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THE LANGUAGE OF REFUGEES, EMIGRANTS, TRAVELLERS. TRANSLATION OF NON-STANDARD LANGUAGE VARIETIES IN ZADIE SMITH'S *WHITE TEETH*

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Abstract

The article is a comparative textual analysis of English and Polish versions of Zadie Smith's novel *White Teeth* in terms of translation of non-standard language varieties, as well as age-specific and idiolectal linguistic traits. The paper aims to identify translation techniques and strategies applied by the translator and to determine how they influence character portrayal and reception of the target text. The article adds a voice to the issue of translation of language varieties and the possible loss of their cultural meaning.
Keywords: comparative textual analysis, cultural identity, dialects, non-standard language varieties, translation, translation strategies, White Teeth.

Language serves not just as a means of communication, but it also plays a crucial role in shaping cultural identity of its users. It might be especially vital for such groups as migrants and regional or minority communities, for which it helps to constitute their sense of individuality. Difficulties might arise when those characteristic languages are to be translated into another language, which bears its own cultural background and meanings.

The aim of the following paper is a comparative textual analysis in terms of translation strategies applied by the translator of Zadie Smith's novel

White Teeth. After introducing certain theoretical concepts, excerpts selected from the book and its translation will be assessed in respect of retaining linguistic markers related to non-standard, age-specific and idiolectal language varieties appearing in the text. Finally, it will be attempted to determine the general translation strategy applied by the translator and how it may affect reception of the target text.

1. Theoretical concepts crucial for the analysis

Before the analysis proper, subjects belonging to its theoretical background will be discussed, namely language varieties, translation techniques and strategies, as well as a related topic of styles of speech.

1.1. Styles of speech

Styles are varieties of language related to the level of formality of a particular situation. They are characterized by various degrees of politeness, intimacy and social distance (Trudgill, 1988, p. 102). People apply different stylistic variants of language depending on their attitude towards the reality. Styles of speech and social relations influence each other reciprocally – language determines social relations with other people and those social relations determine the usage of linguistic forms (Biały, 2017, p. 66). According to Lubaś (1979, p. 32, as cited in Biały, 2017, p. 66), the choice of stylistic variant depends on the content, context and purpose of the conversation, linguistic code, level of directness, as well as social positions of the participants.

Joos (1967, p. 11) distinguishes five styles of English that may be applied in the act of speech:

a) f r o z e n – used in print and declamation (Joos, 1967, p. 39);
b) f o r m a l – aiming to convey information with absence of participation; marked by detachment and cohesion (Joos, 1967, pp. 35-38);
c) c o n s u l t a t i v e – used towards strangers; conveying background information and assuming mutual participation (Joos, 1967, p. 23);
d) c a s u a l – used in conversation with friends and acquaintances; featuring ellipsis and slang (Joos, 1967, p. 23);
e) i n t i m a t e – applied in stable, intimate relationships; involving extraction of a minimal sentence pattern and usage of jargon (Joos, 1967, pp. 30-31).

Bokszański et al. (1977, p. 90), in turn, based on social relations and social context, differentiate the following stylistic v a r i a n t s: c o n s u l t a t i v e (n e u t r a l), f o r m a l (i n s t i t u t i o n a l), r e s p e c t f u l, c o l d (o f f - p u t t i n g), w e l c o m i n g (p r o f u s e), i n t i m a t e

and c o l l o q u i a l. Moreover, they note thematic variants dependent on the subject of the conversation and interrelated to the stylistic variants above.

1.2. Language varieties

'Language is a complicated system consisting of different varieties, with each variety having a set of rules and regulations' (Fathima & Sherif, 2023, p. 113). Language varieties may be special examples of such functions of language as defining ethnic-group membership or identifying with social groups (Trudgill, 1988, p. 53). Among those variants may be enumerated such phenomena as dialect, idiolect, slang, pidgin or creole, which are diverse in terms of 'place, person, region, caste, age, sex, society, etc.' (Fathima & Sherif, 2023, p. 113). One of the notions significant for this paper is s l a n g . It is a 'very informal language that is usually spoken rather than written, used especially by particular groups of people' (Rusu, 2021, p. 109). P i d g i n l a n g u a g e , in turn, is a simplified combination of other languages, which becomes a c r e o l e when it functions as the native language of a particular community (Trudgill, 1988, p. 61); and i d i o l e c t is an individual style of speech based on sociolects used by a particular person (Robinson, 2022, p. 594).

