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# Revisiting the translation of a corpus of fictional sociolects and geolects in literature in English: The case of Spain

# Revisión de la traducción de un corpus de sociolectos y geolectos literarios en la ficción inglesa: el caso de España

ISABEL TELLO
Universitat de València. Facultad de Filología, Traducción y Comunicación. Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana. Av. Blasco Ibáñez, 32. 46010 València. España
Dirección de correo electrónico: isabel.tello@uv.es
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7533-1064
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**Abstract**: This paper aims to contribute to describing the translation of literary dialects. In an unpublished previous work (Tello Fons, 2011), translation trends were searched in a corpus made up of ten novels written in English and their translations into Spain's standard Spanish. After an analysis of source texts and translation strategies, the results showed a tendency to neutralise literary dialects, although other strategies were detected as well. According to our corpus, the translation norm leaned towards acceptability (Toury, 1995). This study's aims are based on that analysis: (i) to classify the techniques for literary dialect translation; (ii) to present the techniques found in search of trends in our culture; and (iii) to reflect on the motivations and consequences that resulted from them. Inevitably, the trends observed in 2011 are time-sensitive, so it is likely that they have now changed. The most recent translations of these works were used to find out. The conclusions will address how the norm has evolved to our days.
**Keywords**: Literary dialects; technique; translation norm; polysystem; literary tradition.
**Resumen**: Este estudio pretende contribuir a describir la traducción de dialectos literarios. En un trabajo anterior inédito (Tello Fons, 2011), se analizaron tendencias de traducción en un corpus de novelas escritas en inglés y sus traducciones al español peninsular. Tras un análisis de textos de origen y técnicas de traducción, los resultados mostraron una tendencia a neutralizar los dialectos literarios, aunque también se detectaron otras técnicas. Según nuestro corpus, la norma

de traducción tendía a la aceptabilidad (Toury, 1995). Los objetivos parten de ese análisis: (a) clasificar las técnicas de traducción del dialecto literario; (b) exponer las técnicas halladas en busca de tendencias en nuestra cultura; y (c) reflexionar sobre las motivaciones y las consecuencias que de ellas se derivaron. Las tendencias detectadas en 2011 son inevitablemente susceptibles al tiempo, por lo que es probable que esta tendencia haya variado actualmente. Para averiguarlo, se recurrió a las traducciones más recientes de estas obras. Las conclusiones abordarán cómo la norma ha evolucionado hasta nuestros días.
**Palabras clave:** Dialectos literarios; técnica; norma traductora; polisistema; tradición literaria.
**Summary**: Introduction; 1. Linguistic variation in translation studies. Fictional dialects and their function in literature; 2. Rendering fictional dialects into Spanish. A proposal; 3. Method and corpus of study; 4. Results, 4.1. Fictional varieties in source texts: an attitude towards the world, 4.2. Restoring varieties? Techniques and results, *4.2.1. Neutralisation, 4.2.2. Colloquial translation, 4.2.3. Norm transgression / dialect creation, 4.2.4. Dialectal translation*, 4.3. Restoring varieties? Updated techniques and results; 5. Discussion; 6. Conclusions; References; Appendix.
**Sumario**: Introducción; 1. La variación lingüística en traductología. Dialectos literarios y su función en literatura; 2. La traducción de los dialectos literarios al español. Una propuesta; 3. Método y corpus de trabajo; 4. Resultados, 4.1. Dialectos literarios en los textos origen: una actitud ante el mundo, 4.2. ¿Restituir los dialectos literarios? Técnicas y resultados, *4.2.1. Neutralización, 4.2.2. Traducción coloquial, 4.2.3. Transgresión de la norma/creación de dialecto, 4.2.4. Traducción dialectal,* 4.3. ¿Restituir los dialectos literarios? Técnicas y resultados actualizados; 5. Discusión; 6. Conclusiones; Referencias bibliográficas; Apéndice.

## INTRODUCTION

In literature, the richness of speech may be taken in the form of pseudo-dialectal varieties to depict characters. Bakhtin (1984) observed the polyphony in voices and registers, which, although often taken from real linguistic communities, are modulated at writers' whim to achieve specific effects. Literary elaboration, as stated by Bakhtin, represents the authors' socio-ideological position within the multilingualism of their time. According to this, the pseudo-dialectal varieties and polyphony reflected in literature will consciously or unconsciously influence future decisions concerning translation and will give us clues as to how to carry it out. Translating the voices in a novel involves, at the very least, the search for a solution that does justice to the author's intention in choosing those stylistic features. The translation of linguistic variation has generated a wealth of literature, and two things are clear nowadays: the possibility of translating fictional variation by choosing from a range of options to be reflected in the target text (TT), on the one hand, and that its intended function in the source text (ST) should be the guiding criterion, on the other (Marco and Tello, 2016).

In a previous unpublished study (Tello Fons, 2011), we focused on the translation of narrative fiction, and we aimed to cover both microtextual and macrotextual aspects of fictional dialects, i.e., the lexical, grammatical, and syntactic features that make them up and their stylistic purposes. Theoretically, the study revolved around key concepts such as the translation technique, understood as "the procedure, generally verbal, visible in the translation result, which is used to achieve translational equivalences. […] Techniques only affect the result of the translation process and are used with smaller text units" (Hurtado Albir, 2001, p. 257; our translation).[1] On a microtextual level, translation techniques reflect the relationship between ST and TT. They are part of the data that help to reconstruct the translation norm (Toury, 1995), which was another key concept in the study. Translation norms "not only guide the decisions made during the translation process, but also determine the type of equivalence between the source text and its translation" (De Felipe, 2004, p. 2; our translation).[2] This set of rules includes the initial norm, which is the basic choice that can be made between requirements of the two different cultures. When translators subscribe to the norms of the ST, and through them to the norms of the source language and culture, the result is an adequate translation, following Even-Zohar's description in 1975. But translators shall also implement those changes deemed appropriate in search of meeting the target culture's expectations: "Whereas adherence to source norms determines a translation's adequacy as compared to the source text, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability" (Toury, 1995, pp. 55-56). Translation technique and translation norm are essential concepts since the use of a technique at the expense of other entails being closer to one of these two poles.

Literary dialects as stylistic elements are key as well. Boase-Beier considers style in translation from four potential points of view (2006, p. 5): ST style as an expression of its author's choices; ST style in terms of the effects it causes on the reader (and on the translator as a reader); TT style as an expression of its author's (the translator's) choices; and TT style

[1] "[…] el procedimiento, generalmente verbal, visible en el resultado de la traducción, que se utiliza para conseguir equivalencias traductoras. […] La técnica afecta solo al resultado y a unidades menores del texto" (Hurtado Albir, 2001, p. 257).

[2] "[…] no solo se encargan de guiar las decisiones que se toman durante el proceso de traducción, sino también determinan el tipo de equivalencia que se obtiene entre el texto original y su traducción" (De Felipe, 2004, p. 2).

and the effects on the reader. Since the analysis of ST literary dialects and ST readers' perception of them was a prior step to the consideration of dialect translation techniques and their effects on readers, these four aspects were covered in the study. How texts were received by readers in the target culture entailed taking into account the literary and cultural system, the last key notion in the study.

