MULTICULTURAL LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION


Word count: 16 616

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A dissertation submitted to Ghent University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Translation

Academic year: 2018 – 2019
VERKLARING I.V.M. AUTEURSRECHT

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the Dutch translation of the ethnolectal and sociolectal elements in the speech of, respectively, Hortense Bowden and Millat Iqbal, who are characters in the novel *White Teeth* (2000). This novel, authored by Zadie Smith, is a pivotal novel in the field of multiculturalism, its literary themes being related to one’s roots (Arikan, 2013) and identity, which is reflected by the use of language (Ledent, 2016). In this study, the elements of linguistic variation in the source text were systematically analysed and compared to the Dutch translation. The techniques used by the translator were then compared to those enumerated in the typology of Pinto (2009). From the analysis, one can conclude that the translator has omitted many of the ethnolectal elements in Hortense Bowden’s speech, in particular in terms of pronunciation, which help indicate her strong connection to her past and to her faith as well as the emotional charge in her utterances, the omission of which lessens the effect of the features. In contrast, the translation of Millat Iqbal’s speech, mostly rendered through lexicon, does capture the evolution in his language which results from his search for his own distinct identity. (195 words)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my family, who have supported me throughout this year of hard work. Without them, I would not have relaxed and taken a day off when I needed to rest. In particular, I want to express my gratitude to my sister, for being understanding and for being there when I needed to vent.

I would also like to thank my friends. The support I have felt from my peers has motivated me throughout these months and I hope they have felt the same support from my part.

And finally, I am grateful to my supervisor, who has always provided extensive feedback and good words of advice.
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1 INTRODUCTION

Amongst all arguments surrounding Brexit, xenophobic and anti-immigrant sentiment was striking in the pro-Brexit camp, mostly driven by those who wanted to “take back control” (Lanchester, 2016, para.10) of a country which had been rebuilt with the help of many immigrants in the post-war years. Due to the British Nationality Act of 1948, many immigrants from the British Commonwealth had migrated to Britain (Messina, 2001), transforming British society into a multicultural, multilingual community. However, although migrants were needed and welcomed to compensate for national shortages of labour (Messina, 2001), in 1962 the British government decided to slow down immigration from the Commonwealth, motivated by what some scholars believe to be a reaction to “the public's discomfort with and, occasionally, openly expressed racial hostility toward non-white immigrants” (Messina, 2001, p.265). In today’s Brexit climate, the concept of a multicultural society seems to be questioned time and time again.

Several authors have contributed to the debate surrounding multiculturalism. One of them is English author Zadie Smith, who with her novel White Teeth (2000) summarises the lives of three families from different cultural backgrounds in North West London and the way they interact with one another and the world. Needless to say, the novel is full of hybrid language with influences from many languages and language varieties. As a consequence, translators will experience more difficulty in translating the novel, as they have to take into account the numerous varieties and their connotations, as well as any cultural elements.

In this dissertation, an analysis will be conducted of the Dutch translation of Smith’s novel, with a particular focus on two of the most striking language varieties used by two of the characters and the way the Dutch translator, Sophie Brinkman, has translated them.

In chapter two, firstly a general image will be outlined of the author of the novel, Zadie Smith and its Dutch translator, Sophie Brinkman, as well as of the plot and reception of the novel. In addition, a short overview will be given of the miniseries based on the novel and its reception.

In chapter three, the theoretical framework of this dissertation will be presented, with a specific focus on the literary themes of the novel and the translation of dialects in literature.

In chapter four, the methodology of this dissertation is outlined and the translation techniques from Pinto’s typology (2009), described in chapter three, are reiterated.
In chapter five, the analysis of the corpus is conducted in two sections. Firstly, the speech of Hortense Bowden is analysed, with a focus on the emotional charge of her utterances and her connection to her roots. Secondly, the speech of Millat Iqbal is analysed, taking a closer look at the way in which the translator has conveyed the character’s desire to form an identity, which has an impact on the evolution of his language.

Finally, chapter six consists of the conclusion and discussion of this dissertation.
2 AUTHOR AND CORPUS

2.1 Zadie Smith: biography and bibliography

Zadie Smith, born Sadie Smith in North London, England, on 25 October 1975 to an English father and a Jamaican mother, is a British author who is mostly known for her critically acclaimed novels *White Teeth* (2000) and *On Beauty* (2005) (‘Zadie Smith | Biography, Books, & Facts’, n.d.). From a young age, she started writing poems and stories and she later went on to pursue a bachelor’s degree in English Literature at the prestigious University of Cambridge, where she graduated in 1998. It was during her time at university that Smith started writing her first novel, *White Teeth*. At the age of 21 she sent part of the manuscript to an agent (‘Zadie Smith | Biography, Books, & Facts’, n.d.), prompting many publishers to bid on the rights to publish the book. In the end, the book was sold to British publishing house Hamish Hamilton, a daughter company of American multinational Penguin Random House. However, it took Smith four more years to finish the novel, which was eventually published in 2000. In 2010, Smith became a tenured professor at the Creative Writing faculty at New York University (NYU) after having taught fiction at Columbia University (‘Zadie Smith to Join NYU Creative Writing Faculty’, 2009).


The British novelist has won several awards for her individual works, as well as for her combined works (‘Zadie Smith | Penguin Random House’, n.d.). For *White Teeth*, she was awarded a Whitbread First Novel Award as well as the Guardian First Book Award, the James Tait Black Memorial Prize for Fiction and the Commonwealth Writers’ First Book Prize (‘White Teeth’, n.d.). Another prestigious award for her works is the Orange Prize (‘Books’, n.d.). In addition, her novels *On Beauty* (2005) and *NW* (2012) were shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize and the Ondaatje Prize and Women’s Prize for Fiction respectively. In 2017, her novel *Swing Time* (2016) was longlisted for the Man Booker Prize (‘Books’, n.d.).
Although many see Smith as the voice of multicultural society and of women, the author explains in an interview (‘Zadie Smith: ‘I have a very messy and chaotic mind’’, 2018) that she does not agree with those who call her a mouthpiece for her community. Smith states that she is always interested in finding new voices and new perspectives and that her main goal is not to convince others of her thoughts and ideas, but rather to articulate her way of thinking and finding different voices and conceptions different to her own. Nevertheless, Smith’s influence and impact on the literary world cannot be ignored.

2.2 The Dutch translator: Sophie Brinkman

The Dutch translation of *White Teeth* (*Witte Tanden*) was first published in the year 2000 by Dutch publisher Prometheus. The translation was provided by Dutch translator Sophie Brinkman. Not much is known about the translator, who seems to have shared few details of her life. Brinkman has translated no fewer than 131 fiction and non-fiction novels, textbooks and travel guides, is the secondary author of two other novels and has redacted three travel guides and a novel (Literatuurplein, n.d.). Popular titles on her resumé are, for example: *White Teeth* by Zadie Smith, *Catherine* by Jane Austen and *Frankenstein* by Mary Shelley.

2.3 Synopsis

*White Teeth* is a polyphonic novel which centres around two main families over various generations, each family being set in a different cultural background. The novel starts with the white British Archie Jones, a 47-year old recent divorcee who decides to commit suicide on New Year’s Day by gassing himself in his car. However, his attempt is interrupted by a local halal butcher, and Archie sees this interruption as his second chance at life. That same night he attends a New Year’s Party and meets the much younger, Jamaican-born Clara Bowden, whose mother Hortense Bowden, the lovechild of the British Captain Charlie Durham and his landlady’s daughter Ambrosia Bowden, is a dedicated Jehovah’s witness. Six weeks later, Clara and Archie marry with just a registrar and Samad and Alsana Iqbal as their witnesses.

*White Teeth*’s second protagonist is Samad Iqbal, a Bengali man who has been Archie’s best friend since the second World War and who is married to his arranged bride Alsana, who is also much younger than Samad. Samad is dedicated to his Islamic faith, but often has trouble following his own beliefs and resisting his bodily temptations. Alsana, in turn, is “small-palmed, weak-wristed and disinterested” (Smith, 2000/2001, p.137).
Around 1974, Clara and Alsana become pregnant at the same time, giving life to a new generation of protagonists in this already complex and hybrid story: Irie Jones and the twins Magid and Millat Iqbal. In an attempt to have at least one son be educated well, and influenced by his Islamic faith, Samad sends one of his twin boys, Magid, to Bangladesh in the middle of the night without informing his wife. Alsana retaliates by ignoring Samad until Magid returns to the United Kingdom. From that night onwards, the boys’ lives grow further apart, as Magid, ironically, is interested more and more in science and atheism and his brother Millat in turn joins the fundamentalist Islamic group called KEVIN.

In the novel, the reader also meets the Chalfen family, the third link in White Teeth’s complex network of characters and families. The Chalfens are a Jewish-Catholic family who have invented their own substantive and adjective to refer to their ways, which they see as superior: Chalfenism and Chalfenist. The heads of this family, Marcus and Joyce Chalfen, are a geneticist and botanist respectively. Both parents take Irie and Millat under their wings when they, alongside Joshua Chalfen, are punished by their school for drug use. Meanwhile, Marcus Chalfen is working on his FutureMouse project, in which he manipulates the DNA of a mouse to induce cancer by a specific point in time, hoping to achieve a great scientific breakthrough.

At the end of the novel, all three families, the fundamentalist Islamic group KEVIN, Jehovah’s Witnesses and animal rights activists alike come together at Marcus Chalfen’s FutureMouse event, and chaos ensues, bringing the novel to a compelling climax.

2.4 General reception

White Teeth earned mostly positive reviews in the press, many of which praised Smith’s debut novel. A review in the Economist called the novel clever when it was first published (‘Pulling teeth’, 2000), but emphasised that many novels are clever. The review highlighted the fact that Smith’s White Teeth is clever in the way comedy is reflected and in its resemblance to the Dickensian style.

For example, in a review published in the New York Times, film critic Anthony Quinn states that “[…] aside from a rather wobbly final quarter, Smith holds it all together with a raucous energy and confidence that couldn't be a fluke” (Quinn, 2000, para.1). The critic goes on to compare Smith to Sir Salman Rushdie, a celebrated British Indian writer who caused controversy with his novel, The Satanic Verses (1988), lauding Smith’s modesty in comparison to Rushdie’s writing. However, Quinn argues that towards the end of the novel, the writing is
somewhat “labored and scrappy” (Quinn, 2000, para. 11). Nevertheless, he emphasises the wit of the novel and Smith’s talent for portraying characters from different cultures and generations and her reflection of their speech pattern and sayings.

Regarding the hybridity of culture in the characters’ use of language, many reviews, such as the one published in the New York Times mentioned earlier, seem to note that Smith is excellent at reflecting and mimicking the dialects of the many characters. For example, Hoover (2000) praises her ear and the way she describes the ethnically diverse characters. O’Grady (2000) refers to Smith’s writing as something with rhythm and cadence and takes note of the multilingualism which is so prevalent in the novel.

2.5 Reception of the translation

The translation of White Teeth, Witte Tanden (2000), was equally praised in the Dutch-speaking press. For example, in de Volkskrant, Bouman (2000) lauds Smith’s work, stating that she “will become one of the most important writers of a new British generation” (Bouman, 2000, para. 12, “Zadie Smith wordt een van de belangrijkste schrijvers van een nieuwe Britse generatie”). The reviewer praises her portrayal of the complexity of modern multicultural society and the confusion it can bring about. Much like other reviewers, Bouman (2000) refers to the optimistic and humorous tone of the novel, which is present despite the conflicts in the novel itself in regard to friendship, confusion, confrontation and identity. He notes that the conflicts are made very clear. In addition, he praises Smith’s ability to project the lives of several types of people, especially older people, as well as the good understanding of history in the novel.

In another review, published in Trouw and written by Engelen (2000), Smith is compared to British writer Salman Rushdie and Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez. Engelen (2000) remarks that Smith’s writing style is similar to Rushdie’s, but that her writing sounds more optimistic, with less intricate, more natural and creative ideas. She lauds her cleverness and wit and describes her prose as “exuberant” (Engelen, 2000, para. 1). The reviewer also compares Smith’s style to that of García Márquez, especially their shared focus on generations of characters with peculiar characteristics. Not unlike the English New York Times review mentioned earlier, Engelen (2000) does criticise Smith’s drive to incorporate too much into the story, but argues that everything eventually falls into place at the end of the novel. Overall, it should be noted that none of the reviewers of the Dutch translation mention anything about the translator’s translation choices.
2.6 Channel Four miniseries

*White Teeth* was adapted relatively quickly into a miniseries consisting of four episodes (Gritten, 2002). The series was originally a BBC drama series, but ultimately, Channel Four managed to obtain the film rights instead. According to *the Telegraph* (Gritten, 2002), Smith herself did not want to adapt the book into a script, instead allowing Simon Burke to write the script and guiding him and the producers in the process.

The miniseries starred many – at the time – relatively unknown actors. However, the protagonists Archie Jones and Samad Iqbal were portrayed by Philip Davis and the late Om Puri, OBE respectively. Both names were already well established at the time. Today, many of the names in the cast list for *White Teeth* are well known, such as James McAvoy (*The Chronicles of Narnia* and *X-Men*), Russell Brand (*Forgetting Sarah Marshall* and *Get Him To The Greek*), Naomie Harris (the *James Bond* series and *Moonlight*) and Archie Panjabi (*The Good Wife*).

Much like the book, the Channel Four miniseries was praised in the media. Casciani (2002), for example, said that the adaptation “lives up to the book but arguably betters it” (Casciani, 2002, para.13). According to the article, the series manages to keep alive the same intimacy while improving the pacing of the novel.


3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Literary analysis of White Teeth

Since 2000, when the novel was first published, many literary studies have appeared about White Teeth and the topics and literary themes it explores, such as race, hybridity, multiculturalism, science, masculinity and family relations. In this chapter, a thematic literature review of a selection of these studies (Arikan, 2013; Ledent, 2016) is discussed to give an overview of the literary themes which feature most prominently in the novel. This thematic framework will provide a point of reference to organise the analysis of translator choices and challenges.
3.1.1 Postcolonialism and roots

A prominent theme in *White Teeth* are the notions of “history” and “root” (Arikan, 2013). According to Arikan (2013), who in her study researches the importance of these notions in the lives of the multicultural families and their children in *White Teeth*, “Smith handles the issue of history and root in two dimensions that are ‘racial history’ and ‘personal history’” (p.1683). She explains that the former is mostly channelled through the first generation and their stories about the past and the latter through the second generation of characters, who are still trying to form their own identities. The author emphasises that both personal and racial-colonial history are interwoven into the novel from the very beginning, introducing the theme of colonisation early on. In fact, Smith represents a relationship between the past and present, one which is broken. For example, there are many references to Mangal Pande, Samad Iqbal’s ancestor. He was a sepoy who in 1857 played a part in the Indian Rebellion. He had opened fire on one of his superiors and later tried to take his own life. However, his attempt failed and later on, he was executed. Throughout the novel, Mangal Pande’s story is told from two opposite perspectives, namely from the point of view of “the colonizer and of the colonized” (Arikan, 2013, p.1685). In this opposition, the view of the colonizer refers to the story of Mangal Pande as told by the historian Fittchett in the novel *White Teeth* (2000), in which Pande is a religiously fanatic drunk who was later executed. However, according to Arikan (2013), the view of the colonized refers to Samad Iqbal’s defence of Mangal Pande as a martyr for India, who fought for justice. Both views are presented in the novel in a neutral way, which makes it difficult for the reader to deduce which story is the most truthful, revealing a certain criticism of the “historical truth” (Arikan, 2013, p.1685) on the author’s part. Nevertheless, the story of Mangal Pande is important for the identity forming process of Samad Iqbal.

Smith also criticises England’s colonial past in Ambrosia Bowden’s history (Arikan, 2013), in which she was impregnated by the English Captain Charlie Durham, who wanted to “educate” her, as well as Sir Glenard, who was to educate her after Durham’s return to Britain. In the words of Alsana Iqbal: “The English are the only people who want to teach you and steal from you at the same time” (Smith, 2000/2001, p.356).

These stories, as Arikan (2013) indicates, are unknown to the second generation, who do not know much about their own families’ history and their roots. This is an unconscious source of frustration for the children, as they cannot form their own identities without knowing what their family history is. Irie Jones and Millat Iqbal in particular have difficulties connecting their roots
and personal history, which often “causes conflicts both in their families and their inner selves” (Arikan, 2013, p.1688). However, in the novel Irie seeks to resolve this issue in order to aid her own identity forming process, fuelled by her jealousy towards the Chalfens extensive knowledge about their genealogy, while Millat searches elsewhere for a sense of belonging, namely in KEVIN.

3.1.2 Language and identity

As stated earlier, especially the second generation of characters in White Teeth are actively trying to form their own identities, but this proves to be a difficult process. An important element in this process is the characters’ – often creative – use of language. Ledent (2016), in her study of language and identity in both the novels White Teeth (Smith, 2000) and Small Island (Levy, 2004), states that language is used by the writers of these novels, namely Smith and Levy, to shed light on the “heterogeneous character” (Ledent, 2016, p.1) of a city or country. However, the author emphasises that Smith seems to be more interested in the notion of Englishness and “the linguistic processes that underlie intercultural encounters and human relationships in general” (Ledent, 2016, p.1). Ledent (2016) argues that Smith uses language as both a representational device as well as a metaphor to reflect unpredictability and diversity, meaning that she uses language to represent the characters themselves and their identities, but also to reflect the diverse society or speech community in London at the time.

Smith often uses a hybrid English, even for the voice of the narrator, who mixes colloquialisms with more formal language and even Latin and French phrases. The various characters, protagonists and side characters alike, use a variety of languages and registers, such as Bengali English, Jamaican Patois and Irish English, as well as North London slang et cetera (Ledent, 2016). Interestingly, most characters do not speak Standard English as such, unless they represent institutions, such as the registrar who marries Archie and Clara, but also the Chalfens, who feel superior to others, and Magid. Ledent (2016) remarks that Smith’s use of language implies the impurity of the characters’ voices, as the characters influence one another’s way of speaking.

3.1.3 “Teeth” as a motif

It is noteworthy to mention the motif of White Teeth, which is related to teeth, as the title of the novel indicates. The motif, a “situation, incident, idea, image, or character-type that is found in many different literary works, folktales, or myths; or any element of a work that is elaborated
into a more general theme” (Balidak, 2015), is present in both chapter titles and the chapters themselves and has a range of associations, both referential and stylistic (Jooken, 2018). For example, a reference to teeth is made in the following chapter names: *Teething Trouble* (2), *The Root Canals of Alfred Archibald Jones and Samad Miah Iqbal* (5), *Molars* (7), *The Root Canal of Mangal Pande* (10), *Canines: The Ripping Teeth* (12) and *The Root Canals of Hortense Bowden* (13).

