as positive (44.83%) or very positive (38.62%), whereas 13.79% express a neutral view and none report negative effects. These evaluations reflect a high degree of acceptance of AI tools among Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States. This relatively enthusiastic embrace of AI stands in contrast to the more mixed attitudes toward AI adoption observed among U.S. legal professionals.<sup>48</sup>

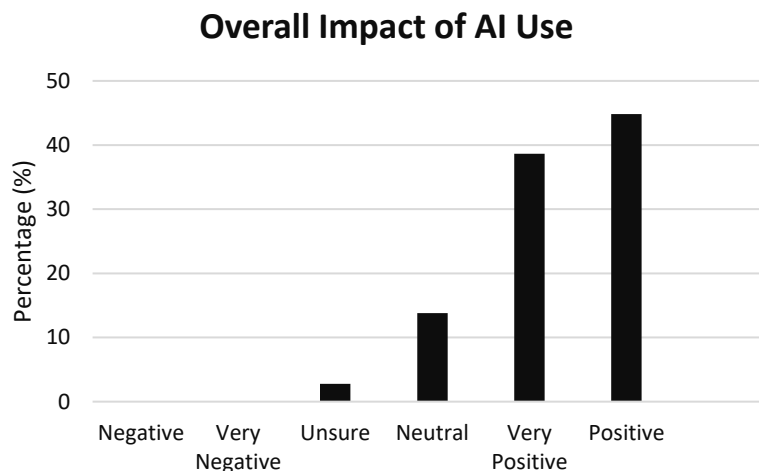


Figure 5: Perceived Overall Impact of AI on Legal Practice<sup>49</sup>

Figure 6 offers a more granular account of AI’s effects on the respondents’ professional activities, which largely corroborates the reported usage patterns. The most salient impacts concern gains in the efficiency of legal research and drafting. Approximately 70% of respondents report that legal research and memorandum preparation have become faster and less costly, while a comparably large proportion indicate that translation and

<sup>48</sup> Dai, *supra* note 45, at 530.

<sup>49</sup> Data from 2025 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author) (survey question: “What is the overall impact of AI on your practice?”).

bilingual drafting have become more accurate and efficient. These findings underscore AI's capacity to streamline the production of English-language legal texts in transnational practice, a task that used to impose substantial temporal and cognitive costs on non-native English-speaking lawyers and thereby reduce their competitiveness in transnational legal markets.

Additional responses reinforce AI's significance for language-mediated legal work. Many respondents report improvements in client communication. Some note efficiency gains in discovery and document review, where AI assists in identifying relevant materials and synthesizing complex texts. In these settings, generative AI reduces both the cognitive burden of processing large volumes of information and the linguistic demands of processing or producing English-language materials.