Another term crucial for this analysis is d i a l e c t . It may be defined as 'a regional variety of languages, distinguished by features of vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation from other regional varieties that together constitute a single language', which is based on geographic and social background of a particular person (Alharahsheh, 2020, p. 110), or as 'a kind of language used by a specific group at a specific time in a specific location' (Epstein, 2012, p. 245, as cited in Gibson, 2024, p. 18). Within the Polish language, Handke (2009, pp. 65-66) differentiates the g e n e r a l (nationwide, literary) l a n g u a g e , used in education, administration, literature and media, which divides into written and spoken (colloquial) varieties; and d i a l e c t s , here defined as regional speech of the country representative for a particular area. The general language and folk vernaculars have common grammar and the majority of vocabulary, but there are distinct differences in phonetics, as well as morphology, syntax and lexis. Furthermore, there are urban dialects of particular cities with distinctive features related mainly to pronunciation and vocabulary (Handke, 2009, p. 70). However, as it will apply in this paper, d i a l e c t can be also understood in its broader sense, that is a language variety dependent on the speaker and contributing to their personal characteristic, as opposed to variants related to situational or relational factors, like register or style. Thus understood dialects vary geographically, socially, demographically and functionally. Among codependent variants, the dominant one constitutes the standard language, while

those lower in the hierarchy are its non-standard varieties (Berezowski, 1997, pp. 11-13). Although dialect can serve as 'the language of belonging and intimacy' (Robinson, 2022, p. 591), it may also become a source of shame, misconception or disdain (Sharp, 2024, p. 32).

Age of the speaker also allows to distinguish specific language varieties. The broad definition of d i a l e c t followed throughout this paper includes these variants along with ones dependent on geographical or social factors (Berezowski, 1997, p. 12). Another term applicable here is b i o l e c t , a variety related to biological properties of the user, such as age or sex. The criterion of age allows to differentiate varieties characteristic of children, youth, as well as mature and elderly people, with their distinctive properties. For instance, youth language features, among others, expressive words, neologisms and abbreviations, while elderly people's speech is distinguished by traditional vocabulary and archaisms (Łuczyński, 2019, pp. 83-85).

1.2.1. TRANSLATION OF DIALECT

According to Cordisco and De Meo (2022, p. 126), following Kozloff (2000), 'the transfer of a source dialect to a target language and audience can by no means aim at conveying its non-standard complex and multifaced aspects; rather, it can easily fall into stereotyping through the amplification of its most apparent aspects […], such as the reiterated use of swearing and abrupt and informal register'. Translating dialect does not, likewise, come down to a simple replacement of a source language (SL) variety with its target language (TL) counterpart. Introducing dialect in translation contributes to social deixis – aspects of language portraying social identities of characters and social relationships between them. At the same time, however, applying TL variety may implement associations absent from the original through TL intertextuality (Berezowski, 1997, pp. 28, 38, 41). According to Berezowski (1997, p. 32), non-standard varieties of language in translation may serve to emphasize slang, social differences or cultural features. He divides dialect markers, that is 'exponents of linguistic categories which diverge from the standard', into four groups: phonetics/phonology, morphology, lexis and syntax. He also refers to the three levels of the process of translation: intralingual (between subvarieties), interlingual (between languages) and intersemiotic (between semiotic systems; Berezowski, 1997, pp. 19, 42–43).

1.2.2. TECHNIQUES FOR TRANSLATING DIALECT

With reference to these two types of division, Berezowski (1997, p. 89) discusses ten techniques which might be adopted during the process of translating dialectal passages:

1. N e u t r a l i z a t i o n – 'full intralingual and interlingual translations of the SL text'; maximal reduction of dialect markers on all levels, resulting in using standard TL with minor dialectal properties (Berezowski, 1997, pp. 49-50);
2. L e x i c a l i z a t i o n – 'full interlingual translation accompanied by an intralingual translation excluding the level of lexis'; reduction of dialect markers except for the level of lexis (Berezowski, 1997, p. 53), which may take form of the following substrategies:
   a) r u r a l l e x i c a l i z a t i o n – applying lexical items characteristic of society of a particular region, for instance countryside (Berezowski, 1997, p. 54);
   b) c o l l o q u i a l l e x i c a l i z a t i o n – employing vocabulary of non-standard variety of the TL (Berezowski, 1997, p. 56);
   c) d i m i n u t i v e l e x i c a l i z a t i o n – containing diminutive forms which emphasize young or old age of the characters (Berezowski, 1997, pp. 57-58);
   d) a r t i f i c i a l l e x i c a l i z a t i o n – locating the characters in a foreign, futuristic social group (Berezowski, 1997, pp. 58-59);
3. P a r t i a l t r a n s l a t i o n – 'incomplete intralingual and interlingual translations of the SL text excluding select excerpts'; leaving certain lexical items untranslated (Berezowski, 1997, p. 60);
4. T r a n s l i t e r a t i o n – 'incomplete intralingual and interlingual translations of the SL text supplemented by the transliteration of select excerpts'; applying SL vocabulary items in TL graphological form (Berezowski, 1997, pp. 61-62);
5. S p e e c h d e f e c t – 'full interlingual and intralingual translations with a defect posited in the TL phonology'; application of regular phonological markers reflecting pronunciation problems (Berezowski, 1997, p. 64);
6. R e l a t i v i z a t i o n – 'full interlingual translation accompanied by an intralingual translation excluding the domain of honorifics and terms of adress'; 'reduction of the SL dialect into the TL forms of address and honorifics' reflecting social hierarchy of the characters (Berezowski, 1997, pp. 66, 68);
7. P i d g i n i z a t i o n – 'full interlingual translation into the pidgin variety of the TL';
8. A r t i f i c i a l v a r i e t y – 'full interlingual translation into a hypothetical TL dialect';
9. C o l l o q u i a l i z a t i o n – 'full interlingual translation into the colloquial variety of the TL';
10. R u s t i c a l i z a t i o n – 'full interlingual translation into a rural TL dialect'.

The above techniques address in various manner the problem of SL social deixis and TL intertextuality – neutralization in the greatest extent aims to avoid distorting the translation by TL associations. Pidginization, artificial variety, colloquialization and rusticalization, on the other side of the scale, are the most focused on recreating the original social deixis while risking implementation of TL-specific associations. The remaining techniques allow to achieve balance between the two extremes by applying only certain aspects of the TL varieties (Berezowski, 1997, pp. 84, 89-90). It is worth mentioning that it is not always possible to unequivocally classify the technique used by the translator.

1.3. Translation strategies

Translation strategy is a set of priorities espoused by the translator, which defines their decisions regarding problems encountered during the process of translation (Tabakowska, 2008, p. 34). Two main strategies in translation are foreignization and domestication. Foreignization means retaining elements characteristic of the source culture, thus depicting differences between the original culture and the target one (Biały, 2012, p. 112). It may be also described metaphorically as guiding the reader to the author (Schleiermacher, 1838/2010, p. 17). Domestication, in turn, is substituting the source culture elements with their target culture equivalents, which aims at making the text more accessible for the target audience (Biały, 2012, p. 112), which might be also depicted as guiding the author to the reader (Schleiermacher, 1838/2010, p. 17). It may be stated that domestication in a certain degree is somehow inevitable in translation on account of differences between the languages involved (Biały, 2012, p. 112). It may be notably true in the case of translating language varieties. In this paper, therefore, foreignization will be understood as accurate conveying the original social deixis and contrasts between particular varieties, while domestication will mean prioritizing TL standard variety in tackling translation of non-standard language features.

2. The text under analysis

The texts analysed in this paper are *White Teeth*, Zadie Smith's debut novel from 2000, and its Polish translation by Zbigniew Batko. The book was awarded with such honours as Whitbread First Novel Award, Guardian First Book Award, James Tait Black Memorial Prize for Fiction, as well as Commonwealth Writers' First Book Prize. It tells the story of three emigrant families, with Jamaican, Bangladeshi and Jewish origin, living in twentieth-cen-

tury London. The novel touches such themes as migration, war, family bonds and heritage, cultural values and identity.