According to Arikan (2013), the metaphor of white teeth is used to indicate degeneration. The author states that although having white teeth is a characteristic of dark-skinned people of colour, the second-generation children of the novel have yellow teeth due to their cigarette addiction, marking a type of degeneration which is typical of the immigrant families in the novel. Arikan makes the connection between this degeneration and the children’s lack of connection to their roots.

Finally, the concept of “teeth” is also used as a device for the portrayal of the Jamaican characters’ non-verbal language. *Kiss-teeth or suck-teeth* is a characteristic of Jamaican Creole, a set of sounds “produced by a velaric ingressive airstream involving closure at two points in the mouth” (Figueroa & Patrick, 2002, p.383). It is often used to express various negative emotions, such as annoyance, impatience and disagreement, or to express a feeling of moral superiority (Figueroa & Patrick, 2002).

### 3.2 Research focus: Hortense Bowden and Millat Iqbal

The analysis of the Dutch translation of *White Teeth* in this dissertation will focus on the translation of the speech of Hortense Bowden and Millat Iqbal. Both characters have a peculiar way of speaking for different reasons. For example, Hortense Bowden’s speech is Smith’s representation of Jamaican Creole or Patois, an ethnolect often used and mixed with other ethnolects and language varieties in the multicultural capital of London. Although Hortense’s Patois is not as strong as her mother Ambrosia’s, her speech is easily distinguishable to the reader. Unlike her daughter Clara, who loses her accent after several years of living in the United Kingdom, Hortense maintains her strong accent, as well as her faith as a Jehovah’s Witness. Strangely enough, Hortense often switches to perfect Standard English when she quotes passages of the Bible, as illustrated below:
“Some people […] have done such a hol’ heap of sinning, it late for dem to be making eyes at Jehovah. It take devotion and dedication. Blessed are the pure in heart for they alone shall see God. Matthew 5:8. Isn’t dat right, Darcus?” (Smith, 2000/2001, p.30)

This shows that Hortense stands strong in her faith, so much so that she has made the effort to not only study Bible verses by heart, but also pronounce them flawlessly. However, some elements from her ethnolect appear in her speech when she feels strong emotions. Hortense’s speech pattern does not change, but stays consistent throughout the whole novel.

Millat Iqbal, the troubled son of Alsana and Samad Iqbal, has a different speech pattern. As the son of immigrants, himself born in the United Kingdom, Millat has trouble finding his sense of belonging. This identity crisis and his attempt to form an identity manifest themselves in his use of language. From a very early age, he adopts slang words into his vocabulary, in contrast to his brother Magid, who mostly uses Standard English after his return to the UK from Bangladesh. Smith (2000/2001) explicitly mentions his use of North London slang in the novel itself:

“‘We got apples, you chief,’ cut in Millat, ‘chief’, for some inexplicable reason hidden in the etymology of North London slang, meaning fool, arse, wanker, a loser of the most colossal proportions.” (Smith, 2000/2001, p.163)

After his twin brother Magid leaves the country, Millat seems to spiral, hanging out with the wrong crowds, smoking cigarettes and using rude language. His speech is best described as a mixture between sociolect and idiolect, as he uses a combination of Standard English, North London slang and Raggastani, the combination of “Jamaican patois, Bengali, Gujarati and English” (Smith, 2000/2001, p.231). As Jooken (2018, p.20) suggests, Millat is the “most striking representative of this Raggastani slang which links the Bengali and Jamaican communities from the story” (“de meest markante spreekbuis van dit Raggastani-slang dat de Bengaalse en Jamaicaanse gemeenschappen uit het verhaal verbindt”). This includes both verbal code and non-verbal code, as Millat also picks up the typical Jamaican Creole characteristic called suck-teeth or kiss-teeth. According to (Jooken, 2018), his use of kiss-teeth is a sign of his multicultural background and a symbol in an argument with his mother, in which he creates his own identity by means of linguistic codes which differ from those of his mother. However, towards the end of the novel, Millat seems to lose his Raggastani slang as a result of his membership of KEVIN, instead utilising a more standard English, influenced by several pamphlets of the group and their way of thinking.
Millat appears to make use of a sociolect, which can be defined as “the distinctive ways in which language is used by members of a particular social group” (Chandler & Munday, 2016), while Hortense’s dialect can best be described as an ethnolect, which is a “variety of a language spoken by a so-called ‘ethnic group’” (Matthews, 2014).

### 3.3 The translation of non-standard varieties in literature

#### 3.3.1 Categorisation of different user-related and use-related varieties

In their work, which is based on a framework for language variation developed by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964), Hatim & Mason (2014) distinguish between user-related and use-related varieties in language, respectively called dialects and registers. The researchers divide the user-related varieties into geographical, temporal, social, standard/non-standard and idiolectal varieties. In terms of use-related variation or register, Hatim & Mason (2014) distinguish three main factors: field of discourse, mode of discourse and tenor of discourse. All of these varieties bring about certain translation and interpretation difficulties which should be taken into account. However, one should be aware that not every researcher or author agrees with this categorisation into user-related and use-related varieties. For example, Asensio (1999) remarks that the division does not fully make sense as one may often voluntarily choose to employ a dialect depending on the situation, for instance to be accepted into a social group or even to imitate someone. Nevertheless, the categorisation is frequently employed. In what follows, the varieties mentioned above will be briefly discussed.

The first type of dialect distinguished in Hatim & Mason’s work (2014) are geographical dialects are dialects which do not necessarily correspond with linguistic borders, but rather borders which are influenced by politics or cultural settings (Hatim & Mason, 2014). An example is Jamaican Patois, an ethnolect heavily featured in White Teeth (2000). Hatim & Mason (2014) emphasise that these types of varieties do not always have the same status throughout the whole area in which the variety is spoken. Translators and interpreters should be aware of this variation and the political or cultural value attributed to them, both in real life and in literary fiction, as well as the implications of this value.

Temporal dialects, in turn, are the linguistic product of “language change through time” (Hatim & Mason, 2014, p.41). For example, the generation of Baby Boomers and Millennials will often use different words and expressions which were or are in fashion in their own time. Temporal dialects can become a translation problem if words and expressions are not integrated in dictionaries in time to properly reflect their usage. As the authors suggest, archaic texts prove
to be difficult, as the translator has to make a choice between keeping to archaic language or modernising the target text.

Social dialects develop whenever there are social classes in a society. An example of a sociolect is African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Much like the translation difficulties caused by geographical dialects, the translation problems affiliated with social dialects or sociolects are related to ideological, political and cultural implications (Hatim & Mason, 2014). Translators and interpreters should attempt to reflect those implications, but the linguists stress that interpreters will often find themselves using a more neutral variety to avoid miscommunication. In respect to these kinds of dialects, Delabastita & Grutman (2013) note that the translator may or may not reproduce the features of a sociolect well, but stress that the reproduction of the “social history” (Delabastita & Grutman, 2013, p.28) behind a certain dialect is often not possible at all.

Another type of dialect distinguished by Hatim & Mason (2014) are the standard and non-standard dialects, which the authors relate to intelligibility. However, as this notion has been criticised, no further attention will be given towards these types of dialects.

Finally, the authors distinguish idiolects. An idiolect is the combination of the varieties mentioned above and refers to the idiosyncratic way in which a person expresses himself or herself. Hatim & Mason (2014) enumerate a number of characteristics which can be linked to these idiolects, such as certain expressions, syntax or a person’s or character’s specific way of pronouncing certain words. These characteristics of a person’s speech can often be difficult to describe. In literature, characters will often have their own ways of speaking, as this is a literary technique to develop a character’s traits. For example, in White Teeth (2000), Alsana often mixes up common expressions:

“Getting anything out of my husband is like trying to squeeze water out when you’re stoned.” (Smith, 2000/2001, p.78) (instead of squeeze water out of a stone)

Translators will often find it difficult to translate idiolects because idiolects are a specific, unique way of speaking linked to a particular person or in the case of literature, a particular character. Hatim & Mason (2014) state that idiolects go hand in hand with other types of language variation and “the purpose of the utterance” (p.44), i.e. the reason why a certain utterance is used, for example to distinguish a difference in social status between two characters. Asensio (1999) adds that linguists typically view idiolects as either the result of several external factors which shape the uniqueness of a person or as the result of various personal, individual
characteristics of a person. The author observes that these definitions can be seen as contradictory and lacking in depth, especially as during the translation process, it is often impossible to know which characteristics are the result of which factors. In addition, idiolects may change over time or they may vary according to the situation (Asensio, 1999).

As noted above, Hatim & Mason (2014) distinguish three main factors within the category of use-related varieties or registers, namely field of discourse, mode of discourse and tenor of discourse. The field of discourse expresses the social function of the text. The authors emphasise that the field is not the same as “subject matter” (p.48) for two reasons: firstly, some fields consist of several subject matters and secondly, in some fields one uses an inferior language. To the authors, the main translation problems emerge in the scientific field, as it is in constant development and some translators will have the difficult task to create new expressions to keep up with these developments.

The mode of discourse refers to the type of communication used, such as oral or written communication, as well as written language meant to be spoken or written language meant to be read as speech, et cetera. Hatim & Mason (2014) state that changes between channels are often misrepresented in translations, particularly in literary and journalistic translation, as well as in subtitles.

Finally, the tenor of discourse is linked to the relationship between the speaker and receiver of a message. Depending on the relationship, the linguistic variety used can be divided into different categories, such as informal or casual, formal and intimate. However, Hatim & Mason (2014) observe that one should speak of a continuum rather than fixed, specific categories. They mention that a translation problem can arise if a translator has to translate between languages from different cultures.

3.3.2 The translation of dialects in literature

In literature, accents and dialects add additional communicative and semiotic values to a text, which may cause translation problems (Pinto, 2009). As a result, a certain hierarchy of varieties emerges as speakers associate certain values with certain varieties, making it difficult for a translator to evoke the same values when translating accents and dialects. In addition, linguistic varieties help sketch a character's sociocultural profile (Pinto, 2009), at the same time leading to the stratification of characters as different prestige is attributed to standard and non-standard varieties.
Pinto (2009) of the University of Leeds has created a typology based on a number of case studies around literary texts, commercial texts, poetry and subtitles, as well as her own research, in which she summarises the possible translation strategies for linguistic varieties. Although the researcher admits that the typology is not exhaustive, it provides a good base for further research. Firstly, Pinto (2009) remarks that the first decision of the translator is whether or not they maintain linguistic variation. If the translator decides not to maintain linguistic variation and to only use a standard variety, there will be “normalization” (Pinto, 2009, p.292), while only using a non-standard variety means that there will be “dialectization” (Pinto, 2009, p.292). The author notes that as more prestige is attributed to standard varieties and those varieties therefore oftentimes have a written norm, translators tend to normalise texts. However, Pinto (2009) remarks that full normalisation of a text does not often occur. In general, non-standard varieties will be normalised if they are utilised by secondary characters. In contrast, dialectization can be linked to nationalist movements and their desire to maintain “cultural and linguistic autonomy” (Pinto, 2009, p.293). This means that such movements will generally prefer to translate a text into a non-standard variety or even a minority language to express their specific group identity.

If the translator decides to maintain the linguistic variation, they will have to take into account the time and space of the source text (Pinto, 2009). The translator can decide to preserve both, change both or change either the time or space setting. According to the researcher, “the re-allocation of the plot can be seen as a tactic to reduce the ‘strangeness’ effect caused by the use of a specific regional or social variety in a foreign environment” (Pinto, 2009, p.294), whereas framing the plot in a more modern time setting will reduce the need to use an older variety of the target language, which can often prove to be difficult. However, changing the space and time setting of a plot may lead to an adaptation instead of a translation.

If the translator chooses to change the location of the plot, they can use non-standard varieties from the target culture or characteristics of these varieties. Pinto (2009, p.295) identifies several translation strategies, ranging from more normalised to less normalised:

1. “Use of the standard variety in direct discourse followed by written indications informing the reader that the character was speaking in a non-standard variety.”
2. Reduction of the linguistic variation to forms of address and honorifics.
3. Upgrading the level of standard discourse formality.
4. Use of oral discourse features.
5. Use of features from different non-standard varieties.
(6) *Use of features of a specific non-standard variety.*” (Pinto, 2009, p.295)

Strategy (1) implies that the translator explicitly states that the character is speaking a dialect, as a compensation for removing the non-standard features in the character’s speech, whereas strategy (2) is a way to make the reader “understand the power relations between the characters” (Pinto, 2009, p.295). Relating to the difference between standard and non-standard language, strategy (3) implies that the standard language is more formal in the target text than in the source text, while strategy (4) implies that the translator uses characteristics of the oral discourse of a language to indicate a non-standard variety, as less prestige is attributed to oral language than written language. Strategy (5), in turn, relates to the translator identifying the discourse as deviating from the standard, as well as the polarisation between a standard variety with higher prestige and a non-standard variety with lower prestige. Finally, strategy (6) means that the translator utilises a specific regiolect or sociolect which has a social meaning.

A translator can also decide to make use of features which are unfamiliar to a target text reader, for example if the source text contains features which are not familiar to the source text reader (Pinto, 2009). They can also choose to employ this strategy if the target culture will not appreciate a foreign character speaking a non-standard variety which is typical in the country of the target culture. Pinto (2009, pp.295-296) identifies three strategies:

(7) “The direct import of certain lexical features from the source text ST.
(8) The introduction of lexical features from the ST, but following the spelling norms of the TT.
(9) The development of a ‘virtual dialect’.” (Pinto, 2009, pp.295-296)

Strategy (7) implies that some of the lexical features from the source text are taken over without any translation. Pinto (2009) notes that this strategy is chosen if these features are also foreign to the source culture or if the target culture is familiar with these features and maintaining them will not change the target culture’s understanding of the text. Another strategy, namely strategy (8) relates to the idea that the translator does take over the ‘foreign’ lexical features without translating them, but that they adapt the spelling of these items to that of the target culture. However, strategy (9) differs from the first two strategies in that the translator creates a new dialect based on the dialect in the source text, with elements which will seem peculiar or odd to the reader of the target text.

All the strategies listed are choices made by the translator. Naturally, translators will often employ a combination of strategies.
In any case, multilingualism in literature can pose a problem to the translator. Schyns (2014) argues that translators have a voice within this process, which often goes unnoticed by the readers of the translation. She notes that it is difficult to translate the meaning of a text if there are multiple languages to take into account and that translators employ different methods to deal with this phenomenon. In addition, the existent hierarchy between source texts and target texts (in which the target text or translation is often seen as inferior, resulting in a more complicated relationship between the texts) changes as multilingualism in original texts already implies translation at the source text stage (Schyns, 2014), meaning that the original author has already had to translate certain linguistic elements into a completely different language or a different variety. Translating the foreign or strange elements resulting from the author’s translation into elements which are foreign or strange to the source audience, will thus be more complex and will require a more creative process on the translator’s part (Schyns, 2014). In addition, a translator’s choice will not be neutral. Schyns (2014) notes that a translator’s choice will be based on that person’s ideas about the text, which can change over time.

Furthermore, Sánchez (1999) refers to the ambiguity of translation as both a possible and impossible task, as the translator will have to keep in mind the connotations and interpretation of the text, at the same time making sure that the meaning of the text remains the same in the target language. This can make it seem as if translation is impossible. However, the author remarks that translation is not impossible, but rather necessary and that its success depends on the type of text which needs to be translated. Nevertheless, Sánchez (1999) does note that as translation is still seen as a “communicative act” (Sánchez, 1999, p.303), it may prove to be difficult to provide a good translation of a source text written for a certain culture into a target text directed towards an audience from a different culture. In regard to literary texts, Sánchez (1999) observes that the use of dialects is an additional obstacle for the translator, as it already is an obstacle for the writer, who has to represent non-standard language which deviates from the norm and who has to choose which elements of non-standard language they will represent. As dialects are also used to contextualise certain characters both in terms of individual relationships and in terms of cultural or social settings, translators cannot ignore these elements and if the translator does not sufficiently understand those dialects and their possible connotations in the source culture, this may lead to difficulties and even the wrong translation (Sánchez, 1999). With respect to methods to deal with dialects in translation, Sánchez (1999) first distinguishes the use of a dialect from the target language and the deletion of any dialectal elements from the text, the former of which she refers to as a more difficult option due to a
difference in connotation and the need to fully understand the dialect from the target language, and the latter of which she refers to as the easiest option for the translator if they understand the dialect used in the source text. In addition, she also refers to the use of “explanatory phrases” (Sánchez, 1999, p.307) in combination with the use of standard language to indicate that a character is speaking a dialect or a variety deviating from the standard language. Nevertheless, the author remarks that no method will be fully adequate.

Finally, Vandepitte (2016) notes that translating non-standard varieties in literature poses two general problems: the translator needs to understand what is said in the non-standard varieties as well as the information linked to them and they will have to keep in mind the target audience during the translation process. She remarks that non-standard varieties often have no written form, which means that for a writer, reflecting this language may be difficult. In addition, the use of non-standard varieties may bring about connotations. For example, certain varieties may indicate the characteristics of a character, such as their age or education. However, they may also lead to the reader associating the character with positive or negative emotions.

Similarly to Pinto (2009), Vandepitte identifies the first hurdle in the translation process and the first choice made by the translator, namely which register they will employ to represent the non-standard varieties or dialects. This decision-making will mainly depend on what the translator believes the target audience’s attitude is towards these varieties. Translators may first try to find a variety from the target language which is similar to the variety in the source text (Vandepitte, 2016). This variety would need to have similar connotations related to place, status and effect, similar linguistic characteristics, comparable vocabulary with more or less the same meanings and a similar number of examples. Nevertheless, Vandepitte (2016) emphasises that finding the perfect equivalent is unlikely, and that one should try to find the closest alternative.

Vandepitte (2016, pp.110-112) enumerates several potential strategies, or “solutions” at textual level:

1. “Employing a non-standard ‘equivalent’ in the target language
2. Employing a so-called scenic dialect in the target language
3. Employing a different type of variety
4. Employing an artificial alternative
5. Partial dialectization
6. Alternatives employing the standard language” (Vandepitte, 2016, pp.110-112)
Solution (1) implies that the translator searches for an existing regiolect or sociolect to utilise in place of the non-standard variety in the source text. However, the translator will have to compensate. Solution (2) implies that the translator employs a non-standard variety from a larger area, such as West-Flemish instead of the dialect of a small community, such as Ypers. In contrast, solution (3) implies the use of a variety other than a dialect, such as colloquial language, a pidgin or equivalents from a language different to the source or target language. Solution (4) refers to the use of a made-up variety which uses features which characterise several dialects or the production of a dialect which is based on the standard variety, while using non-standard grammar. Solution (5), in turn, relates to the use of a variety in which only the lexicon is non-standard. And finally, solution (6) implies that the translator uses the standard language. Additionally, the translator will add tags which refer to a character’s use of dialect or they will explain that a character is speaking dialect in the introduction of the text. Vandepitte (2016) also notes that some translators will eschew dialect altogether and only use the standard language, resulting in a “neutralization” (Vandepitte, 2016, p.111).

