

Is the English language a useful tool in globalization?

Riassunto

L'inglese è la più diffusa lingua al mondo ed agisce come lingua globale, rafforzando la posizione egemonica degli Stati Uniti. La sua diffusione è ritenuta responsabile dell'estinzione di molte lingue minoritarie, un fatto ritenuto positivo da alcuni in quanto portatore di unità, e da altri considerato invece un fattore di tensione conflittuale. L'insieme dei dati riportati riguardo alla letteratura, al mercato delle traduzioni e all'inglese "cibernetic" di Internet, suggerisce cautela nel trarre conclusioni. La resistenza delle altre lingue è spesso particolarmente forte. Proprio su Internet le lingue neolatine sembrano in ripresa. Inoltre, nel mondo in via di sviluppo, l'inglese subisce profonde alterazioni e mescolanze con le lingue locali. Nonostante ciò, esso continua a funzionare da lingua di collegamento tra paesi, scienziati, intellettuali, diplomatici, commercianti e così via, ciò che lo rende fondamentale come lingua franca, vitale per la gestione del mercato globale. Questo è il motivo per cui i governi dei paesi in via di sviluppo favoriscono l'inglese standard della finanza internazionale, del commercio e della tecnologia piuttosto che l'inglese creolo effettivamente parlato nelle loro culture multietniche.

Introduction

My title might well seem an idle question. It is well known that English is the most widespread language in the world. Contrary to Mandarin Chinese, spoken by the largest number of people but poorly understood outside China, English is native not only to Great Britain, but also to the United States of America, to Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the Phil-

ippines. Together these countries are home to 322 million of the 6 billion people in the world. Moreover, English is the second language in many countries, such as Nigeria and India, as a result of English colonialism starting in the 16th century. English colonial policy aimed at uprooting native cultures, and the English language proved to be a very efficient tool for the purpose. As Macaulay wrote in his famous *Minute* (1835) in relation to India: "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreter between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect" (cited in Sassi 1995, p. 17). From that time on, it was compulsory for people belonging to the Indian *élite* to be taught in English.

It should be added that English has become an international language, a universal means of linguistic change, which allows people from very distant places to feel part of a global community. We refer, first of all, to the Internet. As Michael Cronin (1988, p. 150) reports, "Current estimates are that 80% of e-mail and data content are in English, a language that is not spoken as either a first or second language by three quarters of the people on the planet." Consequently, people who wish to communicate, trade or get information on the Internet must be able to use and understand at least basic sentences and a limited vocabulary. The more they know, the more advantages they will obtain from their 'navigation' as internauts. Cyber-English, as the most widely-used language online is labelled, is not the only new variety of English. We have air speak, business English and

Euro-speak, used by European bureaucrats in Brussels. Each of them draws on a very specialized English vocabulary, used principally by people living in *English as Foreign Language* (EFL) nations and who were first taught English at school (McArthur in Bolton & Crystal 1987, p. 324).

English is also the most widely-used language for international conferences and diplomatic and business meetings, taking the place held by Latin, Italian and French in past centuries. In 1987, and numbers have risen since then, David Crystal wrote: "Over two-thirds of the world's scientists write in English, three-quarters of the world's mail is written in English [and] of all the information in the world's electronic retrieval systems, 80% is stored in English" (Crystal, cit. in Tomlison 2003, p. 78). In other words, English acts as a global language. In so doing, it contributes to securing America's hegemonic position against all attacks. Imposed on so many nations and people by a strong economic and political power, it strives to perpetuate that system.

The spread of the English language is held responsible for the death of many minority languages and for the homogenization of cultures. In 1998, the UNESCO *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing* estimated that 3,150 languages were bound to disappear by the turn of the twentieth century and "some linguists claim that a language dies somewhere in the world every two weeks" (Cronin 1988, p. 148). The process started dramatically at the dawn of the modern era, due to the birth of great European nations, and as a consequence of de-colonization in the 19th and 20th centuries. The boundaries of new States were drawn on a map by their former colonizers and included people who belonged to different races and cultures. English was adopted as a *lingua franca* that connected groups which did not share a common language, except the one imposed by the colonial government.