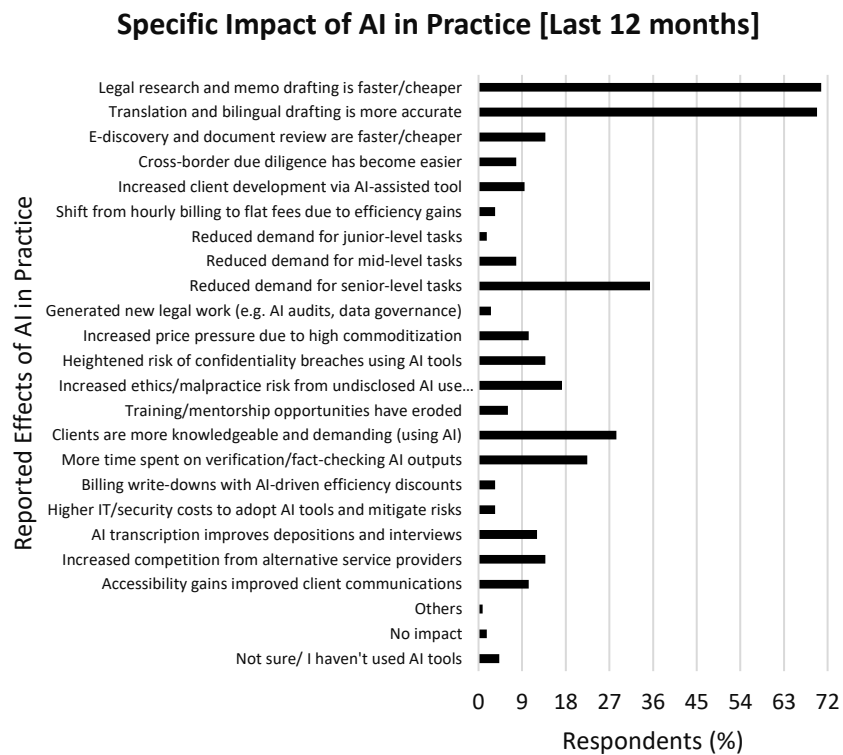


Figure 6: Reported Effects of AI on Legal Work and Practice Structure<sup>50</sup>

Taken together, the evidence presented in Figures 3 through 6 reveals a consistent pattern. Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States report

<sup>50</sup> Data from 2025 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author) (survey question: "Which specific impacts has AI had on your practice in the past 12 months? [select all that apply]"). Percentages exceed 100% because respondents could select multiple options.

high levels of AI adoption and evaluate its effects positively. AI use is concentrated in language-intensive functions—drafting, editing, research, translation, and client communication—precisely the areas in which linguistic barriers have historically imposed the greatest competitive disadvantages on non-native English speakers in transnational legal practice.

Figure 7 provides more direct evidence of AI’s perceived impact on linguistic inequality in legal practice. Consistent with the patterns identified above, a substantial majority of respondents (over 70%) agree that AI-assisted drafting and translation tools reduce the English-language writing gap faced by Chinese lawyers in the United States, including challenges related to grammar, tone, and stylistic expression. Only a small minority express disagreement, while a modest share (about 17%) report neutral views. These responses reinforce the broader inference drawn from the preceding figures: respondents not only make extensive use AI tools in language-intensive tasks but also perceive these tools as materially enhancing the quality and efficiency of English-language legal work.

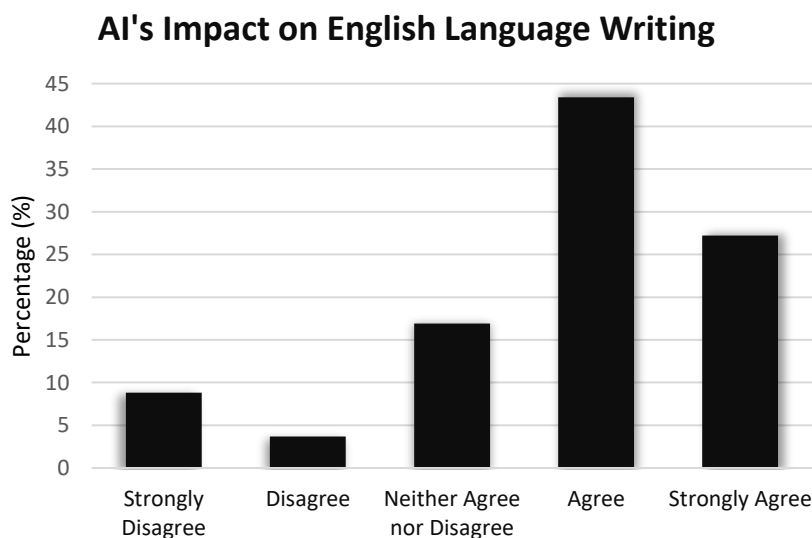


Figure 7: Perceived Effects of AI on the English-Language Writing Gap<sup>51</sup>

In this sense, generative AI operates as a form of linguistic augmentation in transnational legal practice. By assisting with grammar, legal terminology, rhetorical conventions, and stylistic fluency, AI tools attenuate

<sup>51</sup> Data from 2025 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author) (survey question: “AI drafting/translation tools reduce the English-language writing gap for Chinese immigrant lawyers (e.g., grammar, tone)”).

some of the language-based constraints that have historically disadvantaged non-native English-speaking lawyers in English-dominated professional environments. At the same time, the survey evidence also indicates important limits to AI's equalizing effects, as discussed in the following subsection.