Even-Zohar's polysystems theory (1981; 1990), as well as the tenets of authors such as Bassnett (1998) and Hermans (1999), were used as a framework for the study. According to them, literary translation is one of several subsystems or layered components that make up a given society or system. In the polysystem everything is interconnected, and the functioning of the subsystems depends on the relations with the other subsystems and on other intersystemic factors. The concepts of centre and periphery are relevant, since the norms governing literary systems within a community will help to describe which norms may exist behind translated literature and which cultural factors influenced their establishment. While at the centre there will be the established and accepted norms of a community, which determine the repertoire of texts, at the periphery there will be those elements which play a secondary role in the establishment of the literary canon such as the use of pseudo-dialects in literature and their translation. According to Even-Zohar, if translations hold a central position, translators' main concern will not be just "to look for ready-made models in their home repertoire into which the ST would be transferable. Instead, they will be prepared in such cases to violate the home conventions" (1990, pp. 50-51). But if translations take a peripheral position, translators will tend to settle into models already existing in the target culture.

The above foundations helped to achieve the objectives of the study, which are threefold, the first being theoretical and the other two empirical:

> (i) to present a classification of translation techniques of literary dialects.
> (ii) to analyse the translation techniques found in a corpus of ten novels written in English and their translations into Spain's standard Spanish in search of dialect translation trends in the Spain's mainstream culture.

The third objective stemmed from the results obtained in (ii):

> (iii) to find out the reasons which may have motivated the choice of certain translation techniques and the consequences these choices entailed, and to

revise the trend observed taking into account the development of translation studies in recent years and the professional translation landscape in Spain.

Next pages (section 1) will describe linguistic variation in translation studies and the role of fictional dialects in literature. In the following section (section 2), a classification of translation techniques for dialects in literature will be proposed. Method and materials of the study will be described in section 3, followed by the presentation of the results in section 4. Finally, sections 5 and 6 will be devoted to discussion and conclusions.

## 1. LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN TRANSLATION STUDIES. FICTIONAL DIALECTS AND THEIR FUNCTION IN LITERATURE

Linguistic variation is understood as the different uses of the same language, depending on who uses it and on the communicative situation in which language is used. Although linguistic variation has been addressed by different applied branches of linguistics, sociolinguistics and systemic functional linguistics have been the disciplines most concerned with its study. For its part, translation studies have always been aware of the importance of linguistic varieties, and they have generally drawn on the approaches by systemic functional linguistics and its developer Michael Halliday. Still, the contributions from different theoretical approaches such as Halliday, McIntosh, *et al*. (1964), Catford, (1965), Hatim and Mason (1990; 1997) and House (1977) (the last three taken from Halliday), Coseriu (1981), Gregory and Carroll (1986), Labov (1972) and Slobodník (1970) are still relevant today and a starting point for studies related to the translation of linguistic variation.

For space reasons, we will only mention Hatim and Mason's widely known classification of linguistic variation (1990). They tackled variation within the communicative dimension, one of the three dimensions to describe context. They divided linguistic variation into user-related variation, or dialects, and use-related variation, or registers. Essential to this study is user-related variation, which covers idiolect and geographical, social, temporal, and standard dialects. Each of them refers to users' own dialect, and place, class, time, and unmarked discourse. Hatim and Mason's later works (1997) take a more integrating approach and distinction between dialects and registers is no longer used. But what is common to any attempt to classify dialects is the agreement that the

boundary between them is blurred, i.e., that varieties often overlap and influence each other.

The complex nature of dialect, a very ambiguous term in English, points out at its relevance within linguistic systems. For Galarza "what we normally call languages are nothing more than language varieties; scientifically a language is an abstraction, and, in reality, it is only about language difference" (2017, 2nd Par., our translation).[3] However, the generalised concept of dialects tends to be rather negative. Sánchez stressed that "for the ordinary person, without any special training in linguistics, there is a very clear difference between 'language' and 'dialect', the former being the superordinate term and the latter the subordinate one, used as a pejorative way of referring to something below the 'norm' and unworthy of any educated person" (2008, p. 188). This study focuses on the translation of the fictional recreation of dialects, but undoubtedly the concept of dialect in a given society will inevitably influence its position within translated literature. As stated by Rosa, "in a corpus of novels or plays and their translations, any study necessarily also has to take into account literary norms and traditions in the creation of literary varieties" (2012, p. 84). If we look at Spain's norms and traditions, the political history has not favoured the promotion of linguistic varieties, even less so their appearance in literature; in fact, the Spanish dialectal structure does not have a literary culture – as other European countries such as Italy have. This lack of tradition correlates with fictional dialect translation as well.

In literature, dialects are part of what has been called 'feigned orality' (Goetsch, 1985), which refers to the fictive oral traits resulting from a particular combination of different stylistic resources used on two levels, the narrative and the linguistic. Narrative resources are meant to "mark the dialogue of the characters with, for example, rhythm, spontaneity, dynamism, free turn taking, hesitation phenomena, or pauses" (Cadera, 2012a, pp. 37-38), while the linguistic resources include pseudo-linguistic varieties. Literary dialects have primarily an aesthetic value which also carries an ideology and elicits emotions and associations from the reader. They also show the context of works, as they place us in specific areas and times and describe how people lived according to different circumstances.

[3] "[…] eso que normalmente llamamos lenguas no son otra cosa que dialectos; científicamente una lengua es una abstracción, y, en realidad, no hay sino dialectos" (Galarza, 2017, 2nd Par.).

The reflection of a particular community's speech and the way of seeing life is what Mair (1992), taking the term from Sternberg (1981), called the mimetic function of these dialects. In this case, the purpose of literary dialects is to be faithful to reality. as it aims to lend verisimilitude to characters and the context of the story. In other cases, these varieties may have a more caricatural or symbolic function, and its main purpose is to create humour. However, our corpus showed that the writers' intentions do not categorically adhere to one function or the other, but that literary dialects reflect to a greater or lesser extent both purposes (see section 4.1.).

## 2. RENDERING FICTIONAL DIALECTS INTO SPANISH. A PROPOSAL

Many translation manuals have dealt with the translation of literary dialects, but without proposing translation techniques or specific procedures (Baker, 1992; García Yebra, 1997; Kussmaul, 1995; Muñoz Martín, 1995; Newmark, 1988a, 1988b; Nida and Taber, 1969; Rabadán, 1991). Studies which do tackle possible translation options for dialectal varieties (Berezowski, 1997; Brumme, 2012, 2019; Cadera, 2012b; Czennia, 2004; Marco, 2002; Mayoral, 1999; Ramos Pinto, 2009; Rosa, 2012; Sánchez, 2008) agree on rendering literary dialects using different procedures which will depend on each particular translation situation, but they are usually more in favour of techniques which do not involve a linguistic norm transgression. Moreover, there is a large number of papers identifying translation techniques in real scenarios (De la Cruz, 2004; García-Pinos, 2017; Leppihalme, 2000; Loock, 2012; Morillas, 2016; Ramos-Nogueira, 2019; Rosa, 2015; Szymańska, 2017, to name a few), which makes the translation of fictional dialects one of the recurring subjects in translation studies.