Some intellectuals think that the displacement of all other languages is a positive step in our history, as "we are finally about to become One world, One Government, One Culture" (Weatherford 1993, p. 117. The sentence cited is by J. Tomlison 2003, p. 79). On the other hand, there are those who argue for a multilingual and multicultural world, as they are deeply convinced that "cultural diversity promotes *peace*" (Weatherford 1993, p. 117). In this sense, aggressive nationalist and fundamentalist movements have been considered a reaction to westernization and globalization (Brendenbach & Zukrigl 1998). This last point leads me back again to my title, as it is evidence of the

ambiguous function of the English language, which unites and divides, homogenizes and gives rise to differences. My aim is to demonstrate that globalization is hindered by ethnic varieties, and that English helps people to articulate their own identities as part of a global culture, at the very moment it attempts to eliminate their languages and assimilate their otherness. I will restrict my discussion to three main subject areas: Literature, Translation, and Cyber-English.

English or Englishes?

The word Globalization has not yet been precisely defined. It attempts to describe a phenomenon which we are experiencing day by day, and whose ultimate goal cannot be foreseen (Biagini 2004). It certainly refers "to the rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependences that characterize modern social life." (Tomlison 2003, 2). It is unquestionable that English works as a bridge between people, allowing goods, opinions, images and knowledge to flow freely across territorial boundaries. This fact is thought to cause cultural assimilation with American (or Western) values, and to a certain extent this cannot be denied.

Languages may be considered as symbolic spaces where cultures meet. Going through the *Oxford Dictionary of the English Language*, we can appreciate how much English is indebted to other languages, which gave it new terms and concepts. English is not a monolith, but "currently reflects the background and attitudes of all the groups who have ever used it: the class tensions inside England; the ethnic tensions among English, Scots, Welsh and Irish (which are far from being resolved); residual conflicts between Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Goy; the established rivalry between Britain and America; stresses between English and other languages, as for example with French in Canada and Spanish in the United States; race tensions between black and white in Africa, the Caribbean, the United States and the United Kingdom – and, at the end of the list but by no means insignificant, the built-in Eurocentric bias among the mainly white societies of the ENL nations, setting them apart from the other cultural blocs of Islam, Hinduism, Japan, and so forth." (McArthur, in Bolton & Crystal 1975, p. 335). In other words, the English language has become a place where cultures negotiate words, and in so doing assert their own existence.

As happened to the Latin of the Empire, the



diffusion of the English language led to fragmentation, to hybrid varieties (called Englishes), the result of the miscegenation of forms and terms. The "Creolization" of English in the former colonies testifies to the extreme vitality of languages and cultures which are thought to be on the brink of extinction. By affecting the syntax of the "home variety" (that is, British English), extending its vocabulary and consequently the Western encyclopaedia, old oral traditions such as the Indian one survive thanks to the language of the invader. When Larry Smith speaks of TEIL, the teaching of English as an international language, he wants to stress the fact that travellers and businessmen do link people from distant places, but using different varieties of English. This implies that communication cannot be effective without complex negotiation between knowledge and usages of English. As Thomas McArthur writes, "(...) Indians from Delhi and Madras have to be able to grasp each others' points in English, as well as do business with Japanese and Thais, and make sense to Australians and Turks. The circles constantly meet and mingle, in situations where few have permanent clear-cut advantages, and all have to acclimatize. And this acclimatization is not only linguistic. It is cultural and philosophical as well; world travellers need to be ready not just for unfamiliar accents, grammar and vocabulary but also for special social assumptions, distinct forms of body language, and ultimately different mind-sets as well" (McArthur, in Bolton & Crystal, p. 335).