*B. Limits of AI in Addressing Structural Inequality*

The preceding subsection presented empirical evidence that AI can assist practitioners from linguistically distant jurisdictions in narrowing language-based disparities in transnational legal practice. Linguistic proficiency, however, functions not merely as a productivity-enhancing capability but also as a form of symbolic capital that both reflects and reproduces hierarchy within global legal markets.<sup>52</sup> AI tools mitigate only certain dimensions of this symbolic power. Other elements of linguistic habitus, particularly those manifested in real-time interactions with clients, regulators, and professional peers, remain less amenable to technological intervention and continue to structure disadvantage for non-native English speakers. Indeed, to the extent that generative AI compresses differences in drafting, translation, and research, it may amplify the status-signaling value of those aspects of linguistic habitus that remain resistant to automation.

More broadly, even as AI reduces the costs associated with practicing law in English, it does not displace other forms of professional capital. Cultural literacy, market knowledge, institutional familiarity, and access to professional networks continue to play a decisive role in shaping professional outcomes. These resources enable lawyers to navigate complex cross-border institutional contexts and cultivate relationships that generate high-value legal work. Such forms of capital remain largely insulated from advances in AI-assisted text production. In this respect, generative AI may reduce one dimension of structural disadvantage while leaving largely intact other mechanisms of stratification in transnational legal practice.

Figure 8 provides empirical support for this proposition. The respondents were asked whether, in complex cross-border matters such as sanctions or export-control work, cultural and market literacy remain important differentiators notwithstanding the availability of AI tools. The responses indicate broad agreement: a majority endorse the statement, with 39.68% agreeing and 12.70% strongly agreeing, while 43.65% remain neutral. Only a small minority (3.97%) express disagreement, and none strongly disagree.

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<sup>52</sup> Bourdieu, *supra* note 14.

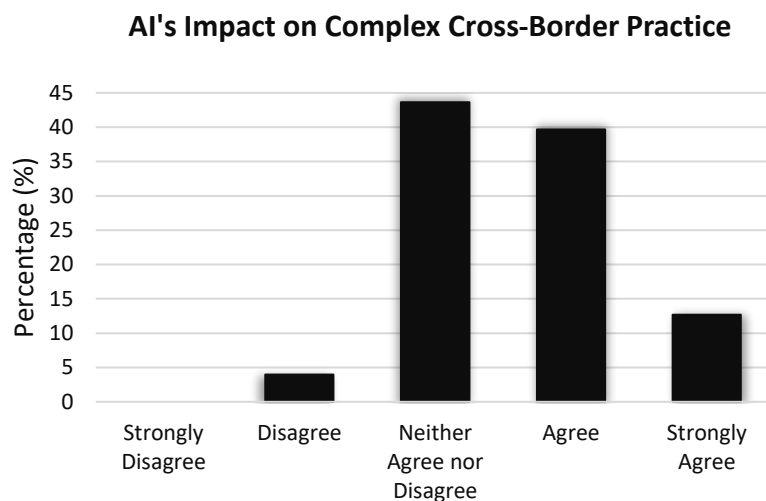


Figure 8: Limits of AI in Complex Cross-Border Legal Practice<sup>53</sup>

These results suggest that practitioners view linguistic proficiency as only one component of competence in transnational legal practice. Complex cross-border matters require familiarity with multiple regulatory regimes, sensitivity to political and commercial contexts, and an understanding of how legal norms operate within these contexts. Cultural literacy, market experience, and contextual judgment—forms of expertise typically accumulated through professional experience and dense, valuable social relationships—remain difficult to reproduce through technological assistance.

The relatively large share of neutral responses may reflect limited exposure among some respondents to complex transnational practice areas.<sup>54</sup> Even so, the prevalence of agreement indicates a widely shared recognition that generative AI cannot substitute for the contextual judgment and experiential knowledge required in complex cross-border legal practice. In short, while AI may lower linguistic barriers to entry in transnational legal practice, cultural literacy, market knowledge, and situational judgment remain critical sources of professional differentiation that are not easily acquired through AI tools.

Figure 9 further delineates the limits of AI's transformative potential by examining whether the technology enables scalable bilingual outreach and, in turn, expands the client base of Chinese lawyers practicing in the United

<sup>53</sup> Data from 2025 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author) (survey question: "In complex cross-border/sanctions/export-control matters, cultural and market literacy remains a differentiator despite AI").