The attempt to list dialect translation procedures will necessarily have limitations that stem from the very nature of the proposal. Such proposals, as Toury (1995) pointed out, are undoubtedly theoretical since they analyse options rather than allowing real choices to be made which would involve making decisions. The aim of the following classification is to contribute to the systematisation of translation techniques for a specific problem despite the constraint mentioned by Toury and the fact that the proposal will probably be incomplete for other studies. This proposal starts from the idea that the overlapping nature of real dialects could also make so-called literary dialects to be interchangeable in translation, which may help translators in real translation scenarios. Thanks to this malleable

condition, geographical dialects in the ST could become social dialects in the TT. Turning the former into the latter, however, must be justified. The two opposing stances regarding translation mentioned earlier, acceptability and adequacy, are materialised in this classification through the translation techniques. Technique analysis in the corpus of novels written in English helps to establish whether Toury's norm regarding dialect translation aimed for a place between acceptability and adequacy, thus finding a balance between the two or, on the contrary, it leaned towards one of the poles.

Table 1 shows a classification of literary dialect translation techniques (Marco and Tello, 2016). The literary dialects listed on the left-hand margin are those taken from the various classifications of linguistic variation regarding users' language: idiolect, and social, geographical, temporal, and standard dialects. This proposal also considers the nature of texts containing dialectal features: texts written entirely in dialect (monodialectal), texts partially written in a dialect used to portray a character (partially monodialectal), and texts containing several dialects (polydialectal) (Rabadán, 1991). Any text analysis will have to consider these differences as well as the possible overlaps that may occur between varieties in the ST. The techniques, at the top of the table, are arranged according to the degree of the translators' involvement in the process of dialectal rendition. Neutralisation is to be found on the left, where translators' involvement is minimal and therefore the TT will be closer to acceptability; dialectal translation is positioned on the far right as it requires a great deal of involvement and translations will arguably observe adherence to norms of the source culture (adequacy):

| | **neutralisation** | **colloquial translation** | **norm transgression/ dialect creation** | **dialectal translation** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Idiolect*** | ■▲● | ■▲● | ■▲● | ■▲● |
| ***social dialect*** | ■▲● | ■▲● | ■▲● | ■▲● |
| ***geographical dialect*** | ■▲● | ■▲● | ■▲● | ■▲● |
| ***temporal dialect*** | ■▲● | | ■▲● | ■▲ |
| ***standard dialect*** | | | | ■ |

Monodialectal texts ■ / Partially monodialectal texts ▲ / Polydialectal texts ●

*Table 1.* Techniques for literary dialect translation (Marco and Tello, 2016).

Neutralisation removes any dialectal marker in the ST. It is worth noting that colloquial translation does not mean departing from the linguistic norm but replacing the ST variety by a more or less informal and colloquial language in the TT which may use graphological and grammatical, lexical, or syntactic elements. Norm transgression/dialect creation is a technique by which the target language (containing solecisms and grammatical/spelling errors or not) is used to create a social variety or an idiolect, thus inventing markers that should not be identified with any existing variety in the target culture. Lastly, dialectal translation would entail the choice of a dialect of the target culture that is similar to the ST fictional variety in terms of social, ideological, political or time features.

In Table 1, the first column on the left shows how all varieties, excluding the standard dialect, may suffer neutralisation. However, colloquial translation is incongruous as a technique to render temporal and standard ST dialects. The norm transgression/dialect creation technique seems quite feasible, although creating non-standard features when the ST shows a standard dialect would be very rare. Time varieties can be subjected to this technique, as archaic (though not incorrect) language features that do not recall any specific past times may be used in the TT. Such a procedure may also be found in futuristic novels, where an invented variety might be needed. Finally, the dialectal translation technique might be used to render all types of ST literary dialects since they could be replaced by target culture dialects with similar characteristics. Nevertheless, many considerations will need to be taken before its implementation.

As for the nature of texts, both neutralisation and colloquial translation techniques can be carried out with monodialectal, partially dialectal and polydialectal texts. The norm transgression/dialect creation will be difficult to keep throughout a whole monodialectal text. This technique has also a limited use on polydialectal texts if different temporal dialects are present. Regarding the dialectal translation technique, it is not viable to use a target culture dialect as a solution for temporal polydialectal source texts, but this technique might be seen in standard monodialectal texts which can be translated using a similar standard variety from the target culture. Translators are usually faced with varieties presenting features of different dialects: "All dialects are both regional and social, since all speakers have a social background as well as a regional location" (Chambers and

Trudgill, 1980, p. 54), and to be fair to real communicative relations, the different target language marked traits may be exchanged to help translators shape their texts. Despite some studies have stated the impossibility of translating fictional varieties, especially geographical varieties (Lane-Mercier, 1997; Newmark, 1988a; Rabadán, 1991), as long as social aspects prevail in a particular ST linguistic variation, several translation options may be found. When fictional varieties appear in literature, macrolinguistic and macrotextual aspects usually come first. Therefore, to a large extent the technique/s to be used will depend on the external conditioning factors that affect any translation decision, such as the requirements imposed by the translation brief or the type of TT readers, and ultimately, the purpose of a particular translation and the status it will have in the target culture.

## 3. METHOD AND CORPUS OF STUDY

The corpus was made up of ten novels written in English and their Spain's standard Spanish translations. Source novels included a varied number of literary dialects (see Table 3), which have different degrees of presence in the works. Publication dates ranged from mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century (see Table 2). The subcorpus of translations included those editions with the highest number of reprints or those whose publishing companies and translators have had the greatest recognition. Adaptations and abridged translations for children were discarded. Nevertheless, this corpus and the subsequent results have unavoidable limitations due, among other things,[4] to the number of works. More representative results must be drawn from studies analysing both larger corpora and publication span, and which may include other literary varieties in English not dealt here.

Table 2 lists the novels in English and translations into Spain's standard Spanish:

[4] In order to fulfil the main aim of the study, the criterion was finding novels in English, regardless of their (sub-)genres, which included linguistic variation (fictional sociolects and geolects) and which were translated into Spain's standard Spanish. Favouring this, however, resulted in a corpus of translations that lacked gender parity and race diversity.

| SOURCE TEXTS | TARGET TEXTS |
|---|---|
| *Wuthering Heights,* Emily Brontë (2003 [1847]) | *Cumbres borrascosas,* Emily Brontë (2005 [1984], translated by Carmen Martín Gaite) |
| *Hard Times,* Charles Dickens (2001 [1854]) | *Tiempos difíciles,* Charles Dickens (2009 [1949], translated by Amando Lázaro Ros) |
| *Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There,* Lewis Carroll (1992 [1871]) | *A través del espejo y lo que Alicia encontró allí,* Lewis Carroll (2001, translated by Ramón Buckley) |
| *Stalky & Co.,* Rudyard Kipling (1994 [1899]) | *Stalky & Cía.,* Rudyard Kipling (1980 [1944], translated by Antonio Ribera) |
| *The Sound and the Fury,* William Faulkner (1987 [1929]) | *El ruido y la furia,* William Faulkner (2008 [1987], translated by Ana Antón-Pacheco) |
| *Of Mice and Men,* John Steinbeck (1984 [1937]) | *De ratones y de hombres,* John Steinbeck (1999 [1986], translated by Román A. Jiménez) |
| *The Van,* Roddy Doyle (1991) | *La camioneta,* Roddy Doyle (1996, translated by Antonio Resines and Herminia Bevia) |
| *Trainspotting,* Irvine Welsh (2004 [1993]) | *Trainspotting,* Irvine Welsh (1999 [1996], translated by Federico Corriente) |
| *White Teeth,* Zadie Smith (2000) | *Dientes blancos,* Zadie Smith (2001, translated by Ana M.ª De la Fuente) |
| *The Bonesetter's Daughter,* Amy Tan (2001) | *La hija del curandero,* Amy Tan (2001, translated by M.ª Eugenia Ciocchini) |

*Table 2.* Corpus (source texts listed as per publication date).