It is unlikely that English will ever eliminate the diversity in the world. Instead, it seems to work as a common medium to express otherness. While speaking to each other in this international language, people define themselves as opposed to other groups and koiné, learning to acknowledge other cultures and to make their own understood (Breidenbach & Zukrigl 1998, p. 23). Culture is not something static, a linguistic, moral and historical heritage, but is continually reshaped by nations, groups and individuals negotiating between global and local values. This work is always in progress and multiculturalism, much more than universalism, seems to be characteristic of the world we live in.

Literature can offer us more evidence of this. Since Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* was first published in 1981, Indian Literature in English has become very valuable on the global market. Rushdie aimed at constructing a new image of India, mixing Bombay street slang and Oxbridge English. In doing so, he created a dialogic

novel which acknowledges that India has a hybrid identity, made up of the heritage of many local situations along with a common colonial past (Gorra 1994, pp. 654-655).

Modern technology has recently allowed young Third World writers, among them Indians, to quickly become well-known all over the world. Regional writers are read by smaller groups, unless translation into English opens the American and Western markets to them. Writing in English means writing to be sold, and to appeal to large audiences which share global values and, sometimes, false images of the East. Arundhati Roy, winner of the Booker Prize in 1997, was accused by many Indian readers of being a slave to the market, and of having painted a picture of Kerala likely to be found in tourist guides. In doing so, she supposedly betrayed her country and renounced "writing back". Postcolonial writers reflect on colonialism and the way it affected the economic, social and political structure of the colonies. Writing in English, they made the point of view of the colonized known in the Western World (On this subject: Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 1989). However, her inventiveness in manipulating English made Arundhati Roy "a distinctly Indian English voice, one that is at once local and international, of its culture and of the globe (Mandal 1999, p. 26). Like Salman Rushdie, she inserts translations or words borrowed from Malayam into the English text. These borrowings from her native language work as reminders of the impurity of Indian English, the product of the miscegenation of cultures. The use of intertextuality is even more meaningful. Arundhati Roy intersperses citations from masterpieces of English literature, but wastes them by using incorrect pronunciation or intonation, or indulges in childlike plays on words. As Alessandro Monti says: "(...) English is reduced to a nonsensical entity, stressing parody and fun rather than sensible and understandable communication. (...) Arundhati Roy "re-pidgins" English with a vengeance (Monti 1999, p. 384). In other words, English is used to reach global audiences, but while criticizing Western values, questioning their hegemony and showing their relativity.

Reactions to a global and multicultural world are present both in developing countries and in Europe and in United States. The enthusiasts of universalism are in favour of English as a global medium of intercultural communication (Cronin 1998, p. 155). They think that English should not be affected by excessively rapid or radical change, especially as far as the written text is concerned, in order to be an effective international language



(Prat Zagrebbsky & Pulcini 1994, p. 45). On the other hand, many nations try to defend minority languages, thought to be part of the cultural distinctiveness of ethnic groups. Ireland is becoming bilingual thanks to a campaign to save Gaelic from extinction. The ancient tongue is heard in restaurants and shops, and will probably even be spoken in Courts and offices. In 1987, Maori was declared the second language in New Zealand, and as early as 1982, kindergartens where children could learn Maori had been founded. At present, 60% of students learn Maori, and their English is contaminated by Maori words and sentences (Breidenbach & Zukrigl 1998, p. 196). Along the same lines, France expunges anglicisms from its language, coining neologisms to name concepts or objects which were born in the USA. In so doing, it tries to react to a process of anglicization, thought to be a form of imperialism (Breidenbach & Zukrigl 1998, p. 43).

Both of these responses to globalization appear to be wrong. As Michael Cronin says: "Difference does not have to result in the pathology of closure. A celebration of difference can lead to an embrace of other differences, the universalism lying not in the eradication of the other but in sharing a common condition of being a minor other" (Cronin 1998, 156). Bilingualism is the solution to a complex situation: due to the fact that language has become a product to sell on the cultural market, it is also a means of obtaining merchandise and getting information rapidly, as well as being an ideological vehicle. Competence in more than one language will give people the opportunity to mediate between types of knowledge and opinions, and to express their own point of view. The large majority of the world's population is already bilingual. It is quite common for an African to have a good command of six languages, and Europe is trying to cope with globalization by training its students in at least two foreign languages (Breidenbach & Zukrigl 1998, p. 198).