<sup>54</sup> Three most popular practice areas for Chinese lawyers in the United States are general corporate, immigration and intellectual property.

States. Here, the responses are notably equivocal. A majority of respondents (58.27%) neither agree nor disagree that AI-enabled outreach has increased client acquisition, while an additional 14.17% report no discernible effect. Only a minority perceive positive outcomes: 23.62% agree and 3.94% strongly agree that AI facilitates bilingual outreach and broadens their client base.

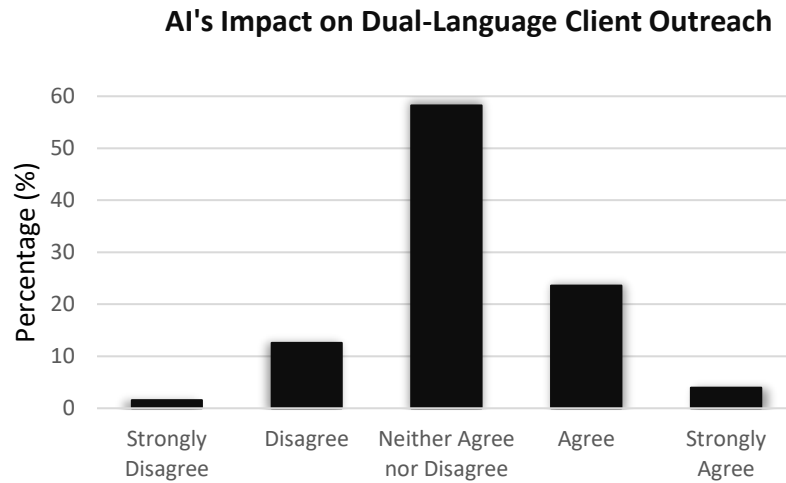


Figure 9: AI and Dual-Language Client Outreach<sup>55</sup>

These findings suggest that, although AI may assist some practitioners in business development, its effects in this domain remain uneven and constrained. AI tools can certainly lower the cost of producing bilingual marketing materials and client communications, thereby facilitating outreach across linguistic boundaries. However, gains in communicative efficiency do not readily translate into durable attorney–client relationships.

This limitation reflects the institutional structure of legal markets. The growth of a legal practice depends heavily on reputation, institutional affiliation, and the lawyer’s social networks. Legal services are prototypical credence goods, in that clients often cannot reliably assess the quality of representation even *ex post*.<sup>56</sup> Under such conditions, trust operates as a central mechanism through which professional relationships are formed. Clients frequently rely on referrals from trusted intermediaries, recommendations from established professional contacts, and the

<sup>55</sup> Data from 2025 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author) (survey question: “AI enables dual-language outreach at scale, expanding Chinese lawyers’ client base”)

<sup>56</sup> Uwe Dulleck & Rudolf Kerschbamer, *On Doctors, Mechanics, and Computer Specialists: The Economics of Credence Goods*, 44 J. ECON. LITERATURE 5, 7 (2006).

reputational standing of lawyers and their firms when selecting counsel.<sup>57</sup> In transnational matters, legal and regulatory complexity, pronounced information asymmetry, and high financial stakes further amplify the salience of reputation and trust.

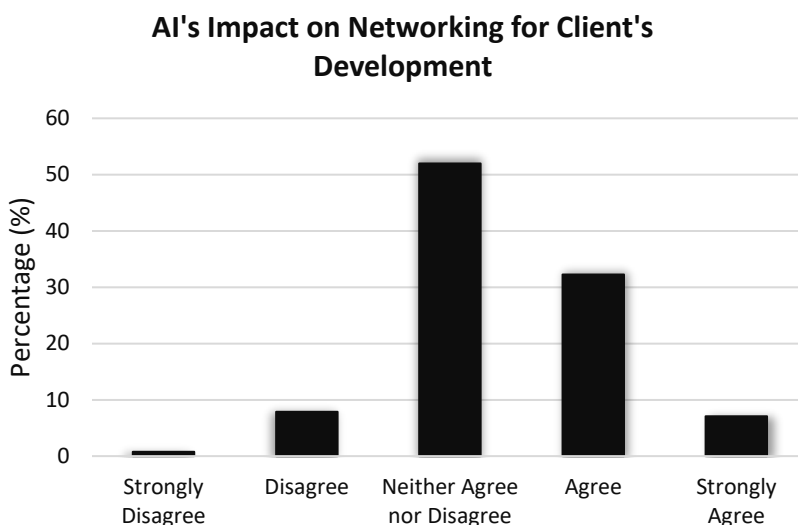


Figure 10: Importance of Social and Professional Networks in the Age of AI<sup>58</sup>