The methodology tried to start from a theoretical framework that would address what (literary dialect) translation may entail to go over what it actually entails in varying circumstances (Toury, 1995). Unlike Toury's methodology, source texts and not translations were analysed in the first

place; thus, the search for consistency in the translation trends was done afterwards. Following a comprehensive study of the source texts, from microstructure to macrostructure,[5] the passages and examples shown in this paper are only representative samples of all the data analysed, chosen on the basis of their high frequency and/or representativeness in terms of dialectal features. With the help of a similar analysis on the translations, both subcorpora were compared against each other to point out trends in the use of translation techniques. The methodology followed was divided into four stages, corresponding to the analysis of style above mentioned as suggested by Boase-Beier (see Introduction). For space reasons, only the results of these four stages will be shown. All the analyses mentioned above were performed manually.

## 4. RESULTS

### 4. 1. Fictional varieties in source texts: an attitude towards the world

This section corresponds to the first two stages of the methodology. Analysis of the source texts in the corpus focused on linguistic variation features as part of their style. The motivation for using those features and the possible effects they were intended to create in readers were also considered as they are macrolinguistic aspects needed for the analysis of the translations. What these literary varieties have in common is that they are inspired on different, realistically based dialectal markers while remaining a more or less faithful stylistic recreation of reality (Brook, 1978; Francis, 1958; Toolan, 1990); yet according to Fowler, a detailed analysis of these features will be unnecessary because:

> [f]irstly, they are not to be judged as realistic transcriptions where fidelity may be an issue– they are simply conventional signs of sociolinguistic difference. Secondly, only a very slight deviation is given [...] to persuade middle-class readers that they are in the presence of a social group (1989, p. 86).

[5] A linguistic variation analysis model was proposed (Tello Fons, 2011). Based on prior relevant models, it was used as a tool to analyse linguistic varieties as a style trait both in source texts and translations and from both a micro- and macrotextual approach. That analysis was aimed at describing fictional dialects, their function, and the impact their (non-)translation may have. Although not included here due to space limitations, the model was used to analyse all texts in the corpus.

Table 3 below shows the fictional varieties found in the source texts (for dialectal markers in the source texts, see excerpts in the Appendix), which refer to reality but do not coincide with it entirely. In all these recreations social portrait stands out beyond geographical features. In many of them, idiolectal features are used to complete characterisation. Since oral features are connected to particular periods of time that may be dated when they are translated, temporal markers can be found as well. Function is common to all fictional varieties, as they aim to portray particular identities and communities and, ultimately, to mark power relations regarding other characters and thus give greater realism to works.

| SOURCE TEXTS | FICTIONAL VARIETIES |
|---|---|
| *Wuthering Heights* | Yorkshire Northern |
| *Hard Times* | Lancashire |
| *Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There* | Cockney |
| *Stalky & Co.* | Hiberno-English |
| *The Sound and the Fury* | African American |
| *Of Mice and Men* | Salinas Valley |
| *The Van* | (colloquial) Hiberno-English |
| *Trainspotting* | (colloquial) Scottish English (transcribed phonetically and ignoring traditional spelling) |
| *White Teeth* | Jamaican Creole |
| *The Bonesetter's Daughter* | Chinese Pidgin |

*Table 3*. Fictional varieties in the source texts.

## 4. 2. Restoring varieties? Techniques and results

After the analysis of the source literary dialects, the research focused on the last two stages of the methodology: the comparative analysis of source texts and translations and the study of the context of creation and reception in the target culture. The translation techniques were spotted following the classification suggested in section 2. The results are grouped in the following order: (4.2.1.) neutralisation, (4.2.2.) colloquial

translation, (4.2.3.) norm transgression/dialect creation, and (4.2.4.) dialectal translation.

### *4. 2. 1. Neutralisation*

Neutralisation involves removing any linguistic variation feature in the translation. It is the most frequent technique found in the corpus of translations and the nearest to Toury's acceptability. It is used in *Hard Times*, *Wuthering Heights*, *Stalky & Co*., *The Sound and the Fury*, *Of Mice and Men*, and finally, in *White Teeth*. Despite neutralisation was the main technique in six out of ten translations, idiolectal markers tended to be rendered in the target texts. This is the case of *Hard Times*, *Stalky & Co*. and *White Teeth*, where characters repeat some phrases that enable readers to characterise them. In *Hard Times*, for instance, Stephen often resorts to "'tis aw a muddle", with which he depicts his own life situation. The Spanish version conveys the sentence recurrently throughout the work as well ("todo es un embrollo").

### *4. 2. 2. Colloquial translation*

This technique was observed in *The Van* and *Trainspotting*'s translations. In both cases, modification of register to a more informal tenor is evident, although more so in *Trainspotting*. These passages are an example:

> —Your hands are sweaty, Jimmy Sr told her.
>
> —So's your bollix, said the young one, and she just stood there waiting for her change, not a bother on her.
>
> (Doyle, 1991, p. 56**¡Error! Marcador no definido.**)

> —Te sudan las manos —le dijo Jimmy padre.
>
> —Y a usted las pelotas —le replicó la jovencita y se quedó allí esperando la vuelta, tan pimpante.
>
> (Doyle, 1996: pp. 290-291, translated by Resines and Bevia)

***

> —Deid. Potted heid.
>
> —Yir jokin! Eh? Gies a fuckin brek ya cunt…
>
> —Gen up. Last night, likes.

—Whit the fuck happened…
—Ticket. Boom […]
(Welsh, 2004 [1993], p. 99)

«Muerto. Tieso.»
«¡Me tomas el pelo, ¿no?! Dame un jodido respiro, cabrón…»
«Me enteré. Anoche y tal.»
«Qué cojones pasó…»
«El patato. Pum» […]
(Welsh, 1999 [1996]. pp. 106-107, translated by Corriente)

The Spanish translation of *The Van* includes vulgarisms and numerous colloquial phrases. The example above is part of the conversation between Jimmy Sr and a young female customer who not only does not mince her words when she answers back but she remains "pimpante" (*completely unconcerned*) when she does it. In the *Trainspotting* passage, Lenny learns that Granty is dead ("potted heid" in Scottish and "tieso" in Spanish slang) from overuse of cocaine ("ticket" or "patato"). In this excerpt and throughout the book, swear words and pejorative terms are profuse. In the translation, a crude and coarse register is chosen, including elements of orality at the end of sentences such as "y tal" and "y eso" (*and all that stuff*), or onomatopoeias such as "pum" (*bang*).