The Internet: has the English retreat been sounded?

Al Gore, coming back from an official meeting in Kyrgyzstan, told us that the President's son, then aged eight, was eager to learn English because "the computer speaks English" (Cronin 1998, p. 150). Using this metaphor, the child was expressing a commonplace. Many scholars have stressed the fact that one has to be competent in English in order to have access to the Internet.

Otherwise he experiences a sense of exclusion, and cannot draw on a large mass of information, especially on scientific subjects. The term Cyber English has been coined to define online English syntax and vocabulary. This language embodies the values of elitist groups. Its frequent use on the Internet excludes whoever is not fluent in it and thus forces him to remain at the margins of the global world and market. In other words: "Non-English speakers have remained the permanent clueless newbies of the Internet, a global class of linguistic peasantry who cannot speak technological Latin. The overt language/classism that shapes the US English advocacy of mandatory English has long been an unstated de facto policy throughout most of the Internet" (Lockard, cit. in Cronin 1998, p. 150).

A global elite recognizes a good command of Cyber English as cultural capital. This leads to a marginalization of other languages, even major European national languages, on the Internet. In this perspective, French, Spanish, Italian and German have become minority languages. Faster translation can slow a process many believe to be unstoppable, in a world where time-to-market constraints are so strong (Cronin 1998, 153).

Minority languages have reacted vigorously against Cyber English hegemony. Funredes is a non-government organization which monitors the presence of Latin languages and cultures on the Internet. Their data reveal that "the relative presence of English on the Web has declined from 75% in 1998 to 50% today (in terms of the percentage of web pages in English)" (available in www.funredes.org). Even the number of users who do not speak English is constantly increasing.

Asia Connect is a Malaysian provider whose purpose is to promote the Internet in its area. It is especially addressed to an Asian audience, and allows Malaysian newspapers and radios to have their own home pages, even if the language used is English. Asia Connect's aim is to offer Eastern users the opportunity to have easy access to scientific and economic information, to trade at greater speed, and last, but not least, to express their own point of view and make it known even in hegemonic countries (Breidenbach & Zukrigl 1998, p. 109). That is why it can be considered a good example of "talking back".

The sum of these, and many other factors has been interpreted as the end of Cyber English domination. Its hegemony seems to be only a transitory phenomenon, and Multilingualism the future of the network. In Daniel Pimienta's words, the Internet might be a striking weapon to assert



national identities and cultural groups and to resist homogenization: "Cyberspace is open to all languages and all cultures: but we must produce content in our own language and which reflects our own culture (...). Each culture must contribute its "storey" to the virtual tower of Babel. Diversity is not to be feared; on the contrary, it is the basis of the capacity of mankind to survive, even as it adapts to new contexts (D. Pimienta, *Put out Your Tongue and Say 'Aaah'. Is the Internet Suffering from Acute 'Englishitis'?*, Consulted 12/06/04. www.funredes.org. Also well-documented: D. Pimienta, *Quel espace reste-t-il dans l'Internet, hors la langue anglaise et la culture "made in USA"?*. Consulted 12/06/04. www.funredes.org).