At a micro-level, Vandepitte (2016) remarks that the translator may use different linguistic devices to deal with non-standard varieties, such as grammar, lexicon, spelling and pronunciation. Translators may also add explanations in various places, such as in the text, footnotes or the preface of the text or novel.

In sum, there are various different strategies which can be employed by a translator to deal with non-standard or foreign elements in the text they have to translate. Both Pinto (2009) and Vandepitte (2016) have provided their own summaries of potential strategies or solutions observed in different types of texts. Several of those summarised ways of dealing with multilingualism in translation overlap. In fact, in total, some eleven methods can be related to one another, either because they are exactly the same or because they partly coincide. The first overlap takes place between strategy (1) as suggested by Pinto (2009) and solution (6) as observed by Vandepitte (2016). These methods overlap fully as they both refer to the use of the standard language with additional tags to indicate that the character is in fact speaking a dialect or non-standard variety. Another overlap exists between strategy (4) and solution (3), as observed respectively by Pinto (2009) and Vandepitte (2016). Rather than fully coinciding, these two methods only partly overlap, as both methods refer to the use of oral or colloquial discourse to replace the dialect or non-standard variety. However, solution (3) also refers to the possible use of a pidgin or even an equivalent from another language. Another pair of a coinciding methods are strategy (5) and solution (4). Both of these ways of translating relate to
the use of characteristics from other non-standard varieties. However, Pinto’s strategy (2009) is more specific, as Vandepitte (2016) combines the two different solutions of using shared non-standard elements from different dialects and the use of the standard language with non-standard grammar into one single solution. Pinto (2009) and Vandepitte (2016) also both define a method in which only the lexicon deviates from the standard language, respectively strategy (7) and solution (5). The last overlap takes place between strategy (6) and solution (1) and (2). These methods are related in that all three of them refer to the use of an existing non-standard variety, such as a regiolect or sociolect. However, Pinto’s strategy is more general, whereas Vandepitte’s solutions are slightly more specific, as one refers to the use of a specific regiolect or sociolect, whereas the other refers to the use of a non-standard variety of a larger area.

Finally, both authors observe that translators may also opt to just employ the standard variety without any added characteristics. This is what Vandepitte (citing Berezowski, 1997) refers to as “neutralization” (Vandepitte, 2016, p.111) and what Pinto (2009) refers to as “normalization” (Pinto, 2009, p.292), in which the nuances from the original text are lost.

In the analysis in this dissertation, Pinto’s (2009) terminology will be used, as her typology is more extensive than Vandepitte’s (2016), with more separate, more specific methods.

3.4 Translation problems regarding Smith’s works

Not much has been written about translation issues regarding the works of Zadie Smith, as in general, the publications about her works tend to focus on the literary themes covered in her novels and essays. However, a Norwegian book chapter called Translators, editors, publishers, and critics: Multiple translatorship in the public sphere by Solum (2017) has drawn attention to a public debate about the translation of NW (2012) by Smith, with a brief reference to the Norwegian translation of White Teeth (2000). The author notes that the 2013 translation of NW (2009) by Kari and Kjell Risvik was criticised several times in reviews, something which had also happened to the Norwegian translation of White Teeth (2000) in 2001 for the use of Anglicisms, errors and awkward wordings (Solum, 2017). The main points of criticism regarding the translation of NW (2009) were that many nuances had been lost, and even that Smith’s specific writing style could no longer be recognised (Solum, 2017). In addition, some reviewers had observed that there were discrepancies in the characters’ ages and their way of speaking and that specific cultural references had been mistranslated. Literary critic Leif Ekle (2013) was particularly critical about the translation, claiming that it was riddled with mistakes.
and sentences which did not make sense (Solum, 2017). The result of the situation, according to Solum (2017), was a public debate about the role of publishers in the translation process.

This public debate about and criticism of the original Norwegian translation of NW (2009) lays bare the difficulties associated with translating multicultural, hybrid literature riddled with different language varieties, accents and cultural references, such as many of novels from Smith’s oeuvre.

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research questions

In this case study, a number of questions are presented in relation to the Dutch translation of White Teeth (Smith, 2000), provided by Sophie Brinkman, in order to develop a thematic typology of the translator’s techniques to render Hortense Bowden’s frequent use of Jamaican Creole and Millat Iqbal’s use of Raggastani slang throughout most of the novel and his switch to a more formal variant of English as a member of the fundamentalist group KEVIN. The main research question of this dissertation is: How are features of ethnolect and sociolect in Hortense Bowden’s and Millat Iqbal’s speech translated into Dutch?

This question can then be further divided into several subquestions, namely the following:

- Which specific translation techniques has the translator employed, with reference to Pinto’s typology (2009)?
- Do those techniques take into account the literary themes in the novel, such as identity formation and roots?
- Similarly, has the translator kept in mind the emotional charge of the specific utterances discussed in the analysis?

4.2 Method

For the analysis in this dissertation, firstly a corpus (see appendix) was compiled with a selection of utterances by Hortense Bowden (corpus section 1) and by Millat Iqbal (corpus section 2) as they appear in the 2001 print of the original novel and the 2015 print of its Dutch translation, linked to different phases of their lives mapped throughout the novel, viz. the table below:
Respectively, two clear types of language variants can be associated with the characters studied, namely Jamaican Creole, an ethnolect, in Hortense’s case and Raggastani, a sociolect, in Millat’s case. In the corpus, all English utterances are matched with their Dutch translations (Smith/Brinkman, 2000). In total, 132 dialogue excerpts were collected, 68 of which were uttered by Hortense Bowden and 64 by Millat Iqbal. Speech fragments have been contextualised and have been listed according to their order of appearance in the novel. In addition, each full utterance has been numbered for easy reference in the analysis.

Subsequently, the corpus was analysed systematically in terms of pronunciation, syntax, lexicon and compensation techniques. For the analysis of the speech of Hortense Bowden, a link was also made to the emotional charge of her utterances and her connection to her roots, whereas for the analysis of the speech of Millat Iqbal, a link was made to the literary theme of identity formation. Next, the translation and compensational techniques used by the Dutch translator were analysed and linked to the translation techniques from Pinto’s typology (2009).

In what follows, Pinto’s (2009) specific techniques will be recapitulated to provide a clear overview of her typology before proceeding to the analysis of the corpus.

### 4.3 Translation techniques

As was already mentioned in the theoretical framework of this dissertation, in the analysis of the corpus the translation techniques used by Brinkman will be linked to the techniques identified by Pinto (2009). In short, Pinto (2009) refers to the first decision made by a translator when dealing with non-standard language varieties, namely the decision to either maintain the linguistic variation \(D\) or to standardise the language \(N\). The second decision to be made is, according to Pinto (2009), the decision to either use varieties or elements of varieties which are a part of the target culture, or to use varieties or characteristics of varieties which are unknown to the target audience. Respectively, she enumerates six techniques related to the first option and three associated with the second option.
Relating to the use of non-standard language varieties which are familiar to the target text reader, a translator can employ six strategies (Pinto, 2009). Firstly, they may opt for an **explicit indication** (D1) that the character is not speaking the standard language. Another technique is to only maintain the use of **honorifics** or **specific ways of addressing another character** (D2). In addition, the translator may render the **formal language** in the target text more formal than in the source text (D3). Another technique is the use of **colloquial language** (D4), as the spoken language has, much like non-standard varieties, less prestige than the written, standard language. The translator may also opt to use **elements from various non-standard language varieties** (D5). Finally, it is also possible that the translator chooses to employ a **regiolect or sociolect** from the target language (D6).

In relation to the use of features which are unfamiliar to the target text reader, Pinto (2009) distinguishes three techniques. Firstly, the translator may take over the **foreign elements** from the source text without adapting them to the target audience (D7). It is also possible that the translator opts to copy foreign features from the source text and that they **adapt the spelling** (D8). Finally, the translator may also decide to **invent a new dialect** based on the non-standard elements used in the source text (D9).

5 ANALYSIS

5.1 Hortense Bowden

In the case of Hortense Bowden, one can observe that Smith has attempted to create a literary version of Jamaican Creole through spelling, grammar and lexicon. To render this representation of Jamaican Creole, translator Brinkman has opted to maintain a certain level of standard Dutch mixed with colloquial, spoken language and some “foreign” elements from the source text.

In what follows, the first section of the corpus will be analysed in terms of Hortense Bowden’s pronunciation, syntax and lexicon. In addition, the emotional charge of the utterances, specifically in the character’s Bible citations and hymns, will also be considered and whether or not this charge has been maintained in the Dutch translation. A specific focus here will be the character’s citations from the Bible and the concept of suck-teeth. In addition, the translation will be linked to the literary theme of “roots” or the character’s strong connection to her
background in Jamaica, which is reflected by the omnipresence of ethnolectal variation in her speech.

5.1.1 Pronunciation

The most salient vehicle used by Smith to represent Jamaican Creole is spelling, through which she reflects the pronunciation of certain consonants and vowels.

For instance, in terms of the pronunciation of \( th \), Jamaican Creole does not contain the phoneme \( /θ/ \), nor the phoneme \( /ð/ \) (Harry, 2006), meaning that the \( th \) in words such as something, that, think, with or thing is pronounced as a dental stop, i.e. a \( /t/ \) sound or a \( /d/ \) sound. This characteristic of the ethnolect has been reflected by Smith.

An example of this phenomenon is the pronunciation of that as \( /dæt/ \), which Smith makes clear by writing \( dat \). However, given that words such as this, that and the are rendered as \( dit, dat \) and \( de \) in Dutch, the translator did not have many variants to truly transfer this type of marker from a fricative to a stop in the target text. That is why this nuance has often been lost in translation in various utterances as the Dutch translator has sometimes had to omit the pronunciation variation from the target text, resulting in what Pinto (2009) calls “normalization” (N). Examples of this normalization are the following excerpts:

(11) ‘Runnin’ roun’ on a night like dis […]’ (p.383) – ‘Een beetje rondlopen op een nacht als deze […]’ (p.287)

(16) ‘Burns de fever away.’ (p.383) - ‘Brandt de koorts weg.’ (p.288)

The translator has also circumvented the variation by changing the perspective of a sentence, for example in the following utterance:

(1) ‘Isn’t dat right, Darcus?’ (p.30) – ‘Heb ik gelijk, Darcus?’ (p.28)

However, on various occasions it is quite apparent that translator Sophie Brinkman has attempted to maintain the linguistic variation in the Dutch translation using various methods. For example, in the following utterance, she has opted to use \( z’n \), which is used in oral discourse (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017), instead of its written variant \( zijn \) in order to retain a phonemic spoken variant (D4):

(13) ‘I don’t tink dere’s any maybes about it, young lady.’ (p.383) – ‘Ik denk niet dat misschien op z’n plaats is, jongedame.’ (p.287)
Similarly, she has also employed the same technique, namely using elements of oral discourse from the target language to indicate language variation, for several other phrases, for example using the oral variant d’r (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017) instead of its written variant er:

(24) ‘Dere is a certain situation.’ (p.385) – ‘D’r is ‘n zekere situatie.’ (p.289)

In addition, in the following examples of phrases, Brinkman has also opted for the use of da’s, which is a shortened form of the standard form dat is and which is used exclusively in oral discourse.

(25) ‘Dat is Mr Topps.’ (p.386) – ‘Da’s meneer Topps.’ (p.290)

(33) ‘Oh yes, surely dat is de holy troot.’ (p.388) – ‘O ja, zeker, da’s de heilige waarheid.’ (p.291)

In other cases, the translator seems to have opted to add variants of spoken Dutch in a different place in the sentence to compensate for the normalization of another element. For instance, in the following utterances, the translator has decided to normalize de and instead use the substandard form heb of the verb hebben for the third person instead of heeft, to retain a more general connotation of non-standard Dutch. This characteristic is a feature of the regiolect in Randstad Holland (Schultink & Pollmann, 2002) (D6).

(21) ‘Dat’s why he made a hol’ heap a fuss about de children of men building de tower of Babel.’ (p.385) – ‘Daarom heb hij een heleboel drukte gemaakt over de kinderen van mannen die de toren van Babel bouwden.’ (p.289)

(42) ‘[…] but de Bowden family have had it hard long time.’ (p.393) – ‘maar de familie Bowden heb ’t lange tijd heel moeilijk gehad.’ (p.294)

Furthermore, in the latter phrase, Brinkman has added the shortened form of het, namely ‘t, as an additional compensation.

It seems that for articles and demonstrative pronouns, the Dutch translator was able in many cases to use alternatives in order to maintain the linguistic variation. However, in the case of the following examples of phrases from the corpus, the words which normally contain a /θ/ sound or a /ð/ sound and which have been spelt differently to indicate Hortense’s Jamaican accent have been translated into standard Dutch (N), therefore losing their nuance.

(2) ‘[…] dat young man’s soul you boddrin’ yourself wid!’ (p.31) – ‘de ziel van die jongeman waar jij je druk om maakt.’ (p.29)
(20) ‘[…] so don’ tink you sleeping none after eight.’ (p.385) – ‘dus denk niet dat je na achten nog slaapt.’ (p.289)

(30) ‘The farder is a terrible man, gambler an’ whoremonger…’ (p.387) – ‘De vader is een vreselijke man, gokker en hoereerder…’ (p.290)

(51) ‘Lord knows, your mudder was de same.’ (p.409) – ‘De Heer weet dat jouw moeder hetzelfde was.’ (p.306)

Nevertheless, on some occasions, the translator has introduced elements from Dutch oral discourse (D4), either as a translation (21) or to seemingly compensate the loss of nuance (35), or even a combination of the two in the case of phrase (22):

(21) ‘When you mix it up, nuttin’ good can come.’ (p.385) – ‘Als je ’t vermengt, daar kan niks goeds uit komen.’ (p.289)

(22) ‘You’re about de only good ting to come out of dat…’ (p.385) – ‘Jij ben zo ongeveer ‘t enige goede dat daaruit is voortgekomen.’ (p.289)

(35) ‘Mr Topps knew your mudder long time.’ (p.390) – ‘Meneer Topps heb je moeder gekend, lang geleden.’ (p.292)

Another characteristic of Jamaican Creole included in Hortense Bowden’s speech is a characteristic typical of Eastern Jamaican Creole, namely that the /h/ sound may be deleted from a word or that it may be added to a word which does not contain that particular sound (Harry, 2006). Indeed, there are various examples of both phenomena in the source text. In the case of the deletion of the initial /h/ sound, mimicked by removing the letter h from a word, the Dutch translator has generally stayed faithful to the source text in that the deletion has been continued in the translation on several occasions (D4), for instance in the following examples from the corpus:

(7) ‘[…] I let ‘im in […]’ (p.40) – ‘Ik heb ‘m binnengelaten.’ (p.35)


However, Brinkman has not been consistent in translating this type of variation. In fact, in some phrases she has decided to employ standard Dutch (N).

(7) ‘You’d tink I was gwan eat ‘im up or someting, eh Ryan?’ (p.40) – ‘Je zou denken dat ik hem zou opeten van zoiets, hè, Ryan?’ (p.35)

(27) ‘[…] God bless ‘im and keep ‘is soul.’ (p.387) – ‘[…] God zegene hem en beware zijn ziel.’ (p.290)

Regarding the hypercorrect insertion of the /h/ sound, one can find various examples in the source text as well, which have been normalised in the target text by the Dutch translator (N). As a consequence, again this nuance has been lost.

(24) ‘Dat can wait till de sun is up to be hexplained.’ (p.385) – ‘Dat kan wachten tot de zon op is om uitgelegd te worden.’ (p.289)

(31) ‘He himproved so much.’ (p.387) – ‘Hij is zo verbeterd.’ (p.290)

(51) ‘Everybody always tryin’ to heducate you; heducate you about dis, heducate you about dat…’ (p.409) – ‘Iedereen probeert je altijd maar te ontwikkelen, te ontwikkelen in dit, te ontwikkelen in dat…’ (p.306)

A phenomenon similar to the deletion of the /h/ sound at the beginning of a word is the deletion of the /d/ or the /t/ at the end of certain words, such as and or don’t. This deletion may also occur in words such as expect, in which case Smith has adapted the spelling to expeck in order to reflect the sound of the word. In White Teeth (2000), there are several examples of this phenomenon in Hortense Bowden’s speech. In the target text, the translator has used different techniques to deal with this. For example, in some cases she has opted to employ standard Dutch (N). For instance, it is not possible to shorten the Dutch translation en to ‘n in order to match the deletion of d in and as it would not be perceived by the reader as something natural and as it would likely disrupt the flow of the dialogue.

(13) ‘An’ I’m sure I don’ know why you come ‘pon de bus, […]’ (p.383) – ‘En ik begrijp echt niet waarom je met de bus bent gekomen, […]’ (p.287)

(46) ‘And dem dat expeck such an end to dis world will be sorely disappointed […]’ (p.397) – ‘En zij die een dergelijk einde verwachten voor deze wereld zullen diep teleurgesteld zijn […]’ (p.298)
Nevertheless, example (20) from the corpus demonstrates another technique, namely the introduction of an element from a non-standard variety (D6). In this case, one must also note that the translation intentionally selects a case of non-grammatical verb conjugation, which in turn also contains the deletion of the final -t like in the source material.


Similarly, in example (50) from the corpus, the final -t has been deleted from let. In addition, the word has been assimilated to the one which follows, namely me, resulting in an informal contraction used in spoken language. In this case, Dutch translator Brinkman has mirrored a similar contraction in the target text (D4).


A similar feature of Hortense Bowden’s speech is her deletion of the /ŋ/ sound at the end of verbs in the present continuous tense or nouns by replacing the sound with an /n/ sound, which Smith reflects by omitting the -g at the end of the verb or noun. However, in the target text, the Dutch translator has opted not to include variation of this kind and has instead chosen to employ the Dutch standard language, resulting in normalization (N), for instance in the following sentence:

(11) ‘Runnin’ roun’ on a night like dis, [wearin’] flimsy nonsense!’ (p.383) – ‘Een beetje rondlopen op een nacht als deze [met] alleen maar dunne niemanddalletjes aan.’ (p.287)

Another example of variation specifically in the character’s speech, is the use of arks instead of ask. In general, this word would be transcribed as aks to reflect the metathesis which takes place in the formation of the word (Cassidy & Le Page, 2002). In the target text, Brinkman has opted to employ Standard Dutch (N).