Moreover, there are occasional attempts to use colloquialisms in *Wuthering Heights* and *The Sound and the Fury* translations. In the former, choices of a more emphatic language such as "menuda pécora está hecha" (*What a backstabbing Judas she is!*) to convey ST ironic "shoo's a fine lass!" may show a willingness to compensate for non-standard ST features. In *The Sound and the Fury* translation, African American servant Dilsey occasionally uses colloquial pet words "venga" and "conque" (*come on!* and *so*) as in "¿Conque era eso, eh?" [*So it was that, wasn't it?*]. Moreover, a common feature in some places of Spain, laism, which is the incorrect use of pronouns "la" and "las", can also be found in Dilsey and other servant characters: "Si dice algo, la [instead of "le"] dices que está conmigo" [*If she says something, you tell her he's with me*]. These intended traits may show an attempt to make those characters, who otherwise would speak standard Spanish as the masters and narrator, use non-standard language. Nevertheless, these scarce and inconsistent examples do not carry enough clout as to state that a colloquial translation technique was used in the works.

### *4. 2. 3. Norm transgression/dialect creation*

The translator of *The Bonesetter's Daughter* creates a language for LuLing. It is full of digressions from the Spanish linguistic norm, achieving a non-standard speech that is exclusive to this character: Chinese immigrant, poor education, and lack of integration in the host country. In this passage, LuLing, angry with her sister GaoLing, talks to her daughter about her sister's selfishness:

> 'Later grown-up time, want my things too. Want your daddy marry her. Yes, you don't know this. Edwin not Edmund, because he oldest, more success. Every day smile for him, show off her teeth, like monkey.' LuLing turned around and demonstrated. 'But he not interested in her, only me. She so mad. Later she marry Edmund, and when you daddy die, she say. Ooooh, so lucky I no marry Edwin! So stupid she saying that. To my face! Don't consider me, only concerning herself. I say nothing. I never complaining. Do I ever complaining? (Tan, 2001, p. 53)

> —Después, en tiempo de adulta, también quiere mis cosas. Quiere que tu papá se casa con ella. Sí, tú no lo sabes. Edwin, no Edmund, porque él mayor, más éxito. Todos los días sonríe a él, enseña los dientes, como mono —LuLing dio media vuelta e ilustró sus palabras con un gesto—. Pero él no interesa ella, sólo yo. Ella muy enfadada. Más tarde casa con Edmund, y cuando tu padre muere, ella dice: Oooh, qué suerte yo no casa con Edwin. ¡En mi cara! No piensa en mí, solo en ella. Nunca quejo. ¿Alguna vez quejo? (Tan, 2002, p. 76, translated by Ciocchini).

This example shows syntactic errors like the lack of some verbs ("él [es/era] mayor") and pronouns ("Nunca [me] quejo"), lack in verb agreement ("yo no casa" [yo no me casé]), and a misuse of pronouns ("sonríe a él" [le sonríe]). The result of this technique is the creation of an *ad hoc* voice which the reader can identify almost immediately.

### *4. 2. 4. Dialectal translation*

Dialectal translation entails replacing the ST variety with a set of oral markers existing in the target culture. It is the nearest technique to

adequacy, as it tries to meet the least the target readers' expectations. In the translation of *Through the Looking Glass*, a wasp's Cockney literary dialect is translated into the working classes' vernacular in Madrid:

> "You'd be cross too, if you'd a wig like mine," the Wasp went on. "They jokes, at one. And they worrits one. And then I gets cross. And I gets cold. And I gets under a tree. And I gets a yellow handkerchief. And I ties up my face –as at the present" (Carroll, 1992 [1871], p. 212).

> —Tú también te enojarías si tuvieras una peluca como la mía —prosiguió el Avispón—. Se meten con uno, y uno, que no le gusta que le tomen la «peluca», pues se enfada... ¡natural! Y entonces es cuando me entra la murria, me arrebujo debajo de un árbol y me quedo tieso de frío. Y, para aliviarme, cojo un pañuelo amarillo y me lo ato alrededor de la cara... ¡Oséase, como ahora! ¡Natural! (Carroll, 2001, p. 386, translated by Buckley),

Here the wasp is telling Alicia why it is so upset. In the translation, a very popular Spanish slang is evident, with words and phrases such as "murria" (*the blues*), "pues" (*well* [filler word]), "tieso de frío" (*frozen stiff*), "oséase" (*I mean*), and emphatic phrases such as "¡natural!" (*obviously* [ironically]). With these resources, an effort is made to maintain the connotations of the ST literary variety by means of traits from a dialect in the target culture. This choice is made clear by the translator himself in one of his footnotes:

> [TN. It is undoubtedly a worker wasp, as reflected in the Cockney [London slang] used when addressing Alicia. The translator deemed it advisable to translate the Cockney English into the equally traditional Madrid speech]. (Carroll, 2001, p. 386; our translation).[6]

To sum up the results, Table 4 shows the techniques observed in the study:

[6] [N. del T.] Se trata, sin duda, de una avispa obrera, tal como se refleja en el lenguaje Cockney (barriobajero londinense) que emplea el avispón al dirigirse a Alicia. El traductor ha creído conveniente trasladar el castizo Cockney inglés a la igualmente castiza habla madrileña (Carroll, 2001, p. 386, translated by Buckley).

| adequacy…….. acceptability | | Translation techniques | Works |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | NEUTRALISATION | *Wuthering Heights*<br>*Hard Times*<br>*Stalky & Co.*<br>*The Sound and the Fury*<br>*Of Mice and Men*<br>*White Teeth* |
| | | COLLOQUIAL TRANSLATION | *The Van*<br>*Trainspotting* |
| | | NORM TRANSGRESSION/DIALECT CREATION | *The Bonesetter's Daughter* |
| | | DIALECTAL TRANSLATION | *Through the Looking Glass* |

*Table 4*. Results from the study of 2011.

### 4. 3. Restoring varieties? Updated techniques and results

To check whether the prevailing translation trend observed in the 2011 study has changed, we turned to the most recent translations of the works whose translation technique was neutralisation. Among the six novels in this situation, only three have been translated again: *Wuthering Heights, Hard Times*, and *Stalky & Co*.

One of the last translations of *Wuthering Heights* was done by the writer Cristina Sánchez-Andrade for Siruela in 2007. Yet her version in Spanish does not capture the dialectal features of the servant Joseph, as shown in this example:

> 'I sud more likker look for th' horse,' he replied. 'It 'ud be to more sense. Bud I can look for norther horse nur man of a neeght loike this - as black as t' chimbley! und Heathcliff's noan t' chap to coom at MY whistle - happen he'll be less hard o' hearing wi' YE!' (Brontë, 2003 [1847], p. 94).