The translation market: between assimilation and resistance

In *Translations* (1980), Brian Friel portrays the interlingual and cultural conflict between Irish and English people, resulting in the loss of Irish national identity. He sets his drama in 1833 in a hedge-school in an Irish-speaking community in County Donegal. Actors on stage relive the events leading to the drawing up of the first Ordnance Survey map of Ireland, which anglicized Irish names, and to the establishment of the new National Schools, where children were compulsorily taught in English. Hugh, one of the protagonists, beautifully expresses the feelings the two measures kindle in him: "Indeed – he [an English soldier] voiced some surprise that we did not speak his language. I explained that a few of us did, on occasion – outside the parish of course – and then usually for purposes of commerce, a use to which his tongue seemed particularly suited (...). Indeed – English, I suggested, could't really express us." (Friel 1981, p. 23). In saying this, he is drawing boundaries between a practical world, where English must be employed, and an emotional world, where you can live happily using your local language, with your family heritage and ethnic group. He is building a ghetto for his own tongue, and impoverishing it, while trying to defend the Irish. In fact, a language which will not attempt to cope with modernity will not expand its vocabulary, and will renounce naming the new world of the future. However, Hugh's feelings are largely shared by minority language speakers all over the world.

English is considered the scientific language *par excellence*. This is to a certain extent due to the fact that scientists are greatly supported in the United States, and most important research is carried

out there. English has become the international language of the elitist group of scholars, as statistics clearly demonstrate: 80% of conferences are held in English. It has also been stated that this depends on English being a fitter instrument for the modern age than other languages. Michael Cronin argues that English even profited from the progressive mathematicization of scientific knowledge, starting in the 17th century. Mathematics provides scientists with a common language, which can express very complex concepts in very few words. In Michael Cronin's view, this determined "the current hegemony of English as a source language in translation and as a target language in language teaching. The pre-Babelian promise of mathematics is mirrored in *reine Sprache* of English as if, in a sense, the minoritization of all languages becomes the majoritization of one. The condition of mathematical transparency that allows topologists of different nationalities to gather together in a community of understanding around the blackboard or the VDU is the globalizing impulse behind English as the world language." (Cronin 1998, p. 159).

Some scientific essays are vulgarized in order to reach larger audiences. Most of them undergo partial translation. I use the term "partial" because some original words are maintained to convey complex new concepts. Their presence signals the hegemonic position of English and its untranslatability into minority languages, which hints at its being the most useful tool for grasping modern knowledge. Within the symbolic space of the page, English domination is once again proclaimed.

This is in no way surprising: translation proved to be functional to colonial plans and now serves the recent neocolonial projects of transnational corporations. Like translations of scientific essays, advertisements sometimes contain English words even when proposed to a non-native market. In this way, transnational corporations take advantage of language hegemonies to render the advertised object worth having for the anglophone elite and for whoever strives to be coopted by it (Venuti 1998, p. 164).

An unbalanced relationship between languages is also revealed by translation patterns. The world market is dominated by English, and this can be easily demonstrated. According to UNESCO figures, in 1987 half of the global translation output was from English: "The number of translations from English towers over the number of translations made from European languages: around 6,700 from French, 6,500 from Russian, 5,000 from German, 1,700 from Italian. In the geo-



political economy of translation, the languages of developing countries rank extremely low: for 1987 UNESCO reports 479 translations from Arabic, 216 from Chinese, 89 from Bengali, 14 from Korean, 8 from Indonesia" (Venuti 1998, p. 160). British and American publishers translate much less, but prefer to invest in British and American products.

The consequences of this trend on developing countries' native cultures are tremendous. Slaves to the market, indigenous publishers invest in British and American bestsellers, easily sold as they are better known thanks to aggressive worldwide promotion and marketing. As a result, books written in indigenous languages reach only a very restricted audience. It should be added that most of the books translated belong to popular genres, such as the romance and the thriller, which appeal to the reader's imagination, making him part of a fictional world. In that way, Anglo-American values are passed on to indigenous audiences, without being relativized and criticized, as if they were universal values. Thanks to language, cultural dispossession is achieved.

British and American publishers export translations from the major European literatures, originally addressed to the home market, to India and Africa, where English is the official language. English works as a filter, conveying an Anglo-American canon for foreign literatures. Indian second-hand translators unconsciously transport British and American values into their own country (Venuti 1998, p. 163).

