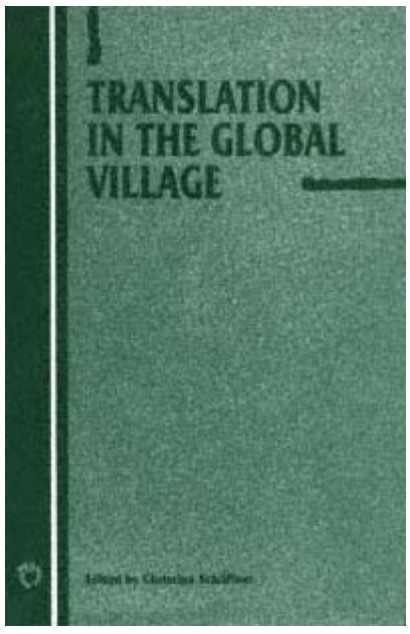

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Introduction:
Globalisation, Communication, Translation

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Introduction

Globalisation has become one of the dominant 'buzz words' in social sciences debates and in the media. It is, of course, not just a word, but it denotes very real developments in the world of today, and even more so in the world of the coming 21st century. Although globalisation processes are especially obvious in the areas of economy and marketing, they effect all spheres of life, political and social systems, institutions, and values, and also the daily activities of individual people. Companies are selling their products worldwide, and they themselves become supranational, i.e. they are less and less identified as belonging to one country only. Mergers and acquisitions result in multinational or supranational giants with an ever-increasing scope of products. At the same time, traditional forms of business, commerce, education, etc. are changing. Companies buy and sell their products (or other companies) via e-mail or the Internet.

Our daily lives too, are affected by all these developments. Not only is life quicker, but people spend their time differently and they do certain things differently compared to what they did a few years ago. For example, cooking is no longer an essential and time-consuming daily activity, because pre-prepared food is put in a microwave and ready for consumption within seconds. Shopping and banking can now be done online, due to the spread of the Internet. Advertising campaigns are praising the virtues of working from home provided we have (or buy) the necessary electronic tools to be connected to the outside world. The Internet, thus, becomes the digital marketplace for e-commerce and a lot of other activities. It has been predicted that, by 2004, one billion people will be a part of this 'virtual seventh continent' (*Der Spiegel*, 8 February 1999, p. 89). In the same article in this German news magazine, it is argued that it took radio, TV, and telephone decades to change the world. The Internet revolution, however, will only need a few years to do so. In 1993, about 10 million people used the Internet, nowadays the number of the users doubles every 100 days. In the UK alone, a new web page is created every two seconds (*Der Spiegel*, 8 February 1999, p. 89).

These developments also influence the way people learn, how they search for information, how they communicate. Finding information is becoming fairly easy these days: with books being replaced by web sites, a large amount of knowledge in the world of today is available at a mouse click. New communities are formed as well, i.e. communities of users and/or chatters on a particular web site, or on an e-mail list. That is, people are communicating, they are sharing knowledge and experience without knowing each other personally, maybe even without knowing anything about each other apart from a name (which may not even be the proper name) and the fact that they use the same electronic discus-

sion forum. This is due to the fact that cyberspace ignores boundaries, and transcends place and time and, thus, information and messages exist everywhere and at any time.

But what are the effects of these developments? Scholars working in the areas of linguistics, communication studies, and in particular Translation Studies, are above all interested in the effects on languages and language use. More specifically, they attempt to find answers to the following questions: In which language(s) is information made available on the Internet? In which language(s) do people communicate and interact at a global level? What does this mean for the individual languages, i.e. their status as a means of communication and their actual form and structure when being used? And what does it mean for the attitude of the speakers, i.e. their attitude to their mother tongue and/or a foreign language? Will one language become a global, or globalised, language? Which one? Will it be English? Assuming such a global language develops, what will be the consequences for translation and interpreting? Will there be counter-developments, opposing trends, to globalisation? Are such (potential) counter-developments also reflected in linguistic developments? Are we as scholars aware of the challenges we will be faced with due to these developments? Are we prepared to deal with them? How will our disciplines develop? And specifically: where is the discipline of Translation Studies today, and where is it going?

These are some of the issues that were discussed at a CILS seminar held at Aston University in February 1999. The main contributor to the seminar, and subsequently to this CILS issue, is Mary Snell-Hornby. Her important book *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*, first published in 1988, was one of the very first publications which argued strongly for the recognition of Translation Studies as an academic discipline in its own right. Over the years, she has contributed substantially to the development of the discipline, as a researcher, teacher, and 'ambassador' of the field. In her contribution in this issue, she situates translation into the wider context of multilingual and multicultural communication. She illustrates how recent trends, notably globalisation and advances in technology, have influenced international communication and translation, and she discusses the consequences for the job profile of the translator. Globalisation, however, is accompanied by an opposite trend, tribalisation, which too, has an effect on our perception of language, and also on translation.

A number of issues introduced in Mary Snell-Hornby's paper are taken up in the Debate and in the response papers.

Global Communication in a Global Language?

Snell-Hornby argues that advances in technology have affected people's production and perception of language. The fact that ever-increasing amounts of information are (to be) processed with ever increasing speed, has consequences for the languages. A first question to be asked in this context is in which language(s) people communicate at a global level. The Internet becomes more and more a place of multinational communication, but is it also a place of multilingual communication? As Snell-Hornby indicates, the opposite seems to be the case, with English as the dominant language on the World Wide Web.

There is indeed a noticeable imbalance between the presence of English in cyberspace and the percentage of mother-tongue speakers of English in the world. In an article in *Language International* (No. 6,1998) it was reported that 75% of Web pages on the Internet are in English, compared to 4% each for Japanese and German, 2.81% for French, 2.53% for Spanish, and 1.5% for Italian, and that 80% of the chat rooms conduct their communication in English. Of the web sites linked to secure servers, this percentage is even higher, i.e. 91% are in English (*The Economist*, 15 May 1999, p. 103). The reason for this development, *The Economist* argues, is the wish to reach a global market, and a web site in English 'will reach not only those whose first language is English, but the even larger number of people for whom English is their second tongue'.

However, there seems to be a counter-trend: with the rapidly growing number of Internet users, the number of languages is growing too. According to statistics in *Der Spiegel* (4 October 1999), the number of web pages in English has decreased from 80% at the end of 1995 to about 57.4% in August 1999, with other languages increasing their share, and new languages entering the scene. But despite such a statistical reduction, English is still by far the most widely used language, the language by which a global market can best be reached.

But what kind of English do we find on the Internet? Mary Snell-Hornby acknowledges the position of English as an international lingua franca, but she argues that this is a kind of English which does no longer conform to the rules and norms of one national variety. It is reduced in stylistic range in short, a kind of 'McLanguage'. Will we have to accept that this kind of 'world English' will be 'the communication medium of the 21st century', as stated by one of the compilers of the world's first dictionary of English which will be based on a single database of 'world English'? The aim of this large-scale project, undertaken jointly by Microsoft and publishers in the US, UK and Australia is to reflect the use of English as 'the language of the world' (*Language International*, No. 6, 1998, p. 9).

What does the emergence of 'world English' mean for the effectiveness of communication, and what does it mean for the future of other languages? Will a reduced 'McLanguage', or 'McEnglish', also mean an impoverished communication? Snell-Hornby stresses that the form of the language needs to be seen in relation to its function. That is, international English functions as a basic common denominator for supra-cultural communication. Similarly, in the European Union, a 'European English' is emerging, as a kind of Eurolect, Eurojargon, to fulfil the communicative needs of the member states and this development occurs despite the declared policy of democratic multilingualism.

In his response paper, Terry Hale expresses considerable reservations about the status, development and future of English as an international language as outlined by Snell-Hornby. He takes up the issue of the changing role and nature of the English language as a result of the project of creating a unified Europe. He points out that one must not overlook that languages of 'lesser diffusion' (e.g. Dutch, Greek, Welsh) have enhanced their status due to their participation in this process.

But 'new English' is not only the kind of McLanguage used on the Internet. Mary Snell-Hornby also points to the fact that texts written in a 'new English' can be an expression of a specific cultural identity. This would apply to the situation when texts are written by the ex-colonised in the language of the ex-coloniser.

Within postcolonial studies, such texts are referred to as 'hybrid texts', and Snell-Hornby describes them as another phenomenon of the tension between globalisation and tribalisation. Adejunmobi (1998) refers to these texts as 'compositional translations', indicating by that label that postcolonial writers from African countries are writing in a European language, but are thinking in their native language, i.e. they are translating their mother tongue into a European language (although the term 'translation' here does not correspond to its use within Translation Studies). Adejunmobi defines compositional translations as 'texts which are published in European languages and which contain occasional or sustained modification of the conventions of the European language in use, where 'versions' or 'originals' in indigenous African languages are non-existent' (Adejunmobi, 1998: 165).

When intercultural communication, thus, does function on the basis of reduced and/or hybrid languages and linguistic forms, would this eventually also lead to a convergence of texts, genres, communicative practices? In other words, what does globalisation as a cultural process in addition to an economic and political process involve?

Globalisation and Cultural Identities

As an economic process, globalisation leads to the development of a world economy, since the economic systems become more and more alike. After the end of the Cold War, we experience an increasing convergence of political systems too (but not world wide). Will we also see a convergence in cultural terms, an intellectual globalisation?

As Barat and Fairclough (1997) have shown, in the world of today discursive practices increasingly flow across boundaries of culture and language, so that we can speak of globalisation of discursive practices. This involves the international dissemination of genres and discourses, i.e. the spread of particular ways of using language (for example, in politics, business, advertising) across national, cultural and linguistic boundaries. Will these developments lead to homogenisation or to heterogenisation (i.e. [how] are global tendencies appropriated in different languages and cultures)? In all these respects, translation plays a highly relevant role, since it is through translations that new concepts or genres are introduced into a language and culture. Discursive change is a dimension of cultural change, Barat and Fairclough stress. Language plays a central role in and for a culture, and linguistic and discursive changes will have an effect on the status of a culture. Globalisation in the sense of homogenisation of discursive practices will therefore have profound social and cultural implications, because discourse embodies and transmits assumptions about social relations, identities and values.

One of those implications concerns the very notion of culture. When discursive practices and genres become identical world wide, when people watch the same news, the same soap operas, does this establish a global culture? In other words, will shared information result in a shared way of life, and also in shared emotions, in a shared global conscience, which extends beyond cultural barriers and prejudices? As the sociologist Karl Otto Hondrich argues (1999), shared knowledge of an event is always supplemented by culture-specific background

knowledge, presuppositions, and prejudices, resulting in different interpretations. In other words, everything which reaches an audience in some globalised way, is filtered, interpreted, and localised. In the context of economic globalisation, the emergence of supranational companies which act independently of any regulations by nation states, has been described as meaning the end of national economies (*Der Spiegel*, 8 November 1999). With respect to language and communication, globalisation of discursive practices may equally be felt to be a loss rather than a gain. Opposite trends to globalisation, then, may be deliberate attempts to resist any danger of losing national languages and communicative conventions.

A relevant concept in this respect is the notion of 'cultural identity'. Mary Snell-Hornby contrasts a 'McWorld' with 'linguistic retribalisation', especially in areas of Central and Eastern Europe, which results in a changing awareness of national identities and mother tongues. Between 1989 and 1999, 15 new nation states have emerged within Europe, all of them ethnically oriented. These political developments, have linguistic consequences; for example, a previously 'unified' language can be 'undone' (e.g. Serbo-Croat vs. Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian), separate languages may (re)converge (e.g. Moldovian and Romanian). The new 'national' languages are promoted to confirm a nation's cultural identity through expanding the use of its language. This point is taken up by Palma Zlateva in her response paper with particular reference to the situation in Macedonia.

Snell-Hornby uses the notion of *cultural identity* in its more traditional sense as developed in sociology. This sense is somewhat different from the one used in other writings of Translation Studies, especially by Venuti (1994). Venuti defines 'cultural identity' in two ways, relating to the creation of domestic subjects, and in addition, to the formation of cultural identities in the sense of a cultural 'Other'. For this second aspect, Snell-Hornby would prefer to speak of the formation of stereotypes. In the Debate, this issue was taken up again and discussed fairly extensively and controversially.

In both of those respects, translation can play a decisive or supportive role. It plays a role in presenting to a target culture an image of a source culture, or translation plays a role in the formation of cultural identities (in Venuti's second sense of the term). For example, what the people in the UK learnt about India was the result of the perceptions of soldiers, administrators and officials of the East India Company (Polezzi, 1998). Another aspect is that cultures also use translations (as products) and translation (as activity, process) to represent and define, or redefine, themselves. For example, Kwiecinski (1998) illustrates what happens currently with translations in Poland. He reports that translations of originally English source texts which offer an Anglo-American interpretation of Polish culture are published in the Polish press. These texts have the function to help 'define Polishness at a time of abrupt change' (Kwiecinski, 1998: 201), to use a western-based interpretation to allow Poles to interpret themselves in novel terms. When information crosses borders via translation, the effects may be varied: it may be that the local culture uses this information to re-identify itself, to delimit itself from other cultures and thus to evaluate itself higher (or lower); or common and different aspects may become obvious, thus achieving mutual understanding in the sense of a growing awareness of differences. What Venuti and others have pointed out is that translation does not always enhance

cross-cultural understanding, and does not always narrow the gap between different cultures (see also Venuti, 1998, and the contribution by Hermans and the two debates in *Current Issues in Language and Society*, Vol. 5, Nos. 1 & 2).

Globalisation and Translation

In her contribution, Mary Snell-Hornby discusses globalisation and translation in a wider sense, not only in respect to translations contributing to creating images or stereotypes of others. Her starting point is the argument that all these current developments concerning international communication and the role of cultures and languages in this respect have also deeply affected translation and the work of the professional translator. She illustrates the varying tasks translators are confronted with on the basis of four different, but authentic, translation assignments. These tasks concern dealing with 'International English' in the source text, dealing with a literary 'hybrid text', and accounting for culture-specific aspects in different genres (instruction manual, advertising leaflet).

A number of issues are taken up in the Debate and also in the response papers, in particular assessing the quality of source texts and target texts, the nature of translation vs. the changing job profile of the translator, the translator's responsibility, and consequences for translator training. Mary Snell-Hornby comments rather critically on the quality of a global 'McLanguage', and she shows what kinds of problems a source text can pose which has been written in 'global English'. Her example is a United Nations text, and its structure and form is characteristic of texts that are produced within international organisations. As Snell-Hornby illustrates, source texts written in international English can pose initial comprehension problems and may require an editing stage. Literary hybrid texts, on the other hand, pose different problems for translators. Gunilla Anderman, in her response paper, agrees that the use of McEnglish is rapidly gaining ground, but she also points out that amongst translators, an awareness must be heightened that the variety of English required to convey information about a nation's literary heritage or its cultural identity must be of an infinitely more subtle variety.

Jeremy Munday and Peter Newmark take up Snell-Hornby's point about the responsibility of the translator. Munday expands on it from the point of view of a literary translator, whereas Newmark asks: how much responsibility has the translator for the factual, logical and moral truth, the elegance and the linguistic resourcefulness of his/her version? The question of the responsibility of a translator is related to what we understand by translation. As is increasingly agreed within the academic community of translation scholars, the translator's responsibilities go well beyond what was traditionally considered a 'translation proper'. They include, among other things, making 'non-translators', i.e. those who commission and 'consume' the final product, aware of what translation actually entails (see also the contribution by Hönig in *Current Issues in Language and Society*, Vol. 4, No. 1 and the Debate). Or as Pym (1997) states, translators become responsible as soon as they accept to translate, rather than doing something else, like producing a commentary or not accepting the assignment at all.

Mary Snell-Hornby refers to an increasingly important role which translators

(and interpreters) will play. There is sufficient evidence that the translator profession has undergone rapid and profound changes. Translators today do a lot of things, they also do terminological work, give advice, do public relations. Moreover, translation memory and machine translation systems are transforming the field of human translation, and translators are expected to master the new technologies. In a word: their job profile is constantly changing. As Pavlovich (1999:37) argues, '[n]owadays clients expect and demand finished products complete with RAM-eating graphics on self-opening disks in addition to electronic transfers'.

Stressing the important role of human translators is particularly relevant in view of frequently heard predictions that human translators will become superfluous with the advance of machine translation systems. *Times Higher Education Supplement* recently published an article under the heading 'Machine will make linguists redundant'. There we read:

> An electronic device that will instantly translate the spoken word will be invented within the next five years, according to a book published this week by the British Council. *The Language Machine* by Eric Atwell predicts future technological developments that could result in widespread redundancies in the language professions. Such technology could also reduce interest in learning English and threaten the overseas student market. The British Council may be underestimating the consequences, however. The Babel fish a creature that can translate any language into your mother tongue, as described by Douglas Adams in his *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* 'by effectively removing all barriers to communication between different races and cultures, caused more and bloodier wars than anything else in the history of creation'. (*Times Higher Education Supplement*, 23 July 1999, p. 2)

The prediction that translators will become extinct in the near future is not shared by translation scholars. It is, however, true that translations need to be done ever more quickly, much more efficiently, and at a high quality. Machines may be quicker than human translators, and in some cases a defective output of a machine translation system will be sufficient for the immediate need. But there are still many translation assignments which require the production of a target text where appropriateness for the specified purpose may involve rearrangements of information, deletions, additions, etc. And these decisions can only be taken by a human translator whose translation competence is much more than linguistic competence alone. It also includes, at least, subject-specific competence, cultural competence, text-typological competence, technical writing competence, (re)search competence (cf. the contributions in Schaffner and Adab, forthcoming). Nevertheless, accounting for such advances in technology, and influencing them, is part of the discipline of Translation Studies in its widest sense.

One question raised in this context of the changing job profile, both in the Debate and very forcefully in Peter Newmark's response paper, concerns the contrast between the nature of translation and the job profile of the professional translator today. Is it really that translation itself is affected by all these developments of globalisation and tribalisation, or is it rather that more and more activi-

ties are added to translation proper? Where does translation stop and something else take over, e.g. technical writing, or desktop publishing? The conditions of the profession are changing, but does this mean that we would need to redefine the very notion of translation? Snell-Hornby and Newmark answer this question differently (see also Snell-Hornby's concluding comments).

Globalisation, Tribalisation and Translation Studies

All these new developments which can be summarised under the cover term 'globalisation' have also an impact on the training of translators and on the discipline of Translation Studies itself. How do we prepare future professional translators more and more effectively for the continuously changing requirements of the world? What are the consequences of a changing job profile for translator training at institutions? Today, for example, specialisation becomes more and more necessary. But can, and should, universities prepare their translation students for highly specialised translation in a variety of subject domains? Is training in specialised translation better left to translation agencies (as on-the-job training) or to professional organisations? Should training at institutions rather focus on developing an awareness of what professional decision-making in translation involves? Is training in technology-management skills, business and customer-management abilities to be part of translator training? Do we risk that what we do today will be outdated tomorrow because the developments are extremely fast? What exactly is the task of a university in this context? These questions were discussed fairly vigorously during the Debate.

Decisions as to a general translation policy in a country (e.g. who decides how many and which texts are translated, from and into which languages?), including a policy of translator training (where are translators trained? in which languages? based on which curriculum and syllabus?) are also influenced by the status of Translation Studies as an academic discipline. As Mary Snell-Hornby argues, globalisation puts new demands on the discipline as well. What kind of academic discipline is it? Where is the discipline today, and where is it going? Over the last years, it has increasingly been recognised and more and more forcefully argued within the discipline that translation is not a purely linguistic activity. As a consequence, knowledge and methods from other disciplines, notably psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, communication studies, anthropology, cultural studies, have been integrated into Translation Studies, making it into an interdiscipline par excellence.