> —Más nos habría valido buscar al caballo —respondió—. Más sensato habría sido, pero no puedo buscar ni al caballo ni al hombre en una noche como ésta, negra como una chimenea. Y Heathcliff no es rapaz que acuda a mi silbido..., puede que sea menos duro de oído con usted (Brontë, 2007 [1847], p. 116, translated by Sánchez-Andrade).

But Sánchez-Andrade states her stance on the literary dialect in a note she writes about her translation:

> There is something in this work that is absolutely impossible to reflect: servant Joseph's Yorkshire accent (the area in the northwest of England where the Brontë sisters came from and which is very well depicted in films such as *Full Monty* or *Little Voice*), whose nuances (that dry, sullen wit) have no equivalent in Spanish and are inevitably lost. It is as if someone were trying to find an equivalent in another language to the Spanish Andalusian or the Murcian accents (Sánchez-Andrade, 2007; our translation).[7]

*Hard Times* was last translated, according to the database of books published in Spain (Agencia Española del ISBN https://www.cultura.gob.es/cultura/libro/isbn/informacion.html), by José Luis López Muñoz in 2010. In his version, the literary dialect of the ST becomes standard Spanish as well.

> 'I'm th' one single Hand in Bounderby's mill, o' a' the men theer, as don't coom in wi' th' proposed reg'lations. I canna coom in wi' 'em. My friends, I doubt their doin' yo onny good. Licker they'll do yo hurt.' (Dickens, 2001[1854], p. 211).

> —Soy el único operario de la fábrica Bounderby, entre todos los que allí trabajan, que no está de acuerdo con las decisiones propuestas. No me es posible aceptarlas. Amigos míos, dudo que sean para vuestro bien. Lo más probable será que os perjudiquen. (Dickens, 2010 [1854], p. 226, translated by López Muñoz).

[7] En el caso de esta obra hay algo que es absolutamente imposible de reflejar: el acento de la zona de Yorkshire (zona al noroeste de Inglaterra de donde procedían las hermanas Brontë y que se aprecia muy bien en películas como Full Monty o Little Voice) del personaje del criado Joseph, cuyos matices (esa sorna taciturna y seca) no tienen equivalente en castellano e inevitablemente se pierden. Es como si alguien pretendiera encontrar un equivalente en otro idioma al acento andaluz, o al acento murciano (Sánchez-Andrade, 2007).

In the case of *Stalky & Cía*., the most recent translation is from 2005 by Javier Ruiz Calderón. After tracing the dialogues in which the character is marked by some features of the Hiberno-English dialect like the translation already studied, this one also neutralises these features.

> "Now. March!" The high lodge gate shut with a clang. "My duty! A sergeant to tell me my duty!" puffed Colonel Dabney. "Good Lard! More sergeants!" (Kipling, (1994 [1899]), p. 46).

> —Ahora, ¡váyase! —la alta verja se cerró dando un golpe. —¡Mi deber! ¡Un sargento me va a decir a mí cuál es mi deber! —resopló el coronel Dabney— ¡Dios mío! ¡Más sargentos! (Kipling, 2005 [1899], p. 48, translated by Ruiz Calderón).

Although these results are limited to three cases where the earliest translations may dictate the next translation patterns, they can be useful to confirm the weight of cultural and social factors in the translation norms in a country and at each stage of its history. In any case, this update of the results obtained in 2011 through the analysis of the latest translations maintains the trend towards the translation to the standard language, and therefore table 4 above would not change. Nevertheless, the conclusions set out a few factors that may have helped this aspect to begin to be considered in subsequent translations, helping the trend to be changing nowadays.

## 5. DISCUSSION

Neutralisation is the technique that most safeguards the ST readers' understanding of the text. When it is used, readability is arguably the main goal. Neutralisation would be consistent with Baker's normalisation (1993), the tendency to conform to typical patterns of the target language, but also with Toury's law of growing standardization (1995), or with what Berman called more recently the effacement of the superimposition of languages (2014). While we have seen how in some cases there is a slight willingness to compensate with a few non-standard and orality traits in Spanish, these do not seem sufficient for readers to get a sense of the tone of the ST.

One consequence of neutralisation is that it may result in a more formal register in the translation. That was the case in *Hard Times*, *Of Mice*

*and Men* and *White Teeth*. The following excerpt is found in *Hard Times* when Stephen tells Mr. Bounderby how tough life is for workers:

> […] Look how we live, ans wheer we live, an in what numbers, an by what chances, and wi' what sameness; […] Look how this ha growen an' growen, sir, bigger an' bigger, broader an' broader, harder an' harder, […] (Dickens, 2001 [1854], p. 172).

> […] Fijaos en cómo vivimos, en dónde vivimos, en qué apiñamiento y con qué uniformidad todos. […] Fijaos en cómo todas esas cosas han ido creciendo y creciendo, haciéndose más voluminosas, adquiriendo mayor amplitud, […] (Dickens, 2009 [1949], pp. 267-268, translated by Lázaro).

Formal language in the TT ("apiñamiento" [*overcrowding*]; "uniformidad" [*homogeneity*]; "voluminosas" [*voluminous*]; "mayor amplitud" [*spaciousness*]) was not only observed here, where Stephen addresses his supervisor, but also when he talks to other fellow workers, which implies offering TT readers, at the macrotextual level, a different picture of the character than the one offered in the ST. In ST *Of Mice and Men* and *White Teeth*, non-standard language is spoken by the main characters, but not with the same frequency and abundance. This deliberate difference is not found in the translations. The lack of consistency was also observed when the colloquial translation technique is used (*The Van* and *Trainspotting* translations): in both Spanish versions, register is less colloquial and rude than it is in the source texts. As for the norm transgression/dialect creation technique, its use in the translation of *The Bonesetter's Daughter* contributes to convey the ideology in the book. It must be said though that the ST lack of agreement between subjects and verbs or the omission of pronouns can easily be simulated in Spanish with similar elements. Finally, in the Spanish version of *Through the Looking Glass* dialectal translation is used through the popular dialect of Madrid. Here, however, there were more non-standard features in the TT than in the ST, which creates a more informal register in Spanish.

In order to find out about translational decisions regarding literary dialects we need to be aware that literature forms part of a social, cultural, literary, and historical framework which influences it, and which, at the same time, it can influence. Social and cultural factors of the country for which translations are made may entail changes in the publishing policies and this can affect texts. As suggested, the status which the use of dialect enjoys in the cultures involved is important because this will influence its

position within translated literature. In general, the poor-defined dialectal panorama in Spain and the low regard in which dialects are held in Spanish society (often associated with marginalisation, rusticity, and submission) may have led to discard a stylistically marked translation. The reasons for the (non-)translation of fictional dialects in the corpus are now discussed.