(30) ‘[…] I [arks] him to come and live with me […]’ (p.387) – ‘[…] [vraag] ik hem bij mij te komen wonen.’ (p.290)

In addition, there are various examples of the combination of consonants with a palatal glide which form the sound /kj/ in the corpus, specifically the word kyan (kjaːn/), which means can’t or cannot (Di Paolo & Spears, 2014), as well as the sound /tj/ in the word tyake, which means take. Again, the Dutch translator has employed Standard Dutch (N).
Finally, the /w/ sound is also often added after an initial consonant sound as a result of labialisation before a combination of a back vowel and non-back vowel (Harry, 2006), for instance in nouns such as bwoy, as well as in the word for the present participle of to go, namely gwan. In the various examples from the corpus, one can observe that the translator has consistently chosen for the normalization of this element by using Standard Dutch (N).

In addition to consonants, the corpus also contains examples in which the vowels are pronounced differently. Firstly, one can observe Hortense’s substitution of the short /ɒ/ sound by the short /ɑ/ sound, which is also reflected in Smith’s writing, namely by the use of the letter a instead of the letter o in words such as got and not. Additionally, in utterance (9), the letter t was substituted for the letter h in the word not, resulting in the word nah. These words were translated into Standard Dutch (N).

Similarly, the long /ɜː/ sound is often replaced by the long /ɑː/ sound in Jamaican Creole, which Smith, too, has indicated by replacing the letter o by the letter a, for example in the words born,
morning or important. In most of the examples from the corpus, the Dutch translator has opted for the use of Standard Dutch (N).

(3) ‘Bein’ barn is de hardest part!’ (p.34) – ‘Geboren worden is het moeilijkste.’ (p.31)

(23) ‘I’ll get a blanket and pillows and den we talk in de marnin’.’ (p.385) – ‘Ik haal een deken en kussens en dan praten we morgenochtend weer.’ (p.289)


However, on one occasion, the linguistic variation was retained by using the dialect word goeiemogge as a substitute for the Standard Dutch word goiemorgen or goedemorgen (D6).

(32) ‘Good marnin’, Mr Topps.’ (p.388) – ‘Goeiemogge, meneer Topps.’ (p.291)

In addition, the same phenomenon is the case in the words talk and daughter, of which the spelling has also been changed to reflect the substitution of the phoneme /ɔː/ by the phoneme /ɑː/. However, this particular type of language variation has not been reflected in the Dutch translation as the translator has opted for Standard Dutch (N).

(35) ‘She’s – she’s – Clara’s darter,’ said Hortense tentatively. (p.390) – ‘Ze is… ze is… Clara’s dochter,’ zie Hortense aarzelend. (p.292)

(58) ‘Don’t tark to me, pickney, don’t tark to me.’ (p.488) – ‘Praat niet tegen me, pickney, praat niet tegen me.’ (p.364)

In the first example from the corpus, the long /ɔː/ sound is pronounced by Hortense as the short /ɔ/ sound, which Smith has made clear by changing the spelling of the word whole to hol’. Again, the Dutch translator has opted not to retain the linguistic variation (N).

(1) ‘[…] have done such a hol’ heap of sinning, it late for dem to be making eyes at Jehovah.’ (p.30) – ‘[…] hebben zoveel gezondigd dat het te laat voor ze is om nog naar Jehova te lonken.’ (p.28)

Additionally, Hortense uses the word suh in the following example. This word may refer to either the vocative sir or the adverb sure and its spelling suggests that Hortense sometimes
pronounces the long sound /ɛː/ or the phoneme /ʊə/ as the short sound /ʌ/.

This word has been translated into the Standard Dutch adverb zeker (N).

(30) ‘Married to de church, yes, suh!’ (p.387) – ‘Getrouwd met de kerk, ja zeker!’ (p.290)

Finally, one can make several general observations. For instance, Hortense often drops the first syllable of a word, as in the following examples. This particular phenomenon is called *apheresis*, which means that the first syllable of a word is deleted (Stevenson, 2015).

(13) ‘An’ I’m sure I don’ know why you come ‘pon de bus, […]’ (p.383) – ‘En ik begrijp echt niet waarom je met de bus bent gekomen, […]’ (p.287)

(23) ‘I’m up at six, ‘cos I got Witness Bizznezz, so don’ tink you sleeping none after eight.’ (p.385) – ‘Ik ben om zes uur op, want ‘k heb Getuigenzaken, dus denk niet dat je na achten nog slaapt.’ (p.289)

(42) ‘Almost kill fore I was born.’ (p.393) – ‘Bijna dood voor ik was geboren.’ (p.294)

In the first two examples, the translator has used Standard Dutch to deal with this (N). However, in example (42), it can be observed that Brinkman has opted for the short form voor instead of voordat. Additionally, in example (23), the translator has used the shortened form of ik, namely ‘k, which is an element of Dutch oral discourse (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017) (D4). However, in this example the translator may have employed other methods to convey variation, for instance by using ben om zes uur op instead of ik ben om zes uur op.

In addition, on some occasions the word of is replaced by the letter a, for example when it is preceded by a quantifier or when it follows a word which means “type”. In both cases, the Dutch translator has opted for Standard Dutch (N). However, in the following example the translator does seem to have compensated for the loss of variation by adding linguistic variation in another part of the sentence, namely by changing the verb form heeft into the substandard form heb, which is a characteristic of the regiolect in Randstad Holland (Schultink & Pollmann, 2002) (D6).

(21) ‘[…] He always been a level-headed sort a fellow. […] Dat’s why he made a hol’ heap a fuss about de children of men building de tower of Babel. […]’ (p.385) – ‘[…] Hij was altijd wel een nuchtere man. […] Daarom heb hij een
**heleboel drukte** gemaakt over de kinderen van mannen die de toren van Babel bouwden. […]’ (p.289)

Similarly, in one example from the corpus, the preposition *to* has been replaced by the letter *a*. Again, Brinkman has used Standard Dutch (N).

(11) ‘You’re having a hot drink of cerace and den gone a bed quicker den you ever did in your life.’ (p.383) – ‘Je krijgt een warme cerace-thee en dan ga je sneller naar je bed dan je ooit van je leven hebt gedaan.’ (p.287)

Finally, in example (9) from the corpus, Hortense mistakenly says *Mexico bean* instead of *Mexican bean*, which Brinkman has corrected by using Standard Dutch (N).

(9) ‘Shiverin’ like a *Mexico bean.*’ (p.382) – ‘Rillend als een *Mexicaanse boon.*’ (p.287)

### 5.1.2 Syntax

Regarding syntax, there are several examples in *White Teeth* (2000) of differences between Jamaican Creole and Standard British English. The first example relates to the conjugation of verbs, in particular the lack of morphological inflection of the verbs, meaning that the stem of the verb is used for every person or number (Durrleman, 2000). In general, Brinkman has opted for the use of Standard Dutch to deal with this linguistic variation (N):

(5) ‘Dear Lord, she **look** like someting de cat dragged in, hmm?’ (p.40) – ‘Lieve heer, ze **ziet** eruit als een verzopen kat, hmm?’ (p.35)

(17) ‘No one knows better than me what dat woman **be** like.’ (p.384) – ‘Niemand weet beter dan ik hoe die vrouw **is**.’ (p.288)

Similarly, the past tense is also often expressed through the verb stem. However, although Durrleman (2000) remarks that in Jamaican Creole, different markers are used to compensate for this and to indicate the past tense, in the novel no such markers are used. In example (21) from the corpus, Brinkman has opted to use Standard Dutch (N).

(21) ‘He always **strike** me as a peacekeeper.’ (p.385) – ‘Hij **kwam** altijd op me over als een vredestichter.’ (p.289)
Nevertheless, in some cases, for instance in (53), Brinkman has mimicked this phenomenon by using the verb stem *heb* as a translation, which is a characteristic of the regiolect in Randstad Holland (Schultink & Pollmann, 2002) (D6).

(53) ‘My mudder suffer to get me here – but she knew de true church and she make heffort to push me out in de mos’ difficult circumstances so I could live to see that glory day.’ (p.410) – ‘M’n moeder heb geleden om me hier te krijgen, maar ze kende de ware kerk en ze heb zich onder de moeilijkste omstandigheden ingespannen om mij d’ruit te persen zodat ik die glorieuze dag kon meemaken.’ (p.307)

However, in example (17) she has omitted *je bent* and has opted to just use the past participle in the target text, which slightly shortens the sentence.

(17) ‘You finally dash from that godless woman, I see.’ (p.384) – ‘Eindelijk weggelopen bij die goddeloze vrouw, begrijp ik.’ (p.288)

In addition, the character’s substandard variant tends to omit auxiliary verbs and copulas. To deal with this, Brinkman has either opted for the use of Standard Dutch (e.g. in (1) and (10)) (N), or she has used elements of Dutch oral discourse (e.g. in (22), (35) and (51)) (D4) in the same place in the sentence or in another part of the sentence.

(1) ‘[…] it late for dem to be making eyes at Jehovah.’ (p.30) – ‘[…] dat het te laat voor ze is om nog naar Jehova te lonken.’ (p.28)

(10) ‘Feel it?’ (p.382) – ‘Voel je het?’ (p.287)

(22) ‘… Bwoy, sometime it like lookin’ in a mirror-glass.’ (p.385) – ‘Tjonge, soms is ’t als kijken in een spiegel.’ (p.289)

(35) ‘But it all right, Mr Topps, she come to live wid us now.’ (p.390) – ‘Maar ’t is goed, meneer Topps, ze komt nu bij ons wonen.’ (p.292)

(51) ‘Somebody always tryin’ to heducate them about something, […]’ (p.409) – ‘D’r is altijd wel iemand die ze probeert te ontwikkelen in iets, […]’ (p.306)

Another prominent feature in Jamaican Creole which is reflected in the speech of Hortense Bowden is the use of the same pronouns for the subject and object (Pollard, 2003). This means that there is no distinction between the subject and object pronouns as is usual in Standard English, for example between the subject pronoun *he* and the object pronoun *him*. This
linguistic variation was not conveyed by Brinkman, who has utilised Standard Dutch in the target text \((N)\).

\[(30) \quad \text{‘Im a very civilized bwoy.’ (p.387) – ‘Hij is een beschafde jongen.’ (p.290)}\]

\[(44) \quad \text{‘Me soon come.’ (p.394) – ‘Ik ben zo weer terug.’ (p.295)}\]

Similarly, the object pronoun \(him\) or ‘\(im\)’ is also used as a possessive pronoun (Deuber, 2014). In the following example from the corpus, the Dutch translator has dealt with this variation by rendering oral discourse in the spelling of \(z’n\) \((D4)\).

\[(29) \quad \text{‘But ‘im family are nasty-nasty.’ (p.387) – ‘Maar \(z’n\) familie is \textit{gemeen-gemeen.}’ (p.290)}\]

In addition, in Jamaican Creole, adjectives may be repeated to indicate a certain degree or intensity or emphasis (Le Page, 2001). For instance, in the example above, Hortense uses the reduplication \(nasty-nasty\) to attribute a characteristic to Mr Topps’ family. This reduplication was translated literally by Brinkman, which means that the linguistic variation has not been fully omitted. Reduplication may also take place to form the plural of a noun (Le Page, 2001), which can be seen in example (28) from the corpus, which the translator has interpreted correctly:

\[(28) \quad \text{‘Women need a man ‘bout de house, udderwise \textit{ting an’ ting} get messy.’ (p.387) – ‘Vrouwen hebben een man in huis nodig, anders worden \textit{de dingen} rommelig.’ (p.290)}\]

Another feature related to this reduplication is the use of \(I\) and \(I\) instead \(you\) and \(I\). This particular type of linguistic variation has been directly copied by the Dutch translator, which emphasises the fact that the character does not speak the standard language.

\[(8) \quad \text{‘Understand: \textit{I and I} don’t speak from this moment forth.’ (p.327) – ‘Begrijp: \textit{ik en ik} spreken vanaf dit moment niet meer.’ (p.248)}\]

\[(58) \quad \text{‘\textit{I and I} is bitterly disappointed.’ (p.488) – ‘\textit{Ik en ik} is bitter teleurgesteld.’ (p.364)}\]

Finally, the character also makes use of a double negation, as illustrated in excerpt (15) from the corpus:
‘Stop fussin’. I’m not puttin’ nuttin’ in your eye.’ (p.383) – ‘Maak je niet druk. Ik doe niks in je ogen.’ (p.288)

As double negations are not usually accepted in the Dutch language (‘Nooit geen (ik maak - fouten)’, n.d.), Brinkman appears to have opted for the use of Standard Dutch English to translate this phenomenon (N).

5.1.3 Lexicon

In the novel, Hortense Bowden’s lexicon contains various words used in Jamaican Creole or more in general in West Indian English. One of the most evident examples is the word pickney and its derivations. Though originally derived from the racial slur piccaninny, the word is now a neutral word for “child” in West Indian English (Stevenson, 2015). In the corpus, there are several examples of the word being used by the character. In all these cases, Brinkman has kept the foreign element in the target text (D7).

‘Pickney, you hear me?’ (p. 385) – ‘Pickney, hoor je me?’ (p.289)’

‘Me never see my only grandpickney.’ (p.393) – ‘Nooit zie ik m’n eigen kleinpickney.’

Another element which may be unfamiliar to the source text reader is the word cerace, which in Jamaica is traditionally spelt cerasee. It is also known as the Momordica Charantia, known for its fruit, namely the bitter melon (Grant, 2016). According to Grant (2016), its leaves are used for various medicinal purposes. It seems that in order to convey that same effect, the Dutch translator has retained the word, albeit with a slight expansion to indicate that the character is offering tea made of the plant (D8).

‘You’re having a hot drink of cerace […]’ (p.383) – ‘Je krijgt een warme cerace-thee […]’ (p.287)

A third example is Hortense’s use of the word maga, which is a typical West Indian English word meaning “skinny” (Stevenson, 2015). In the target text, Brinkman has opted to use the Standard Dutch word mager, which is almost identical in sound to the word in the source text (N).

‘[…] leavin’ husband and pickney at home, hungry and maga.’ (p.384) – ‘laat man en pickney thuis, hongerig en mager.’ (p.288)
In addition, the character uses the Caribbean English word *buguyaga*, which refers to a “dirty person” (Green, 2019). Again, the reader may be unfamiliar with this term and this effect has not been lost, as the Dutch translator has opted to use the same word in the target text without changing the spelling, therefore maintaining the effect (D7).

(33) ‘But at de same time, surely a Witness lady don’ wan’ look like, well, a *buguyaga* in de house of de Lord.’ (p.388) – ‘Maar toch wil een Getuigen-dame er ook niet uitzien als, nou, een *buguyaga* in het huis van de Heer.’ (p.291)

Another word used by Hortense Bowden is the word *gansey*, which means “sweater” or “T-shirt” in West Indian English (Stevenson, 2015). In the target text, the translator has chosen to utilise the standard Dutch language (N). However, she has opted to use the Dutch word *muts* as a translation, which does not mean the same as the word in the source text.

(9) ‘Pickney nah even got a *gansey* on – child must be freezin’!’ (p.382) – ‘Pickney heb niet eens een *muts* op – ’t kind moet ’t ijskoud hebben!’ (p.287)

The character also uses the word *fe* in one particular example from the corpus. This word, which in dialect writing is written as *fe*, but is otherwise written as *fi*, is a dialectal form of the preposition *for* (Cassidy & Le Page, 2002). However, in this case, it seems that the preposition has been used in lieu of the preposition *of*. Again, for this utterance the translator has opted to employ standard Dutch (N).

(49) ‘What d’you know *fe* reasons? […]’ (p.409) – ‘Wat weet jij van redenen?’ (p.306)

In addition, in two utterances from the corpus, Hortense uses the interjection *cho*, which may be used to express annoyance, contempt, disagreement or impatience (Cassidy & Le Page, 2002). Both times the translator has translated the word into the Dutch interjection *ha*, which expresses the same meaning but at the same time leads to the loss of linguistic variation (N).

(40) ‘*Cho!* Just as I suspeck.’ (p.392) – ‘*Ha!* Precies wat ik dacht.’ (p.294)

(53) ‘*Cho!* My grandmudder live to see one hundered-and-tree an de woman could skip rope till de day she keel over and drop col’.’ (p.410) – ‘*Ha!* M’n grootmoeder is honderdendrie geworden en die vrouw kon touwtjespringen tot ze neerviel en de pijp uitging.’ (p.307)
Hortense also uses the word *man* as a vocative, which is a stereotypical characteristic usually associated with Jamaican English and Jamaicans in general. In the following example, Brinkman has copied the word, which though colloquial in Dutch does no longer have a substandard connotation (N).

(66) ‘I know fe who you are, *man.*’ (p.530) – ‘Ik Weet wie je bent, *man.*’ (p.394)

Finally, the character uses a typical Jamaican expression, namely *cease and sekkle*, which means “stop doing what you are doing and unwind” (*Cease and Sekkle*, n.d.). That meaning is not conveyed literally by the Dutch translation, but by an equivalent which reflects what Hortense means in this context (N).

(11) ‘Now come into the kitchen an’ cease an’ sekkle.’ (p.383) – ‘Zo, kom mee naar de keuken en hou op met rillen.’ (p.287)

5.1.4 Compensation techniques

As Brinkman has often used Standard Dutch for the translation of variation which may be more difficult to convey in the Dutch language, the target text sometimes contains linguistic variation where in the source text there is none. In general, the translator has used two different techniques from Pinto’s typology (2009), namely the use of features from spoken language (D4) and the use of elements from a specific non-standard variety (D6), as illustrated in the examples below:

(10) ‘That’s fever as sure as fever is fever.’ (p.382) - ‘Da’s koorts zo zeker als koorts koorts is.’ (p.287)

(12) ‘Let me look at you.’ (p.383) – ‘La’me naar je kijken.’ (p.287)

(22) ‘You’re about de only good ting to come out of dat …’ (p.385) – ‘Jij ben zo ongeveer ’t enige goede dat daaruit is voortgekomen…’ (p.289)

(36) ‘Let me start fryin’.’ (p.390) – ‘La’me ’s gaan bakken.’ (p.293)

In the corpus, the elements which are believed to be compensation for the loss of linguistic variation in other parts of the sentence, the utterance or the rest of the novel are indicated in grey. Specifically, these utterances are the following: (9), (10), (12), (16), (17), (19), (21), (22), (24), (26), (27), (34), (35), (36), (42), (52), (53) and (66).
5.1.5 Emotional charge

In the novel, the character Hortense Bowden sometimes “sucks her teeth” or “kisses her teeth”, a typical characteristic of Jamaican Creole often used to express negative emotions, such as annoyance, impatience and disagreement, or to express a feeling of moral superiority (Figueroa & Patrick, 2002). In the corpus, there are four examples of this phenomenon, which have all been translated in a different way. Out of context, the Dutch reader would only understand example (54), as in the source text, Hortense’s emotions are explicitly mentioned. Nevertheless, the utterances which follow the description make it clear that the character is annoyed or frustrated.