Figure 10 examines whether AI alters the importance of social and professional networks in client development. As discussed above (see Figure 2), the lack of social connections poses the daunting challenge to the career advancement of Chinese lawyers in the United States. The responses here indicate only moderate agreement with the proposition that AI increases the importance of such networks: approximately 39.37% of respondents agree or strongly agree, while 51.97% remain neutral and only a small minority disagree. These patterns suggest that practitioners generally do not perceive AI as diminishing the role of networks and may instead view it as more important.

This view reflects a broader logic in professional labor markets. When technological change erodes the signaling value of certain skills (e.g., translation and drafting), clients may rely more heavily on other forms of professional capital to differentiate among service providers. As AI lowers the cost of these language-intensive tasks, differentiation among lawyers may increasingly turn on reputation, institutional affiliation, social

<sup>57</sup> Ji Li & Wei Zhang, *What Do Chinese Clients Want*, 15 U. PA. ASIAN L. REV. 86 (2019).

<sup>58</sup> Data from 2025 survey of Chinese lawyers in the United States (on file with the author) (survey question: "AI makes social and professional networks more important for client development").

connections, and access to influential professional networks. In this sense, generative AI is more likely to reconfigure than to eliminate the sources of hierarchy in transnational legal practice.

These findings have direct implications for the structure of inequality in the global legal profession. Transnational legal networks have long been organized around elite institutions and professional circles dominated by lawyers trained in Western legal systems.<sup>59</sup> These networks tend to reproduce institutional advantage by privileging practitioners with established reputations and connections within elite legal communities.<sup>60</sup> If the diffusion of AI reduces linguistic barriers while leaving these network structures largely intact, the technology is unlikely to level the competitive terrain for non-native English-speaking lawyers. Instead, it may shift the locus of advantage from linguistic proficiency toward social capital and institutional prestige.

To summarize, the evidence supports the central claim of this Essay: AI mitigates a persistent constraint on transnational legal practice while leaving broader structures of inequality largely intact. By reducing the temporal and cognitive costs associated with drafting, translation, and cross-border communication, AI operates as a form of linguistic augmentation that facilitates participation in English-dominated professional environments. At the same time, key dimensions of linguistic habitus—particularly those manifested in oral expression—remain resistant to technological substitution, and other forms of professional capital, including cultural literacy, market knowledge, institutional affiliation, and embedded social networks, continue to structure access to high-value opportunities. As AI attenuates language-based disparities, these alternative bases of differentiation may assume greater salience in shaping hierarchy within the transnational legal profession.

#### CONCLUSION

The predominance of English constitutes a structural source of inequality in transnational legal practice. Lawyers whose native languages are linguistically distant from English, such as Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Arabic, must invest considerable time and effort to attain and maintain the level of English proficiency required for transnational work. These asymmetries contribute to stratification within the global legal profession. Importantly, this form of stratification does not arise from any intrinsic property of English itself. Any language that becomes dominant within a professional field confers advantages on those who acquire it more easily or

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59 DEZALAY & GARTH, *supra* note 2; Puig, *supra* note 29.

60 DEZALAY & GARTH, *supra* note 2.

earlier. Had French remained the lingua franca of international law,<sup>61</sup> similar patterns of stratification would likely have emerged, privileging lawyers whose linguistic backgrounds are closer to French while imposing additional burdens on others.

This Essay has argued that recent advances in AI are beginning to modify this form of inequality. AI-assisted drafting, translation, and research tools reduce the temporal and cognitive costs of producing sophisticated English-language legal work and enable lawyers to operate more effectively across linguistic boundaries. Drawing on original survey data from Chinese lawyers practicing in the United States, the analysis shows that AI already functions as a form of linguistic augmentation. Respondents report frequent use of AI tools and broadly favorable assessments of their effects, particularly in language-intensive tasks. For these practitioners, AI narrows language-based disparities and facilitates more effective participation in English-dominated professional environments.