Neutralised translations of *Hard Times* and *Stalky & Co*. date from 1949 and 1944 respectively. In Spain, the post-Civil War period (1939-1945) and the following Franco's right-wing dictatorship conditioned the literary repertoires and certainly the style prevailing in them. Arguably, the political moment might not have encouraged translators to include non-standard elements, but rather dictated a single, cultivated, and standardised language (Tello Fons, 2011, p. 298). As Englund Dimitrova already suggested, "in a totalitarian society, publishing houses can be under pressure from the language-codifying authorities, not only as concerns the contents of the literature, but also as concerns the language in which the contents are expressed" (1997, p. 63). This, together with the fact that *Stalky & Co*.'s Colonel Dabney and *Hard Times*'s Stephen are supporting characters, undoubtedly favoured (conscious or unconscious) neutralisation. This tendency is continued as studied in the most recent translations (1992 and 2010). It is worth noting that *Stalky & Co.* in Spanish underwent a change of readership over time. Unlike the ST, the translation is intended for a young audience in Spain, which may have favoured a neutralisation technique as a way to aim for optimal TT readability.

Neutralised translations of *Wuthering Heights*, *The Sound and the Fury* and *Of Mice and Men* studied here were published respectively in 1984, 1987 and 1986. The first translation of *Wuthering Heights* in Spain dates from 1921. At the beginning of the 20$^{th}$ century, the Spanish publishing scene underwent important changes as it was industrialized and professionalized progressively. It offered popular editions, and cultural products aimed at mass consumption began to proliferate (Hernández Guerrero, 2019). These advances, however, did not favour considering different literary dialects and accents in novels, and the fact that this practice was not common in Spain had a greater impact. Martín Gaite's translation (1984) was probably influenced by this tradition as well, since neutralisation is chosen despite the fact that in the 80' Spain was already a democracy, but perhaps, as Sánchez-Andrade (2007), she thought the Joseph's voice was untranslatable. The first translation of *The Sound and the Fury* in Spain dates from 1965, but the ST was published in 1929.

During those more than 30 years, censorship marked literary output to a great extent, and it is most likely to be the cause of neutralisation of dialectal markers at the time. But in the translation analysed (1987), there is no other reason for avoiding dialect translation than following the style of what had already been translated by others before. In *Of Mice and Men*, neutralisation again is not due to political circumstances but to publishing and literary tradition reasons, since at that time both trade unions and the Spanish communist party (Steinbeck's political ideology) were already legalised. It is more difficult to find reasons for neutralisation in *White Teeth*. Published in 2000 and translated in 2001, it may be our clearest example of lack of tradition regarding dialect translation in Spain, as it is a relatively recent book whose historical, social, and cultural context would not prevent other techniques. Neutralisation consequences in these novels are the loss in character's depiction and all evoked connotations. TT readers may not notice it, but it deprives them of the full universe that books contain.

In the remaining four translations, adequacy to the source culture was somehow chosen over acceptability. Several reasons may lie behind this behaviour. Spanish translations of *The Van* and *Trainspotting* (colloquial translation technique) and *The Bonesetter's Daughter* (norm transgression / dialect creation technique) were published in 1996, 1996 and 2001, when a growing dialectal acceptance is perhaps being experienced by readers. Indeed, the fact that *The Bonesetter's Daughter*'s translation, the most recent, used the norm transgresssion technique could be interpreted as evidence of a change from neutralisation towards a greater freedom in the restitution of dialectal features. Be that as it may, both in these novels and in *Through the Looking Glass* (dialectal translation technique), the strong social nature of ST literary dialects also enabled the use of these techniques. The translation of *Through the Looking Glass* studied here was published in 1988. A dialectal translation technique is legitimised by Carroll's nonsensical work and the function of its dialect, more symbolic than mimetic. The humorous effect achieved for the target culture is similar to that it had on the source culture.

To conclude the discussion regarding the reasons for the (non-) translation, while we did not consider gender parity or diversity of backgrounds among the translators, it is worth mentioning the possible effects arising from these aspects. Regarding gender, there are six female translators and seven male translators. Still, it cannot be determined whether this may have influenced the linguistic variation in one way or

another, since, among the translations done by women, only two show traits of literary dialect, *La hija del curandero* and *La camioneta*, although the latter was done by two people, a woman and a man. Nor does the fact of having a version translated by two people seem to indicate a specific direction of the trend. The translators' origin is mostly Spain, although Ramón Buckley, translator of *Through the Looking Glass*, is an academic with a British father who has a career in the USA, and Federico Corriente, translator of *Trainspotting*, translated the novel when he lived in Scotland. We do not know M.ª Eugenia Ciocchini's origin, translator of *La hija del curandero*, but her surname suggests an international background. In all three cases, the translators used translation techniques that reveal the literary dialect in the Spanish versions and perhaps, in the case of Buckley and Ciocchini, this may be due to a knowledge of other literary polysystems. As for Corriente, living in the country where the novel is set may have made him aware of the importance of the language used as a portrait of that society.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The use of fictional dialects has a long tradition in English literature and it has served different purposes over several centuries. In Spain, on the contrary, using literary dialects has held a lower status, but its use does not surprise readers especially when it has a symbolic function. All the same, with translated literature things have been different. With that in mind, this study has sought to reflect on how fictional dialects, so rooted in oral culture, are conveyed into a language such as Spanish, which is conditioned by its cultural and literary tradition historically opposed to this practice. The translations analysed, both in 2011 and now, published between 1944 and 2010, showed that the trend in the translation of English fictional dialects slightly slanted towards neutralisation. Therefore, we may conclude that in the Spanish polysystem the initial norm that governed most of the analysed translations was inclined to acceptability: translations were oriented towards the target literary system in order to favour readers' understanding and meet their expectations. As Even-Zohar suggested, when translated literature holds a secondary or peripheral position "it has no influence on major processes and is modelled according to norms already conventionally established by an already dominant type in the target literature. Translated literature in this case becomes a major factor of conservatism" (1990, pp. 48-49). If translated literature holds a

secondary position in Spain, and therefore preserves traditional procedures, translation of literary dialects is relegated.

We cannot overlook, though, some other reasons[8] such as "the fact that non-standard varieties rarely have an established written norm, adding one more difficulty to the work of the translator" (Ramos Pinto, 2009, p. 303); or reasons that have to do with translators' translating and linguistic competences, as they may have a passive knowledge of the source language (De la Cruz, 2004) and insufficient command of the linguistic varieties in the target language (Heim, 2014). Moreover, as Alsina pointed out, "the omission of socio-regional variations in the translations could be taken to mean that such variations were interpreted mainly as geographical – and therefore virtually untranslatable" (2012, p. 142). Regarding publishing houses in Spain, Calvo states that they currently "shy away from anything that is not 'correct Spain's standard', such as colloquialisms, vulgarisms or incorrect turns of phrase, preventing translators from playing with the diction of the characters" (2016, p. 148; our translation).[9] Lastly, the difficulty and risks involved in translating fictional dialects could lead to self-censorship as well.

Nowadays, however, it seems that the neutralising trend observed in our study could be changing:

> [(...) nearness to orality belongs to the current literary standards. And we even already have a tradition (although in some cases by absence) as far as the translation of this expressive modality is concerned, so that the current norm demands that written orality be translated as such, and not as standard language, even if certain aspects (...) are presented as non-transferable]. (Morillas, 2016, p. 59; our translation).[10]

[8] Rosa offers a list of some of the motivations or constraints for neutralisation of literary varieties, and she even stresses that "in some cases, the standard is considered the only acceptable option to recreate a highly prestigious or canonized source text, author and culture" (2012, p. 93).