Although most scholars today do agree that Translation Studies is not a sub-discipline of (applied) linguistics, the questions 'where do we stand?' and 'where do we go?' are being discussed more and more vigorously. Translation studies continuously brings new theoretical developments to bear upon its disciplinary object. What is obvious in the substantially growing literature is that scholars have come to translation (studies) from a variety of fields and disciplinary backgrounds. Whereas traditionally this background was linguistics (or its sub-disciplines, particularly pragmatics, textlinguistics), and also literature, nowadays there is an increasing input from Cultural Studies. One of the consequences is terminological inconsistency. As mentioned above, Mary Snell-Hornby took issue with Venuti's interpretation of 'cultural identity',

mainly arguing that when we take concepts from different disciplines we should clearly define them and clarify their disciplinary origin. It seems to be a general phenomenon that different academic disciplines use the same labels, however, with different meanings. Another example is 'equivalence', a highly controversial concept in Translation Studies (see also the Debates in *Current Issues in Language and Society*, Vol. 5, Nos. I & 2). As Mary Snell-Hornby herself (1988: 17ff.) has argued, some of the controversy is due to the different origin of the German term 'Äquivalenz' (as taken from mathematics or formal logic, or both) in contrast to the English 'equivalence' (interpreted as an item of the general language in the more fuzzy sense to mean 'of similar significance', 'virtually the same thing').

As Myriam Salama-Carr argues in her response paper, the two opposing directions of globalisation and tribalism can equally be related to what is going on within the discipline of Translation Studies. We have a unified yet diverse field of Translation Studies, as is also reflected in the title *Unity in Diversity? Current Trends in Translation Studies*, which was the title of a conference held in Dublin in 1996 and is also the title of a subsequently produced volume (edited by Bowker *et al.*, 1998). The new impetus which has come to Translation Studies from Cultural Studies is the focus on culture as being linked to notions of power, asymmetries, difference and identity. For example, stereotypes and misrepresentations often permeate the images which people in the target culture receive of the source culture, and translations can contribute to this effect, as has been pointed out by Venuti and others.

Globalisation and tribalisation as applied to the very discipline of Translation Studies, raises the question of how we deal with these different strands within our discipline. Do we recognise what each specific perspective can contribute to the study of the common object? Salama-Carr gives as a negative example the ongoing divisive linguistic versus cultural studies debate. That is, what we are experiencing seems to be that different approaches defend their corner and criticise other approaches. We are far from developing more and more agreement within the discipline. But on the other hand, would a single, commonly agreed and generally accepted approach within Translation Studies be advantageous for the development of our discipline? Isn't it rather the case that the very diversity and heterogeneity within the discipline drives our research?

This issue does not provide all the answers to the questions raised and discussed, but it intends to add some more stimulating and provocative ideas to the ongoing debates.

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Communicating in the Global Village:
On Language, Translation and Cultural Identity

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The paper attempts to show the effect of recent developments (particularly globalisation and advances in technology) on our production and perception of language, and on translation and the job profile of the translator. The two conflicting forces of *globalism* and *tribalism* are presented and set off against the sociological concept of *cultural identity*. The position of English as the world lingua franca (and in post-colonial studies) is discussed, along with the constellation of languages in present-day Europe and the resulting phenomenon of *hybridity*. Conclusions are drawn for the varying activities of translation today and for the rapidly changing job profile of the translator, and these are illustrated by comparing four authentic translation assignments: from an international organisation, from an electrical appliances firm with branches all over Europe, from an airline publicity leaflet, and from a recent best-selling novel. Based on the above, a job profile of the modern translator is sketched, showing him/her as an expert for intercultural communication in an internationalised world which is at the same time characterised by an abundance of individual cultural communities.

Introduction

'Kommunikation total' can be seen in bold letters on the title page of the German news-magazine *Der Spiegel* on 14 December 1998 'Der siebte Kontinent' (The seventh continent) was the title of the corresponding story, though the subject was not geographical or environmental but the electronic world of the outgoing 20th century: multimedia, Internet, power-books and swatch-talk. The prototype of the age is a software manager seen pedalling away at his keep-fit bike in the local gym, while surfing in the Internet via a monitor attached to the handle-bars. After ten theoretical kilometres he has glanced through three newspapers on-line, studied the latest stock market prices and read over a dozen e-mails. Instant information, presented in unlimited quantities through various channels and all at the same time that is communication in the global village today. The sheer amount of the material, the speed with which it must be processed, the remote or virtual character of the participants in the communication act, all of this has changed the way we produce and perceive language and the way we interact with the world around us.

In the early days of human communication there was on the one hand the simple word of mouth, which until the invention of sound recording remained ephemeral, and on the other hand the written symbols perpetuated on stone or parchment but accessible only to a scholarly elite. With the invention of printing, written texts were made available to anyone with enough education to read them. In our present technological revolution, literacy is taken for granted, and the flood of information is made available to anyone with the hardware, software or electronic gadgets to gain access to it. In a world of supposedly equal rights,

high-tech creates its own insiders, its own elite and its own power groups, and communication in the global village is *de facto* the privilege of those with technological tools, marginalising millions in lesser developed countries as well as the have-nots in the richer countries. These still communicate by simple word of mouth or provided that they are able to read and write through conventional written texts, and their view of the world tends to be local and regional rather than global.

Globalism, Tribalism and Cultural Identity

In 1992, in a visionary article published in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Benjamin Barber foresaw such a polarised world with two possible political futures, 'both bleak, neither democratic' (Barber 1992:53). One is driven by the tide of globalism (or globalisation):

> . . . by the onrush of economic and ecological forces that demand integration and uniformity and that mesmerize the world with fast music, fast computers, and fast food with MTV, Macintosh, and McDonald's, pressing nations into one commercially homogeneous global network: one McWorld tied together by technology, ecology, communications and commerce. (Barber, 1992:53)

The second political future is seen in the other extreme:

> . . . a retribalization of large swaths of humankind by war and bloodshed: a threatened Lebanonization of national states in which culture is pitted against culture, people against people, tribe against tribe a Jihad in the name of a hundred narrowly conceived faiths against every kind of interdependence, every kind of artificial social cooperation and civic mutuality. (Barber, 1992:53)

For these 'two axial principles of our age', whereby the planet is 'falling precipitantly apart *and* coming reluctantly together at the same moment' Barber coined the title 'Jihad vs. McWorld'. From the viewpoint of today, seven years later, his words assume visionary dimensions, not only in the areas of commerce and military conflict, but even by means of an extended metaphor in the fields of language and communication. And here there are three main areas that have undergone considerable changes over the last few years: the nature of the material the consumer has to process, the language in which it is presented, and the concept of text.

For the first two of these areas we can continue Barber's metaphor as it stands: our linguistic McWorld presents its own intellectual 'fast food' via the Internet, for example, and is dominated by its own 'McLanguage', which is typically American English. It is however a particular brand of American English, reduced in stylistic range and subject matter, and with the aid of abbreviations, icons, acronyms and graphic design tailor-made for fast consumption. It is itself a lingua franca, often colloquial in register even when in written form, and it has no great concern for native-speaker prescriptivism. It functions as a basic common denominator for supra-cultural communication as a kind of free-floating sign system open to all kinds of interferences from other languages according to the

background and the linguistic competence of the writers all over the world: an empirical study of e-mail correspondence might show how conspicuously English has left the ownership of the native speakers in England and has become, as Henry Widdowson has described it, 'world property' (Widdowson, 1994). No less drastic are the changes caused by multimedia in our concept of text and text types: at one time the products of the communication act over long distances could be neatly classified into spoken and written, into business correspondence (often governed by rigid culture-specific conventions), telegrams, phone calls, reports, and so forth. The computer screen and the endless possibilities of telecommunication have now produced a 'homo communicator' used to e-mailing, faxing, speaking, listening, reading, and viewing (typically with several of these activities going on at the same time) but often without absorbing or ordering the endless snippets of information or the flood of images into a coherent message.

But our planet does not consist only of such a Brave New McWorld: at the other end of the scale there is a brand of 'linguistic retribalisation', as in areas of Central and Eastern Europe, reflecting the tragic excesses of the more brutal tribalism in the political arena. With the emergence of new national identities after the fall of the Iron Curtain, individual ethnic groups are rediscovering their cultural heritage and with it the significance of their own mother tongue, particularly if they are in conflict with other groups. The most striking example is the emergence of Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian as separate languages (from what was known as Serbo-Croat), despite minimal, often artifically created linguistic differences arising from the implementation of new language policies (see Grbic forthcoming). If the same objective linguistic criteria were applied to the many varieties of English (cf. Stoll, 1999), and if the speakers of these 'Englishes' were in conflict with each other, the world might face the creation of literally hundreds of new 'languages'. But the definition of 'language' (as against 'language variety') is here not objectively linguistic, and it does not depend on mutual intelligibility; seen in this light, a language is simply what is officially recognised or accepted as such, whether from political, ethnic or religious motives.

Benjamin Barber's vision of a globalised world governed by 'universalizing markets' and a tribalised world torn apart by 'parochial hatreds' is sombre indeed, but between the two extremes there is a phenomenon that can be viewed more constructively: the notion of *cultural identity*. This indicates a community's awareness of and pride in its own unmistakable features and an individual's sense of belonging to that community, whether by birth, language or common territory but implies that it is still able to communicate with and exist in harmony with other communities in the world around (hence it is not bound by either the uniformity of globalism or the destructive aggressivity of tribalism). In a century of constant migration and mass mobility the concept of identity has been a favourite topic for scholars: in 1908 the German sociologist and philosopher Georg Simmel referred to the formation of a sense of identity as a process of 'setting oneself apart from others' (Simmel, 1908:261). In a more recent essay the sociologist and psychologist Dieter Claessens (1991) described the notion of cultural identity as one based on collective self-definition and a sense of belonging, on the awareness of those features characterising one's own community and of those characterising the Other. Language, as part of culture, is one of the most potent means of expression of cultural identity, along with those non-verbal

conventions, norms and rules of conduct to which members of a group are encouraged to conform by upbringing or any other process of socialisation. 1

The term 'cultural identity' was used in a CILS-Seminar some years ago in a contribution by Lawrence Venuti, published in 1994 with the title 'Translation and the formation of cultural identities'. Venuti used the phrase in quite a different sense to mean a constructed cliché image or stereotype, and it is in my opinion simply a misnomer. An identity (CED definition: 'the state of having unique identifying characteristics held by no other person or thing') is based on real, often objective features and includes both the notion of a subject's self-image and the way he/she is viewed from outside. Venuti's 'cultural identity' is firstly based on unreal notions and is implicitly inaccurate, and secondly, it is limited to the second sense of an outsider's viewpoint.2 The concept of cultural identity (*kulturelle Identität*) as described above embraces both senses, as is also the case in recent work in German Translation Studies, and as is used here.

Language and the Concept of Hybridity

One could now call it a truth universally acknowledged, that within the context of global discourse, English, for better or for worse, has assumed the key position. It is the official language of 52 countries, with a total population of more than 1700 million (Navarro, 1997:6). The role of English as a world language (like French, Spanish and the languages of other former colonial powers) goes back to its former role as dominant language of the British Empire, whereby standard British English has diversified into numerous regional and local varieties or 'new Englishes'. Its role as international lingua franca, however, is due on the one hand to the already mentioned world-wide domination of North American technology and culture, and on the other to the fact that its basic grammar and core vocabulary can be relatively easily acquired for everyday conversation as needed for superficial communication by speakers of other languages all over the world. This latter factor is coupled with a structural flexibility in the language itself and a general policy of non-puristic openness among the English-speaking cultural institutions. This has not only encouraged the development of the many regional varieties, but has paved the way for the use of English, not in its pristine standard form, but as a less than impeccable common denominator for communication (maybe comprehensible but often full of local interferences) by native speakers of other languages all over the world. A counter-example to prove the point is French: despite massive government-sponsored promotion for the French language, the puristic, normative policy of French institutions and academies have helped the language to preserve much of its characteristic correctness (and hence its identity as a language of culture, despite the often reluctantly accepted Anglicisms), but its role as a world language has been reduced. In the *Financial Times* of 9 February 1998, Dominique Moisi, Deputy Director of the Paris-based *Institut Français des Rélations Internationales*, made the following admission:

> The French should admit they have lost the language battle to 'American English', a less sophisticated version of the language of Shakespeare. To keep the content (if not the language) and the message (if not the medium), the French must learn from the vital US qualities of openness and flexibility. (Quote of the month in *Language International* 10:2, 1998, p.8)

Another crucial factor for the role of languages in our global village of today is, however, what has been called their 'economic power' (calculated by multiplying the number of speakers in a given country by the per capita GNP, then adding together the results for all countries where the language is spoken). In a recent article Fernando Navarro has shown that:

> . . . the world's most economically powerful languages are those of the world's three leading economic powers: the United States, Japan and Germany, respectively. More than 60% of the world economic production is accounted for by speakers of English, Japanese and German; if we add Spanish and French, this percentage increases to 75%. It is very noticeable that of the six economically most important languages in the world, five are European languages. (Navarro, 1997: 6)

As far as English is concerned, it is important to stress that one half of the world's native speakers of English (and three-quarters of the economic power attributed to the English language) are concentrated in a single country, the United States of America. This overwhelming domination of American English has created a basic attitude among its speakers that this English and the status it enjoys is the self-evident, unmarked linguistic norm and the natural standard against which other languages are measured. 3 In Europe, however, the scene is quite different. Europe is essentially multilingual and multicultural, and the individual languages especially those of 'lesser diffusion', and even local varieties such as Swiss German are proud hallmarks of cultural identity. The language with the most native speakers in Europe and with the most economic power is German, and economically English only takes a fourth position, after German, French and Italian (Navarro, 1997: 6). But the question of language is here not only one of economic power or numbers of speakers; it is also a geopolitical issue and one fraught with historical complications, including the historic rivalry between English and French, the proud ambitions of the Spanish, and the reluctance to accept any kind of dominance of German (despite its historical role as the major lingua franca of Central Europe). At the same time Europe, in the guise of the European Union, is emerging as one of the world's largest economic entities, and one with a declared policy of democratic multilingualism. However laudable this may be, it is even today illusory (cf. Dollerup, 1996) and with the further expansion of the Union will some day, at least in its present form, prove unmanageable and financially untenable. For internal purposes French (for historical reasons), English (for practical reasons) and (despite the reluctance) German are already used as the chief means of communication.

However, it is quite clear that in Europe both languages and cultures are constantly in contact, whether within the institutions of the European Union, through business transactions, mass tourism, cultural exchanges or whatever. This intensive intercultural communication has resulted in what Schaffner and Adab (1997) have defined as the hybrid text. In their view, hybrid texts result from a translation process (Schäffner & Adab, 1997: 325) and are characterised by features (vocabulary, syntax, style etc.) which clash with target language conventions and are 'somehow contrary to the norms of the target language and culture' (Schäffner & Adab, 1997: 327). They also admit EU texts however, which do not necessarily involve translation:

> In the process of establishing political unity, linguistic expressions are levelled to a common, (low) denominator. Eurotexts reflect a Eurojargon, i.e. a reduced vocabulary, meanings that tend to be universal, reduced inventory of grammatical forms. [. . .]
>
> Acceptance is due to the limited communicative functions of the texts. EU texts [. . .] function within the Community within which they are created (e.g. for the staff, or for meetings of the respective bodies). This means that there are clearly defined user needs. The multinational EU institutions as such are the target culture, hybrid texts are formative elements in creating a (truly) supranational culture. (Schäffner & Adab, 1997: 3278)

This creation of a supranational 'culture' through 'Eurojargon' mainly affecting the three working languages English, French and German (see also Born & Schütte, 1995) is reminiscent of the global and rootless 'McLanguage' we have described above, likewise reduced in stylistic and lexical range and open to all kinds of interference features. Such texts are typical products of our age and are a natural result of our international globalised lives of today. They reflect the reality of our world in the outgoing 20th century, where the former clear-cut and conflicting power structures and systems (whether capitalism vs. communism or coloniser vs. colonised) have given way to interacting, heterogeneous groups and often unpredictable forces in a constant state of flux.

The term 'hybrid text' has however been in use for some years, but in another context and with an essential shift in meaning. In the early 1990s and within postcolonial studies, the hybrid text was defined as one written by the ex-colonised in the language of the ex-coloniser (such as the Nigerian or Indian writing in English or the North African writing in French), thus creating a 'new language' and occupying a space 'in between':

> These postcolonial texts, frequently referred to as 'hybrid' or 'métissés' because of the culturo-linguistic layering which exists between them, have succeeded in forging a new language that defies the very notion of a 'foreign' text that can be readily translatable into another language. (Mehrez, 1992: 121)

Samia Mehrez devotes her essay on 'Translation and the colonial experience', from which this quotation is taken, to the francophone North African text, but many of her observations apply equally to the anglophone scene. In memorable words, the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe describes the language suitable for use by the African writer as a vehicle of expression in postcolonial English literature:

> The African should aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience. It will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home, but altered to suit its new surroundings. (cit. Villareal, 1994: 62)

Such texts, written in a 'new English' as expression of a specific cultural identity here in contrast to the hybrid Eurojargon are likewise a characteristic feature of our constantly changing hybrid world, and they have enriched the English language and the English-speaking cultures by yet another dimension.

To summarise the observations made so far, we can say that the world language English can be viewed from three different perspectives. Firstly, there is the free-floating lingua franca ('International English') that has largely lost track of its original cultural identity, its idioms; its hidden connotations, its grammatical subtleties, and has become a reduced standardised form of language for supra-cultural communication the 'McLanguage' of our globalised 'McWorld' or the 'Eurospeak' of our multilingual continent. Then there are the many individual varieties, by and large mutually intelligible, but yet each an expression of a specific cultural identity with its own idioms, metaphors and cultural allusions (Indian English, for example, or British English as demonstrated by any feature article in the *Daily Mail*). 4 And finally, there are the literary hybrid forms as demonstrated in postcolonial literature, forging a new language 'in between', altered to suit its new surroundings.

Translation, Globalisation and the European Language Scene

Both the rapid development of our globalised 'McWorld' with its technological 'cultura franca' and the emergence of new national and cultural identities after the end of colonialism and the fall of communism have deeply affected translation and the work of the professional translator. In another visionary article called 'Jack in the Year 2000', originally presented as a conference paper in Misano Adriatico in 1994, Patricia Violante-Cassetta (1996) described how she then envisaged the translator at the turn of the millennium. Her sketch runs as follows:

> My name is Jack, and I am a translator in the United States, although I share many traits and characteristics with colleagues all over the world. Jacks such as myself may be staffers at international organisations, multinational corporations, government agencies, private concerns, or we may be self-employed. We wade through documents that are often highly technical (sometimes barely legible5) and translate them into other languages. One day it might be environmental regulations and the next day the specifications for a desalinator. (Violante-Cassetta, 1996: 199)

'Jack' has a variety of tasks and varied working conditions, but it is clear that his work is unthinkable without a good technological infrastructure: computers for producing texts, online services providing continuously updated glossaries of terms, e-mail, Internet, MT systems and so forth. This translator is seen in a computerised future, which sounded like grim science fiction when the paper was read five years ago; however, we can now say that the vision has not only become reality but has even been outdated by the 'homo communicator' of our multimedia age. Meanwhile we might also say that the following changes in part already envisaged by Violante-Cassetta have taken place or are at least imminent:

(1) Due to the vast amount of material transmitted by telecommunication, the speed with which it is processed, the increasing use of colloquial forms and the tolerance of what were traditionally viewed as language errors or typing mistakes, some communication relies simply on basic mutual intelligibility, and here translation has been made obsolete (much communication is

carried out in lingua franca English). Formal business correspondence has to some extent been replaced by e-mail, much is dealt with by fax and mobile phone.