(45) Hortense sucked her teeth. ‘No problem. Dat’s what her name mean in patois: Irie, no problem. Now, what kind of a name is dat to …?’ (p.394) – Hortense zoog op haar tanden. ‘Geen probleem. Dat is wat haar naam betekent in patois: Irie, geen probleem. Nou, wat voor een naam is dat om…’ (p.295)

(51) Hortense sucked her teeth long and loud. ‘I gat so tired wid de church always tellin’ me I’m a woman or I’m not heducated enough. […]’ (p.409) – Hortense zoog scherp haar adem naar binnen. ‘Ik heb er zo genoeg van dat de kerk me almaar vertelt dat ik een vrouw ben of dat ik niet genoeg ontwikkeld ben. […]’ (p.306)

(54) Hortense sucked her teeth contemptuously. (p.410) – Hortense zoog vol verachting op haar tanden.

(66) Hortense kisses her teeth. ‘I know fe who you are, man. You know me, I know you. But at dis point, dere are only two kind of people in de world.’ (p.530) – Hortense maakt een smakkend geluid. ‘k Weet wie je bent, man. Jij ken mij, ik ken jou. Maar op dit ogenblik zijn er maar twee soorten mensen op de wereld.’ (p.394)

One of the most important devices to reflect the character’s emotions are her citations from the Bible and the hymns she sings. In general, it seems that in the source text the character cites excerpts from the Bible in perfect English when she is calm, showing that she stands strong in her faith, but that in an emotional state, various elements of her ethnolect appear in her speech (see 3.2). When she uses perfect Standard English, in the target text the character also uses
perfect Standard Dutch, as illustrated in the following examples from the corpus, which consist of direct citations from the Bible:

(1) "Blessed are the pure in heart for they alone shall see God. Matthew 5:8." (p.30) – "Gelukkig zijn de zuiveren van hart, want zij zullen God zien. Mattheüs 5:8." (p.28)

(68) "Early will I seek thee." […] "My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is..." (p.530) – "U zoek ik." […] "Mijn ziel dorst naar u, mijn vlees smacht naar u in een dor en dorstig land, zonder water." (p.394)

However, the character also sings hymns, faithfully citing the lyrics, albeit with some elements of her ethnolect intact. Interestingly, the translator has not introduced linguistic variation in the target text, which in this case does not consist of a translation of the hymn *He Who Would Valiant Be*, but rather the lyrics of a different religious hymn, namely the hymn *Komt, kinderen, niet dralen*. This is the 1973 translation of the German hymn *Kommt, Kinder, lasst uns gehen*, which was originally composed by German pietist Gerhard Tersteegen, by Muus Jacobse (van der Knijff, 2019). The translator may have made this choice to create an association with Dutch Reformed faith.

(61) "He who would valiant be, ‘gainst all disaster!’ […] ‘Let ‘im in constancy, follow de master!’" (p.508) – ‘Het zal ons niet berouwen de smalle weg te gaan!’ […] ‘Hij riep ons, de Getrouwe, en Hij ging zelf vooraan!’ (p.378)

(62) "There’s no discouragement, shall make ‘im once relent, his first avowed intent, to be a Pilgrim!’ trilled Mrs B. ‘Who so besets him round, with dismal stories...do but themselves confound, his strength the more is...’ (p.509) – ‘Komt en vertrouwt op Hem die u is voorgestoken en richt uw hart en ogen vast op Jeruzalem!’ kwinkelerde mevrouw B. ‘Maar reist gij op uw wijze dan reist gij nog niet goed. De rechte pelgrimsreize is tegen vlees en bloed...’ (p.379)

In addition, in the following excerpt from the novel, Hortense, overtaken by emotion, preaches the teachings of her faith, referring to the final book of the New Testament, The Apocalypse or Revelation to John. As a result of her strong emotions, many elements of her ethnolect occur in her speech. However, the contrast between this excerpt and the excerpts above is lost, as the translator has opted for Standard Dutch in both cases (N).
Hortense Bowden (tearfully): ‘And **dem dat expeck** such an end to **dis** world will be sorely disappointed, for He will come **trailin’** terror and Lo de generation **dat witness de** event of 1914 shall now witness **de turd** part of **de** trees burn, and the **turd** part of **de** sea become as blood, and **de turd** part of **de**…’ (p.397)

– ‘En **zij die** een dergelijk einde **verwachten** voor **deze** wereld zullen diep teleurgesteld zijn, want Hij zal verschrikking **zaaien** en ziet, **de** generatie die **getuige is geweest** van de gebeurtenissen van 1914 zal nu zien hoe **een derde** deel van **de** bomen verbrandt, en een **derde** deel van **de** zee in bloed verandert, en **een derde** deel van **de**…’ (p.298)

Nevertheless, in example (60) from the corpus, the character simultaneously cites a verse from the Bible (Job 1:21) but integrates it into her own discourse. The utterance contains some linguistic variation, which in this case the Dutch translator has taken over by using a feature from the spoken language, namely the short form of **zijn**, z’ (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017) (D4).

(60) ‘**De** Lord giveth wid ‘im right hand and taketh away wid ‘im left.’ (p.489) – ‘De Heer geeft **met z’n** rechterhand en neemt **met z’n** linkerhand.’ (p.365)

5.1.6 Roots

Interpreting the effect of transferring substandard ethnolectal elements into Dutch, this analysis needs to consider if and how the translator’s choices affect the isotopy of “roots”, one of the central themes of the novel.

As mentioned in the theoretical framework of this dissertation, the literary theme of “roots” is one of the thematic devices which unites the narrative and the characters, in particular for the older generations who are bound to their racial history (Arikan, 2013). In addition to this, according to Ledent (2016), Smith uses language to create the characters in her novel and their respective identities through their speech. As Hortense Bowden has not lost the Jamaican Creole in her speech pattern despite her having lived in the United Kingdom for years, it is safe to say that her connection to her roots is still very much intact in every phase of the novel, in contrast to her daughter Clara, who has effectively lost her accent. Therefore, it seems that language is a crucial vehicle to represent the character’s strong connection to Jamaica.

However, as many elements of linguistic variation have been normalized by the Dutch translator, this connection is not reflected as intensely as intended in the source text, throughout
which Hortense’s speech is consistent, save for the clear contrast in her speech when she cites the Bible or sings religious hymns (see 5.1.5), which has been lost in the Dutch translation. Nevertheless, as Brinkman has added linguistic variation to compensate for this loss as well as used elements from the spoken language or dialects and, in addition, has taken over the words which may be foreign to the source text reader, the target text reader is provided with enough information and context to deduce that the character still feels connected to her background.

5.2 Millat Iqbal

As previously mentioned, the character of Millat Iqbal has a particular way of speaking, as he speaks a combination of Standard English, North London slang and Raggastani throughout most of the novel in order to create his own identity and distance himself from his family members. However, towards the end of the narrative his language changes to a more neutral, Standard English as he is influenced by his peers from the religious group KEVIN in search of his identity. This progressive change in register is therefore an important marker of character portrayal, and as such a crucial focus in translation. In contrast to Hortense Bowden’s speech, in which pronunciation is the most prominent type of variation, Millat Iqbal’s lexicon is the most important vehicle for his sociolect.

5.2.1 Pronunciation

A characteristic which is prominent in Millat’s speech is the contraction of isn’t it to innit, which is a typical question tag used in Multicultural London English (McArthur, Lam-McArthur, & Fontaine, 2018). This type of linguistic variation is not conveyed by the target text, in which innit has been translated into Standard Dutch conversational markers such as toch or niet (N).

(74) ‘He’s got to want it. He asked for it.’ […] ‘S God’s harvest, innit? […]’ (p.169)
– ‘Hij moet ze willen. Hij heeft erom gevraagd.’ […] ‘t is Gods oogst, toch? […]’ (p.131)

(126) ‘Yeah, well, we don’t need strength.’ […] ‘We need a little of the stuff upstairs. We’ve got to get in the place discreetly first, innit? The first evening. It’ll be crawling.’ (p.474) – ‘Ja, nou, kracht hebben we niet nodig.’ […] ‘Wat we nodig hebben is wat er in de bovenkamer zit. We moeten er eerst onopvallend binnen zien te komen, niet? De eerste avond. Het zal er afgeladen zijn.’ (p.354)
In addition, there are some examples of Millat taking on a Jamaican accent as a child and a teen. In the following two examples from the corpus, one can observe that the Dutch translator has used Standard Dutch (N) in both cases, and as a result loses this nuance.

(73) ‘Respect to that. I wish I’d seed dem.’ (p.167) – ‘Respect daarvoor. Ik wou dat ik ze had gezien.’ (p.130)

(96) ‘And you want to watch dem dumplings.’ […] (p.239) – ‘En wat jij moet doen, is een beetje op die knoedels letten.’ […] (p.182)

Nevertheless, in the following utterance, Brinkman has opted to maintain the linguistic variation in the target text by orthographically signalling features from oral discourse (D4) and features generally associated with the Dutch spoken language (D6), respectively the omission of the final -n from verbs, for example the verb moeten and stoppen, and the omission of the final -t from words such as wat and dat. These techniques were both used in the places where the source text sentence has variation as well as in other places, to compensate for variation which has been lost earlier or later in the novel or in the same sentence.

(95) ‘What they want,’ said Millat, ‘is to stop pissing around wid dis hammer business and jus’ get some Semtex and blow de djam ting up, if they don’t like it, you get me? Be quicker, innit?’ (p.239) – ‘Wa ze moete doen,’ zei Millat, ‘is stoppe met da gepiel met die hamers en wat Semtex erbij hale en da hele stomme ding opblaze als het ze niet meer bevalt, snappe jullie? Dat zou sneller zijn, hè?’ (p.182)

As a result of Brinkman’s use of these features, the contrast between the character’s normal way of speaking and his mimicking of Jamaican Creole is still present in the target text.

In addition, Millat often omits the /ŋ/ sound at the end of verbs in the present continuous tense or in adjectives ending in -g and replaces the sound with a /n/ sound. This variation is reflected by Smith, who has often deleted the final g from words, as illustrated by the following examples from the corpus:


(109) ‘Fuckin’ awful.’ (p.331) – ‘Verrekte klote.’ (p.251)
In these examples, one can observe that Brinkman has chosen to employ Standard Dutch to deal with this variation (N).

Similarly, on some occasions the character omits either a syllable or a sound from words. This particular phenomenon is called *apheresis*, which means that the first syllable of a word is deleted (Stevenson, 2015). This omission has been reflected by Smith by using an apostrophe. However, this variation was normalized by the Dutch translator (N).

(70) ‘Well that’s lucky *cos* I don’t. So shame.’ […] (p.163) – ‘Nou, dat komt goed uit **want** ik wil het niet. Schande.’ […] (p.127)

(84) ‘*Cos* that’s all the trouble you’re getting.’ (p.229) – ‘**Want** dat is alle ellende die je krijgt.’ (p.175)

(103) ‘I’ll just go **an’** have one at the gates, then.’ (p.300) – ‘Dan ga ik er gewoon een bij de poort trekken.’ (p.228)

(123) ‘I **s’pose.**’ (p.474) – ‘**Het zal wel.**’ (p.354)

Nevertheless, in the following example, the translator has used the informal, shortened form of *natuurlijk*, namely *tuurlijk* (D4). This form is also used in Dutch oral discourse.


In addition, the character contracts *is not* to *ain’t*, a feature often found in substandard English, specifically in London (Ayto & Simpson, 2013). Again, the Dutch translator has opted to use Standard Dutch in the target text (N).

(92) ‘No way. He **ain’t** going to be there. Just brothers going to be there.’ (p.233) – ‘Vergeet het maar. Hij **zal** daar **niet** zijn. Er zullen alleen broeders zijn.’ (p.177-178)

(96) ‘Big **ain’t** beautiful.’ (p.239) – ‘Fors **is niet** mooi.’ (p.182)

Finally, Millat also deletes the final -*t* from the word *exactly* in the following example, which has been translated into Standard Dutch (N), a translation decision consistent with the translation of, for instance, the word *expeck* in the speech of Hortense Bowden.
(94) ‘I haven’t exactly read it exactly – but I know all about that shit, yeah?’ (p.233)
– ‘Ik heb het niet precies gelezen, maar ik weet alles van die troep, ja?’ (p.178)

5.2.2 Syntax

A number of typical colloquial syntax patterns recur in the character’s speech. For example, instead of using the modal have, the character uses the informal variant have got. As there is no difference between spoken Dutch and written Dutch in regard to modals, it is not surprising that the translator has opted to use Standard Dutch (N).

(74) ‘He’s got to want it. He asked for it.’ […] ‘It’s God’s harvest, innit? […]’ (p.169)

(126) ‘We need a little of the stuff upstairs. We’ve got to get in the place discreetly first, innit? The first evening. It’ll be crawling.’ (p.474) – ‘Wat we nodig hebben is wat er in de bovenkamer zit. We moeten er eerst onopvallend binnen zien te komen, niet? De eerste avond. Het zal er afgeladen zijn.’ (p.354)

In the first example above, another element from Millat’s speech is illustrated, namely his frequent deletion of words. For instance, in excerpt (74) from the corpus, he has omitted the word it and contracted is to ‘s. In similar fashion, he deletes the words good, the and I in the following excerpt from the corpus:

(108) ‘Evening all. Door was ajar. Let myself in. One day somebody’s going to wander in here and murder the fucking lot of you.’ (p.330) – ‘nAvond allemaal. De deur stond op een kier. Ik heb mezelf maar binnengelaten. Op een dag wandelt hier iemand naar binnen en vermoordt de hele handel.’ (p.250)

To deal with this, the Dutch translator has used Standard Dutch for two of the instances (N). In the first part of the sentence, the full form Goeienavond has been contracted to ‘nAvond (D4). As a result, this first part has the colloquial association in the target text.

Similarly, the character often omits copulas and auxiliaries from his sentences. The following examples have all been translated into Standard Dutch (N):

(101) ‘Jones, give it a rest. I’m having a fucking debate. Hifan, what school you at now, mate?’ (p.296) – ‘Jones, hou nou op! Ik zit verdomme midden in een discussie. Hifan, op welke school zit je nu, makker?’ (p.225)
‘Dad chuckled me out, didn’t he?’ (p.333) – ‘M’n vader heeft me eruit gegoooid.’ (p.252)

‘Whereabouts you from?’ (p.371) – ‘Waar kom je vandaan?’ (p.279)

Nevertheless, in utterance (110), the translator has compensated for the loss of nuance by using the spoken variant of mijn, namely m’n (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017) (D4).

In addition, Millat uses a double negation, which has been translated into Standard Dutch (N), consistent with the translation of Hortense’s double negation.

‘I ain’t payin’ no seventy-five pounds!’ (p.230) – ‘Ik ga geen vijfenzeventig pond betalen!’ (p.176)

Another element from his syntax is the use of the object pronoun them instead of the article the, which has been translated into Standard Dutch (N).

‘Better than that stuff you used to go around in back when we used to hang, eh? Back in them Kilburn days. ‘Member when we went to Bradford and – ’ (p.295) – ‘Beter dan dat spul waar je in rondliep toen wij nog met elkaar optrokken, hè? In de tijd van Kilburn. Weet je nog toen we naar Bradford gingen en…’ (p.224)

‘All the time! Wicked place. Well, maybe I’ll see you round them gates sometime. It was nice to meet you, sister. Brother Tyrone, I’ve got to chip, man, my gal’s waiting for me.’ (p.371) – ‘Altijd! Te gekke tent. Nou, misschien zie ik je daar wel een keer. Het was me aangenaam, zuster. Broeder Tyrone, ik moet ervandoor, man, mijn dame wacht op me.’ (p.279)

Finally, there are some examples in which Millat deliberately makes grammatical mistakes in order to sound more foreign, when he believes that others are being racist towards him and his friends. For instance, in the example which follows, he says I just say instead of I’m just saying and mockingly says Speaka da English instead of Do you speak English. As illustrated, the first example of variation was translated into an equally ungrammatical sentence, as the word het has been omitted. Furthermore, the sentence Speaka da English has been deleted from the target text and instead it has been merged with the previous sentence into the Standard Dutch sentence Versta je me niet?, which makes more sense in the target text, as the characters are speaking Dutch instead of English.
Lastly, the character uses the present continuous form of the verb to mean, which generally is not accepted as it is a state verb (Cleveland Marwick et al., 2014). This has not been conveyed in the target text, which again renders standard Dutch. However, the word order in where from am I originally is ungrammatical and this has been taken over in the target text as the word order of je bedoelt waarvandaan kom ik oorsprónkelijk is not grammatical either.

(106) ‘Oh,’ said Millat, putting on what he called a bud-bud-ding-ding accent. ‘You are meaning where from am I originally.’ (p.319) – ‘O,’ zei Millat, zijn wat hij noemde slijm-slijm-accent opzetend, ‘je bedoelt waarvandaan kom ik oorsprónkelijk.’ (p.242)

5.2.3 Lexicon

One of the more prominent manifestations of Millat Iqbal’s idiosyncratic speech is his lexicon, which contains various British slang words, Bengali words, Jamaican words, several insults and swear words as well as American words and expressions. In the following section, this lexicon will be more closely examined, and compared to the Dutch translation.

The Bengali words in the character’s lexicon generally consist of honorifics, namely the words abba and amma, which Millat uses to either address his parents or to refer to his parents. For the translation of the novel, Brinkman has consistently retained these words without changing the spelling (D2 and D7).

(77) ‘Maybe, Abba, maybe not.’ (p.221) – ‘Misschien, abba, misschien niet.’ (p.169)

(80) ‘Amma, it’s Mr Fish.’ (p.223) – ‘Amma, het is meneer Fish.’ (p.171)

However, on some occasions the character also uses other words from the language, such as bāŗii (বাড়ি), which in this context means “home” (‘home’, n.d.), or bādor (বাদর), which means “monkey” (‘monkey’, n.d.)1. These words are usually spelt using the Bengali alphabet, but have

1 Whereas the meaning of the word bāŗii is easily deduced from the context by both the source text reader and the target text reader, the meaning of the word bādor is not. Therefore, a special expression of gratitude is in order to Tumblr user sealedletters, who has provided her knowledge of Bengali to confirm the English translation of these two lexical items.
been transcribed by Smith. The same words appear in the translation (D7), although the spelling of the former has been adapted (D8).