Yet the findings also reveal important limits to AI's equalizing potential. Certain dimensions of linguistic habitus, especially those manifested in oral communication—accent, rhetorical style, and spontaneous expression—remain less susceptible to technological mediation and continue to serve as salient status markers. More importantly, linguistic barriers constitute only one dimension of the broader structure of inequality that organizes transnational legal practice. Complex cross-border matters require cultural literacy, market knowledge, and contextual judgment that cannot readily be reproduced through technological means. The development of a successful transnational legal practice also depends heavily on reputation, trust, and embedded professional networks—forms of social capital that AI cannot generate or augment.

These findings contribute to the emerging literature on generative AI and the legal profession. Much of the existing scholarship focuses on the automation of legal service production and the reorganization of professional labor,<sup>62</sup> with some scholars suggesting that generative AI may have equalizing effects by enhancing the productivity of less advantaged lawyers.<sup>63</sup> This literature, however, has been largely U.S.-centered. This

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61 Tejada & Yanguas, *supra* note 23.

62 See, e.g., Choi, Monahan & Schwarcz, *supra* note 8; Couture, *supra* note 8; Rebecca J. Kunkel, *Artificial Intelligence, Automation, and Proletarianization of the Legal Profession*, 56 CREIGHTON L. REV. 69 (2022); Michael Legg & Felicity Bell, *Artificial Intelligence and the Legal Profession: Becoming the AI-Enhanced Lawyer*, 38 U. TASMANIA L. REV. 34 (2019); MICHAEL LEGG & FELICITY BELL, *ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND THE LEGAL PROFESSION* (Hart Publ'g. 2020); Felicity Bell & Justine Rogers, *Becoming, Doing, Being: GenAI and the Promise of Professional Identity in Law*, 7 L. TECH. & HUM. 62 (2025); Aileen Nielsen et al., *Building a Better Lawyer: Experimental Evidence That Artificial Intelligence Can Increase Legal Work Efficiency*, 21 J. EMPIRICAL LEGAL STUD. 979 (2024); Magesh et al., *supra* note 12.

63 Choi, Monahan & Schwarcz, *supra* note 8.

Essay extends that scholarship by situating generative AI within the linguistic structure of transnational legal practice and identifies language as a key dimension through which AI may reshape inequality in global legal markets. The analysis demonstrates that AI can mitigate language-based disadvantages faced by practitioners whose native languages are linguistically distant from English, while also highlighting the limits of those effects. As drafting and translation lose their salience as bases for professional differentiation, competitive advantage is likely to consolidate around institutional prestige, specialized expertise, and access to influential networks. Technological change alone is therefore unlikely to disrupt the deeper social and institutional mechanisms through which professional hierarchies are reproduced.

This Essay contributes to the literature on structural inequality in the transnational legal system by identifying language as a central, yet insufficiently theorized, dimension of stratification. Prior scholarship has documented disparities associated with gender, geography, and access to elite professional networks, and has examined how leading law firms and dominant legal institutions reproduce hierarchical structures within transnational legal practice. Relatively little attention, however, has been directed to language as a cross-cutting constraint that shapes outcomes across these domains. By conceptualizing English proficiency as both human capital and symbolic capital, this Essay demonstrates how linguistic inequality operates simultaneously on productive capacity and professional positioning, influencing both entry into and advancement within the transnational legal field. In so doing, it extends existing frameworks for analyzing inequality in global legal markets and underscores that linguistic hierarchy is not merely incidental but constitutive of the organization of transnational legal practice.

Finally, the effects of linguistic inequality and the extent to which AI mitigates it are likely to vary across domains of transnational legal practice. Different practice areas, including international arbitration, transnational litigation, international licensing, and cross-border mergers and acquisitions, exhibit distinct configurations of linguistic dependence, institutional structure, and professional gatekeeping. The impact of AI will therefore depend on the relative importance of drafting, negotiation, oral advocacy, and network-based client development in each setting. Future research should examine these variations through more fine-grained empirical analysis.