(2) The same necessity for speedy processing and the tolerance of less than impeccable language forms, along with the levelling of culture-specific differences within the technological 'cultura franca', mean a potentially greater role for machine translations (e.g. rough versions of insider information for internal use within a concern).

(3) Multimedia communication creates new text types the audio museum guide is a good example some of them multisemiotic, with the verbal signs interacting with icons, layout tricks, pictorial images and sounds (as can increasingly be seen in advertising techniques).

(4) In the area of intercultural communication, requiring not only language mediation but heightened cultural expertise, the (human) translator (and interpreter) will play an increasingly important role, whereby he/she will take the full responsibility for the 'final product'. 6

For the American translator 'Jack' with English as his unquestioned dominant language, almost in a neocolonial sense the position within our global village is different from that of his European colleagues, where intercultural differences still form a fundamental element of our lives. Here too, however, things have changed. Apart from the hybrid character of Eurospeak, the normative and levelling influence of bureaucratic Euroculture and the de facto dominance of the three main languages, English, French and German, we have a large number of 'exotic' languages of lesser diffusion Finnish, Slovene, Polish, Lithuanian, to name only a few jockeying for position within our complex and swiftly moving European world. One way of solving the problem is by gaining expert proficiency in one or more of the 'main' languages and by producing highly skilled professional translators: Finland and the Scandinavian countries are proud examples. Another solution might be the phenomenon of 'passive multilingualism', whereby people gain reading and listening skills in several foreign languages without necessarily perfecting their active skills. Then discussions or meetings can be conducted in different languages at the same time (where languages are mutually intelligible, as in the Scandinavian, Romance or Slavonic regions, this is entirely unproblematic) leaving it open for people to speak or write in any language in which they can be understood by those present. Another option, already a necessity in languages of very limited diffusion like Slovene or Lithuanian, is regular translation into the non-mother tongue (with special modules for this purpose within translator training), whereby once again as in the case of International English and MT a 'suboptimal translation product' as Prunc has called it (Prunc, in press), is not only tolerated but even included in the translation brief (with a correspondingly suboptimal fee). For example, this would be the case not in literary translation of course but with a summary of business information for internal use within the firm only.

From the Translator's Workshop

From the above it will be clear that the European translator of today operates in a world that is globalised, hybridised and at the same time still characterised

by intercultural differences. I would like to illustrate this briefly by excerpts from four authentic texts, along with their translations, spanning the range from global to culture-specific, from technical to expressive. The English version of each of these excerpts is reproduced below.

Translation in International Organisations

The first excerpt is from a text used as material for translation into several languages at the United Nations Translation Service in Vienna. It was discussed in a doctoral thesis by Mohammed Didaoui, head of the UN Arabic Section (Didaoui, 1996).

Text 1

> *A. Note on Morocco's Nuclear Power Programme*
>
> Organisation structures for implementation of nuclear programme
>
> *1. The National Electricity Board (ONE)*
>
> The National Electricity Board, being a public industrial and trade authority, has the monopoly of electricity generation and transmission in Morocco. In this connection it is designated as the owner and future operator of any nuclear power-stations to be set up. This is the framework within which ONE, within the assistance of IAEA, has prepared the first planning studies, which will be examined and taken further under the agreement with France, and has also started to collect information and data on site choices. A special study has also been made of present population distribution in the area where a nuclear power-station may be built.

As Didaoui points out, a major problem with United Nations source texts is that they are often compiled jointly by a number of authors who are not native speakers, and they are hence linguistically defective. They are like the EU texts mentioned by Schäffner and Adab (1997), whereby, in the process of establishing political unity, linguistic expressions are levelled to a common (low) denominator. The above text illustrates clearly what happens to English as 'world property' beyond the control of native speakers, and in the opinion of some translators I have consulted so far, it needs to be transedited before it can be translated. An acceptable English version 7 might run as follows:

> The National Electricity Board (ONE), a public industrial and trade authority, controls the generation and distribution of electricity in Morocco. Due to its monopoly of this area, it is considered to be the owner and future operator of any nuclear power stations which may eventually be set up in the country. Taking this into consideration, and with the assistance of IAEA, ONE has initiated a series of investigations which are, however, subject to approval by the French government. A survey to gather information and data on possible site choices has already begun and a special study is under way concerning the redistribution of the population which presently inhabits the area in which nuclear power stations may be built in the future.

Even now however, the text has its problems. While it is on the one hand a prototypical product of a supra-cultural, technological, globalised society, it

requires some degree of subject-area competence and insider knowledge on the part of the translator.

Multilingual Information Booklets

The second text (Text 2) is part of a multilingual information booklet (on service and guarantee conditions) issued by the German firm 'Bauknecht', which produces quality electrical appliances and is represented in several European countries under the name 'Whirlpool'. The English version produced here is aimed at customers in Ireland:

Text 2

IRELAND

SERVICE FOR YOU

This product is constructed of high quality materials and great care has been taken in its manufacture. It is designed to give you every satisfaction, provided that it is properly installed, operated and maintained.

YOUR GUARANTEE

If any defect in manufacture or material should appear in this product within 12 months of the date you purchased it, Whirlpool Ireland Service will arrange for such defect to be rectified without charge, provided that:

(1) reasonable evidence is supplied that the product was purchased within 12 months prior to the date of claim.

(2) the defect is not due to the use of the product on an incorrect voltage or contrary to installation and operating instructions or to accidental damage (whether in transit or otherwise) misuse, neglect or inexpert repair.

(3) the product has not been used for other than domestic purpose.

(4) the product is located in the Republic of Ireland.

in addition, you may apply for a ten year parts guarantee. If you did not receive a guarantee application form from your retailer, at the time of purchase, please contact Whirlpool at the address shown. We will forward this form to you, which you should complete and return to us within 30 days from the date of purchase.

SERVICE OUTSIDE GUARANTEE

Whirlpool Ireland Service will continue to be available at normal charge, usually in your own home, during the entire life of your appliance.

You should remember that either during the guarantee period or later, a charge will be made for a Service visit in the event that no defect is found in your appliance.

Before requesting a call therefore, you should make the checks suggested in the instruction booklet to see whether you can correct the problem for yourself. If after doing so you are satisfied that the appliance itself is at fault, when requesting a Service call you should specify the model number and

serial number of your appliance, to be found on the rating plate fixed onto or inside it and describe the symptoms clearly.

While Text 1 functioned as basic information material for reproduction in several languages in an international organisation, Text 2 is intended to function specifically within the culture and legal system of the Republic of Ireland, and it has to some extent been localised. This means text type conventions have been changed, particularly in the area of syntax and pragmatics. The technological subject matter is, however, supra-cultural, it requires subject-area competence on the part of the translator but does not pose intercultural problems. All this emerges clearly from a comparison with the text used for Germany (copied exactly as it stands apart from the passages omitted as indicated including the printing errors):

Garantiebedingungen für Haushaltsgroßgeräte

Sehr geehrte Kundin, sehr geehrte Kunde,

Sie haben gut gewählt. Ihr Bauknecht-Gerät ist ein Qualitätserzeugnis wie andere Bauknecht-Geräte auch, die zur vollen Zufriedenheit ihrer Besitzer in Millionen Haushalten ganz Europas arbeiten. Wenn es doch einnal zu einer Störung kommen sollte, hilft Ihnen unser Kundendienst. Die Service-Nummer an Ihrem Gerät ist dann besonders wichtig: Bitte nicht entfernen!

Garantiebedingungen

Als Käufer eines Bauknecht-Gerätes stehen Ihnen die gesetzliche Gewährleistungsrechte aus dem Kaufvertrag mit Ihren Händler zu. Zusätzlich räumt Ihnen Bauknecht eine Garantie zu folgenden Bedingungen ein:

1. Leistungsdauer

Die Garantie läuft 12 Monate ab Kaufdatum (Kaufbeleg ist vorzulegen). Wenn Sie uns ein mangelhaftes Bauknecht-Gerät in die Kundendienststelle bringen, erfolgt die Mangelbeseiti-gung (Ersatzteile, Arbeitszeit) unentgeldlich. Wünschen Sie die Reparatur am Aufstellungsort, so berechnen wir nach Ablauf von 6 Monaten die Fahrt- und Wegezeitkosten unseres Kundendienstes. [. . .]

2. Umfang der Mängelbeseitigung

Innerhalb der gernuanten Fristen beseitigen wir alle Mängel am Bauknecht-Gerät, die nachweisbar auf mangelhafte Ausführung oder Materialfehler zurückzuführen sind. [. . .]

3. Geltungsbereich

Unsere Garantie gilt nur, wenn das Bauknecht-Gerät auf dem von uns in unseren Lieferbe-dingungen vorgeschriebenen Vertriebs-weg erworben wurde und in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Betrieb ist.

Für Geräte, die in einem EG-Land erworben und in ein anderes EG-Land

verbracht wurden, werden Leistungen im Rahmen der jeweils landes-üblichen Garantiebedingungen erbracht. Eine Verpfiichtung zur Leistung der Garantie besteht nur dann, wenn das Gerät den technischen Vorschriften des Landes, in deren der Garantieanspruch geltend gemacht wird, entspricht.

The differences between the English and German texts are manifold. On the pragmatic level the English text promises service, the German states conditions of guarantee. But as a text type, the German text is a blend of legal information (in strictly legal terminology) and promotion gags of the operative text type as understood by Katharina Reiss (1976). This starts by addressing the customer personally as in a letter ('Sehr geehrte Kundin, sehr geehrter Kunde') and congratulating her/him on having made a good choice in opting for an appliance made by Bauknecht, pointing out that Bauknecht products are used by millions of delighted customers all over Europe. In the unlikely event of anything going wrong, the service department will be available. The customer is then advised how important the service number would be in this situation and urged not to remove it from the appliance. With the sub-heading 'Guarantee conditions' with period of guarantee (1) and conditions for rectifying defects without charge (2) the text assumes a purely informative function, with stipulations comparable to those in the English text under the heading 'Your Guarantee', whereby it is significant that in the English version 'reasonable evidence' for the date of purchase suffices, whereas the German customer is required to produce the receipt. Of special interest is the final section (3) indicating the area within which the guarantee applies ('Geltungsbereich'). Whereas the English version simply requires the product to be 'located in the Republic of Ireland', the German version refers to the 'Bundesrepublik Deutschland' and adds further legal restrictions. There follows information about products purchased and transported in another 'EC country' ('EG-Land') in such cases the guarantee would depend on local stipulations. The term 'EG-Land' betrays that the text must have been written before the introduction of the term 'European Union' (EU) in 1993 although the actual electrical appliance concerned was a deep-freeze unit purchased in 1998. 8

Advertising Texts

The picture changes with texts where linguistic and cultural or local issues are inextricably intertwined, hence involving some kind of cultural identity, as in advertising and tourism. One typical genre is the illustrated leaflet with texts in two or more languages, one of them usually English for an international readership; here is a translated English version taken from a leaflet of the airline Lauda Air. The subject is prototypically Austrian and presents a specific aspect of the Austrian cultural identity (both as self-image and in the presumed cliché image projected from outside).

Text 3

The Art of Austrian Confectionery

The people of Salzburg may have their sweet 'Nockerln', Carinthians their 'Reindling' and the Viennese their world-famous Apfelstrudel but all

> Austrians everywhere sing the praises of the 'Guglhupf'. Its history is the subject of many a coffee-house dispute, though the wonderfully light sponge cake is thought to have originated in a decidedly archaic environment namly (sic), in the Capuchin Monastery. The hoods of the Capuchin monks were commonly known as 'Gugl'. And when one particularly sweet-toothed monk baked a cake in a mould which had more than a passing resemblance to his hood, the holy brother jumped in the air for joy at the success of his sweet speciality. The Austrian dialect word for jump is 'Hupf' and so the 'jumping Capuchin', known as the 'Guglhupf', was born.

The subject described here is the culture-bound item *Guglhupf*, recognisable as a kind of cake though not so clear from the text is its characteristic form. 9 Culture-bound items are commonly defined as elements from the daily life, history, culture or institutions of a given community which do not exist as such in other communities, and hence they often present notorious problems for bilingual lexicographers and translators.10 For our purpose it is important that such items are an integral part of the cultural identity of a particular group (cf. Markstein, 1998), particularly in their distinguishing features and in the associations they arouse. Thus the *Guglhupf* is important, not for being just any kind of cake, but as part of the specifically Austrian tradition of confectionery and as such it was offered as a refreshment on the Lauda Air flight.

For the reader not familiar with the subtleties of the German source text, one might say that the basic information content is reproduced in the English version, though as a text it seems rather puzzling, and it is clearly recognisable as a translation (a hybrid text in Schäffner and Adab's sense), both through interference errors ('nam(e)ly') and other strange features. The title does not really relate to the text (the word 'confectionery', particularly in combination with 'art', leads one to expect a description of how chocolates or sweets are made), lexical items such as 'archaic' or 'passing resemblance' are incongruous, and there are several weaknesses in cohesion and reference ('the hoods/Gugl', 'the Capuchin Monastery'). It is a subject for debate whether it fulfils its function as an advertising text (singing the praises of Austrian traditions) for the world-wide English-reading public.

Some of these oddities are clarified by reference to the German text:

> *Österreichische Zuckerkünstler*
>
> Was den Salzburgern ihre süßen Nockerln, den Kärtnern der 'Reindling' oder den Wienern der allbekannte Apfelstrudel ist für alle Österreicher gemeinsam der vielgepriesene Guglhupf. Über seine Herkunft scheiden sich so manche Kaffeetratscher: Man vermutet den Ursprung der freudigflaumigen Mehlspeise in durchaus archaischer Umgebung im Kapuzinerkloster. So bezeichnete man die Kapuze der Mönche als 'Gugl'. Und als ein gar naschhafter Bruder Teig in eine Form füllte, die so ähnlich aussah wie seine Kapuze, hüpfte der fromme Mann nach dem Backen vor Freude über das Gelingen der süßen Spezialität in die Luff. Der hüpfende Kapuziner, genannt Guglhupf, war geboren.

Here we can recognise the relation between title and text, which is actually about Austrian confectioners (in the sense of pastry-cooks, the monastic ones in partic-

ular) and not confectionery. The word 'Zuckerkünstler' is a coinage based on the term 'Zuckerbäcker' (the Austrian word for 'Konditor' or pastry-cook), whereby '-künstler' indicates 'artist'. Another form of word-play is the compound 'Kaffeetratscher', based on 'Kaffeetratsch' (Standard German: 'Kaffeeklatsch'), which refers to light-hearted conversation over the customary coffee and cake. 11 (The more serious-minded but ironically used 'coffee-house dispute' could not be described as lexically equivalent, but it works well within the coherence of the English text.) The origin of the interference errors can also be diagnosed from the German (in the German text, 'archaisch' does not imply 'outdated' but rather stresses 'historical, traditional'), as can the weaknesses in cohesion and reference, one of which is not present in the German ('Kapuze/Gugl' are both singular), the other can be explained by German grammar rules ('im Kapuzinerkloster' here reads as 'in a monastery'). Such elementary textual principles can explain how a text which relies heavily on witty connotations could be weakened in translation by a too pedantic search for linguistic equivalence. What the German text seeks to get across is the monk's delight ('jumped for joy' -hupf) at his success in producing a cake that was shaped like his hood (Gugl-), whereby the English translator made another positive contribution to the coherence of the text by explaining that Hupf is a dialect word for 'jump'.

Literary Hybrid Texts

Our fourth text is an example of postcolonial prose. It is taken from the prize-winning novel *The God of Small Things* by the South Indian writer Arundhati Roy, is hence a literary hybrid text as described above by Samia Mehrez, which has created a 'new language' that has come to occupy a space 'in between':

Text 4

> While the *Welcome Home, Our Sophie Mol* play was being performed in the front verandah and Kochu Maria distributed cake to a Blue Army in the green heat, Ambassador E. Pelvis/S. Pimpernel (with a puff) of the beige and pointy shoes, pushed open the gauze doors to the dank and pickle-smelling premises of Paradise Pickles. He walked among the giant cement pickle vats to find a place to Think In. Ousa, the Bar Nowl, who lived on a blackened beam near the skylight (and contributed occasionally to the flavour of certain Paradise products), watched him walk.
>
> > Past floating yellow limes in brine that needed prodding from time to time (or else islands of black fungus formed liked frilled mushrooms in a clear soup).
> >
> > Past green mangoes, cut and stuffed with turmeric and chilli powder and tied together with twine. (They needed no attention for a while.)
> >
> > Past glass casks of vinegar with corks.
> >
> > Past shelves of pectin and preservatives.
> >
> > Past trays of bitter gourd, with knives and coloured finger-guards.

The language presented here is the exact opposite of the globalised supra-cultural 'McLanguage' for online fast consumption as described at the beginning of the paper. In the technical sense this is a conventional piece of narra-

tive: what is being described is a traditional family-run pickle factory in Kerala with the characteristic name 'Paradise Pickles', and the standard ingredients ('green mangoes, yellow limes in brine, turineric and chilli power'). But it is a description full of local colour and atmosphere, certainly an expression of a local cultural identity (with the blend of dankness, pungent smells, cake, pectin and pointed shoes) and not without irony (the reference to the Indian boy's 'Elvis puff' or the owl's 'contribution' to the flavour of the preserves). What is most significant is that this isolated fragment is not immediately comprehensible without prior knowledge of the context (as the allusions to names and items mentioned and explained elsewhere in the novel can demonstrate). The hybridity is shown particularly in the names combining Christian and local traditional elements ('Sophie Mol', 'Kochu Maria'), the rich and exotic imagery ('islands of black fungus . . . like frilled mushrooms') and the word-play ('Bar Nowl') that recurs constantly throughout the novel to show how Indian children perceive English phrases. It is also present in such extensions of the English language norm in phrases like 'pickle-smelling premises' or 'a Blue Army in the green heat'. It is the multi-dimensional, highly evocative character of such elaborate and finely wrought prose which would need a separate paper to analyse that poses a problem and creates the challenge for the literary translator.

Conclusion:
The Hybrid Profession

Over the last twenty years the profession of the translator has undergone radical changes. In the *Collins Dictionary of the English Language*, published in 1979, a *translator* is defined simply as 'a person or machine that translates speech or writing', and *translate* is defined as 'to express or be capable of being expressed in another language or dialect'. Such a simplistic impression which even twenty years ago was amazingly naive comes nowhere near describing the complex activity of the translator today. Even looking at the four short excerpts from recent translation assignments (each text in its own way a 'hybrid' text), we can see how much technical, legal and cultural knowledge is required for producing a text, not only in another language, but for a target community, and our glimpse of language work in the global village gives us some idea of how language is processed by multimedia and technology, so that even our traditional concept of text must be questioned. Schmitt (1998) has sketched a job profile of the professional translator and interpreter, as based on studies of the mid- and early nineties, and even this needs amending to accommodate developments that have taken place in the meantime. Using Schmitt's article as a frame of reference, we could describe the activity of the translator of today as follows:

> Translators (and interpreters) are experts for interlingual and intercultural communication, and assume full responsibility for their work. They have acquired the necessary professional expertise, above all linguistic, cultural and subject-area competence, and are equipped with suitable technological skills to meet the challenges of the market today and those to be expected over the coming years. On the basis of source material presented in written, spoken or multi-medial form, and using suitable translation strategies and the necessary work tools, they are able to produce a written, spoken or multi-medial text which fulfils its clearly defined purpose in another

language or culture. Translators are engaged in fields ranging from scientific and literary translation over technical writing and pro- and post-editing to translation for stage and screen.