(93) ‘We’ve taken it too long in this country. And now we’re getting it from our own, man. Rhas clut! He’s a fucking bādor, white man’s puppet.’ (p.233) – ‘Wij hebben het te lang maar genomen in dit land. En nou krijgen we het van onze eigen mensen, man. Rhas clut! Hij is een verrekte bādor, een marionet van de witten.’ (p.178)

In similar fashion, the expression rhas clut is also used in the target text verbatim (D7). By using this particular translation technique, the translator continues the effect which these words have on the source text reader. In fact, as a result the reader will recognise Millat’s connection to his parents’ culture, which later on in the novel is broken, reflected by the absence of Bengali words in his speech towards the end of the novel.

Additionally, many of the words in Millat’s lexicon are English slang words and informal words, which in general have been translated into Dutch colloquial equivalents (D4). The first example is the insult chief, which the narrator’s text situates in the North London context: “‘chief’, for some inexplicable reason hidden in the etymology of North London slang, meaning fool, arse, wanker, a loser of the most colossal proportions” (Smith, 2000/2001, p.163).

(69) ‘We got apples, you chief.’ (p.163) – ‘Wij hebben appels, muuts.’ (p.126)


(92) ‘It’s a fucking protest, you chief, why’s he going to go to a protest against himself?’ (p.233) – ‘Er zullen alleen broeders zijn. Het is verdomme een protest, oen, waarom zou hij naar een protest tegen zichzelf gaan.’ (p.177-178)

In (69) and (92), Brinkman’s translation consists of a clear insult. However, in example (86) the word chief, which in many contexts is regarded as a respectful way to address a superior but in this context is again used as an ironic insult, is translated into the word baas, which mimics the same ironic insult successfully.
Another word which is used frequently by the character is the word *wicked*, an intensifier often used in informal English to stress that something is really good (Stevenson, 2015). In the corpus Millat uses the word on six occasions. In five cases, the word is used as an adjective with a positive connotation, and in one case the character uses it as an adverb of manner with a negative connotation. The Dutch translator has mostly translated the word as *te gek*, which is an informal expression with the same meaning (De Boer, 2017) (D4).

(100) ‘That’s a wicked name. It’s got a wicked kung-fu kick-arse sound to it.’ (p.295) – ‘Dat is een te gekke naam. Dat heeft een te gekke kungfu-achtige ruige klank.’ (p.225)

In addition, the character uses the phrase *all on his Jack-Jones*, a British informal expression which refers to someone being all alone (Waite, 2012). The translator has translated it into colloquial Standard Dutch, and has used the shortened form of *zijn*, namely *z’n*, to emphasise oral discourse (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017) (D4).

(81) ‘To rebel against the English, all on his Jack-Jones, spliffed up to the eyeballs, tries to shoot his captain, misses, tries to shoot himself, misses, gets hung –’ (p.226) – ‘Tegen de Engelsen in opstand te komen, helemaal in z’n eentje, zo stoned als een garnaal, probeert zijn kapitein dood te schieten, mist, probeert zichzelf dood te schieten, mist, wordt gehangen…’ (p.173)

In the same sentence, the character uses the expression *spliffed up to the eyeballs*. As the word *spliff* is an informal British noun which refers to a “cannabis cigarette” (Stevenson, 2015), the expression means “to be heavily under the influence of drugs”. In the target text, Brinkman has matched this with the equivalent Dutch informal expression *zo stoned als een garnaal* (D4).

Similarly, there are various examples of the character using words and expressions which refer to cigarettes, drug use and drug paraphernalia. For example, in the following sentence Millat uses the word *fag*, a British informal noun which refers to a cigarette (Waite, 2012). This word was translated into an element of a specific non-standard variety, namely into the colloquial word *saf*, which has the same meaning (D4).

(102) ‘I need a fag.’ (p.299) – ‘Ik heb een saf nodig.’ (p.228)

Similarly, the word *gear*, a British informal noun referring to illegal drugs (Stevenson, 2015), has been translated into the informal *spul*, which may refer to heroin in some contexts (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017).
‘It was my gear. He was talking to me, and I was smoking it.’ (p.301) – ‘Het was mijn spul. Hij praatte tegen me en ik rookte het.’ (p.229)

The character also uses the expression to measure out an eighth. In this context, an eighth refers to drugs, specifically to an eighth of an ounce of cannabis (Green, 2019). Brinkman has translated this phrase into the Standard Dutch word achtste (N), which does not have this particular connotation. In this context, the target reader would likely have understood the expression better if the measurement had been converted to grams.


Another typical British informal word used by the character is the word mental, which in informal discourse means “insane” (Stevenson, 2015). In the target text, this word has been translated into neutral Standard Dutch (N).

‘You’re mental.’ (p.229) – ‘Jij bent gestoord.’ (p.174)

In addition, Millat Iqbal uses the expression to have the hots for, which refers to someone’s sexual attraction towards another person. This phrase has been translated by the informal adjective geil (D4).

‘You’ve got the blatant hots for me.’ (p.229) – ‘Je bent zo geil als wat op mij.’ (p.175)

The teenager also uses the word moody, which means “untrustworthy” (Green, 2019). In this context he likely uses the adjective to convey that his train tickets are too expensive and that he feels that the ticket vendor is stealing from him. To reflect this idea, the translator has used the informal noun rotstreek (De Boer, 2017) (D4).


Furthermore, the character uses certain British informal expressions, such as to chuck out in the following example:

‘Dad chucked me out, didn’t he?’ (p.333) – ‘M’n vader heeft me eruit gegoooid.’ (p.252)
This expression is a phrasal verb which refers to making someone leave a house or building by force (Stevenson, 2015) and is expressed in Standard Dutch in the translation (N).

Another example is the expression *to keep shtoom* or *shtum*, which in the target text is expressed in Standard Dutch (N). This informal expression has Yiddish origins and means “to be silent” (Stevenson, 2015).

(125) ‘Not everyone can know. If you want to get near the centre, you’ve got to keep shtoom.’ (p.474) – ‘Niet iedereen mag het weten. Als je bij de top wil komen, moet je je mond kunnen houden.’ (p.354)

In addition, he uses the verb *to chip*, which in this context refers to the character having to leave. Brinkman has translated this verb into Standard Dutch (N).

(118) ‘Brother Tyrone, I’ve got to chip, man, my gal’s waiting for me.’ (p.371) – ‘Broeder Tyrone, ik moet ervandoor, man, mijn dame wacht op me.’ (p.279)

The character also often refers to others with *you lot*, *lot* being a word which is frequently used to refer to others as a group in an informal way (Stevenson, 2015). Again, Brinkman has used less colloquial Standard Dutch in the target text (N).

(111) ‘For fuckssake! I don’t want any fucking tea. All you ever do is drink tea! You lot must piss pure bloody tea.’ (p.333) – ‘Godallemachtig! Ik wil geen thee, verdomme. Het enige wat jullie doen is thee drinken! Jullie moeten verdomme wel pure thee pissen.’ (p.252)

In addition, in one example from the corpus, Millat uses the word *laters*, which is a British informal way of saying goodbye, with the intention of seeing someone at a later date or time (Stevenson, 2015). Brinkman has translated this word into *ik zie je*, a Dutch informal expression which is derived from the English expression *see you* (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017) (D4).


Millat Iqbal’s lexicon also contains American informal and slang words. A first example is the word *don*, which he uses to describe one of his friends from KEVIN. This word refers to a member of the mafia with a high rank (Stevenson, 2015) and has been transferred verbatim to the target text (D7).
In addition, he uses the word kick-arse, which can also be spelt as kick-ass and which is a North American informal term which means “excellent” or “forceful” (Stevenson, 2015). Brinkman has translated this word into ruig, which in teen language approaches the meaning of the English word (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017) (D4), but which is nevertheless not commonly seen as an expletive.

‘That’s a wicked name. It’s got a wicked kung-fu kick-arse sound to it.’ (p.295) – ‘Dat is een te gekke naam. Dat heeft een te gekke kungfu-achtige ruige klank.’ (p.225)

Another feature of the character’s lexicon is the word gal, which is a North American informal word used to refer to young women and girls (Stevenson, 2015). The translator has translated this word into dame, which is a Standard Dutch word but triggers the ironic association of hierarchy in a mob subculture (N).

‘Brother Tyrone, I’ve got to chip, man, my gal’s waiting for me.’ (p.371) – ‘Broeder Tyrone, ik moet ervandoor, man, mijn dame wacht op me.’ (p.279)

Additionally, Millat refers to his fellow members of KEVIN as my speed or my man, both being affectionate terms to address a friend. In the following example, my man has been translated into the Dutch colloquial equivalent m’n maat (D4). The phrase my speed, however, has been translated into m’n kick. In the Dutch language, the word kick is usually not used to refer to a friend, but as speed may also refer to drugs and the word kick is often associated with drugs, the translator has captured this association.

‘Hey, Hifan, my speed, Tyrone, my man, why the long faces?’ (p.370) – ‘Hé, Hifan, m’n kick, Tyrone, m’n maat, waarom de lange gezichten?’ (p.278)

Certain Jamaican words form part of Millat’s lexicon as well, for instance the word cha, which is a variation of the word cho and which is used to express annoyance, contempt, disagreement or impatience (Cassidy & Le Page, 2002). In the target text, the translator has opted to use the same word without changing the spelling (D7). However, this is a choice which is not consistent with her translation technique for the word cho in Hortense Bowden’s speech, which she has translated into the Dutch interjection ha (see 5.1.3).
In the same sentences, he uses the vocative man, which is often stereotypically associated with the language of Jamaicans. In similar fashion to the translation of Hortense’s speech, this word has been transferred verbatim to the target text.

Additionally, the character starts using certain words as a result of his association with the fundamentalist Islamic group KEVIN. For example, he calls his fellow members brother or sister, which are words frequently used to refer to members of the same religious group (Cleveland Marwick et al., 2014). In the target text, these words have been translated by the words broeder and zuster, which have the same use in Dutch (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017).

In addition, the character refers to those who do not believe in his faith as infidel, a word often used by fundamentalists. In the target text, this word has been translated by the modern Standard Dutch word ongelovigen.

Likewise, the character uses the word jihad, which technically is a word with Arabic origins which exists in both the English language and the Dutch language, referring to a war against those who do not believe in Islam (Stevenson, 2015). As expected, the translator has used the same word in the Dutch translation.
is zijn straf? Waar blijft de wraak? Waar blijft zijn verdiende loon, vergelding, 
^jihad^? ’ (p.373)

As previously mentioned in this section, the character also tends to use expletives as an assertive identity marker, such as the adjectives ^bloody^ and ^fuck(ing)^, which in the target text have generally been translated into the equivalent variants ^verdomme, verrekt, verdomd, vuil^ and more (D4). However, in (111), the translator has used the word ^godallemachtig^, which, although an informal word, does not have the same low register. Likewise, the word ^verdomme^ has a more neutral register as well. In addition, the word ^fuck^ is also used as a verb to refer to sexual intercourse and has accordingly been translated into the Dutch informal word ^neuken^ (De Boer, 2017) (D4). In the following examples from the corpus, the character also uses the verb ^to piss^ and the expression ^pissed off^. The former, which is the informal word for ^to pee^ (Ayto & Simpson, 2013), has been translated into the informal Dutch word ^pissen^ (De Boer, 2017) (D4), while the latter is a North American slang word which means that someone is angry (Stevenson, 2015). In addition, in example (112), Millat calls an old man the expletive ^cunt^, which in Dutch has been translated into the more neutral, but still insulting expression ^ouwe zak^. Finally, example (113) contains the word ^shit^, which is often used to refer to things (Stevenson, 2015) and which has been translated into Standard Dutch (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017) (N).

(111) ‘For ^fuckssake^! I don’t want any ^fucking^ tea. All you ever do is drink tea! You lot must ^piss^ pure ^bloody^ tea.’ (p.333) – ‘^Godallemachtig^! Ik wil geen thee, ^verdomme^. Het enige wat jullie doen is thee drinken! Jullie moeten ^verdomme^ wel pure thee ^pissen^.’ (p.252)

(112) ‘I called him a ^cunt^. He is a ^cunt^.’ (p.333) – ‘Ik noemde hem een ^ouwe zak^. Hij is een ^ouwe zak^.’ (p.253)

(113) ‘He’s a ^bloody^ hypocrite, man.’ […] ‘He prays five times a day but he still drinks and he doesn’t have any Muslim friends, then he has a go at me for ^fucking^ a white girl. And then he’s ^pissed off^ about Magid. He takes all his ^shit^ out on me. And he wants me to stop hanging around with KEVIN. I’m more of a ^fucking^ Muslim than he is. ^Fuck^ him!’ (p.334) – ‘Hij is zo’n ^verdomde^ hypocriet, man.’ […] ‘Hij bidt vijf keer per dag, maar hij drinkt nog steeds en hij heeft helemaal geen moslimvrienden, en dan krijg ik hem over me heen omdat ik met een wit meisje ^neuk^. En hij ^heeft de pest in^ over Magid. Hij reageert al
zijn rotzooi op mij af. En hij wil dat ik geen contact meer heb met KEVIN. Ik ben verdomme meer moslim dan hij. Verdomme!’ (p.253)

In addition, the character uses the word arse, a vulgar slang word to refer to someone’s bottom, which has been translated into the Dutch informal word reet (D4).

(130) ‘Is this what we joined KEVIN for? To take no action? To sit around on our arses playing with words?’ (p.502) – ‘Zijn we hiervoor lid geworden van KEVIN? Om geen actie te ondernemen? Om op onze reet te zitten en een beetje met woorden te spelen?’ (p.373)

Furthermore, excerpts (89) and (90) from the corpus include various vulgar slang words which refer in an insulting way to a homosexual person. Unsurprisingly, the translator has used vulgar slang words from the Dutch language with the same meaning to convey these insults (D4).


Finally, in the corpus, there are two separate cases in which language use is significant in his character portrayal. For example, Millat mistakenly claims that his ancestor Mangal Pande *gets hung* instead of *getting hanged*. In the Dutch translation, this mistake is conveyed by using the informal form of opgehangen, namely gehangen (den Boon & Hendrickx, 2017) (D4).

(81) ‘To rebel against the English, all on his Jack-Jones, spliffed up to the eyeballs, tries to shoot his captain, misses, tries to shoot himself, misses, gets hung –’ (p.226) – ‘Tegen de Engelsen in opstand te komen, helemaal in z’n eentje, zo stoned als een garnaal, probeert zijn kapitein dood te schieten, mist, probeert zichzelf dood te schieten, mist, wordt gehangen…’ (p.173)

The repetition of conversational yeah, the shortened, more informal form of yes, has been translated into either ja, which could have been spelt as jah to reflect the same variation, or the
more colloquial interjection hè. Although the conversational marker has been normalized (N), its repetition signals the character’s style of speech to the target reader.


(91)  ‘Yeah, yeah, yeah. I thank Allah, yeah? I hope he fucks you up wicked, yeah? We’re going to Bradford to sort out the likes of you, yeah? Chief!’ (p.231) – ‘Ja, ja, ja. Ik dank Allah, ja? Ik hoop dat die je goed te grazen neemt, ja? We gaan naar Bradford om met jouw soort af te rekenen, ja. Bâáś!’ (p.176)

(120) ‘So you’re going through with it, yeah?’ (p.463) – ‘Dus je gaat ermee door, hè?’ (p.346)

5.2.4 Compensation techniques

In comparison to Hortense Bowden’s speech, the translator has deleted less linguistic variation in the speech of Millat Iqbal. As a result, the translator did not have to compensate as much. In fact, only in three excerpts from the corpus do examples of compensation occur. For example in (85) and (86), the character rudely asks for a ticket to Bradford and in the Dutch sentences, his request has been translated into één Bradford, which is a shortened version of één ticket naar Bradford which is not used in Standard Dutch.


(95)  ‘What they want,’ said Millat, ‘is to stop pissing around wid dis hammer business and jus’ get some Semtex and blow de djam ting up, if they don’t like it, you get me? Be quicker, innit?’ (p.239) – ‘Wa ze moete doen,’ zei Millat, ‘is stoppe met da gepiel met die hamers en wat Semtex erbij haal en da hele stomme ding
As mentioned previously (see 5.2.1), in (95), the translator has added linguistic variation by using features from Dutch oral discourse (D4), namely the deletion of the final -n from verbs and the final -t from words such as dat and wat.

5.2.5 Identity

As mentioned in the theoretical framework of this dissertation, the theme of identity formation is important for the younger generation of characters in the novel (Arikan, 2013). This process is reflected by Smith through language (Ledent, 2016), which in the case of Millat Iqbal is the most important device to portray the character’s desire to belong to a group and to differentiate himself from his parents and twin brother. His evolution throughout the novel is reflected by his changing language, as in the beginning of the novel he just uses certain features from different languages, but as his story progresses, he starts speaking the sociolect called Raggastani. Near the end of the novel his language changes again, as he starts speaking a more Standard English, clearly influenced by his fellow members of KEVIN and the pamphlets they spread. These phases in his life take place in the three following parts of the novel: Samad 1984, 1857; Irie 1990, 1907 and Magid, Millat and Marcus 1992, 1999.

In order to convey the same evolution and the notion of identity formation, the translator would have to provide a translation which takes into account these elements. Based on the findings in the previous sections of this chapter, one can conclude that as most of the variation in Millat’s speech is related to lexicon and as the translator has therefore been able to convey the same nuances, Brinkman has been able to largely reflect the same evolution. This she has achieved by employing elements from spoken, colloquial language and from certain language varieties, as well as by transferring the foreign words used by Millat to the target text. In addition, she has added linguistic variation in places where there is none in the source text to compensate for the loss of variation in other places in the target text.

Nevertheless, as observed in the analysis of the corpus, there are three examples of utterances in which the translator has fully normalized the linguistic variation, resulting in the loss of nuance in his speech. For example, in utterances (73) and (96), it is clear in the source text that Millat is influenced by the Jamaican ethnolect, which he tries to mimick, often in a mocking
fashion. In addition, the substandard element *ain’t* has been normalized as well, both in utterance (92) and (96).