Some British and American publishers have recently shown interest in minority language literatures, translating works from them and putting them on the Western market. Thanks to them, Garcia Marquez is now widely read and appreciated. The influence of his works encouraged experimental writing on the part of American writers. One might conclude that a peripheral community exported its values to a hegemonic country. However, the commercial enterprise was functional to an American project, whose purpose was to revise national literature, saturated by realistic novels. Borrowing Lawrence Venuti's words: "Metropolitan intellectuals have looked to developing countries as sources of cultural and political values that are useful in devising projects at home and indeed in fashioning domestic subjects, their own intellectual identities as well as the ideas and tastes of their audiences." (Venuti 1998, p. 170).

Summing up, translation mediates a partial, consequently false, image of alterity, the one West-

ern countries require to construct their own identities, to challenge dominant domestic values hindering change. However, alert translators have found strategies to halt the manipulation of indigenous cultures through the linguistic transposition of concepts and values into the hegemonic language. The subordinate position every minority country experiences when its texts are translated into English may be reversed in a process which has been called the minoritization of major languages. Recognizing the hybridity of their cultures, some translators consciously use the English variant which is spoken in their region. In so doing, they affirm their own national identities both as part of, and opposed to, hegemonic Western countries. According to Michael Cronin, this trend will characterize our future: "As a major language like English spreads more and more widely, the phenomenon of heteroglossia is likely to figure even more prominently in discussions on translation and minority languages, and the heteroglossic translation practice of Gregory will become more and more common." (Michael Cronin refers to Lady Gregory, who translated Moliere into Hiberno-English between 1906 and 1926, see Cronin 1998, p. 158).

While statistics demonstrate the domination of English in the translation market, translation itself is a symbolic battle-field between Western and indigenous languages, between English and all minority languages. It creates new identities that both share and reject some hegemonic values. Hegemonic culture is both a winner (it succeeds in imposing its language) and a loser (its language is contaminated and its values questioned) in this battle, proving that globalization does not necessarily lead to homogenization, but is indeed constant negotiation between cultures, thanks to which distinctiveness is recognized and affirmed (Breidenbach & Zukrigl 1998).

A tentative answer

It is now time to answer my initial question. The sum of the data reported suggests caution. It is at any rate evident that English is functioning as a link-language between countries, scientists, intellectuals, diplomats, traders etc. A *lingua franca* understood by large groups is vital in fostering a global market. That is why Third-World governments encourage the Standard English of international finance, trade and technology rather than the English actually spoken in their multiethnic cultures. Referring to Indian English, Dr Jain said:



“(...) we are using English as a window on the world of knowledge. Then it has to be in line with Standard English. Now it is that aspect which is a bit disturbing. There are occasions when Indians are not understood. This is what Mrs Gandhi complained about when she was unable to understand the contribution of an Indian delegate to an international meeting – and the delegate spoke in English (Mc Crum, Cran & Mac Neil 1989, p. 330).

Dr Jain is deeply concerned with the probable break-up of English into mutually unintelligible languages, a fact which would hinder the role of English as an international language and result in a new Babel. However, the development of the English language cannot be controlled by legislation or stopped by the sound advice of intellectuals, politicians and committees. New words coined either at the center or in the peripheral world areas will continue to be proposed to larger audiences thanks to tourism, the Internet, etc. When a particular usage or pronunciation “finds favour or answers a need there will be no controlling it” (Mc Crum, Cran & Mac Neil 1989, p. 351). This process testifies to an inexhaustible negotiation between local and global knowledge and values, which seems to be the true cypher of globalization.

The new usages of English are often generated by ingroups as a code familiar only to initiates. Competence in these codes will ensure admission to these elitist clubs, while ignorance of them will exclude outsiders. In this case, language works as a very effective way of defining a social group or class, as well as nations (Mc Crum, Cran & Mac Neil 1989, p. 347). The spread of English is here fuelled by the outsiders’ desire to be coopted by the elite. In this perspective, it is likely that English will continue to work as an international language as long as America’s power is undiminished. Conversely, a decline in that power will lead to a serious challenge to English as a world language. Spanish and Chinese might substitute it, as they are spoken by huge populations, and the economic potential of Latin America and China has yet to be completely deployed (Mc Crum, Cran & Mac Neil 1989, p. 341).