In the 19th century, Jakob Grimm famously compared translation to crossing a river or sea, whereby the ship is the text, the navigator is the translator, the passage across the sea or river is the translation process, and the land beyond the two shores are the source and target cultures (cf. Schäffner, 1994:199). For those times, when boundaries were clear, nations neatly defined and distances difficult to cover, the image was apt. In our heterogeneous global village of today, where distances have been overcome by telecommunication, where the concept of nation has been complicated by mass-migration and the development of subcultures and multi-cultural societies, and where boundaries even between languages have often grown fuzzy or have disappeared completely, it seems simplistic and naive. 'Jack in the Year 2000' has more in common with the 'homo communicator' of our 'seventh continent' than with a 19th century navigator: as citizen of a hybrid and/or virtual globalised world, he/she has skills and expertise in multiple areas which are needed for instant use and often simultaneously to overcome those interlingual and intercultural barriers which technology still has not conquered.

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Notes

1. 'Menschen entwickelten im Gruppenzusammenhang eine bestimmte Sprache, eine bestimmte Art des Verhaltens zu sich selbst und zu den 'Genossen' und eine bestimmte Art und Weise, ihre unlebendige und lebendige Umgebung, die Natur, zu deuten, einschließlich der großen Naturphänomene und so unbegreiflicher Dingo wie Träume' (Claessons, 1991:50).

2. This is clear from the following statements: 'By far the most consequential of these effects, I want to argue, is the *formation of cultural identities*. Translation wields enormous power in *constructing representations of foreign cultures*' (Venuti, 1994:202, emphasis added). In essence, I would agree with Venuti's argumentation as long as the term 'cultural identity' is replaced by stereotype or cliché image.

3. An example of this characteristic Anglo-American attitude is provided by Venuti: 'This project takes as its point of departure the misunderstanding, suspicion, and neglect that continue to greet the practice of translation, especially in the United States and the United Kingdom. In the major English- speaking countries, not only does the volume of translations published remain low; 2 or 3% of the total annual output (roughly 1200 books), but translation is relatively underfunded by government and private agencies, unfavourably defined by copyright law, and virtually ignored by reviewers and readers' (Venuti, 1994:219). This may be true of the situation in the 'major English-speaking countries' but cannot be elevated to the status of a universal truth. In countries such as Israel, Finland or the Philippines, due among other things to the status of the national language(s), the figures and the situation would be quite different.

4. A good example might be Paul Johnson's article 'Elizabethan Mania' of 13 February 1999, pp.1213, on the British sense of identity created during the reign of Elizabeth I,

as against the present process of being integrated into Europe, of which Johnson states: 'We feel we are being de-Englished, neutered and emasculated'.

5. Violante-Cassetta may possibly mean 'barely readable'.

6. Séguinot (1994) has pointed this out for advertising and marketing, but in fact it applies to all professional activity.

7. This was made by Patricia Vaughan, University of Ceará, Brazil.

8. Meanwhile a new manual has been produced and the information updated.

9. There is also an impressionistic drawing of a *Guglhupf* on the front page of the leaflet, but only with a partial view, and for the non-initiated reader this gives incomplete information on its actual shape.

10. They are often left untranslated, but their basic meaning is made clear from the immediate content. Cf. the debate following Venuti's paper in *Current Issues in Language and Society* 1:3, 1994.

11. All lexical information verifiable in *Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch*.

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The Debate

The Notion of Cultural Identity

Peter Newmark (University of Surrey): I think that we need to clarify again what we understand by cultural identity. Simmel in his definition, and I assume that it was Simmel who created the term, excludes values. Cultural identity for him is a way of behaviour, including customs and general manners, but without any kind of pejorative or positive context. Now, you took issue with Venuti's understanding of the term. He uses it for stereotypes and as far as I remember in all his writings, always in a pejorative sense. But in this way, he makes a caricature of this notion. For example, he says that during the Cold War, the Americans were bound to be anti-Soviet, and that was the cultural identity there. I would say that the term cultural identity could cover both points, both Simmel's and Venuti's.

Mary Snell-Hornby (University of Vienna): It can be very confusing to use a term that has already been used in a particular sense in a completely different sense. Simmel was a sociologist and a philosopher, writing in 1908, and his notion was taken up more recently by Dieter Claessens. Simmel talked about identity, and in this essay by Claessens the subject is, among other things, *cultural* identity, because the sense of an individual identity of a person in a society is something rather different than a group's sense of cultural identity, positioning a cultural entity within the world around it. In German, 'cultural identity' involves both the *Selbstbild*, i.e. the self image, and the *Fremdbild*, which is the way you are seen by other people. It is also based on the unmistakable features that a person has, and that is the essence of this definition of identity. I don't think Venuti refers to that. He uses the word in the sense of an unreal, projected, created, constructed *Fremdbild*, as an image of something else, of another culture, as created by translations. He could have used the words 'stereotype' or 'cliché', which exist for that. Cultural identity does not need translation, it exists without it. It is a sociological term, not necessarily a term of Translation Studies.

Peter Newmark: Wait a minute. Translation Studies is an interdiscipline which therefore uses terms from about six different disciplines.

Mary Snell-Hornby: Granted. But why confuse the issue even further? Text linguistics does exactly the same thing, using its terms from other disciplines in different ways. This terminological confusion is something, I think, one need not contribute to, rather reduce it. I got the impression Venuti did not know about other definitions. I presume this sociological definition was not created with Translation Studies in mind. Venuti uses the term in a way that is limited and rather unfortunate. His definition does not really refer to 'identity' at all but to a stereotype. For him, cultural identity is an image that has been built up, certainly by translation, and also by the media or whatever. But is it really an identity that is built up, for example about what happened in the Gulf War? Is it not rather a false cliché constructed by the media? This is the difference I wanted to make.

Terry Hale (University of Hull): Far be it from me to defend Venuti, but I think that he does use the term 'stereotypes' and 'cultural identity' in two very different ways. In the book *The Scandals of Translation*, the concept of stereotype is

related to the process of selection, i.e. selecting which books are translated and which are not, and what is behind that selection process. For example, there is a particular kind of Japanese novel with a particular kind of Japaneseness, as a very ethereal culture. But this is *our* vision, *our* stereotype of the Japanese experience. This is different from the notion of cultural identity which is very much a constructed entity, constructed by schools, universities, cultural systems and so on, and I agree with this interpretation. If you think about this notion of cultural identity a little bit more, then we as Europeans seem to have a particular problem with this. Americans always belong to a town, then to a State, and then to a country. Beyond that they have political allegiances, a culinary allegiance, a cultural allegiance, and so on. It is not that easy to specify that notion of identity. On the other hand, what is 'Britishness' is in a sense bound up with all sorts of issues of sovereignty. I cannot help but remember what Nietzsche famously said: 'I would rather be a good European than considered as a good German'. It seems to me that when we talk about cultural identity in a European setting, we are now having to accommodate the fact that we are actually like the Americans, with a State and a Federal allegiance. We are starting to come round to that notion that we have a dual allegiance. Although it is still a problematical conception for very large chunks of the population, we are nevertheless moving towards it.

Mary Snell-Hornby: I have no problem with Venuti's concept of stereotype as related to the process of selection. But I am talking about cultural identity here in a broader sense. We talked about allegiance, and this is very problematic because in America this kind of allegiance is an emotional relationship. However, I do not think that in Europe people feel an emotional allegiance to the European Union. The European Union has superimposed a powerful layer of something which is not part of people's roots and their cultural identity. I personally would say that I feel like a European, but I do not mean that I feel that I connect in any way with Brussels. I do not think that this forms the cultural identity of many people living in the countries of continental Europe. The European Union is part of their lives, but they do not associate with it emotionally and they certainly do not have any allegiance to it.

Terry Hale: But there are a lot of stereotypes about Brussels which I think have been promoted very heavily in the press, and we are tending to lose that here. I think that we have to be very careful in our characterisation. One does not really feel an allegiance to Brussels, but one does feel an allegiance to a political entity that is called 'Europe'. That sense of identity is also being forged out of anti-Americanism, which comes over very strongly in the use of terms like goodwill. There is a whole historical debate which is rather interesting. If you look at the history of Cultural Studies in Britain, it starts off with a fear of being invaded by American words. This comes through implicitly by people like Raymond Williams. It comes up, interestingly enough, in all sorts of places in Europe. I was watching Jean-Luc Godard's 1963 film *Le Mépris* the other day, which is about an American film director shooting a film in Italy, scripted by Fritz Lang, about the Homeric Legends. The whole film is actually an attack on Americans. This anti-Americanism is even stronger in Europe than it is here in Britain. One thing we do not like about Brussels is the idea of federalism. However, it is something we have got to come to terms with within our political lifetime.

Mona Baker (UMIST): These discussions we have about the issue of cultural identity and stereotypes just confirm that people are coming into Translation Studies from a variety of disciplines. Mary, you say that Venuti should not use the term in a way that it is not being used. He would claim that you are using it in the non-standard way because he is coming from a different direction. He is coming from Cultural Studies where, quite possibly, cultural identity is an established term with a very different definition. Venuti also defines other terms differently, for example 'communication'. He says that linguists are only interested in the use of language for communication, but by that he means communication of information only, and not of things like aesthetic effect, which is not how linguists use the word 'communication'. It is terminological confusion that is fuelled by the diversity of disciplines.

Mary Snell-Hornby: That would be perfectly alright if he had given his sources, if he had said 'I have taken my definition from . . . ', but he does not.

Said Faiq (University of Salford): I agree with Mona entirely, that because Translation Studies in the 1980s and in the 1990s has attracted many people from different disciplines, everybody comes into it with their preconceived notions. However, I would like to defend Venuti here. You started by explaining that culture means 'this is me, this is my culture, and I respect others'. Even when I define myself as a culture I also imply the existence of another culture, another set by which I see myself. Venuti has been influenced by Cultural Studies, and particularly by people like Edward Said, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and others. He has a point in stressing that there are stable cultures, but also emerging or unstable cultures, which are perceived to be weak. Venuti argues that being a strong culture, the Anglo-American tradition has decided on the position of other cultures, and this has resulted in the creation of a culture for translating. For him, that American culture of translation has led to the subduing of other voices through translation. He gives examples of Japanese novels. Other people have given examples of how Arabic literature is translated into European languages. People in the West are still interested in translating the *1001 Nights*, rather than translating modern, provocative Arabic literature, or they criticise modern novels if they do not fit their own perceptions of the Arab world. Venuti questions these practices. He wants the translation to show the difference. I think that Venuti is right, regardless of your arguments.

Peter Newmark: You are no longer talking about cultural identity. You are talking about theories of translation.

Said Faiq: No, Peter, I do not think so. Literature is part of the cultural identity of a particular group.

Christina Schäffner (Aston University): We seem to be dealing with two definitions of cultural identity. Mary was arguing about cultural identity in the sense of group membership, and as a member of a group you have values and expectations, and you also set yourself apart from another group, the 'us versus them' aspect. You are linking this to the culture, the conventions and traditions of translating literature.

Mary Snell-Hornby: We started by discussing the two definitions of 'cultural identity', and I said that Venuti had not given the source of his definition. Had he

given his sources, I would have said, 'OK, that's Venuti's version of it. I do not agree with this definition, because . . .' . We are talking about method, not content. I agree with you when you argue that from his American point of view he is critical of what is happening to translation in America. It is very important to realise that this position, of America, and of English, is a privileged position, and is absolutely unique. But in talking about translation as applied to America, we are dealing with one specific case and not a universal truth.

Palma Zlateva (University of Sofia/University of Leeds): I would like to bring into the discussion the role of the media. We have identities of individuals, and from them types evolve, and from types, some kind of stereotypes evolve. Very often these stereotypes are being defined in one way or another. It is one thing to define stereotypes, and it is a different thing to promote them, but what the media are often doing is creating stereotypes. I think this is something very dangerous. Stereotypes do away with the individual, with essential things, and they are promoting, or even imposing on the public some preconceived aspects that are disguised as types and stereotypes. In creating stereotypes, the media are dealing with half-truths.

Terry Hale: I cannot help but feel that cultural identity across quite large areas of Europe today is actually bound up more with questions of class identity a shared kind of lifestyle and a shared kind of behaviour than with anything which we might think of as regionalistic and nationalistic value. In a sense that is one of the things that has created certain publishing phenomena, for example the fact that there are over 10,000 British-American novels published in Germany every year, but only a handful of German novels coming the other way. It is possible that there is a desire to share in the objectives and aims and pleasures of a certain sense of middle-classness, sharing patterns of consumption and behaviour. I think this is the real issue of cultural identity in Europe. We do have a romantic notion of cultural differences, which is very much like Walter Scott's world of the great battles between the Scots and the British, which were fought out in the pages of the Waverley novels. But this is a world that is already gone. In the new Europe people use a car that is designed in one country, built by workers in another and finished off somewhere else. This is all part of a new question of identity, a shared set of economic values and lifestyles.

Mona Baker: But is this cultural identity, or rather behaviour?

Mary Snell-Hornby: I just wonder if you aren't levelling out Europe to a state which is wishful thinking. This is precisely what I mean, this modernised, technological, globalised society which is superimposed upon other societies. But I wonder whether one can speak of this in terms of middle class. The upper class is now changing to the 'jet-set', and on the other hand we have the group of the 'have-nots', those who are marginalised. In Europe beneath this veneer there is quite definitely a sense of belonging, but not really as being part of the European Union. In a historical sense, this European identity is something different. The idea of an identity through language or birthplace and so on is very marked in many European countries, more so than when seen from a British angle.

Terry Hale: I tend to agree with you, but I still think we are moving towards something which is different, towards a genuine federalised Europe.

Michael Holman (University of Leeds): We are moving into an era, as Mary said, where everything has to be swift, and the means with which we are conveying our messages is in fact determining the type of message we convey. And that is a big worry because we are talking in 'bytes', the ability to convey a message within a limited time. Everything is simplified so that it can be quickly and easily understood. In order to make it quickly and easily understood we have to sacrifice depth of meaning. That goes back to what Palma was saying. In fact, the stereotype is being created by the means which we have at our disposal, and that is very worrying indeed. I do wonder whether these two poles of globalisation and tribalisation, which are moving in opposite directions, are not at some level maybe self-correcting. That is the hope. The supermarket has always pushed out certain levels of commerce, but the small corner-shop has managed to exist at the same time. I was watching a German programme about *Fasching* in Cologne or Mainz, the traditional carnival there. Although I understand German, I did not understand the dialect they were speaking. The local people however felt that this was wonderful. They are not trying to impose it on anybody else, it is theirs and that exists within a wider culture of German, where they communicate with other Germans, and it also exists within another wider culture, which is maybe your international simplified language. It is the question of the proportion between these. If the media is going to force it all into those bags, that starts to worry me.

Conveying Cultural Identities in Translations

Gunilla Anderman (University of Surrey): Concerning your text from the airline magazine, you said that this was an attempt to convey an Austrian sense of cultural identity. Did I understand you correctly when you said that it might not matter whether that particular cultural identity was not conveyed?

Mary Snell-Hornby: I don't think it does. Here we have a typical stereotype, as the Austrians know they are seen by other people, especially airline travellers. What they want to get across is a pleasant sense of what is Austrian. And one example is a piece of cake. The text is promoting that sweetish, positive, outside image of the Austrians as they know they are seen by other people.

Gunilla Anderman: Do you think that that attempt is doomed to fail?

Mary Snell-Hornby: It is over-simplified of course. The airline traveller wants to sit back and relax and have a nice meal, and does not bother about details of a text. The promoters know very well that if the travellers are satisfied and have a nice flight and nice food they will be well disposed towards Austria. Again, this is this fast-thinking without going into any details. That is the main message to be got across not the finer details of this delightful German text, which for class translation is a goldmine of all sorts of things. But that is not what interests the advertising manager, unfortunately.

Peter Newmark: Food is a very important aspect of culture. Once you eat the *Kugelhupf* (former Brno dialect), you go on chasing the *Guglhupf*. That is what this air company is trying to do.

Mary Snell-Hornby: Did you find the text coherent?

Gunilla Anderman: Yes, very much so, but I was thinking that maybe one has to

give up the idea of conveying the complexity of that type of cultural identity. I can give you an interesting example. There was an exhibition of two painters, Carl and Karin Larsson, at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The captions underneath the paintings were not well translated. What was conveyed was a very crude sense of sugary domestic bliss, as it took place in Scandinavia. The result of this was a couple of absolutely awful reviews of the exhibition, in which people said that the sugariness made them feel sick, and they refused to see the rest of the exhibition. That is stereotyping, and that is an example of how things can go wrong to such an extent that the importance of conveying a cultural identity cannot be underestimated.

Mary Snell-Hornby: You are absolutely right. I think that translating tourist brochures is a very fertile area where a lot could be done. Although I am not trying to be prescriptive, what I might like to see is a beautiful literary version of this text in English, respecting all the word-play, the allusions and the dialect words. What the manager probably wanted was an English version that is understandable and that projects this very positive image of the Austrians across to the airline traveller. Whether this is right or wrong, I do not want to comment on that. Personally I think I have read worse translations but there are a number of flaws. Just to mention one point: the title ('The Art of Austrian Confectionery') has no real relation to the text. The original German title is 'Österreichische Zuckerküstler', and these are the people themselves. So the German title refers to this particular Capuchin monk, who they say was the first person to make a *Guglhupf*. It is not on the art of Austrian confectionery at all. That is argumentation on a different level altogether. With an advertising text like this it is interesting that you have language devices that are very similar to those in literary translation for example metaphor, word play, allusions. But in a work of literature the stylistic finesse of the translation is the important thing, and you can destroy the whole message by falsifying it. In this case of the advertising text, it is this fast-food effect we have been talking about, done under pressure, probably not by a professional translator. Very often in advertising, texts are produced that make no linguistic sense, do not respect the advertising conventions and have no respect for the cultural identity of the people addressed.

Gunilla Anderman: Just to give you one more example. A review in a leading paper of a German week of theatre readings at the Royal Court Theatre in London had the heading 'The Germans *do* have a sense of humour' . . .

Mary Snell-Hornby: This is a stereotype, the Germans do indeed have a sense of humour though perhaps different from the British. But advertisements, and British advertisements in particular, use more humour in verbal play than German advertisements, which tend to do something else. But this is exactly what we are saying, there are projections of images of other people that are false, and this is why I wanted to make a difference between that phenomenon (stereotypes, clichés) and the concept of cultural identity.

Michael Holman: Did this particular text appear in the in-flight magazine alongside the German one or not? Because if it did, that creates other pressures from our point of view. I have often looked at the leading articles in the in-flight magazine for Swiss Air, and they are marvellously adapted to the different psycholo-

gies of the people reading those languages, whereas this one about the *Guglhupf* is clearly not.

Mary Snell-Hornby: In the in-flight leaflet we have the German text at the top, and the English text below. It has also a rather inadequate drawing of a *Guglhupf*, you can't recognise it if you don't know what a *Guglhupf* looks like. It is in nondescript brown and white, and the colour and the layout play an important part in advertising. The Swiss Air leaflet is in the multilingual tradition of Switzerland, and actually tremendous effort is made in their language material to adapt to the various groups and psychological inclinations. In Austria that is not necessarily the case.

Michael Holman: I have always been impressed by the Swiss Air magazines where the English, compared with the French, is self-deprecatory, humorous, it is understatement. And it manages to exist alongside the French text, because they presume that the people who are going to read that are not translators but people who want to take it in from their own culture point of view.

Language and Cultural Identity

Mona Baker: Michael was wondering about a self-correcting mechanism between globalisation and tribalism. This reminded me of two novels by Achebe I have read recently, *Things fall apart* and *A Man of the People*. You are right that he writes largely in this sort of universal international English, which is easy to read, because one does not require an advanced knowledge of English in order to follow it. However, in *A Man of the People*, there is another element, namely a lot of the conversations very often switch into Nigerian English, which is so much more difficult to understand. You have both elements in there at the same time one which allows you easy access to that Nigerian world, but at the same time keeps constantly reminding you that you are also an outsider by putting in these bits of conversation in Nigerian English. This may be an example of how people are subconsciously aware that both kinds of threads are running through our lives and they want to maintain some kind of balance and not give in to either.