(73) ‘Respect to that. I wish I’d *seed dem.*’ (p.167) – ‘Respect daarvoor. Ik wou dat ik ze *had gezien.*’ (p.130)

(92) ‘No way. He *ain’t* going to be there. Just brothers going to be there.’ (p.233) – ‘Vergeet het maar. Hij *zal daar niet* zijn. Er zullen alleen broeders zijn.’ (p.177-178)

(96) ‘And you want to watch *dem* dumplings.’ […] ‘Big *ain’t* beautiful.’ (p.239) – ‘En wat jij moet doen, is een beetje op *die* knoedels letten.’ […] ‘Fors *is niet* mooi.’ (p.182)

In sum, despite the normalization of certain features, the Dutch translator has managed to accurately portray Millat’s language evolution throughout the novel, effectively conveying the same effect on the target text reader as on the source text reader, both of whom will understand the character’s desire to form his own identity and the different phases in this process.

6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Based on the analysis of the corpus, one can conclude that the Dutch translator has employed a variety of translation techniques to translate the ethnolectal speech of Hortense Bowden and sociolectal speech of Millat Iqbal, the language of the characters being the most important vehicle to convey, respectively, Hortense’s strong connection to her past and faith and Millat’s desire to form his own identity and defy his parents and twin brother. With reference to Pinto’s typology (2009), several techniques can be identified, such as normalization (N), the use of honorifics (D2), elements from spoken discourse (D4) or from a non-standard variety or non-standard varieties (D5 and D6), as well as directly copying the foreign element with (D8) or without changing the spelling (D7).

Firstly, in the analysis the speech of Jamaican character Hortense Bowden was analysed, with a specific focus on the emotional charge of her utterances, illustrated through her biblical references, and her strong connection to her roots, which according to Arikan (2013) is typical for the first generation in the novel. Given the translator’s frequent use of Standard Dutch to replace the ethnolectal elements in Hortense Bowden’s speech, in particular in terms of
pronunciation, the strong connection of the character to her Jamaican background is not as apparent in the target text as in the source text. However, as observed in the analysis of the first section of the corpus, the compensation techniques used by Brinkman, as well as the use of features from oral discourse and dialects and the use of the more foreign lexical items from the source text, provide the reader with enough additional information to understand Hortense’s connection to her past. Nevertheless, in terms of the emotional charge of the character’s utterances, the largely normalized translation has led to the loss of contrast between her flawless Standard English when she cites the Bible or sings hymns calmly and her normal ethnolectal English when she refers to the Bible when she is overtaken by emotion. In addition, the concept of *suck-teeth* has not been translated consistently in the target text, leaving the reader to have to interpret the true meaning of the action by means of the dialogue.

Secondly, the speech of Millat Iqbal was analysed, with a focus on the evolution of his identity formation (see 3.1), which changes throughout the novel and which is rendered by means of language (Ledent, 2016). In the case of Millat Iqbal’s speech, which is mostly rendered by means of lexical elements, the sociolectal elements are generally reflected in the target text through features from Dutch oral discourse and from non-standard varieties, as well as by retaining foreign features from the source text with or without changing the spelling. In addition, Brinkman has used similar techniques as a compensation for the loss of nuance where she has opted for the normalization of sociolectal features in Millat’s speech. As observed in the analysis of the second section of the corpus, the translator has managed to largely convey the same nuances, effectively reflecting the evolution of Millat’s language as a result of his search for belonging and for an identity which defies his parents and his twin brother Magid.

Investigating why the translator has made certain translation choices in favour of other choices is beyond the scope of this study. However, Brinkman’s frequent use of standard language indicates the difficulty in translating multicultural novels which contain an abundance of linguistic variation of several different types, as well as cultural references. As mentioned in the theoretical framework (see 3.4), the Norwegian translation of Smith’s novel *NW* (2012) has illustrated that difficulty, as most critics had referred to the mistranslation of cultural references and the loss of nuance as a result of the translation.

Nevertheless, translators use various methods to deal with linguistic variation in novels, which is illustrated by academics’ attempts to create overviews and even typologies of the possible techniques, such as Pinto’s typology (2009). In the analysis, the techniques listed in this typology were used as a reference to link to the techniques used by Brinkman in the Dutch
translation of *White Teeth* (2000). However, one must be critical about the use of the typology within the context of ethnolect and sociolect, as it refers to the translation of non-standard varieties in general, without the distinction between the different types of varieties, be it ethnolect, sociolect, chronolec or other types. As observed in the analysis of the corpus, a large number of the techniques listed by Pinto (2009) have been used by the Dutch translator, although some, for example the use of standard language along with written signals that the character is speaking a dialect, have not been used in any of the utterances selected. This observation raises the question if generalised typologies are suitable for the analysis of specific types of non-standard varieties or if more specialised typologies or overviews can and should be compiled, for instance for the translation of ethnolects. Another question which arises after this study, is how the Dutch translation compares to other translations of the novel in different languages, as different conventions may apply in different language areas.

Taking into consideration these questions, a number of suggestions can be given for a follow-up study. For instance, this dissertation can be followed by a study of the speech of other characters in this particular novel, especially as this study is limited to the analysis of the speech of only two characters out of many. Similarly, one can analyse the translation of other similar novels with comparable linguistic variation. In addition, the Dutch translation can be compared to one or more translations in other languages, either to compare the degrees of normalization and dialectization or to study which elements of the linguistic variation in *White Teeth* (2000) prove to be the most difficult for the translators. Finally, as the novel was published nineteen years ago, one can seek the possible differences between the translation of ethnolects and sociolects between then and now, as language and translation conventions are in constant movement.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources


Secondary sources


APPENDIX


SECTION 1: HORTENSE BOWDEN

ARCHIE 1974, 1945

1 'Some people,' Hortense asserted with a snort, 'have done such a hol' heap of sinning, it late for dem to be making eyes at Jehovah. It take effort to be close to Jehovah. It take devotion and dedication. Blessed are the pure in heart for they alone shall see God. Matthew 5:8. Isn't dat right, Darcus?' (p.30)  'Sommige mensen,' verklaarde Hortense snuivend, 'hebben zoveel gezondigd dat het te laat voor ze is om nog naar Jehova te lonken. Het kost inspanning om dicht bij Jehova te zijn. Het kost vroomheid en toewijding. Gelukkig zijn de zuiveren van hart, want zij zullen God zien.' Mattheüs 5:8. Heb ik gelijk, Darcus?' (p.28)

2 'An' it not ', exclaimed Hortense [...] 'dat young man's soul you boddrin' yourself wid! How many times must I tell you – you got no time for bwoys!' (p.31)  'Het is niet,' riep Hortense uit, [...] 'de ziel van die jongeman waar jij je druk om maakt. Hoe vaak moet ik het nog zeggen... je hebt geen tijd voor jongens!' (p.29)

3 'Bein' barn is de hardest part! Once ya done dat – no problems.' (p.34)  'Geboren worden is het moeilijkste. Heb je dat eenmaal gedaan... een makkie.' (p.31)

4 'Dem dat died widout de knowing de Lord, will be resurrected and dem will have anudder chance.' (p.39)  'Zij die gestorven zijn zonder de Heer te kennen, zullen herrijzen en een nieuwe kans krijgen.' (p.35)

5 'Dear Lord, she look like something de cat dragged in, hmm?' (p.40)  'Lieve heer, ze ziet eruit als een verzonken kat, hmm?' (p.35)

6 'Ha!' cried Hortense, almost triumphant. 'You tink you can hide your friends from me for ever? De bwoy was cold, I let 'im in, we been havin' a nice chat, haven't we young man?' (p.40)  'Ha!' riep Hortense, bijna triomfantelijk. 'Jij denkt dat je je vrienden voor me kan blijven verbergen? Die jongen had het koud. Ik heb 'm binnengelaten. We hebben gezellig gepraat, hè, jongeman?' (p.35)

7 'Well, don' look so shock. You'd tink I was gwan eat 'im up or something, eh Ryan?' said Hortense, glowing in a manner Clara had never seen before. (p.40)  'Nou, kijk niet zo geschrokken. Je zou denken dat ik hem zou opeten of zoietjes, hè, Ryan?' zei Hortense, stralend op een manier die Clara nog nooit eerder had gezien. (p.35)

IRIE 1990, 1907

8 'Understand: I and I don't speak from this moment forth.' (p.327)  'Begrijp: ik en ik spreken vanaf dit moment niet meer.' (p.248)

9 'Irie, look at you! Pickney nah even got a gansey on – child must be freezin'! Shiverin' like a Mexico bean. Let me feel you. Fever! You bringin' fever into my house?' (p.382)  'Irie, wat zie je d'r uit! Pickney heb niet eens een muts op – 't kind moet 't ijskoud hebben! Rillend als een Mexicaanse boon. Lat me je voelen. Koorts! Je brengt koorts in mijn huis?' (p.287)

10 'That's fever as sure as fever is fever. Feel it?' (p.382)  'Da's koorts zo zeker als koorts koorts is. Voel je het?' (p.287)

11 'Come 'ere.' [...] 'Now come into the kitchen an' cease an' sekkle. Runnin' roun' on a night like dis, wearin' flimsy nonsense! You're having a hot drink of cerace and den gone a bed quicker den you ever did in your life.' (p.383)  'Kom 'ier.' [...] 'Zo, kom mee naar de keuken en hou op met rillen. Een beetje rondlopen op een nacht als deze met alleen maar dunne niemendalletjes aan. Je krijgt een warme cerace-thee en dan ga je sneller naar je bed dan je ooit van je leven hebt gedaan.' (p.287)

12 'Let me look at you.' (p.383)  'La'me naar je kijken.' (p.287)
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<td>13</td>
<td>‘I don’t think dere’s any maybe about it, young lady. An’ I’m sure I don’ know why you come ‘pon de bus, when it take tree hours to arrive an’ leave you waitin’ in de col’ an’ den’ when you get pon it de windows are open anyway an’ you freeze half to death.’ (p.383)</td>
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<td>‘Ik denk niet dat misschien op z’n plaats is, jongedame. En ik begrijp echt niet waarom je met de bus bent gekomen, als het drie uur duurt voordat hij komt en je in de kou moet wachten en als je d’r in stapt de ramen toch open zijn en je half doodvriest.’ (p.287)</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>‘Nuttin’, come ‘ere. Take off your spectacles.’ (p.383)</td>
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<td>‘Niks, kom ‘ier. Doe je bril af.’ (p.288)</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>‘Stop fussin’. I’m not puttin’ nuttin’ in your eye.’ (p.383)</td>
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<td>‘Maak je niet druk. Ik doe niks in je ogen.’ (p.288)</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>‘Bay rum,’ said Hortense matter-of-factly. ‘Burns de fever away. No, don’t wash it off. Jus’ leave it to do its biznez.’ (p.383)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Bay rum,’ zei Hortense nuchter. ‘Brandt de koorts weg. Nee, niet eraf wassen. Laat ‘t gewoon z’n werk doen.’ (p.288)</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>‘So!’ said Hortense, entirely awake now and somewhat triumphant. ‘You finally dash from that godless woman, I see. An’ caught a flu while you doin’ it! Well … there are those who wouldn’t blame you, no, not at all … No one knows better than me what dat woman be like. Never at home, learnin’ all her isms and skisms in the university, leavin’ husband and pickney at home, hungry and maga. Lord, naturally you flee! Well…’ (p.384)</td>
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<td>‘Zo!’ zei Hortense, nu helemaal wakker en enigszins triomfantelijk. ‘Eindelijk weggelopen bij die goddeloze vrouw, begrijp ik. En daarbij een griep opgelopen! Nou… d’r zijn mensen die je niet kwalijk zullen nemen, nee, helemaal niet. Niemand weet beter dan ik hoe die vrouw is. Nooit thuis, leert al die ismes en gismes op de universiteit, laat man en pickney thuis, hongerig en mager. Here God, natuurlijk vlucht je weg! Nou…’ (p.288)</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>‘It is written. You will flee by my mountain valley, for it will extend to Azel. You will flee as you fled from the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah. Then the LORD my God will come, and all the holy ones with him. Zechariah 14:5. In the end the good ones will flee from the evil. Oh, Irie Ambrosia… I knew you come in de end. All God’s children return in the end.’ (p.384)</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>‘Yes, dey all return to de Lord Jesus in de end,’ continued Hortense to herself, placing the bitter root of cerace into a kettle. ‘Dat’s not a real orange, dear. All de fruit is plasticated. De flowers are plasticated also. I don’t believe de Lord meant me to spend de little housekeeping money I possess on perishable goods. Have some dates.’ (p.384)</td>
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<td>‘Ja, ze komen uiteindelijk allemaal terug naar de Here Jezus,’ vervolgde Hortense in zichzelf terwijl ze de bittere ceracewortel in een theeketel deed. ‘Dat is geen echte sinaasappel, kind. Alle vruchten zijn geplastificeerd. De bloemen zijn ook geplastificeerd. Ik geloof niet dat de Heer het zo heb bedoeld dat ik het weinige huishoudgeld dat ik heb aan beperkt houdbare producten uitgeef. Neem wat dadels.’ (p.288)</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>‘So you lef Archibald wid dat woman … poor ting. Me always like Archibald,’ said Hortense sadly [...]. (p.384)</td>
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<td>‘Dus jij heb Archibald bij die vrouw achtergelaten… de stumper. Ik mag Archibald altijd,’ zei Hortense droevig [...]. (p.288)</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>‘Him was never my objection as such. He always been a level-headed sort a fellow. Blessed are de peacekeepers. He always strike me as a peacekeeper. But it more de</td>
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|      | ‘Hij was nooit mijn bezwaar als zodanig. Hij was altijd wel een nuchtere man. Gezegend zijn de vredesstichters. Hij kwam altijd op me over als een vredesstichter. Maar het was meer het
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>‘You’re about de only good ting to come out of dat ... Bwoy, sometime it like lookin’ in a mirror-glass.’ [...] ‘You built like me, big, you know! Hip and tie and rhas, and titties. My mudder was de same way. You even named after my mudder.’ (p.385)</td>
<td>‘Jij ben zo ongeveer ‘t enige goede dat daaruit is voortgekomen... Tjonge, soms is ‘t als kijken in een spiegel.’ [...] ‘Jij bent gebouwd als mij, groot, weet je! Heup en dij en kont, en tietjes. M’n moeder was net zo. Je bent zelfs naar m’n moeder genoemd.’ (p.289)</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>‘You sleepin’ in de living room. I’ll get a blanket and pillows and den we talk in de marnin’. I’m up at six, ‘cos I got Witness Bizznez, so don’ tink you sleeping none after eight. Pickney, you hear me?’ (p.385)</td>
<td>‘Je slaapt in de woonkamer. Ik haal een deken en kussens en dan praten we morgenochtend weer. Ik ben om zes uur op, want ‘k heb Getuigenzaken, dus denk niet dat je na achtuurt nog slaapt. Pickney, hoor je me?’ (p.289)</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>‘No, dat’s not possible. Dere is a certain situation,’ said Hortense mysteriously. ‘Dat can wait till de sun is up to be hexplained. Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed,’ she intoned quietly, turning to go. ‘And nothing hid, that shall not be known. Dat is Mat-chew 10:26.’ (p.385)</td>
<td>‘Nee, dat kan niet. D’r is ‘n zekere situatie,’ zei Hortense geheimzinnig. ‘Dat kan wachten tot de zon op is om uitgelegd te worden. Vreest hen dan niet, want er is niets bedekt, of het zal geopenbaard worden,’ intoneerde ze zachtjes, ‘en verborgen, of het zal bekend worden. Dat is Mattheüs, 10:26.’ (p.289)</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>‘Dat is Mr Topps.’ (p.386)</td>
<td>‘Da’s meneer Topps.’ (p.290)</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>‘An’ de only man who made a solitary ting grow out dere. Such a crop of tomatoes as you never did see! Irie Ambrosia, stop starin’ and come an’ do up dis dress. Quick before your goggles-eve fall out.’ (p.386)</td>
<td>‘En hij is de enige man die het voor elkaar heb gekregen om daar ook maar iets te laten groeien. Een tomatenoogst als je nooit heb gezien! Irie Ambrosia, hou op met staren en kom hier en maak deze jurk dicht. Vlug, voordat die puiologen van je druit vallen.’ (p.290)</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>‘Not in de sense you meaning,’ sniffed Hortense. ‘He is jus’ a great help to me in my ol’ age. He bin wid me deez six years, God bless ‘im and keep ‘Is soul. Now, pass me dat pin.’ (p.387)</td>
<td>‘Niet in de zin die jij bedoelt,’ snoof Hortense. ‘Hij is alleen een geweldige hulp voor me op m’n ouwe dag. Hij is deze zes jaar bij me geweest, God zegene hem en beware zijn ziel. Nou, geef me die speld aan.’ (p.290)</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>‘Women need a man ‘bout de house, udderwise ting an’ ting get messy.’ (p.387)</td>
<td>‘Vrouwen hebben een man in huis nodig, anders worden de dingen rommelig.’ (p.290)</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>‘But ‘im family are nasty-nasty.’ (p.387)</td>
<td>‘Maar z’n familie is gemeen-gemeen.’ (p.290)</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>‘The farder is a terrible man, gambler an’ whoremonger... so after a while, I arks him to come and live with me, seein’ how de room empty and Darcus gone. ‘Im a very civilized principe ervan, weet je? Zwart en wit dat komt nooit goed. De Here Jezus heb nooit bedoeld dat we ons zouden vermengen. Daarom heb hij een heleboel drukte gemaakt over de kinderen van mannen die de toren van Babel bouwden. Hij wil dat iedereen de dingen gescheiden houdt. Omdat de Here daar de taal der gehele aarde verward heeft en de Here hen vandaar over de gehele aarde verstrooid heeft. Genesis 11:9. Als je ‘t vermenig, daar kan niks goeds uit komen. Het was niet bedoeld. Behalve jij.’ (p.289)</td>
<td>‘De vader is een vreselijke man, gokker en hoereerder... dus na een tijdje, met de kamer leeg en Darcus weg, vraag ik hem bij mij te komen wonen. Hij is een beschadde jongen.' (p.290)</td>
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bwoy. Never married, though. Married to de church, yes, suh! [...]’ (p.387)

‘[...] He himproved so much. [...]’ (p.387)

‘Good marnin’, Mr Topsps.’ (p.388)

‘O ja, zeker, da's de heilige waarheid,’ zei Hortense nerveus [...] ‘Maar toch wil een Getuigen-dame er ook niet uitzien als, nou, een buguyaga in de huis van de Heer.’ (p.291)

‘Become as blood, and trees burn, and the 1914 shall now witness die turd part of de trees burn, and the turd part of de sea become as blood, and de turd part of de...’ (p.397)

‘Hij is zo verbeterd.’ (p.290)

‘Goeiemogge, meneer Topps.’ (p.291)

‘Nou, dit is m'n kleindochter, Irie Ambrosia Jones.’ (p.292)