[9] "(...) las editoriales españolas actualmente rehúyen de todo lo que no sea 'castellano correcto', como coloquialismos, vulgarismos o giros del habla incorrectos, impidiendo que los traductores jueguen con la dicción de los personajes" (2016, p. 148).

[10] "La aproximación a lo hablado pertenece a la convención literaria vigente. E incluso ya contamos con una tradición (aunque en algunos casos por ausencia) en lo que a la traducción de esa modalidad expresiva se refiere, de forma que la norma actual exige que el habla escrita se traduzca como tal, y no como lenguaje estándar, por más que determinados aspectos […] se presenten como intransferibles" (Morillas, 2016, p. 59).

Some factors may have contributed to this change. To list a couple of them, the consolidation of translation studies as a university degree favours a better translation competence and a greater awareness of the translator's work by both translators themselves and the society. Despite this, translation degrees' curricula continue to maintain "the fiction of monodialectality", since the vehicular language is usually "exclusively the standard variety, identified with the language as a whole, thus ignoring the existence and importance of other relevant varieties such as dialects" (Albadalejo, 2012, p. 6). Worth highlighting is the growing recognition and progressive dissemination of dialects and minority languages in Spain, which may have led to the norm taking a more central position. This can be observed through various works published in recent years, such as the translation of *Le petit prince* into one of the Andalusian dialects (*Er Prinzipito* by Huan Porrah, 2017) and the novel written according to the speech from Tenerife in the Canary Islands, *Panza de burro* (Andrea Abreu, 2020).

As a result of the above factors, the popular view of linguistic varieties in Spain is evolving, which in turn should contribute to a change, albeit slow, in the cultural and literary tradition of dialect translation. No doubt that progress on the translation of literary varieties has been done in the last decade. Zadie Smith's *Swing Time* (*Tiempos de swing*, translated by Vázquez Nacarino in 2017), James McBride's *The Good Lord Bird* (*El pájaro carpintero*, translated by Sanz Jiménez in 2017), and Marlon James' *A Brief History of Seven Killings* (*Breve historia de siete asesinatos*, translated by Calvo and Guerra in 2016) are a few examples of recent English-Spanish translations of novels containing literary dialects. But further descriptive efforts are still needed to help explain the process and the factors surrounding it. Any study that contributes to this aim will be of great use to both translation theory and practice: theory may be enriched thanks to empirical data, and practice will gain new guidelines to help translators.

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## APPENDIX

### Excerpts from the corpus of source texts

'I sud more likker look for th' horse,' he replied. 'It 'ud be to more sense. Bud I can look for norther horse nur man of a neeght loike this – as black as t' chimbley! und Heathcliff's noan t' chap to coom at MY whistle – happen he'll be less hard o' hearing wi' YE!' (*Wuthering Heights,* Brontë, 2003 [1847], p. 94).

'Sir, I were never good at showin o't, though I ha had'n my share in feeling o't. 'Deed we are in a muddle, sir. Look round town – so rich as 'this – and see the numbers o' people as has been broughten into bein heer, fur to weave, an to card, an to piece out a livin', aw the same one way, somehows, twixt their cradles and their graves.' (*Hard Times*, Dickens, 2001 [1854], p. 172).

"You'd be cross too, if you'd a wig like mine," the Wasp went on. "They jokes, at one. And they worrits one. And then I gets cross. And I gets cold. And I gets under a tree. And I gets a yellow handkerchief. And I ties up my face –as at the present" (*Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There,* Carroll, 1992 [1992], p. 212).

"I… I am, and…" his eyes travelled up and down the boy, "Who… what the devil d'you want? Ye've been disturbing my pheasants. Don't attempt to deny it. Ye needn't laugh at it." (McTurk's not too lovely features had twisted themselves into a horrible sneer at the word pheasant.) "You've been birds'-nesting. You needn't hide your hat. I can see that you belong to the College. Don't attempt to deny it. Ye do! Your name and number at once, sir. Ye want to speak to me, eh? (*Stalky & Co*., Kipling, 1994 [1899], p. 16).

"I tole you he warn't gwine stay quiet," Luster said.
"You vilyun" Dilsey said. "Whut you done to him?"
"I aint done nothin. I tole you when dem folks start playin, he git started up."
"You come on here," Dilsey said. "Hush, Benjy. Hush, now." But he wouldn't hush. They crossed the yard quickly and went to the cabin and entered. "Run git dat shoe," Dilsey said. "Don't you sturb Miss Cahline, now. Ef she say anything, tell her I got him. Go on now; you kin sho do dat right, I reckon." Luster went out. (*The Sound and the Fury*, Faulkner, 1987 [1929], p. 333).

"O.K. Someday –we're gonna get the jack together and we're gonna have a little house and a couple of acres an' a cow and some pigs and– "
"An' live off the fatta the lan'," Lennie shouted. "An' have rabbits. Go on, George! Tell about what we're gonna have in the garden and bout the rabbits in the cages and bout the rain in the winter and the stove, and how thick the cream is on the milk like you can hardly cut it. Tell about that, George." (*Of Mice and Men*, Steinbeck, 1984 [1937], p. 15).

—Okay, said Jimmy Sr. —Wha' d'yeh want?
—Curry chips.

—We don't do them.
—Why don't yis?
—Our chips are too good, son, Jimmy Sr told him.
—Wha'?
—We wouldn't insult our chips by ruinin'g them with tha' muck, said Jimmy Sr. —They only use curry sauce cos their potatoes are bad, to hide the real taste. Now there's some inside information for yeah.
—So, said Jimmy Sr. —Will ordin'y chips do yeh, or wha'? (*The Van*, Doyle, 1991 561).

Ah hate cunts like that… Cunts that are intae baseball-batting every fucker that's different; pakis, poofs, n what huv ye. Fuckin failures in a country ay failures. It's nae good blamin it oan the English fir colonising us. Ah don't hate the English. They're just wankers. We are colonised by wankers. We can't even pick a decent, vibrant, healthy culture to be colonised by. No. We're ruled by effete arseholes. What does that make us? The lowest of the fucking low, the scum of the earth. The most wretched, servile, miserable, pathetic trash that was ever shat intae creation. Ah don't hate the English. They just git oan wi the shite thuv goat. Ah hate the Scots (*Trainspotting*, Welsh, 1993, p. 78).

'She never mentioned you either,' said Irie.
'Well, it was all a long time ago now,' said Hortense with forced joviality. 'But you did try your best wid' er, Mr Topps. She was my miracle child, Clara. I was forty-eight! I taut she was God's child. But Clara was bound for evil… she never was a godly girl an' in de end dere was nuttin' to be done' (*White Teeth*, Smith, 2000, p. 391).

'Long time 'go, you first meet him, I tell you, Why you live together first? You do this, he never marry you. Your remember? Oh, now you thinking, Ah, Mother right. Live together, now I just leftover, easy trow away. Don't be embarrass, you be honest' (*The Bonesetter's Daughter,* Tan, 2001, p. 291-292).