Michael Holman: The problem occurs when one starts giving way. In Germany I am not worried about the pushing of the local dialect because it is within a framework which can hold it. I am worried when you come to Yugoslavia, and you find that a language which was a construct anyhow Serbo-Croat is then divided up into three. You then wonder what the language is with which they inter-communicate with each other. Is it going to be English? Are they actually going to speak either Serbian or Croatian or Bosnian, which they actually understand, but go along with the fiction that they don't? Will they have interpreters, as the Bulgarians and the Macedonians have done for many years? Or take Ukraine, where in order to emphasise the Ukrainian language as being a language on its own, they have to emphasise the ways in which Ukrainian is most different from Russian. Automatically you contribute towards your individual tribalism by wanting to go into that unity. That is the worrying thing, when there is not an alternative to go to.

Mary Snell-Hornby: Precisely. But in Germany dialect is something historical, and quite definitely part of people's cultural identity. People tend to say 'I come

from Bavaria or the Rhineland' far more frequently than 'I am German'. Whether a specific dialect can be understood by someone else is entirely beside the point. If a situation arises where you do have to communicate you can use other means, for example non-verbal means of communication. You are absolutely right about Yugoslavia. The point is that people do not want to communicate, and where they have to, they take their interpreters along. For example, at the Dayton meetings, everything was interpreted to and from English, and often very badly. At other meetings they may use their own languages, because they are mutually intelligible, and only certain items vary, according to my information. It is very distressing to have this situation in which people fight against each other and even want to introduce new words to prove that the languages are different.

Michael Holman: One could always tell somebody who came from a particular area in Yugoslavia by the way they spoke, but it wasn't necessarily a different language.

Mary Snell-Hornby: The same applies to anybody in Switzerland, Germany and Austria. This is something of the historic past. You can still hear people on television talking in an Austrian dialect in order to get authenticity across. And you then have the standard form of German which is accepted as something which also belongs to the country.

Palma Zlateva: Concerning the languages in Yugoslavia, I would like to add that Macedonian was a dialect of Bulgarian. In 1948, when the Comintern decided for political reasons to do something about Macedonia, they translated the Bible into Macedonian, and now Macedonian is a real language. I attended a conference in Skopje, and one of the papers was on an analysis of the language of political speeches of Macedonian politicians. As was reported, maybe 80% of their language was pidginised English. Trying to get away from one thing, i.e. creating or imposing a new language, they end up in another extreme. It sounded funny the way English words were mispronounced or adapted to the patterns of pronunciation. What you mentioned as a joke, that they might start communicating in English, is a result reflected in their own analyses and observations.

Michael Holman: That will have to happen in Latvia, Lithuania and the Baltic Republics as well. For political reasons, they will not communicate in Russian as they used to, so they need another form of communication.

Palma Zlateva: And that is a matter of their own free choice, nobody imposes it upon them!

Mary Snell-Hornby: This ties in with my point of acceptance of a dialect or of a language. With the European Union, we are perhaps moving in this direction of acceptance, but I have the feeling that it is perhaps not yet accepted as part of the organic whole.

How are Cultural Identities Constructed?

Said Faiq: There are changes in the European Union and a European cultural identity is emerging. But there is the other besides Europe, for example the Arab world, the Muslim world. The people of Bosnia and Kosovo are often referred to as Muslims and not as Europeans. I think that once you define that cultural identity as such, you form certain stereotypes. Since the days of Richard Burton, the

Arabs have been defined as being exotic, but the term 'exotica' has shifted to mean terrorism, fundamentalism, chaos and violence. This way of defining other cultural identities does influence the choice of the source texts for translation, and also the way the target texts should appear, as well as their diffusion. Within Europe, things are easy, but how does a united Europe see and work with the other?

Frank Knowles (Aston University): The national censuses of Yugoslavia listed a category called 'Muslims' as one of the constituent peoples. Even though it is a religious affiliation, it was defined as a nationality.

Piotr Kuhiwczak (Warwick University): I think this was politically motivated, and we should not take this as an objective definition. Yugoslavia is a very good point to complicate the interrelationship between tribalism and globalism. The impression we get of Serbia from television is one of an awful country, but it is perfectly normal. People are happy to speak English, and teaching and learning English is a boom area. You may talk to someone for half an hour and it's only suddenly that you realise where you are. The division between tribalism and globalism is not that simple. I would like to introduce a third notion, which is more neutral, namely the locality. One belongs to all kinds of places in all kinds of ways. You identify with the region where you are. Everyone has got a cultural identity, but it is constructed. There are all kinds of possibilities in how it is constructed. I don't think one can discuss it really, because everybody comes with something else.

Said Faiq: What I wanted to say is that Europeans view the Arabs in certain ways and within certain topoi, not only through the media but also through translations. Even institutions as sturdy as the BBC, Radio 4, for example, told their listeners/viewers that the Fatwa meant 'the death penalty', an incorrect representation of the signification of the term and its concept in Arab/Islamic thinking.

Piotr Kuhiwczak: The media are not objective providers of information. Expecting the media not to lie would be very unrealistic.

Said Faiq: But we cannot simply say that it is the media that construct certain stereotypes. When Richard Burton translated Arabic texts in 1800, there was no TV and no radio. The British still use the same stereotypes to perceive and translate the Arab world. That perception influences translation, influences the traffic between the two cultures.

Palma Zlateva: We do have cultural identities, they do exist, but what we have is not a construct. They have gradually evolved in the process of culture. I think we are going into a different sphere when we start talking about a construct or a creation.

Terry Hale: I would rather say that anxiety is used as a threat to create a cultural identity. There is no doubt that the media have promoted the idea of a terrorist Arabic world. It is used to construct, perhaps, a European sense of Europe as something different. But at the same time, if you look at the troubles in the former Yugoslavia, then those groups within that country have also constructed images of 'the other', which has been one of the driving forces behind the creation of these new languages. Traditionally, the construction of cultural anxiety is what

drove a more nationalistic census within Europe. Once you have crossed the Channel, Europe was a dangerous place. Now the old Cold War threat is dead, but perhaps the Arabic threat is still with us. Various forces use the construction of fear to achieve certain goals. Perhaps one of the things we really need to study is how fear is used by these groups, i.e. by popular writers, newspapers, or even political groups, how they manufacture anxiety to bring about the desired ends. This is all part of the question of cultural identity.

New Genres, New Text Types and Hybrid Texts as Products of New Developments

Jeremy Munday (University of Bradford): Mary, you were referring to e-mail as a new form of communication. The impression I got was that you were concerned that non-native speakers were using e-mail and creating some kind of new language which was defective. Perhaps we ought to view e-mail more as an alternative to spoken communication rather than a written text, so that the same flaws which occur in everyone's spoken language are likely to crop up also in e-mail. Most e-mails are ephemeral and will end up being deleted anyway.

Mary Snell-Hornby: I quite agree with you. I am not saying that I am concerned with this and that we must get back to standard English. I am saying that this is what happens, and you are quite right that e-mails are a mixture of spoken and written language. The tolerance for what used to be defective English has increased, and this is developing into new text types. This attitude will continue and affect the development of English. The point is that the more this comes, the less need there will be for translation because everyone will be speaking a certain kind of English which is a free-floating system of signs, getting away from the control of the native speakers. This will also affect the translator's profession. Translators used to be needed, for example in international correspondence, but a lot of this is now done directly by phone or by e-mail in more or less impeccable English. That's the way it is, and we have got to accept it.

I would like to illustrate the difference between what I mean by hybrid texts as discussed in my paper and standard text genre in the traditional sense. The material is taken from an MA thesis that I supervised in Vienna. The topic was text type conventions in German, English and Polish, comparing the genre which in German is called *Baubescheid*. The English counterpart to this is a 'Decision Notice'. If you look at an English example of this genre, you see that it looks like a letter in its layout, beginning with 'Dear Sirs' and ending with 'Yours faithfully'. It has got at the top 'Listed building consent application. Refusal of permission', then the address, then 'Decision Notice', then your reference and so on, then 'Dear Sirs'. Then we have the body of the text, and the reasons for refusal are given at the end. The German texts are longer than the English ones. The *Baubescheid* is a classical text genre, fossilised in the age-old tradition of Central European bureaucracy. In England you have Case Law, and in Germany you have a different legal system altogether: statute law. The German text type has quite a definite structure: we have *Bescheid* on the top, then the *Spruch*, which is the decision, and the costs, then you have the *Begründung*, meaning reasons why. At the end you have the *Rechtsmittelbelehrung*, informing you that you can appeal against this *Bescheid* within 14 days, and that you have to add a stamp.

Frank Knowles: When you talk about text structuration, you are actually talking about meta-data here.

Mary Snell-Hornby: You may call it meta-data, but the important thing is not only what is actually there in the text, but that a *Bescheid*, in contrast to a *Mitteilung*, is legally binding. You have a legal document and you can appeal against it. It has a certain power within the system. In fact, it is rather like a verdict. A *Mitteilung*, on the other hand, has more the structure and content of the Decision Notice. The Polish text is also called a decision notice, but within the Polish legal system it has the same position as the *Bescheid* has in the Austrian system. For translation purposes, therefore, it presents less problems. But would something like this actually be translated? Is there a possible translation situation? The answer is 'yes' in this specific case. If a Polish firm and an Austrian firm came to an agreement that they wanted to build something in Poland or Austria, then they would have their decision notice, or *Bescheid*, translated. Similarly in the case of an Austrian and an English firm. But the point is that the translation would not necessarily be legally binding unless it were agreed that it must be so. What the translator would do is produce a documentary version, simply providing information on the original. For that legal reason, the translation has a different status than the source text has. The problem comes where, as in the case with insurance texts, you have insurance policies which are legally valid documents, and they have to fulfil legal constraints in both cultures.

Steffen Sommer (Aston University): I can confirm this on the basis of my own research into the translation of insurance texts. Insurance policies is one of the text types that is translated frequently in different languages, and this is an example of a genre where the translation indeed has to function in another legal system. That causes a lot of problems, and I have found that different insurance companies handle that differently. Some of them have insurance policies translated by their in-house translators, whereas others do not translate those policies but produce them for the foreign market with another legal system. Eventually European Insurance Law will take over, which again may result in new genres, or hybrid texts.

Mary Snell-Hornby: All these examples show the changing profession of the translator today. The classic work of the translator was to transpose correct information from one country and culture into another one. In those cases we have just discussed, you would have to ask what is the translation situation to be, before you decide what the significance is. But these texts are not hybrid texts, they are texts where you have to cross all sorts of boundaries. With the formation of the European Union, these are just the areas that are being made normative, you have certain processes and agreements, and cultural boundaries are cut down. The question then is: how does the translator work? In which way does the work of the translator shift?

Michael Holman: There is a huge power relationship here. In Europe it may well be that European Law will assert itself. If I take the former Soviet Union, we see that the legal system there is in the process of change. Those republics that were very much influenced by Russia want to break away, but don't know what they are breaking away to. Their legal system too is in a state of flux. What does the insurance company do then? What does the translator do then? Are new insur-

ance policies in, let's say Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, drawn up according to old Soviet law, or according to a new legal system which is being introduced there? What law applies if somebody wants to appeal? The translator has to look at what is the coming power and what is s/he going to go along with, what kind of practice is s/he to follow.

Terry Hale: In British law there is a very developed doctrine against retroactive legislation. The law that is imposed is the law that is imposed at the time the contract is signed. If you look at English and French legislation, it usually contains a date on which the legislation will become empowered. I suspect that all legal systems have that retroactive legislation. The dispute is then over what is the definition of the law when one system takes over from the old system.

Piotr Kuhiwczak: One of the things which change is the legal terminology. When some of these countries were switching to a market economy, they had to invent terminology, such as 'unit trust'. Such a word did not exist in many languages.

Mona Baker: There is also a challenge for translation scholars here, i.e. studying large corpora of actual translations. People in our discipline say that, by nature, translations tend to be normalising, tend to exaggerate features of the target language. I appreciate that that received theoretical wisdom has not been tested on a large scale. We have not really proven it. We have begun to study the nature of translated texts in order to find out how translated texts are different from other texts, but we need a lot more data to come to a convincing conclusion. And probably translated hybrid texts are bringing in another element that translation theory has to deal with and has not really taken into consideration yet.

Peter Newmark: Mary has asked about the work of the translator concerning such texts, hybrid texts or genres. To be on a certain ground as a translator, I'd say, you have to have descriptive language and technical language, non-standard language and standard language, layman's language and lawyer's language. The first type is your insurance against the mistakes in the second. If you always use the descriptive language, which is usually a bit longer than the technical language, I do not see how you can go wrong. This insures you against disaster.

New Genres, Hybrid Texts, International English

Myriam Salama-Carr (University of Salford): When we talk about hybrid texts, are we actually referring to texts which are made up of different text types, or to the language of the texts, for example texts which are written in this new universal English, or to both?

Mary Snell-Hornby: Basically, I would say both, only I wouldn't call the second type new international English. In my paper I gave quotes by Villareal and Mehrez about hybridity. I would say that the McLanguage, the McEnglish, the English of the Internet, this reduced lingua franca, which is often called 'international English', is another kind of reduced language than the language that is meant here in these quotes. We are working with two different definitions of hybridity. On the one hand, with McEnglish, it is the result of a process, though not necessarily one which was intentionally aimed at. In the case of creative writing, hybridity is the result of a conscious wish for self-expression, the wish to use

the language of the ex-coloniser to express that particular kind of experience and to express the emancipation of the colonised. This is a completely different perspective altogether. In the end, the quality of the language itself is completely different as well.

Gunilla Anderman: We have a very interesting situation now in some of the lesser-used language areas in Europe. I found out recently that one of the biggest banks in Scandinavia communicates about banking matters in English, especially in e-mail. They use their mother tongues for other topics, especially in spoken communication.

Mary Snell-Hornby: I would say that that would be the first kind of hybridity e-mail English. Basically this international e-mail English, this very hybridisised, globalised language has left the control of the native speakers and has become, as Henry Widdowson has described it, 'world property'. And here I am saying that the more this develops, the less need there will be for certain areas of translation, which will diminish or will be taken over by machine translation, or machine-aided translation.

Gunilla Anderman: But it might mean that a discussion about translation of insurance texts would not be interesting in years to come, because they might all be in English.

Mary Snell-Hornby: Exactly, that is what I am saying. As professionals of translation we might wonder what are we training people for.

Steffen Sommer: In some insurance companies in Germany, the company's language is English. Managers conduct meetings in English, but they are not native speakers of English. They would have learned their English at school or university. That is why I argue that they do need their in-house translators because only those translators will be familiar with that particular English used in legal texts.

Mary Snell-Hornby: In-house language is another aspect which becomes relevant for translation, together with other translation needs and skills, including continued knowledge of legal systems.

Gunilla Anderman: It also means that it is possible to recruit anyone in the world who is the best in a particular managerial post, because English is the working language. Mobility in terms of labour and employment is changing accordingly.

The Changing Profession of Translation and Translator Training

Michael Holman: When that new type of hybrid English that is used in those communicative situations is then translated, does it then lead to a hybrid form in German or in French? I wonder whether the bureaucrats who are communicating are in fact training themselves to speak a language that will be easier to translate because they need to communicate.

Mary Snell-Hornby: This links back to the example of the United Nations source text I discussed in my paper. All of this really affects translator training because we have to ask 'what are we training our students to do?'. In Austria, we are going through a curriculum reform at the moment. Our present curriculum goes back to the year 1972, and the subject of typing and shorthand is officially still on

the list. In exams, students are still asked to translate into language X and to produce texts of a specified number of lines, i.e. the length is very important. But what is the relevance of this to our daily life? What is the real life of the translator? As we see, this is changing, and one thing is that in this day and age most translators need some knowledge of international English. Somehow, somewhere they are going to meet it. Our students' basic language is German, although we have a lot of native speakers from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, etc. who translate to and from these languages into German. We must tell them that they need to know some English, that they will probably not survive as a translator unless they add English to their list of working languages. We say we train translators to be intercultural, interdisciplinary experts who have linguistic knowledge, subject area knowledge, etc. Let's take legal texts, we train the students to translate those texts for the real life of today, but in five years' time it will be different. Although we obviously try to train people to be flexible and willing to change, we might be training them for something which may not exist in the future. This is the problem. The whole area of globalisation is changing things so quickly, including our perception of language and what we do with language.

Jeremy Munday: I translated a modern Venezuelan novel into English as part of UNESCO's representative programme. In the instructions I was sent from UNESCO in Paris, it said 'because many of the people who will read this book are non-native English speakers, please reduce the breadth of vocabulary and syntactic complexity'. That was a clear instruction, if you like, to distort and simplify the original text, and it came from an organisation which was trying to promote that particular literary culture.

Mary Snell-Hornby: But this is another kind of simplified English. I was saying that translators today have to have English somewhere in their working language programme, and I actually think that two levels of English in the translator training programme will develop: International English on the one hand, and on the other hand in-depth knowledge of varieties and the language of literature and culture. And I am coming to look at British English more and more as one of many varieties. But as a one-time native speaker of English, I find it quite sad that the language, as it is seen by professionals from outside, has become increasingly bland and reduced.

Terry Hale: I can't help but worry whether we are being a little idealistic. People I know who work as professional translators in large corporations or for the Government, sit in an office and have an in-tray which is permanently stacked high. They receive a text like your one on the National Electricity Board, and they type it straight into the computer, and they do not even read what they have typed. They are working permanently against the clock. If you start copy-editing what you have done, you might well miss the deadline. That is why the electronically aided computer resources are so useful. Once you get into that scenario of the translator who is being made to translate more and more quickly, then you are bound to get this sort of text. I don't actually think it matters if texts are simplified. It is who reads the text who really defines what the text is going to be like. If you take the text on the National Electricity Board, you can imagine this being circulated to the Health and Safety Executive, which is responsible for nuclear safety around this country. There are maybe 20 or 30 inspectors. This document

may be circulated to one or more of them, just to keep them informed. They will have come across something like this before, so they would have no problem with understanding it. The real problem is that the conditions for a professional translator are not improving. They are often just being exploited, and that's worrying.

Mary Snell-Hornby: With this text, you have a kind of in-house atmosphere, and you are quite right that the insiders know a lot about the subject. The norms of language and texts are continually changing, they are not a fixed entity.

Peter Newmark: But what about the actual nature of translation? The Collins Dictionary definition of 'translation' would have been as inadequate in 1979 is it is in 1999. The Collins definition does talk about the activity but also the nature of the work. In your paper, you give Schmitt's definition of the activity of a translator, which mixes a whole lot of things which would never have been done by a single translator. Also in a specialised translation course, you don't teach students to do silly typing or the other great varieties of translating fields, media, professions that come under the heading of translation. All of this sounds rather 'with it' and terribly up-to-date. I would suggest that they are all a type of variation of the translation activity which I would briefly still define as conveying the meaning of a text from one language to another for a new readership as accurately as possible. All the others, whatever you like to call them surtitling or subtitling have to use this as a point of reference. I think that in what you have been talking about up to now, you miss the two big issues which are, first, are you translating literally or freely, and second, what is the translator's responsibility? Both these issues come into any translation that you do.

Mary Snell-Hornby: The Collins English dictionary just reflects the stock way in which a translator was viewed. Schmitt does not give a definition, but a detailed job profile, published in the *Handbuch Translation*. We were not trying to define translating, we were trying to describe what translators do.

Peter Newmark: Well, defining several translator jobs, not one.