‘Ze is... ze is... Clara's dochter,’ zie Hortense aarzelend. ‘Meneer Topps heb je moeder gekend, lang geleden. Maar 't is goed, meneer Topps, ze komt nu bij ons wonen.’ (p.292)

‘La'me 's gaan bakken.’ (p.293)

‘I taut she was God's child.’ (p.391)

‘Ik dacht dat ze Gods kind was.’ (p.293)

‘Jij moet studeren en hij moet studeren.’ (p.294)

‘Ha! Precies wat ik dacht. Je ogen zijn groter dan je maag, hè! Geef hier.’ (p.294)

‘Hij voert op 't moment overleg met de heren van Brooklyn... om de definitieve datum vast te stellen; geen vergissingen deze keer.’ (p.294)

‘[...] Je moeder vertelt je dat liever niet sinds ze het zo hoog in haar bol heb gekregen, maar de familie Bowden heb 't lange tijd heel moeilijk gehad. Ik ben geboren tijdens een aardbeving. Bijn a dood voor ik was geboren. En dan, als ik een volwassen vrouw ben, loopt m'n eigen dochter bij me weg. Nooit zie ik m'n eigen kleinpickney. [...]’ (p.294)

‘I and I talking all over de place dis marnin.’ (p.393)

‘Ik en ik praten veel te veel deze ochtend.’ (p.294)

‘Ik ben zo weer terug.’ (p.295)

Hortense zuog op haar tanden. 'Geen probleem. Dat is wat haar naam betekent in patois: Irie, geen probleem. Nou, wat voor een naam is dat om...' (p.295)

‘En zij die een dergelijk einde verwachten voor deze wereld zullen diep teleurgesteld zijn, want Hij zal verschrikking zaaien en ziet, de generatie die getuige is geweest van deze gebeurtenissen van 1914 zal nu zien hoe een derde deel van de bomen verbrandt, en een derde deel van de...’ (p.298)
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Hortense sucked her teeth long and loud. ‘I git so tired wid de church always tellin’ me I’m a woman or I’m not heducated enough. Everybody always tryin’ to heducate you; heducate you about dis, heducate you about dat... Dat’s always bin de problem wid de women in dis family. Somebody always tryin’ to heducate them about something, pretendin’ it all about learnin’ when it all about a battle of de wills. But if we were one of de hundred an’ forty-four, no one gwan try to heducate me. Dat would be my job! I’d make my own laws an’ I wouldn’t be wanting anybody else’s opinions. My mudder was strong-willed deep down, and I’m de same. Lord knows, your mudder was de same. And you de same.’ (p.409)</td>
<td>Hortense zoog scherp haar adem naar binnen. ‘Ik heb er zo genoeg van dat de kerk me al maar vertelt dat ik een vrouw ben of dat ik niet genoeg ontwikkeld ben. Iedereen probeert je altijd maar te ontwikkelen, te ontwikkelen in dit, te ontwikkelen in dat... Dat is altijd ‘t probleem geweest met de vrouwen in deze familie. D’r is altijd wel iemand die ze probeert te ontwikkelen in iets, en ze doen altijd alsof het om leren gaat terwijl het alleen maar een strijd van de wil is. Maar als ik een van de horde renervierendervertig, zal niemand meer proberen me te ontwikkelen. Dat zou mijn taak zijn! Ik zou mijn eigen wetten maken en ik zou niemands mening nodig hebben. Mijn moeder had diep vanbinnen een sterke wil, en ik ben hetzelfde. De Heer weet dat jouw moeder hetzelfde was. En jij bent hetzelfde.’ (p.306)</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>‘Oh, yes, Mr Topps – but jus’ let me tyake it in jus’ a minute ... It couldn’t be an udder date, could it, Mr Topps? I tol’ you I felt it in my bones.’ (p.410)</td>
<td>‘O, ja, meneer Topps, maar geef me nog ‘n minuutje om ‘t te bevatten... Het kan geen enkele andere datum zijn, meneer Topps? Ik zei al dat ik het in mijn botten voelde.’ (p.307)</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>‘Cho! My grandmudder live to see one hundered-and-tree an de woman could skip rope till de day she keel over and drop col’. Me gwan make it. I make it dis far. My mudder suffer to get me here – but she knew de true church and she make heffort to push me out in de mos’ difficult circumstances so I could live to see that glory day.’ (p.410)</td>
<td>‘Ha! M’n grootmoeder is horderdendrie geworden en die vrouw kon touwtjespringen tot ze neerviel en de pijp uitging. Ik ga het halen. Ik heb het tot nu toe gehaald. M’n moeder heb geleden om me hier te krijgen, maar ze kende de ware kerk en ze heb zich onder de moeilijkste omstandigheden ingespannen om mij d’ruit te persen zodat ik die glorieuze dag kon meemaken.’ (p.307)</td>
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<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Hortense sucked her teeth contemptuously. (p.410)</td>
<td>Hortense zoog vol verachting op haar tanden. (p.307)</td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>‘You gwan have to speak up, me kyan hear nuttin’ – ‘ (p.486)</td>
<td>‘Je moet harder praten, ik kan niets horen...’ (p.363)</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>‘She have been visited by de Lord! She know before she be tol!’ (p.487)</td>
<td>‘Ze is bezocht door de Heer. Ze weet ‘t voor ze is verteld!’ (p.363)</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>‘Don’t tark to me, pickney, don’t tark to me. I and I is bitterly disappointed.’ (p.488)</td>
<td>‘Praat niet tegen me, pickney, praat niet tegen me. Ik en ik is bitter teleurgesteld.’ (p.364)</td>
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| 59   | ‘[...] We gwan sing hymns with Mrs Dobson on de accordion, ‘cos you kyan shif a piano all | ‘[… ] We gaan gezangen zingen met mevrouw Dobson op de accordeon, want je kan daar niet
de way dere. An’ we wanan hunger-strike until dat hevil man stop messin’ wid de Lord’s beauteous creation an’.’ (p.488)

helemaal een piano naar toe brengen. En we gaan hongerstaken tot die slechte man ophoudt met rotzooien met de schone schepping van de Heer en...’ (p.364)

60 ‘I want to do dis. I’m nat boddert by a little lack of food. De Lord giveth wid ‘im right hand and taketh away wid ‘im left.’ (p.489)

‘Ik wil dit doen. Ik maak me niet druk om een beetje gebrek aan eten. De Heer geeft met z’n rechterhand en neemt met z’n linkerhand.’ (p.365)

61 ‘He who would valiant be, ‘gainst all disaster!’ […] ‘Let ‘im in constancy, follow de master!’ (p.508)

‘Het zal ons niet berouwen de smalle weg te gaan!’ […] ‘Hij riep ons, de Getrouwe, en Hij ging zelf vooraan!’ (p.378)

62 ‘There’s no discouragement, shall make ‘im once relent, his first avowed intent, to be a Pilgrim!’ trilled Mrs B. ‘Who so besets him round, with dismal stories... do but themselves confound, his strength the more is...’ (p.509)

‘Komt en vertrouwt op Hem die u is voorgetogen en richt uw hart en ogen vast op Jeruzalem!’ kwinkeleerde mevrouw B. ‘Maar reist gij op uw wijze dan reist gij nog niet goed. De rechte pelgrimsreize is tegen vlees en bloed...’ (p.379)

63 ‘No foe shall stay his might, though he with giants fight, he will make good his right, to be a Pilgrim!’ (p.510)

‘Hoe zoudt gij zonder pijn uw oude mens verlaten? Geen medicijn kan baten: er moet gestorven zijn!’ (p.379)

64 ‘He who would most valiant be. ‘Gainst all disaster.’ (p.527)

‘Het zal ons niet berouwen de smalle weg te gaan...’ (p.392)

65 ‘Let him with constancy, follow the master...’ (p.528)

‘Hij riep ons, de Getrouwe, en Hij ging zelf vooraan...’ (p.393)

66 Hortense kisses her teeth. ‘I know fe who you are, man. You know me, I know you. But at dis point, dere are only two kind of people in de world.’ (p.530)

Hortense maakt een smakkend geluid. ‘Ik Weet wie je bent, man. Jij ken mij, ik ken jou. Maar op dit ogenblik zijn er maar twee soorten mensen op de wereld.’ (p.394)

67 ‘Two kind of people: dem who sing for de Lord and dem who rejeck ‘im at de peril of dem souls.’ (p.530)

‘Twee soorten mensen: zij die zingen voor de Heer en zij die ‘m afwijzen met gevaar voor hun ziel.’ (p.394)

68 ‘Early will I seek thee.’ […] ‘My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is...’ (p.530)

‘U zoek ik.’ […] ‘Mijn ziel dorst naar u, mijn vlees smacht naar u in een dor en dorstig land, zonder water.’ (p.394)

SECTION 2: MILLAT IQBAL

SAMAD 1984, 1857

69 ‘We got apples, you chief.’ (p.163)

‘Wij hebben appels, muts.’ (p.126)

70 ‘Well that’s lucky ‘cos I don’t. So shame.’ […] ‘Shame in the brain.’ (p.163)

‘Nu, dat komt goed uit want ik wil het niet. Schande.’ […] ‘Schande, schande, zweet in je hande.’ (p.127)

71 ‘Cha, man! Believe, I don’t want to tax dat crap.’ (p.167)

‘Cha, man! Echt, ik wil die troep niet taxeren.’ (p.129)

72 ‘I tax dat.’ […] ‘And dat!’ […] ‘Man you know I tax that,’ said Millat with the Jamaican accent that all kids, whatever their nationality, used to express scorn. (p.167)

‘Ik tax dát.’ […] ‘En dát!’ […] ‘Man, je weét dat ik dat taks,’ zei Millat met het Jamaïcaanse accent dat alle kinderen, van welke nationaliteit dan ook, gebruikten om minachting uit te drukken. (p.129)

73 ‘Respect to that. I wish I’d seed dem.’ (p.167)

‘Respect daarvoor. Ik wou dat ik ze had gezien.’ (p.130)

74 ‘He’s got to want it. He asked for it.’ […] ‘S God’s harvest, innit? […]’ (p.169)

‘Hij moet ze willen. Hij heeft erom gevraagd.’ […] ‘

t Is Gods oogst, toch? […]’ (p.131)

75 ‘You stupid fucking old man.’ (p.173)

‘Stomme ouwe klootzak.’ (p.134)
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<td>76</td>
<td>‘Cha, man. No way.’ [...] ‘I bet you two orange lollies Amma’s going to kick the shit out of him.’ (p.200)</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>‘Maybe, Abba, maybe not.’ (p.221)</td>
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<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>‘Ah, Dad, wicked. Torch. Shine it over here so I can read.’ (p.221)</td>
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<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>‘But Abba, I’m butt-naked!’ (p.221)</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>‘Amma, it’s Mr Fish.’ (p.223)</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>‘To rebel against the English, all on his Jack-Jones, spliffed up to the eyeballs, tries to shoot his captain, misses, tries to shoot himself, misses, gets hung –’ (p.226)</td>
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<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>‘You’re mental.’ (p.229)</td>
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<td>83</td>
<td>‘You’ve got the blatant hots for me.’ (p.229)</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>‘Cos that’s all the trouble you’re getting.’ (p.229)</td>
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<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>‘I just say, yeah? One for Bradford, yeah? You got some problem, yeah? Speaka da English? This is King’s Cross, yeah? One for Bradford, innit?’ (p.230)</td>
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<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>‘Yeah, man. I’m fifteen, yeah? ‘Course I want a return, I’ve got a bārii to get back to like everybody else.’ (p.230)</td>
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<td>89</td>
<td>‘First: I’m not a Paki, you ignorant fuck. And second: you don’t need translator, yeah? I’ll give it to you straight. You’re a fucking faggot, yeah? Queer boy, poofyer, batty-riding, shit-dick.’ (p.231)</td>
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<td>90</td>
<td>‘Arsé-bandit, fairy-fucker, toilet-trader.’ (p.231)</td>
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<td>91</td>
<td>‘Yeah, yeah, yeah. I thank Allah, yeah? I hope he fucks you up wicked, yeah? We’re going to Bradford to sort out the likes of you, yeah? Chief!’ (p.231)</td>
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<td>92</td>
<td>‘No way. He ain’t going to be there. Just brothers going to be there. It’s a fucking protest, you chief, why’s he going to go to a protest against himself?’ (p.233)</td>
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<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>‘We’ve taken it too long in this country. And now we’re getting it from our own, man. Rhas clut! He’s a fucking bādor, white man’s puppet.’ (p.233)</td>
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<td>94</td>
<td>‘I haven’t exactly read it exactly – but I know all about that shit, yeah?’ (p.233)</td>
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<td>95</td>
<td>‘What they want,’ said Millat, ‘is to stop pissing around wid dis hammer business and jus’ get some Semtex and blow de djam ting up, if they don’t like it, you get me? Be quicker, innit?’ (p.239)</td>
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<td>96</td>
<td>‘And you want to watch dem dumplings.’ […] ‘Big ain’t beautiful.’ (p.239)</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>‘That’s a wicked name. It’s got a wicked kung-fu kick-arse sound to it.’ (p.295)</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>‘Jones, give it a rest. I’m having a fucking debate. Hifan, what school you at now, mate?’ (p.296)</td>
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<td>106</td>
<td>‘Oh,’ said Millat, putting on what he called a bud-bud-ding-ding accent. ‘You are meaning where from am I originally.’ (p.319)</td>
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<td>107</td>
<td>‘Chill out man.’ […] ‘It wasn’t that fucking funny.’ (p.319)</td>
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<td>108</td>
<td>‘Evening all. Door was ajar. Let myself in. One day somebody’s going to wander in here and murder the fucking lot of you.’ (p.330)</td>
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<td>111</td>
<td>‘For fuckssake! I don’t want any fucking tea. All you ever do is drink tea! You lot must piss pure bloody tea.’ (p.333)</td>
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<td>112</td>
<td>‘I called him a cunt. He is a cunt.’ (p.333)</td>
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| 113  | ‘He’s a bloody hypocrite, man.’ […] ‘He prays five times a day but he still drinks and he doesn’t have any Muslim friends, then he has a go at me for fucking a white girl. And then he’s pissed off about Magid. He takes all his’ (p.333) | ‘Hij is zo’n verdomde hypocriet, man.’ […] ‘Hij bidt vijf keer per dag, maar hij drinkt nog steeds en hij heeft helemaal geen moslimvrienden, en dan krijg ik hem over me heen omdat ik met een wit meisje neuk. En hij heeft de pest in over
shit out on me. And he wants me to stop hanging around with KEVIN. I'm more of a fucking Muslim than he is. Fuck him!' (p.334)

114 'Hey, Hifan, my speed, Tyrone, my man, why the long faces?' (p.370) ‘Hé, Hifan, m’n kick, Tyrone, m’n maat, waarom de lange gezichten?’ (p.278)

115 'Yeah, man, Tyrone.' (p.370) ‘Ja, man, Tyrone.’ (p.279)

116 'Crystal, mate, crystal.' (p.370) ‘Kristal, makker, kristal.’ (p.279)

117 'Whereabouts you from?' (p.371) ‘Waar kom je vandaan?’ (p.279)

118 'Yeah, wicked, thanks you too Brother.’ [...] ‘Laters.’ (p.371) ‘Ja, te gek, bedankt, jij ook broeder.’ [...] ‘Ik zie je.’ (p.279)

120 'So you’re going through with it, yeah?’ (p.463) ‘Dus je gaat ermee door, hè?’ (p.346)

121 'It is an abomination.’ (leaflet: The Sanctity of Creation) (p.463) ‘Het is een gruwel.’ (folder: De heiligheid van de schepping) (p.346)

122 ‘Well, that’s it, then, isn’t it? It’s already been decided. KEVIN will do whatever is necessary to stop you and your kind. And that’s the fucking end of it.’ (p.464) ‘Nou, dat is het dan, he? De beslissing is al genomen. KEVIN zal alles doen wat nodig is om jou en jouw soort tegen te houden. En dat is dan het verdomde einde.’ (p.346)

123 ‘I’m not preparing myself for that. I’m preparing myself for action. Because no one else will do it. We lose one man and you all betray the cause. You desert. But I stand firm.’ (p.500) ‘Ja... maar dat betekent je mond kunnen houden.’ (p.354)

125 'Not everyone can know. If you want to get near the centre, you’ve got to keep shtoom.' (p.474) ‘Niet iedereen mag het weten. Als je bij de top wil komen, moet je je mond kunnen houden.’ (p.354)

126 'Yeah, well, we don’t need strength.’ [...] ‘We need a little of the stuff upstairs. We’ve got to get in the place discreetly first, innit? The first evening. It’ll be crawling.’ (p.474) ‘Ja, nou, kracht hebben we niet nodig.’ [...] ‘Wat we nodig hebben is wat er in de bovenkamer zit. We moeten er eerst onopvallend binnen zien te komen, niet? De eerste avond. Het zal er afgeladen zijn.’ (p.354)

127 'Yeah, but that means keeping shtoom.’ (p.475) ‘Ja, maar dat betekent je mond kunnen houden.’ (p.354)

128 'I’m not preparing myself for that. I’m preparing myself for action. Because no one else will do it. We lose one man and you all betray the cause. You desert. But I stand firm.’ (p.500) ‘Daár bereid ik me niet op voor. Ik bereid me voor op actie! Omdat niemand anders het doet. We raken een man kwijt en jullie verraden de zaak. Jullie deserteren. Maar ik hou stand.’ (p.372)

129 'And that’s it? You’re just going to read to him? That’s his punishment? What happened to revenge? What happened to just desserts, retribution, jihad?’ (p.500-501) ‘En dat is alles? Jullie gaan gewoon iets aan hem voorlezen? Dat is zijn straf? Waar blijft de wraak? Waar blijft zijn verdiende loon, vergelding, jihad?’ (p.373)
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<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>‘Is this what we joined KEVIN for? To take no action? To sit around on our arses playing with words?’ (p.502)</td>
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<td>131</td>
<td>‘I stand firm.’ […] ‘That is what we’re here for. To stand firm. That is why I joined. Why did you join?’ (p.502)</td>
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<td>132</td>
<td>‘I think […] I am going to vomit.’ (p.503)</td>
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<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>‘Zijn we hiervoor lid geworden van KEVIN? Om geen actie te ondernemen? Om op onze reet te zitten en een beetje met woorden te spelen?’ (p.373)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>‘Ik hou stand.’ […] ‘Daarvoor zijn we hier. Om stand te houden. Daarom ben ik lid geworden. Waarom ben jij lid geworden?’ (p.374)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>‘Ik denk… […] dat ik moet overgeven.’ (p.374)</td>
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