The fragmentation of English into new hybrid, locally-functional varieties is a real phenomenon, which cannot be stopped. These new varieties prove to be extremely vital, as they aptly express the new world we live in, composed of both global and local values. As Siaka Stevens, the ex-President of Sierra Leone, stated in relation to Krio, the Englishes born in the former colonies

testify to the lushness of local cultures, enriched by the invaders’ literatures, ways of life and words: “Once the people chart their own course and know what they are about, they realize that the purpose of education is not to rid yourself of your culture, but to get as much as you can from outside, mix it with your own and get something solid” (Mc Crum, Cran & Mac Neil 1989, p. 321). In Sierra Leone, Standard English and Krio, a mix of Portuguese, French, Yoruba and English, are both spoken, even if in different social situations. Krio is the language of informality and intimacy, while Standard English is mostly heard in public meetings and in contacts with the outside world, the world of international trade.

Sierra Leone appears to be representative of a world-wide trend, which protects English from radical changes in global spaces such as the Internet, but allows distinctive varieties to develop in local situations. In fact, the two levels of English do answer to a special human need of both groups and nations: the need to construct one’s own identity as both different and similar to someone else’s.

References

- Ashcroft B., Griffiths G. & Tiffin H. (1989) *The Empire Writes Back*, London-New York, Routledge.
- Biagini E. (2004) *Ambiente, conflitto e sviluppo: le Isole Britanniche nel contesto della globalizzazione*, 3 voll., Genova, ECIG.
- Bolton W.F. & D. Crystal D. (eds.) (1975) *The English Language*, London, Sphere.
- Breidenbach J. & Zukrigl I. (1998) *Tanz der Kulturen. Kulturelle Identität in einer globalisierten Welt*, Kunstmann, München, 1998 (trad.it. *Danza delle culture. L'identità culturale di un mondo globalizzato*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 2000).
- Cronin M. (1998) *The Cracked Looking Glass of Servants. Translation and Minority Languages in a Global Age*, in Venuti L. (ed.) *Translation and Minority*, *The Translator*, vol. 4, n° 2, Manchester, St. Jerome.
- Crystal D. (2003) *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Friel B. (1981) *Translations*, London, Faber & Faber.
- Gorra M. (1994) *Rudyard Kipling to Salman Rusdie: Imperialism to Postcolonialism*, in Richetti J. (ed.) *The Columbia History of the British Novel*, New York, Columbia University Press.
- Mc Crum R., Cran W. & R. Mac Neil R. (1989) *The Story of English*, London, Faber and Faber.
- Mandal S. (1999) *From Periphery to the Mainstream: The Making, Marketing and Media Response to Arundhati Roy*, in Dhawan R.K., *The Novelist Extraordinary*, New Delhi, Prestige Books.
- Monti A. (1999) *A(n) (En)juivable Idiom: Lexical Hybridizations and Speech Acts in Arundhati Roy*, in Dhawan R.K. *The Novelist Extraordinary*, New Delhi, Prestige Books.
- Prat Zagrebelsky M.T. & Pulcini V. (1994) *L'inglese contempo-*



- raneo: *aspetti descrittivi e forme di apprendimento*, in Marenco F. (ed.), *Guida allo studio della lingua e della letteratura inglese*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Sassi C. (1995) *L'inglese*, Firenze, Firenze, La Nuova Italia.
- Tomlinson J. (2003) *Globalization and Culture*, Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Venuti L. (1998) *The Scandals of Translation*, London, Routledge.
- Weatherford R. (1993) *The World Peace and the Human Family*, London, Routledge.
- www.funredes.org