Mary Snell-Hornby: The question is: what do we need to train our people for? Subtitling and surtitling, for example, is nowadays getting increasingly important, and one of the new specialities in our curriculum will be a course in media and literary translation, including subtitling and surtitling, and these are areas for which translators have up to now not been trained at all. Incidentally, we will be working in cooperation with the Film Academy.

Peter Newmark: Does everybody take a course in surtitling?

Mary Snell-Hornby: No, it will be one of four options in the final stage of the degree course. This is preceded by a basic course, comprising two tiers; the first concentrates on language proficiency, and the second on text competence. And then come these four areas of specialisation, of which the student chooses one as a degree course. Firstly, there will be a generalist course, particularly for the languages of lesser diffusion. The next area is terminology and specialised translation, LSP translation, particularly technical translation. The third area is conference interpreting, and the fourth media and literary translation.

Peter Newmark: Why not public service translating and interpreting which is much more important than the ones you have mentioned.

Mary Snell-Hornby: Important for whom?

Peter Newmark: For society.

Mary Snell-Hornby: Public service translation and interpreting, along with court interpreting, are included in the first of the four areas. Each is a Masters course of two years. Of course there is no need to train everyone to be a subtitler or a literary translator, but there are people who are interested in doing these things, who do not want to do conference interpreting, and we hope to provide for these interests. The simplified division between translating and interpreting that has existed up to now is outdated. We have to be aware that there are various kinds of interpreting and of translating. And as for your point about the translator's responsibility s/he is certainly responsible for the final product, there is no doubt about that.

Peter Newmark: All I was trying to do was to point out that what Schmitt describes are several jobs, but not the specific job of a translator.

Mary Snell-Hornby: The translators of today work in fields ranging from scientific translation, literary translation over technical writing and pre- and post-editing to translation for the stage and the screen. This is the broad area which the term 'translation' covers. The *Handbuch* attempts to show what Translation Studies is concerned with nowadays and what translator training will need to consider.

Christina Schäffner: At the seminar we had two years ago with Hans Hönig, about Translation and Quality, exactly the same points came up. We also talked about the responsibility of the translator for the end product, and it was stressed that translation competence involves much more than the knowledge of the language. It also involves subject-specific knowledge, cultural knowledge, knowledge of genre conventions, and also the ability to use all the translator's resources efficiently.

Piotr Kuhiwczak: I think that with the rapid development in the world there is a huge number of texts that are written and translated, but people do not read them. How many people actually read the leaflet about the Austrian cake? And how do we read it? We probably only skim it, and then the significance of what we read is gone to a great extent. But of course we can't tell our students that they will translate texts which probably nobody reads. For translator training, it is very difficult to provide a highly specific training because the world is changing very fast. I think that the only thing we can do is to try to teach people to assess what they are doing, to reflect on their translating activity, and to gauge their own intelligence. I do not think that we need to go too far with specialisation because the skills with which our students leave university are a few years later no longer absolutely essential. I think it is the ability to make judgements that they may need. We should not go too far, but rather assure that they are flexible.

Mona Baker: This is the problem with all disciplines, not just Translation Studies. In Engineering, for example, you teach them to learn how to teach themselves and keep updating their own skills, otherwise they do not survive.

Mary Snell-Hornby: I quite agree with a lot of things you say. However, saying that nobody is going to read a text is actually not the point here. The translator has got an assignment and has been asked to translate a text, whether people will

read it or not. I think it would be a very bad attitude to one's work to say 'it does not matter what I produce'. As concerns the in-flight leaflets, there are in fact people who do like to read these, even if they only glance over them. As a professional translator I think you ought to say 'I have been given the job to translate this and I should do the job as best I can', regardless of how many people will read the text. The same applies theoretically to any translation assignment. The translator's responsibility is to produce the version which functions for its specific purpose in the target culture. And this responsibility may also extend to layout and colour.

Piotr Kuhiwczak: But when your client says that the design will be too expensive and that you spent too much time on the translation, they will probably give the assignment to somebody else. There is a huge segment of the market which is kind of globalised, the lowest common denominator. There is also a much smaller market which can be called a quality market, where they will pay attention to all those things you have discussed. But unfortunately (or maybe fortunately), that global market, the lower level, is expanding very fast.

Mary Snell-Hornby: This is precisely what I am watching with increasing concern. Maybe I come from a generation of perfectionists, but I would say that even if it is 'only' an advertising text, there is something about it which is very well done and I would want to do justice to it. The situation you mentioned, that a client will go somewhere else because of time and costs, is a very real one. In such cases, Skopos theorists would argue that if you produced a better text, people will get a more positive impression of the airline. This *Guglhupf* text is a perfect example for work with students in class. You can spend time discussing what the title does, what you could do to the text, discuss the layout, colour, everything. I use tourist texts a lot because as Veronica Smith and Christine Klein-Braley have put it they are a microcosm of all kinds of problems that you get in translation, including the basic problems of metaphors, puns, syntax, associations, and so on. For didactic purposes they are superb. In real life, they are part of the good service which the airline provides, making the customer feel that they have something nice to look at. That is the main point, and the translation either serves its purpose or it doesn't.

Piotr Kuhiwczak: And the training includes all of this, but you tell a student that this is the ideal.

Mary Snell-Hornby: I wouldn't say 'the ideal translation', it is potentially one. You tell students that all this is what they need to know, without saying that this is a perfect translation.

Piotr Kuhiwczak: I agree, not 'the ideal translation', but I was thinking of the process. You would say to the students that this is what I would do, if I had a customer who wanted that sort of thing.

Christina Schäffner: We have to make the students aware that all these factors have to be taken into account, which is also linked to a realisation that the profession today is much more complex that what laypeople might understand by 'translation'.

Terry Hale: And it will become more and more complex. It seems to me that the European Union is the first genuine attempt to create a political, cultural and

economic grouping based upon linguistic happiness, because all languages are used. In fact, translation is at the very heart of Europeaness. Perhaps it will waste away with time, but at the moment it is essential to the functioning of the EU.

Mary Snell-Hornby: I would say that as an *ideal* democratic multilingualism lies at the heart of the European concept. Basically I think it is a wonderful principle, and I am very much for it. But I think with time and with the expansion of the EU, it will become financially untenable, especially when you multiply the language pairs for interpreting purposes. Some time some language policy will have to be found which can be financed. Otherwise the very good political aims of the European Union may be hampered by lack of languages, or, heaven forbid, by using just English, or a reduced form of English, which unfortunately seems more likely.

A Global Language for the Global Village?
A Response to Mary Snell-Hornby

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There is little doubt that Benjamin Barber's bleak McWorld and Mary Snell-Hornby's 'stylistically reduced' McLanguage are upon us. Increasingly functioning as a form of international communication, American influenced McLanguage or McEnglish is a rootless, free-floating product variety of English, lacking the mechanisms needed to maintain standard usage such as the 'fixity' provided by printed books (Graddol, 1997). But at the same time as the use of McEnglish is rapidly gaining ground, the need for a subtler more stylistically conscious variety of English for use in translation is also making itself known. In addition to McEnglish, indispensible in today's rapidly growing information society, awareness must be heightened amongst European translators that the variety of English required to convey information about other aspects of life such as a nation's literary heritage or its cultural identity must be of an infinitely more subtle variety.

An example of inappropriate use of McEnglish for the latter purpose is provided by Mary Snell-Hornby's Lauda Air Flight text on *The Art of Austrian Confectionery*. While the information content is reproduced, the style in which it is couched clearly fails to convey the importance of the product discussed as an element in Austrian everyday life. As a result, it is unlikely that the text in translation would convince an English-speaking readership of the virtues of this particular Austrian culinary tradition. Considerably greater linguistic skill would have been required on the part of the translator in order to convey to an English reader the delight the Austrians take in the *Guglhupf*, the particular kind of cake described in the text. It is not surprising, however, that the translation of this text has proved to be less than successful. As Mary Snell-Hornby herself has pointed out elsewhere, culture-bound items rank very high on the scale of difficulties facing the translator. In her discussion of problems in translation between German and English, Snell-Hornby (1993: 1089) distinguishes between five basic groups of prototypes reproduced here in abridged form:

(1) Terminology/nomenclature:
English: 'Oxygen'; German: 'Sauerstoff'

(2) Internationally known items and sets
English: 'Saturday'; German: 'Sonnabend'

(3) Concrete objects, basic level items
English: 'chair'; German: 'Stuhl'

(4) Words expressing perception and evaluation, often linked to sociocultural norms

English: 'bleak'; German?
German: 'gemütlich'; English?

(5) Culture-bound elements
English: 'wicket'; German?
German: 'Pumpernickel'; English?

As is clear from this hierarchy, *Guglhupf* belongs in the fifth category, amongst the culture-bound items most difficult to translate into another language and, as Snell-Hornby points out in her present paper, often remain untranslated. And the reason these items are often left untranslated is normally due to their non-existence in other cultures and communities. Small wonder then that stylistically reduced McEnglish proves to be inadequate to meet the demands of the task. In order to convey the Austrian sense of identity inherent in the source text, enhanced subtlety of expression would have been required, a task for which a variety of English with the sole function of fast communication is not equipped. This points to the importance of a stylistically non-reduced variety of English for use in discussion of sociocultural aspects of nations and to the need for heightened, international awareness of another variety of English, complementing McEnglish.

In many ways, English would seem an ideally suited candidate to assume the role of lingua franca of the global village. As the result of its contacts with other languages throughout history, it has developed into a kind of hybrid language. This has left its mark in the complexity of the English system of writing, a lack of orthographic transparency increasingly seen as having a powerful negative effect on the development of reading skills in English- speaking children (Spencer, 1999). In the case of non-native English speakers on the other hand the effect has been that 'speakers of many other languages can recognise features which are not too dissimilar to characteristics of their own language' (Graddol, 1997: 14). The speed of development of English for use in global communication has also been aided by the already established existence of a number of linguistic varieties, different from standard English. British colonial expansion has resulted in settlements of English speakers in many parts of the world. And in addition to different varieties of English which developed due to geographical factors there are functional reasons for the emergence of others. In the Far East or India, for example, a new kind of off-shore English has become the world's business language, again different from British English (Hagen, 1999: 44). But even though the importance of its diasporic base, 'probably a key factor in the adoption of a language as a lingua franca' (Graddol, 1997: 14) cannot be questioned, the present global position of English owes a clear debt to the United States, helping to ensure that English is not only at the forefront of scientific and technological knowledge but also leads consumer culture.

The position of English as the lingua franca of Europe is, however, historically speaking, relatively recently acquired. During the early part of this century, French was still the favoured language of communication transcending linguistic and political boundaries due to the leading political and cultural European position of France in the recent past. This situation has now changed drastically. While during the first half of the twentieth century the first foreign language

learnt by European youths was French, four fifths are now learning English and only a fifth are learning French (Walker, 1997).

What then may be learnt from the failure of French to maintain its linguistic sovereignty? And what pitfalls should English try to avoid in order to be able to continue to benefit from its present position which, to mention only one advantage as an example, allows 35% of UK export firms to use English as their only language of communication (Hagen, 1999: 44). A word of warning comes from David Crystal who points to the danger of taking 'a "French" over-restrictive view of the language' (quoted in Walker, 1997). This warning may equally be extended to literature, to taking an over-restrictive view of the literary works of other nations, resulting in a reluctance to accept books in translation which do not easily conform to prevailing literary norms.

The difficulty of writers of lesser-used European languages in making their voices heard and gain acknowledgement in translation into English is well documented (cf. e.g. Vanderauwera, 1985). The same situation, however, also applies to other, major European language areas such as Germany where fiction written in English is much more readily accepted than is German literature in translation into English (cf. Hönig, 1997 and the following debate in the same issue). The literary flow is clearly uni-directional: while English and American literary works seem to translate rapidly into the languages of many other European nations, foreign literature in translation into English is often met with indifference, even resistance unless written in a style and genre clearly conforming to prevailing Anglo-American literary traditions.

As pointed out by Even-Zohar (1978), literature in translation from other languages can hold either a primary or a secondary position. Whereas national literatures with less strong traditions often depend more heavily on literature in translation, literatures with long established traditions are more likely to designate more peripheral positions to literary works in translation. The situation with respect to French literature, for long the occupant of a traditional central position within Europe, is, according to Even-Zohar, in many respects comparable to the present Anglo-American literary stronghold. And, in its present position as European lingua franca and upholder of a long established literary tradition, English shows signs of resistance to literature in translation not very different from the views characteristic of French, the previous holder of that office.

There is, however, not only a question of the receiving culture. Of equal importance is a heightened awareness on the part of speakers of smaller nations who have had to acquire the use of English, the global language of the latter part of the twentieth century, of the shortcomings and limitations of McEnglish. Entering the twenty-first century, much stereotyping resulting from non-nuanced and unsubtle transfer of information might be avoided if transmitters of texts in translation into English would also realise that McEnglish is fit only to be the language of fast food, but not gourmet food.

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Communication Breakdown in the Global Village.
On Linguistic Anxiety, Translation and Cultural Stereotypes:
A Response to Mary Snell-Hornby

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Introduction

Crystal-ball gazing is ever a fraught activity, especially when the issue at stake is that of language. Who could have foreseen, writing in 1800 or so, the gradual eclipse of French as the international language of diplomatic, commercial and artistic exchange in the face of the rise of English? Who could even have foreseen the eventual outcome of this struggle in 1900? Who would care to suggest what the linguistic map will look like a decade from today? We should therefore thank Mary Snell-Hornby for risking her reputation (at least as far as dim and distant posterity is concerned) by daring to recount what her crystal ball predicts the future will hold in store. Let me also say that I take no exception to the conclusions that Professor Snell-Hornby derives from her crystal ball concerning the training of translators and interpreters. I hold it as axiomatic that communication is a vastly more complex process and that translators and interpreters therefore need to have access to considerably greater amounts of technical, legal and cultural knowledge than was perceived to be the case even five years ago. The recognition of new text types, and the design of appropriate teaching materials, is clearly of relevance to professional training programmes. My reservations concern only issues of the status, development and future of English as an international language. But here my reservations are considerable.

If I have understood the argument correctly, English is under threat from two competing tendencies in the modern world. The first of these, globalism, is leading to changes (lexical, semantic, and graphological) within the English language itself. Though gradual, mainly unconscious and as yet largely undocumented, these changes are also pernicious, powerful and persistent. Until now, examples of these linguistic changes have been found only in the domains of computer-mediated communication (in which case native English speakers would seem to be more prone to err in developing deviant forms than non-native speakers) and multi-authored texts (where none of the authors are native English speakers) produced within multilingual corporate or governmental bodies. In both cases, however, the end result has been the production of a language which is 'reduced in stylistic and lexical range and open to all kinds of interference features' (the third section, Language and the Concept of Hybridity, in Snell-Hornby's paper).

The second threat, different in nature, is driven by a return to a primitive form of nationalism termed tribalism, including (by extension) 'linguistic tribalism'.

This process is said to be particularly manifest in some of the former Iron Curtain countries, with the emergence of Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian as separate languages being singled out as a striking example. Paradoxically, this presents us with a picture of a world (in the words of an article by Benjamin Barber) which is 'falling precipitantly apart *and* coming reluctantly together at the same moment'.

Globalism

That computer-mediated communication implies the acquisition of a new set of conventions is not open to doubt. Crystal (1995: 92) notes that senders of electronic messages may ignore letter case, tend to avoid 'time-wasting' formulae such as greetings and farewells, and that such messages are characterised by ellipsis and abbreviation.

The fact that those who participate in computer-mediated communication rapidly learn such conventions does not necessarily have great significance for English as a set of linguistic rules however. After all, the now largely defunct telegram employed a similar set of conventions (at least as far as case, phatic forms, and ellipsis were concerned) without having any noticeable wider linguistic effect (except perhaps when used, quite consciously, for humorous or literary purposes). The same might be said of the *'carte pneumatique'* a form of correspondence written on a special type of paper and distributed across the larger towns and cities in France by means of compressed air which was widely used until it was superseded by the telephone. In the case of the *pneumatique*, most of the formal conventions of French letter writing were abandoned by this relatively short-lived form. But no residue of the *pneurmatique* would seem to exist in contemporary French. The text type died with the technology which gave rise to it.

Obviously, computer-mediated communication (as with the telegram and the *pneumatique*) involves the creation of special text types. Language users, however, would seem to be extremely aware of which text type is appropriate in a given situation. Moreover, although academic exchange is nowadays largely computer-mediated, this is still far from true of business communication (at least in the UK). Indeed, many large firms would seem to be reluctant to provide such technology except to senior managers; other companies allow the use of e-mail for internal communication but discourage its use with outside suppliers and contractors (perhaps for legal or contractual reasons), and some US companies which formerly embraced the communication revolution are even reported to be restricting or preventing Internet access to employees.

Indeed, whether computer-mediated communication represents quite the revolution that has sometimes been claimed is open to doubt. In many respects, the technology associated with mobile telephones may prove to have greater impact. According to a recent news item, the mobile telephone has become the fastest selling consumer item in the history of the world (BBC radio 4 news, 9.00 am, 8 February 1999). At the same time, the home-computer market is frequently said to have reached saturation point in the US and UK. Moreover, despite heavy investment in a number of Internet companies, their profitability remains as yet unproved. According to a recent newspaper report:

> Since the beginning of 1999 the top 10 US Internet shares, such as on-line bookseller Amazon.com, have risen a staggering 154%. Only three of the 10

> have made profits, yet they have a combined stock market worth of 102 billion. (*Mail on Sunday*, Financial Section, 7 February 1999)

Whatever the long-term financial prospects for computer-mediated communication one must take issue with Mary Snell-Hornby's point that such technology will serve to marginalise 'millions in lesser developed countries' (Introduction). It might be hypothesised that, at least for educational purposes, this new technology will rather enfranchise millions who do not have access to libraries or where libraries tend to be understocked or otherwise deficient. On a recent lecture tour to Argentina, for example, a colleague teaching a course on John Steinbeck mentioned to me the dearth of background material he was able to provide for his students. I said I would send him some material when I returned to England, including recordings of the folk musician 'Woody' Guthrie whose work explores a similar experience of migration to Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*. When I saw the same colleague later the same week, he had already been down to the local cyber-café and bumped down from a website in the US not only detailed prose analysis of Guthrie's work but also black and white photographs and recordings of entire songs. Argentina is not, of course, the Third World but it is the 'Second World'. And as for the Second World I have no doubt that access to new communication technology will not only enable access to information for millions but that information will be as linguistically rich and stylistically varied as it would be if obtained from a conventional source such as a library. In time, the Third World will follow suit.

Implicitly, the argument is that significant exposure to simplified English of the kind employed in e-mail or accessing the Internet can damage the English language itself. Yet in the latter case, as with my Argentine colleague, though the gateway may have used language which was relatively lacking in complexity, the linguistic and cultural resources which were subsequently accessed were extremely sophisticated. And indeed it is the sheer weight of other text types which is surely the greatest protection against the kind of undesired corruption of the language that Mary Snell-Hornby, drawing on Benjamin Barber, is so alarmed by. Indeed, there has never been a moment when more English has been disseminated around the world. English and American newspapers and magazines are available in most airports, capital cities and many provincial towns. There are few major cities which do not boast at least one predominantly English language bookshop some, such as Amsterdam or Paris, support half-a-dozen or more. Latin, it has sometimes been argued, became increasingly corrupt as its use extended throughout Europe. Whether or not this was the case, the difficulty of access to uncorrupted forms of the language in the days before printing became established would not have hindered such a process. In the case of English, enormous educational resources are devoted to the maintenance of the syntactic, lexical and stylistic range of English.

With regard to multi-authored documents by non-native speakers, I would suggest that these occur only in a limited set of circumstances, that they are distributed only among a restricted audience (who presumably develop strategies to deal with lexical problems), and that many apparent problems (such as the expression 'public industrial and trade authority' in the first example) will disappear as commonly accepted terms are developed at the European level.

'Tribalism'

Benjamin Barber's term 'Jihad vs. McWorld' is, of course, burdened with entirely negative (and, indeed, offensive) connotations. On the one hand, there is a representation of Middle Eastern politics (and, by extension, the Arab world as a whole) as typified by fanatical behaviour; on the other hand, the west's weakness to counter such challenges is implied by the suggestion that it has lost moral direction in the search for short-term financial gain. In short, Barber's article (which appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly*) appears to be little more than yet another attempt to manufacture cultural anxiety. Edward Said has argued for years against the kind of cultural stereotyping of the Arab world implicit in the first view; and, with regard to the second proposition, there is little logical connection between a particular brand of convenience food and a culture's political and social outlook.

Barber's crude journalistic juxtaposition, however, raises some problems for the idealistic definition of cultural identity provided by Snell-Hornby. Cultural identity, it is claimed, is 'based on real, often objective features [. . .] of a subject's self-image and the way he/she is viewed from outside' (at the end of the second section of her paper). Neither 'Jihad' nor 'McWorld' describes any country I have ever visited. 'Jihad' is how a certain set of interests have decided to present the Arabic world for popular western consumption; 'McWorld' is how those same interests choose, on occasion (and only on occasion), to present themselves to themselves. Neither has any greater objective reality than Jules Verne's phlegmatic Englishman going round the world in order to win a bet contracted in his London club. In other words, cultural identity and its representation is generally a subjective construction.

Lawrence Venuti's 1994 paper 'Translation and the Formation of Cultural Identities' does indeed use the term 'cultural identity', as Mary Snell-Hornby suggests, in the sense of a constructed cliché or stereotype. But translation is by no means the only mechanism by which such stereotypes occur. Popular fiction, journalism and political discourse thrive on the production of such (generally unsympathetic) stereotypes of the Other as Barber's article testifies.

That a vast ideological vacuum throughout Eastern and Central Europe was created by the fall of the Iron Curtain is beyond question. Nor is it to be doubted that, like the Europe of the collapse of the French Empire, the long-term political consequences of this may well prove to be not only unexpected but, on occasion, undesirable. That being said, western European interest has focused in recent years on what might be termed the Balkan crisis. Here too, however, we are in the realm of the construction of cultural stereotypes. As Vesna Goldsworthy remarks (in the preface to her recent study of the region from the perspective of British popular fiction) the adjective 'Balkan' can serve simply as an antonym to the adjective 'European': 'In the region itself the Balkans are always thought to be elsewhere, to the south-east of wherever one is, until, on the shores of the Bosphorous, one catches sight of Asia across the water' (Golsworthy, 1998: vi). During the Cold War era, the Balkans with its 'Oriental world view' (in the words of the Belgian politician Willy Claes shortly before taking up the post of Secretary General of NATO) were perceived as susceptible to the message of communism (Golsworthy, 1998: 5). Now, in the late 1990s, the Balkans reverting to a stereo-

type of political unrest in the region prevalent at the time of the outbreak of World War I are perceived as again representing a threat to European stability.

Golsworthy provides a fascinating account of how these stereotypes of the region often in the guise of fictitious countries such as Ruritania were constructed by writers as diverse as Bram Stoker (creator of Dracula), Anthony Hope, John Buchan, Lawrence Durrell, Saki, Evelyn Waugh and Olivia Manning. As she also points out, French, Russian and German literature all had their own Balkan literature (Golsworthy, 1998: 208). Vienna is, moreover, much closer to the current political and military conflicts in the region than Birmingham. Was is not Metternich who famously remarked that the Balkans began at Austria? But it is nonetheless difficult to see why the need for a political resolution to existing ethnic conflicts in the region represents a particular threat to the European project. Indeed, despite some political divergences between the member states of the EU (not to mention other countries attempting to broker a settlement), a coherent European policy would seem to have emerged. It could be argued that the current problems in Kosovo serve to promote western European solidarity in the face of exterior instability.

Conclusion

The European project has been, since its very inception, diffuse. At different moments the various strategies employed have emphasised the political, economic or cultural advantages of a unified Europe rarely the three at the same time. Indeed, the very flexibility of the aims of European unity, and the means to achieve them, has perhaps been one of its strongest features. That such a project depends on providing a sense of linguistic and cultural recognition for all participants is clearly accepted. Indeed, it could be argued that languages of 'lesser diffusion' (e.g. Dutch, Greek, Welsh) have enhanced their status in recent years due to their participation in the European project. The financial implications of providing internal translations within the administration of the European Union are infinitesimal in comparison with the economic power vested in it. Moreover, technological innovation is likely to diminish rather than increase the cost of such translation practices. But whatever the cost, it seems reasonable to assume that it will be borne as long as it is motivated by a political imperative.

The enormous changes which have occurred around the periphery of the European Union during the last fifteen years are in many respects a consequence of the European project. But the linguistic fragmentation of the former Yugoslavia cannot reasonably be seen as a metaphor for European linguistic diversity. The historical, social and cultural factors which underlie the emergence of Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian as separate languages are entirely different to those which inform the language issues, for example, in Flanders. This is clearly evidenced by the cultural stereotypes of the Balkan region produced by journalists such as Barber which are entirely inapplicable to more northern areas. Historically, France perceived Flanders as an exotic Other (as the writings on the subject by a minor French Romantic such as Roger de Beauvoir in the 1830s clearly testify). The European experience has been about exorcising such ghosts.

That languages are constantly evolving, that English will change considerably under the impact of new circumstances, and that we as teachers of translation

need to be alert to new developments these matters need to be constantly borne in mind. But let us not forget either that our analysis also needs to be informed by a cultural critique of our own anxieties, motivations and practices.

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Technology at the Service of the Translator?
A Response to Mary Snell-Hornby

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Mary Snell-Hornby's welcome and thought-provoking paper raises crucial issues concerning the evolving role of the translator in today's society. I propose to refer to several of the issues she raises, focusing on the practical implications for the translator, and to comment with examples from my own experience as a university teacher/researcher and freelance translator/interpreter.

As Snell-Hornby stresses, the amount of material to be processed by the translator (and other professionals) has certainly increased enormously in recent years with the growth of high technology. Coping with these changes now requires new working patterns and organisation. It seems inconceivable that a translator could now function without e-mail and Internet, both for communicating with clients and other translators and for researching details of the source text (ST) or the target text (TT) itself. The information available is potentially liberating and enabling: for a recent translation describing a journey through Colombia, the Internet provided me, within a couple of minutes, with a street map of Bogota and its motorway links, giving the background to the ST itinerary.

Of course, a potential 'downside' discussed by Snell-Hornby is that, at present, there are high-technology 'have-nots'. I do not see these developments as necessarily permanent. Other technological developments, even as recently as the telephone and television, were initially available to relatively few, yet nowadays communication for very many people would be unthinkable without them. Similarly, e-mail communication is already allowing a range of people of all ages and geographical backgrounds to communicate with each other more easily than ever before.

This in itself is changing the whole form of the text. As Snell-Hornby mentions, the new technology is producing new text types. It is also producing new kinds of innovative language. The rise in importance of the web page, with more creative and ever-changing graphics, and the acceptance that the written word alone no longer has sacred status (even *Le Monde* now has photos!), is leading to increasing technological demands and competences for a growing number of people, translators included. But these are still experimental times, and, of course, there are failures within these experiments. It can lead to information overload, with TV programmes sometimes combining picture, music, the spoken word and written subtitles. That, too, however, may merely be a different way of interacting with a text, a departure from the 'traditional' concentration on one element, which was often the written word.

As far as language itself is concerned, Snell-Hornby attacks the 'global and rootless McLanguage', a kind of 'fast food', a 'particular brand of American English, reduced in stylistic range and subject matter [. . .] tailor-made for fast consumption' (second section). While a functional 'dilution' of language is

worrying, it could be argued that there is nothing wrong with fast food as long as it is good fast food. Just as fast food could be fresh organic salads, wholemeal bread, mineral water (or fine wine!), etc., so the new 'fast-consumption' language can invent new and effective forms of expression that, over time, become accepted. The condensed language of the telegram and the suggestive and forceful language of the newspaper headline (broadsheet as well as tabloid) are but two examples from our past.

Related to the discussion of 'McLanguage' is the notion of the creation of a 'supranational' culture through 'Eurojargon'. This ties in with my own experience as a translator for UNESCO, for whom I translated the novel *Memorias de Altasracia*, by the Venezuelan Salvador Garmendia. UNESCO's impressive aim is to fund the translation into a 'principal' language (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish) of 'representative' works of fiction (and other writings) from a range of countries. This funding allows the publication of works that would otherwise be considered financially 'unviable'.

Interestingly, the instructions sent to the translator of these works explicitly mention that, because many of the readers will be non-native speakers of the target language, the translator should endeavour to avoid overcomplex syntax and constructions. Maybe this illustrates both the benefits and the drawbacks of Snell-Hornby's 'Eurojargon': the source culture is transmitted into the target language, even if the language is somewhat diluted and, arguably, distorted. Although Venuti focuses on the distortions brought about by the Anglo-American publishing world (Venuti, 1992: 6), this does not necessarily happen only when the target culture is the perceived 'dominant' one. Comparison of, for example, French translations of American crime fiction (Robyns, 1990) or Latin American translations of modern North American fiction (Munday, 1997) shows a similar phenomenon.

As far as the texts discussed by Snell-Hornby are concerned, there are a few problems. For Text 1, the Moroccan text, there is a good deal of prescriptive discussion. While certain expressions in the TT might be objectively 'linguistically defective', it would be interesting to discuss how we go about evaluating what an 'acceptable' English version is. After all, if the original text *was* used in the United Nations, then presumably someone somewhere deemed it 'acceptable', at least for certain purposes. And I do not see what the 'problems' of the second version of Text 1 are. Neither being a 'prototypical [. . .] supra-cultural' product nor demanding subject-area competence nor a mismatch of the two seems to be a problem to me.

Another text that still fulfils its role is Text 3, the Austrian confectionery text. While the criticisms made of it by Snell-Hornby are valid, the text cannot really be considered in isolation from its context of use. Although from a mere reading of the text it might not be clear what kind of cake is referred to, the picture and, above all, the real food item on the plane should be more than sufficiently illustrative! This is just the way that text, pictorial representation and the real world interact. We should not be too written-text bound in this case.

Text 4 (the Arundhati Roy text) is a very interesting example of what Snell-Hornby describes as 'literary hybrid text', mixing elements of South India and the English language. However, it is debatable whether it is the 'highly evocative character of such elaborate and finely wrought prose' that 'poses a

problem' for the literary translator so much as the difficulty the translator has in getting the readership and the publisher to accept a target text where foreign elements are retained. Publishers I have interviewed invariably ask for a translation that 'sounds as if it were originally written in English' (or whatever the target language happens to be) and, in my experience, are likely to reject a text that falls outside 'conventional' linguistic parameters. In the case of Roy, however, clearly her work has overcome such inhibitions and it would be well worth further investigation to see how she has achieved this in English and how her translators have succeeded in their mother tongues.

As with other subject matter, the literary translator's work will likely not begin and end with delivering the target text. The 'full responsibility' Snell-Hornby refers to can extend much further to identifying possible books to translate (visiting bookshops, keeping abreast of recent literary reviews), contacting the ST publisher and author, liaising with their literary agents, contacting publishers in this country with a sample translation, and, if the publisher does agree to go ahead (very far from certain!), negotiating a contract. Even top literary translators such as Edith Grossman (the present American English translator of, amongst others, García Márquez and Vargas Llosa) are bemused sometimes at the books publishers select for publication among those she suggests, though the bulk of her commissions involve the publishers contacting her direct (Edith Grossman, personal communication). Lesser translators struggle even more.

Thus, I would firmly endorse Snell-Hornby's view of the translator as 'homo communicator' in today's world. But perhaps one of the most difficult tasks for translators is to make 'non-translators' aware of what translation and interpreting actually entail. By 'non-translators' I mean those who commission and 'consume' the final translation or interpreting product. Translators too often seem to live in a world that is hybrid not only by virtue of their linguistic and cultural 'in-betweenness' but also because of the ever-shifting role they play in their contact with others. For instance, translation advertisements appear in the UK daily the *Guardian* in the media supplement mingled with a host of jobs for journalists, editors, sales, PAs and other professionals. Many translators also work as intermediaries negotiating as well as communicating between businesses from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. While international organisations such as UNESCO and the UN are more than aware of the different skills required as translators and/or interpreters, revisers and précis writers, it is up to all translators to ensure we continue to celebrate that 'in-betweenness' and to strive to increase the profile of the translator's work against the background of the globalisation of communication.

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Taking a Stand on Mary Snell-Hornby

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(About 20 years ago, Mary Snell-Hornby wrote a brochure, *Taking a stand on Peter Newmark* (L.A.U.T. Series Trier) as a rejoinder to my lecture on 'The Translation of Metaphor' for a seminar run by René Dirven in Hasselt, Belgium.)

Sensible, intelligent, civilised, never short of pertinent translation examples, sometimes an elegant writer, Mary Snell-Hornby has produced a decent ('*sauber*') paper. Unfortunately, she is regrettably apt to choose buzz-words, such as 'our' global village (which is stale MacLuhan), as her keywords. Her paper gives some indication of her reservations about many translation theory trends and translation 'scholars', but she is too discreet, too integrated, to mention them. Although I wish she had been more outspoken, in this short response paper, I will focus on two issues of her paper: the nature of translation, and the role of universities in translator training.

Mary Snell-Hornby is right in criticising the inadequacy of the Collins 1979 edition of the definitions of 'translate' and 'translator'. Even in the Millennium edition (1998), the two definitions, as I have pointed out, remain as they were; the *Petit Robert* is greatly superior: '*faire que ce qui était énoncé dans une langue le soit dans une autre, en tendant à l'équivalence sémantique et expressive des deux énoncés*' (i.e. to cause what was stated in one language to be stated in another, with the purpose of achieving the semantic and expressive equivalence of both statements), though Snell-Hornby would not approve of the (indispensable) 'equivalence'. This seems to me a perfectly adequate definition of the basic translation activity, however much modification and differentiation it may require in the case of this or that translation task.

There is no question that the range of translating occupations in the profession has now increased manifoldly, without however 'undergoing radical changes', as Snell-Hornby argues in the Conclusion to her paper, and that professional courses for translators must be adapted to them individually. I want to stress, however, that we need to make a clear distinction between the nature of translation on the one hand and the activities of a translator on the other hand (cf. also my five medial factors in translation, Newmark 1999: 127). The fundamental activity transferring the meaning of a text from one language to another, normally for a culturally and possibly educationally different reader(ship) as accurately as possible with its two main issues: (1) whether to translate 'freely' (towards the reader) or 'literally' (towards the author), and (2) how much responsibility has the translator for the factual, logical and moral truth, the elegance and the linguistic resourcefulness of her version (my question at the Aston seminar was misunderstood, cf. the Debate) this basic activity with its two basic issues remains and will always remain the same. (Hence the absurdity of describing a book on translation theory as 'out of date' or 'traditional', the customary pejorative cover-word.)

When I started to read Mary Snell-Hornby's paper before the seminar, I had

expected she would say something about requirements for the translation of different kinds of texts. For example, in adapting Peter Schmitt's description 'as a frame of reference', Snell-Hornby could have mentioned that literary translation, which is concerned with the images and the sounds of the mind, is a radically different activity from that of the many kinds of non-literary translation, which describe an aspect of reality, as is also the translation of most documents or speeches (say Abraham Lincoln, Hitler, Gideon Hausner, de Gaulle, Churchill, Havel all appearing in the invaluable Penguin Book of Political Speeches, see References) where the language is as important as the thought. It is a pity that Mary Snell-Hornby's adaptive description of translation, which also overlooked the important activities of revision and summary, did not distinguish between basic and specialist translating activities; she referred to 'the challenges of the market' (Conclusion), a grisly cliché if ever there was one, i.e. the so-called 'real world' (or is it now the virtual world?) as opposed to the ivory tower, the academy, academia, but regrettably, she did not mention any standards or values of linguistic accuracy or of moral, factual and aesthetic truth.

For me, as a teacher of translation, linguistic accuracy and truth have always been central concerns. Since translator training now takes place at universities, surely one ought to bear in mind that universities are the guardians of such values and standards in education, and that these latter are in fact concretely applied in translation; as Newman (1852) wrote, and Arnold (1865) and Leavis (1943) stressed, universities are not merely the site of professional and technical teaching. In several countries, translation institutes have been incorporated within universities, and in others, polytechnics have been transformed into universities, accompanied, subsequently, by all the razzmatazz of the PR agencies and the worship of the market. The idea that a university should resist the 'norms' of its times, as Samuel Johnson predicated of a good writer, and set its own critical standards beyond the continuous free market forces of supply and demand is foreign to their prevailing wisdom as it is of any Skopos or polysystemic adherents in the field of translation studies. As for 'cultural identities' (which is not the only term which Venuti misuses), the defining feature of such technical terms should indeed be their monosemy, but unfortunately it often isn't, so context has to come to the rescue.

In my view, Mary Snell-Hornby's description of the translator's activity (in the Conclusion) is woefully inadequate. The nearest she can get to describing the relationship between source and target text (the latter apparently also needs redefinition, but is not redefined) is that the target text should fulfil its clearly defined purpose in another language or (why 'or'?) culture. This is wider than Chesterman's recent 'family resemblance' (Chesterman, 1997) as the mark of a good translation, but it is so general that it licences virtually any interlingual communication. What is important to add, in my view, is that special kinds of translation, for example, 'diplomatic translation', are needed to preserve the susceptibilities of the readership, and may be called for in the 'retribalised' world. As translation students, we need to refer to the importance of the seriousness of the source text, the values, standards or the quality of the translator's writing as criteria.

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Globalism and Tribalism and the State of the Discipline:
A Response to Mary Snell-Hornby

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It would be good to think that Translation Studies has come of age, not only in terms of the academic respectability that has belatedly (and somewhat grudgingly) been bestowed on it, but also as regards the stability of its own discourse. However, Mary Snell-Hornby's communication, and the debate that followed indicate that there is still some way to go before we can reach some 'discoursal consensus' which would permit discussions of translation to be more focused. A significant part of the debate was concerned with the way key terms, such as 'cultural identity' particularly when heightened 'cultural expertise' is required of the translator could mean different things, or be more or less inclusive. Without wishing to add further to the discussion of 'cultural identity' *per se*, I would like to look at it in relation to the other two concepts of 'globalisation' and 'tribalism' when applied to Translation Studies. As I seem to remember, it was suggested somewhere in the course of the day that the conflict between tribalism and globalisation also brings to mind the fragmented state of our discipline. This is evidenced both by terminological diversity and by the simultaneous trend towards a 'mapping' of the field.

In *La défaite de la pensée* (1987), the French philosopher Alain Finkielkraut discusses the extension of the term 'culture', and how 'la culture' is seen by some as opposed to 'la pensée'. He draws on a distinction which was made in 1926 by Julien Benda, between 'La culture' as 'le domaine où se déroule l'activité spirituelle et créatrice' (the domain where man's spiritual and creative activity takes place), and 'Ma culture', which is 'l'esprit du peuple auquel j'appartiens et qui imprègne à la fois ma pensée la plus haute et les gestes les plus simples de mon existence quotidienne' (the spirit of the people to whom I belong and which pervades both my highest thought and the simplest gestures of my daily existence). The second definition of the term is inherited from German Romanticism, and the notion of *Volksgeist* is referred to in Finkielkraut's essay. Warning against the dangers of too totalitarian an application of either interpretation, and citing examples which include the French Revolution and subsequent expressions of French nationalism, Finkielkraut refers to a statement made by the Collège de France in their 1985 Report on *Education in the Future* submitted to Président Mitterrand. This states that one of the principles of modern education should be 'L'unité de la science et la pluralité des cultures' (the unity of science and the plurality of cultures). Such a statement, I suggest, could be used as an appropriate description of the unified yet diverse field of Translation Studies, and would not conjure up the negative images of 'McDonaldisation' as the only alternative to tribalism. It can be argued that this 'unity of science and plurality of cultures' is reflected in an integrated approach (Snell-Hornby, 1988) or in interdisciplinarity (Toury, 1995), and that promising attempts have been made to engage with vari-

ous disciplines and associated frameworks (see, for instance, Chesterman, 1997). In the same vein, Toury (1998: 129) remarked, on the feedback given to his seminar paper on norms, that 'some of us are finally talking to each other'. Tribalism, alas, is alive and kicking when papers on translation are still delivered with only lip service, if there is any mention at all, paid to relevant literature in the field or when the sterile and divisive linguistic versus cultural studies debate is allowed to carry on, or when translation researchers fail to acknowledge studies with which their work could fruitfully engage.

Going back to the problem of terminological diversity, I would like to comment at this juncture on the title of Barber's article, to which Snell-Hornby's article refers, 'Jihad vs. McWorld', as it presents a prime example of the language of ideology, where, as Steiner (1975: 34) aptly puts it '[t]he words of the adversary are appropriated and hurled against him'. Certainly, the term 'Jihad' is appropriated by those who wish to give it the sole meaning of 'Holy War' and act accordingly. It is unfortunate, however, that it is this narrow and misleading interpretation that has now been forced upon this term when it makes its way into a language such as English, in the same way as that other Arabic term 'Fatwa' is taken to mean 'death penalty', to cite an example mentioned during the debate. To comment on this is not mere churlishness. If the distinction Jihad vs. McWorld were to be applied to Translation Studies it could only lead to two hopeless scenarios. But if Jihad were to be taken in its more accurate sense of 'engagement', it could perhaps help us to visualise a genuine contribution of various disciplines, as indeed has been the case in many instances. I am at a loss however to apply the same positive interpretation to the term 'McWorld'!

The Translator at the Crossroads

The globalisation/tribalism dichotomy, which underpins Mary Snell-Hornby's paper, could be discussed in terms of translator's training. Attempts at standardisation of training practices and curricula, as exemplified at European level by the POSI project on the establishment of European Masters in Interpreting, or at a national level by some of the work of the Institute of Translation and Interpreting's Education and Training Committee, do not alter the fact that a wide range of practices still exist often along the lines of the wretched literary/linguistic divide.

Traditional tenets of translator's training, such as translation taking place only into the mother tongue, are increasingly shown to be context-dependent. If globalisation means that a new form of English as 'world property' has to be reckoned with, should this be offset by emphasis on 'native speaker English'? Which is reminiscent of the approach favoured by Canadian francophones (for instance Jean Delisle) which stresses idiomaticity.

That the translator today is expected to master different skills, which training will have to take into account, is undeniably true, and it is difficult to disagree with Geoffrey Kingscott's view that 'translation courses in the future must be multidimensional' (Kingscott, 1996: 297). However, I am less certain that a technology component, stressed in Mary Snell-Hornby's paper, is likely to radically alter the profile of the translator. Flexibility is not only a requirement for translators, as was discussed. The IT factor, on which the distinction between 'transla-

tion as it was' and 'translation in the age of the superhighway' appears to hinge for many people, is bound to present the same challenges, drawbacks and (surely) benefits as it does to other fields of activity and professional training. However, to dismiss IT training as superfluous in the context of generalist translator training is as unrealistic as exaggerating the impact of technology on training requirements and claiming, as Kingscott (1996: 300) does, that 'translation will never be the same again'.

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Globalisation, Tribalisation and the Translator:
A Response to Mary Snell-Hornby

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Just a few words of comment on one of the important issues that Mary Snell-Hornby's paper brings to our attention: the current political trends of *globalisation* and its extreme counterpart *tribalisation*, and their impact on the existing *cultural identities* and/or popular stereotypes for them.

It seems to me that Barber's metaphor 'Jihad vs. McWorld' relating to these trends, is somewhat of an oversimplification, as is adopting an opposing position. Or, in Chesterman's (1997) terms, it is a meme, a hypothesis that needs to be backed up by some more facts. At this point, without much preliminary thinking, I can give examples that point to at least two specific sub-trends, or specific manifestations of this (main) trend.

Firstly, there is an official or dominating trend which seeks to confirm a nation's identity through expanding the use of its language within the global village. But it is not necessarily backed up by the attitude or the (linguistic) behaviour of individuals belonging to that culture. For example:

(1) A colleague of mine from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences had to give a paper at the World Congress on Semantics in Paris a couple of years ago, but could not afford to pay the participation fee. He turned for help to the French Cultural Institute in Sofia but was turned down on the grounds that his paper was to be delivered in English, and not in French. At roughly the same time, I attended a big international conference on translation at Warwick University. At this conference, there was only one paper read in French that of one of the French Canadian scholars. However, outside the lecture hall and during the discussions he, too, communicated in English.

(2) Some ten years ago Professor Winter, an expert on Indo-European and Comparative Linguistics, invited me to work with him in Cologne (Germany) and suggested I applied to the Humboldt Foundation for a grant. My immediate response was: 'But I don't speak German!'. To which he, sounding almost offended, countered: 'Well, there are people in Germany who speak English, you know. And you don't have to know German to shop in our supermarkets'. But my application was turned down: I could not go to the interview, which was to be conducted in German although the German Cultural Attaché and his deputy, as well as the German scholars I have met so far, all spoke fluent English.

(3) So did the Macedonian participants at an International Conference on Applied Linguistics held in Skopje in May 1998 even though I was the only foreign participant around, and even though I understood Macedonian

perfectly well. However, they did speak in Macedonian with the other foreign participant, Professor Victor Friedman, an expert in the so-called Southern Slavic Languages from the University of Chicago.

As a matter of fact, the establishment of the Macedonian language and its development over the 50 years of its autonomous existence is an interesting example in itself. As may be known, one of the results of the Russo-Turkish War of 1878 was the liberation of Bulgaria after 500 years of Ottoman rule. According to the peace treaty, signed in San Stefano on 3 March that year, the newly liberated country regained its historical and ethnic boundaries, including the geographical regions of Macedonia and Thrace. Britain and Austro-Hungary, however, declared they would not accept the existence of such a sizeable Bulgarian state in the Balkans. So, only three months later, on 28 June 1878, a congress was summoned in Berlin at their initiative, in which diplomats from Germany, Russia, France and Italy also participated. The Balkan nations, whose fate and future were to be decided, did not have any representatives at that gathering. The Great Powers quickly reached an agreement, signed on 1 July, with which they returned the whole of Macedonia, as well as most of Thrace, to the Ottoman Empire. Their decision shocked and angered the local Christian population and led to a series of bloody uprisings, wars, shifts of population and ethnic conflicts, one of which is raging even now, in the summer of 1999.

The process of establishing an autonomous state for the Macedonian language began with a translation: the translation of the Bible from Bulgarian in 1948, following a decision of the Comintern (The Communists' International) for the promotion of an autonomous Macedonian nation within a future great federation of the Southern Slavs in the Balkans. Building on the creative efforts of anonymous translators to fulfil that political task, the new language has been developed consistently and systematically over the years, away from its Bulgarian roots, closer and closer to the Serbian language, mainly on the lexical level. At some point, the central Yugoslav authorities in Belgrade even wanted to get rid of the Cyrillic alphabet and impose the Latin letters for spelling the Macedonian language. Having actually been among the midwives of this artificial birth, the Bulgarian communist rulers silently witnessed these developments for more than 30 years. It was not until the early 1980s that linguists in Bulgaria were allowed to write on issues of the Macedonian language even rejecting, on the basis of ample historical evidence, its present-day status as a national language of a (by now) fully autonomous state. Communists and their representatives were among the scholars who declared the Bulgarian President Zhelev'a national traitor' for being the first politician to recognise the independence of the republic of Macedonia from former Yugoslavia, and for having allowed his book 'Fascism' to be translated into Macedonian.

The attitude of the Macedonian politicians to their own language (as part of their cultural identity), however, is even more suggestive of the difference between an official stand and individual practices. Sociolinguistic research into the language of politicians in Macedonian media, carried out by Macedonian linguists and quoted at that same conference in Skopje mentioned above, pointed to an overwhelming spread in some instances, even above 50% of what can be referred to as 'pidginised English' in their speeches, interviews and commentaries.

A similar trend, though much more modest in scope, is evident in the speeches of members of the former Bulgarian Communist Party, which now parades as a modern European socialist party, and even attempts to gain admittance to the Socialist International. The Russian political terms, expressions and in some cases even the accent, which coloured their speeches, have now given way to English and American ones. In contrast, many of their opponents from the Union of Democratic Forces use very colloquial, straight-forward and down-to-earth language and rhetoric. There is, however, a substantial difference between the two. The Bulgarian communists are striving to dissociate themselves from a kind of rhetoric that was an unmistakable feature of political and ideological affiliations *within one and the same cultural identity, within one and the same tribe*. The Macedonian politicians, on the other hand, are striving to assert their tribe *not against the global community*, but *against their neighbouring tribes*, one of which, the Serbian, was dominant over them on political grounds, while the other one, the Bulgarian, used to have historically the same linguistic and cultural identity, but is now represented by a different state structure.

These observations bring me to the second sub-trend which seems to put to the test the 'Jihad vs. McWorld' metaphor, or the tribalisation vs. globalisation hypothesis. The examples of Slovenia and Macedonia, Slovakia and the Baltic states, to mention but a few, show that a nation or an ethnos striving to re-establish its cultural identity can, indeed, be seen as 'tribalisation'. But it does not necessarily go against globalisation: rather, it can be seen as a striving to enter the global village as a tribe in its own right, and not as an anonymous component of a dominating, culturally non-identical tribe.

What are some of the implications of all this for us as translators and translation scholars? The linguistic manifestation of these trends can easily be, and often is lost, if not distorted, in translation. If you translate into English speeches of ex-communists that were made in pidgin or profane English Bulgarian or English Macedonian, you cannot but make them (and, as a result, their 'source') sound much more normal, even attractive, in English. If, on the other hand, you retain in your English translation the colloquial flavour and style which characterises the language of some of their opponents, you make them sound unprofessional, uncultured, even uncivilised or ridiculous to the representatives of the global tribe of 'McLanguage'. At the Aston seminar, Mona Baker was telling us over lunch how she and her husband were listening to a speech by Saddam Hussein on TV. She was able to follow the actual speech in Arabic, while her husband was following its interpretation into English. As a result, they ended up with totally different impressions of what the man had really said, and how convincing it had sounded. In other words, we translators as mediators in the process of globalisation, should just try to *reflect* existing cultural and political types and stereotypes, thus *helping to define* them. Instead, we often contribute to *creating* such types and stereotypes, thus serving however unintentionally the purpose of (controlled) media and propaganda to *promote* them for their own dubious political purposes.

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Some Concluding Comments on the Responses

Mary Snell-Hornby

The CILS Symposium took place on 9 February 1999. Meanwhile, there have been six response papers, and I would like to comment on them from the perspective of here and now, i.e. autumn 1999.

Since February I have frequently been reminded of the CILS Seminar and the issues we discussed. The most brutal reminder was the ` conflict as a grim confirmation of what Benjamin Barber meant by 'tribalism' and the tragic results it can have. Less shattering, but a little disturbing all the same, was the 'language squabble' during the meeting of EU ministers in Oulu (Finland) in early July boycotted by Germany and Austria because German was not among the working languages. 1 Eventually the Germans got their way as far as subsequent meetings in Finland were concerned, but it seems this problem will be with us for some time yet. And another reminder of the spectre of tribalism was provided here in Austria a few weeks ago by the xenophobic methods used by the 'Freedom Party' for their election campaign.

The issues we debated in February have been taken up in the six response papers included in this volume. Gunilla Anderman confirms the shortcomings of 'McEnglish', and I appreciate her appeal to heighten the awareness among European translators of the richness of the English language and of the various cultural identities of its speakers. Certainly we need a common denominator for international communication, but it would be a welcome development if people realised that there is far more to English than just that, as shown by the rather problematic English version of the Lauda Air text, and above all as so brilliantly demonstrated by postcolonial writers like Arundhati Roy. The result, as Gunilla Anderman concludes, is many Englishes, rich in variety, but not in conflict with each other.

Palma Zlateva takes up my metaphor of the 'tribalisation' of languages (I referred to Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian) and complements the argument with information from the Macedonian perspective. Her response is fascinating reading, and it might give monolingually oriented Anglo-Saxon readers some idea of the huge complexities involved on the European language scene with its subtle interweaving of power politics, ideology and, of course, identities and of what all this involves for the translator.

Jeremy Munday writes essentially as an experienced translator, and he too provides some intriguing examples. I would like to respond to his remarks on the Moroccan text given to the UN translators (Text 1). Just what makes the English 'unacceptable' is rich material for the classroom, but far beyond the scope of my contribution, and concerns phenomena like cohesion, modification, nominal style and end-focus (all verifiable by reference to the grammars by Quirk *et al.*, e.g. 1985). UN translators complain that they are frequently given English texts of this kind, where the meaning is not clear due to interferences from other languages. However, I gave the same text as an example in a doctoral seminar I

held last May in Spain, with interesting results. The students recognised the deviations from English usage norms, but felt no need to convert the text into 'acceptable' English before translating it into Spanish: the syntax and cohesion were clearly based on French (the language of the source material it was hence a hybrid text in the sense of Schäffner & Adab, 1997), and they were so closely related to Spanish language norms that direct transcoding produced what was for them a perfectly acceptable Spanish text. Here 'McEnglish' has the role of relay language one likely to increase on the language scene within international organisations.

Terry Hale has added a very eloquent and readable essay, but I must confess that it sometimes misses the message that I was trying to get across an apparent case of one or two communication breakdowns in the academic village. Here a few remarks on the main points. Firstly, I didn't maintain that 'English' is under threat. My point was that English has diversified into multiple Englishes, one of which is the reduced lingua franca or International English (and this was not actually intended as an expression of linguistic anxiety, but merely acceptance of what has happened). Secondly, the marginalisation of 'millions in lesser developed countries' is a reference to the much documented fact that many millions of people on our planet (and I am referring especially to the Third World) live in extreme poverty and without even the basic essentials of a civilised life, let alone the high standard of living which the privileged minority to which we belong take absolutely for granted: high-tech tends to cement the polarisation between rich countries and poor countries (and between the haves and the have-nots in industrialised countries). And finally, Benjamin Barber's choice of 'Jihad' and 'Lebanonisation' to represent the phenomenon of tribalism was presumably not intended to single out the Arab world or Arab culture, but was simply a reference to events occurring at the time of his writing (1992). Sadly, comparable events have occurred elsewhere since and certainly not only in the Balkan area and only serve to bear witness to the need for international dialogue and interlingual communication as is represented in the work of the translator.

Myriam Salama-Carr takes up a fundamental issue in the state of our discipline: the stability of discourse and the chances of reaching some 'discoursal consensus' on the use of basic terminology (referring to the debate on the definition of 'cultural identity'). Particularly in the arts disciplines, basic terms are of course often defined in many different ways (how many hundred definitions are there of terms like 'word', 'sentence' and 'text'?), and this is a natural part of their dynamics, it reflects the plurality of approaches, furthers development in the discipline and so forth. The matter is made more complicated by the fact that a single term can be differently defined in different disciplines (hence Translation Studies now has a broader definition of the term 'text' than linguistics, which concentrates exclusively on the verbal element). The trouble is that to be able to communicate we have to know what we are talking about, and it does not help if a concept like 'cultural identity' (already defined as a term in other disciplines and now often used as a buzz-word in general discourse) is used without any given or plausible reason in the sense of another perfectly acceptable term like 'stereotype' or 'image'. One solution in academic discourse is to define one's terms explicitly from the outset and work within that definition, by stating for example: 'In this paper I understand the term "cultural identity" as follows . . .',

while acknowledging the existence of other definitions. To do this, of course, one must have read the relevant literature, and (as André Lefevere famously emphasised) it is noticeable within Translation Studies (at conferences and in publications) that people (newcomers in particular) often talk and write on basic issues as though nothing had been said about them at all. What we need, alongside other reference works and encyclopaedias already existing or in preparation, are more specialised dictionaries and handbooks listing different definitions and approaches within and across different language communities. 2

I well remember the Hasselt conference in 1984 with the ensuing L.A.U.T. brochure where I took a stand on Peter Newmark's lecture on translating metaphor and I have vivid memories of heated debates with him on many occasions since then. And so here we go again in response to his stand on me (but in brief). Whether 'global village' is a buzz-word or stale MacLuhan is beside the point: it is a term widely understood to describe our 'global' perspective of the world today in contrast to one of many different isolated nation-states or of antagonistic blocs or colonial empires and it serves here as a background for communication, with special reference to the special brand of intercultural and interlingual communication that is known as translation. And I must emphasise that my paper does not intend to express any 'reservations about many translation theory trends and translation scholars' whatever. Peter Newmark does not indicate where he detects such reservations and I cannot find them in my text, but I would like to point out that I made no attempt to be 'discreet' and I tried to be outspoken in all the points I made. As regards the nature of translation: on one point Peter Newmark and I must agree to differ once and for all, and that is on 'equivalence' and what he calls 'linguistic accuracy' in its relevance for translation. I can only refer to all the many volumes that have been written on this subject over the last twenty years. With regard to the description of the translator's activity (I would be willing to replace the word 'described' by 'summarised') as based on the job profile sketched by Peter Axel Schmitt in the *Handbuch Translation*, I would like, instead of yet another detailed explanation, to quote a comment made during an interview in May 1996 by the marketing manager of an international electronics firm which employs translators (see Snell- Hornby, 1997: 312):

> Basically, the translations I receive are quite acceptable on the semantic and syntactic level but I wonder whether there's any point in producing text conversions of this kind, because they only serve as material for further processing by specialists in my company. Modern MT systems only require a single investment and produce the same result as human translators: in both cases post-editing is necessary to produce user-friendly instruction manuals. Translators only bother about translating they can't be expected to familiarise themselves with everything else that goes on in my firm, they haven't the time, there isn't the money, and they are not trained for it. The other day I advised a translator to replace some rather complicated instructions by a drawing, because it's easier to show how a machine works than to put it into words. He answered that he was a translator and not an engineering draughtsman.3

These words betray a great deal about the traditional conception of a translator's task (linguistically accurate text conversion) as against the needs of the

market today (text production, frequently multisemiotic or multimedial, for a clearly defined user and purpose). Such translatorial activity requires not only language proficiency (certain types of language conversion can now be left to MT systems) but also subject area expertise, cultural competence and other relevant non-linguistic skills, in the above case the ability to put verbal elements into a graphic form in order to produce a user-friendly instruction manual. This is the essence of the translator's job profile as sketched by Schmitt, and it is by no means merely equivalent to the traditional linguistic transcoding activity plus a technology component. Let us state it again quite bluntly: the translator on the brink of the new millennium is no longer comparable to a simple 19th century boatman, and as a citizen of a hybrid and globalised world she/he will need skills and expertise in multiple areas to qualify as an expert for interlingual and intercultural communication.

Notes

1. In accordance with EU custom, these were English and French plus the local language, in this case Finnish.

2. In the German-speaking scientific community, various efforts are under way: apart from the *Handbuch Translation* (Snell-Hornby *et al*. 1998), a *Sachwörterbuch der Translationswissenschaft* (ed. H. Salevsky) is now in preparation.

3. The original text was in German. The translation is mine.

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