An expressive feature of the novel is its diversity of language. The characters speak several non-standard varieties of English, such as Jamaican English Creole, Cockney and youth language, as well as employ elements of other languages (Ntoya, 2018, p. 26). Such diversification is certain to generate challenges for the translator, which is the subject of this paper.

3. Analysis of the novel

In the undermentioned sections, selected dialectal passages contained in the novel will be discussed in the following respects: context of the utterance, particular language varieties, age and social hierarchy, and idiolectal traits. Excluding the first section, the passages under analysis will consist of lines spoken by particular characters of the novel. Dialect markers and other significant parts will be written in bold.

3.1. Context of the utterance

Numerous metalinguistic comments of the narrator are indicative of how crucial role language diversity plays in the story under analysis.

Table 1
Examples of metalinguistic comments

No.	English original	Polish translation
1.	*It was the voice Hortense put on when she had company – an over-compensation of all the consonants – the voice she used for pastors and white women.* (Eng 40)[1]	*Było to powiedziane tonem, który Hortense przybierała zawsze, kiedy miała towarzystwo – z przesadnie wyraźną artykulacją wszystkich spółgłosek – tonem, jaki rezerwowała dla pastorów i białych kobiet.* (Pol 47)
2.	*Clara blushed the moment after she had spoken; she always dropped into the vernacular when she was excited or pleased about something.* (Eng 66)	*Zarumieniła się gwałtownie; zawsze przechodziła na żargon, kiedy coś ją podekscytowało lub ucieszyło.* (Pol 72)
3.	[…] *said Millat with the Jamaican accent that all kids, whatever their nationality, used to express scorn.* (Eng 167)	[…] *powiedział Millat z jamajskim akcentem, którego wszystkie dzieci, bez względu na pochodzenie, używały, kiedy chciały okazać pogardę.* (Pol 167)

[1] Examples from the English original are marked as 'Eng', and examples from the Polish translation as 'Pol', followed by page number.

Table 1 (cont.)

No.	English original	Polish translation
4.	[...] *his voice assuming a slight, comic, cockney twinge.* (Eng 190)	[...] *jego głos przybrał lekki akcent londyńskiej ulicy.* (Pol 189)
5.	*Raggastanis spoke a strange mix of Jamaican patois, Bengali, Gujarati and English.* (Eng 231)	*Mówili językiem, który był dziwną mieszanką jamajskiego patois, bengalskiego, gudżarati i angielskiego.* (Pol 229)
6.	[...], *said Millat, putting on what he called a* bud-bud-ding-ding *accent.* (Eng 319)	[...], *powiedział Millat, przybierając intonację, którą nazywał jajcarską.* (Pol 311)
7.	[...] *an accent that modulated wildly between the rounded tones of the Chalfens and the street talk of KEVIN clan.* (Eng 351)	[...] *jego artykulacja oscylowała między gładką wymową Chalfenów a prostackim akcentem typów ze SROM-u.* (Pol 342)
8.	*But the voice was a visual in itself: cockney yet refined, a voice that had had much work done upon it – missing key consonants and adding others where they were never meant to be, and all delivered through the nose with only the slightest help from the mouth.* (Eng 388)	*Ale sam jego głos ulegał swoistej wizualizacji: Ryan mówił cockneyem, ale wystudiowanym, głosem, który wymagał wielkiego nakładu pracy – opuszczając pewne spółgłoski i dodając inne tam, gdzie nie powinno ich być, ledwo otwierając przy tym usta.* (Pol 376)
9.	[...] *she growls, lapsing into a threatening patois* [...] (Eng 528)	[...] *mruczy, przechodząc na pobrzmiewające groźbą* patois [...] (Pol 506)
10.	*Samad tumbles into the Bengali vernacular* [...] (Eng 533)	*Samad przechodzi na bezładny bengalski żargon* [...] (Pol 511)

The excerpts above might aim to justify the characters' choices between English varieties and portray the context of usage of particular dialects. They inform that the characters may switch between vernaculars under strong emotions (examples 2, 9 and 10), in a certain company (example 1), for comic purposes (examples 3, 4 and 6) or in order to express affiliation to certain groups (examples 5 and 7). They might be also a part of a character's profile (example 8). Those metalinguistic comments not only describe the social usage of vernaculars but may also explain their features to the reader (examples 1 and 8).

3.2. Particular language varieties

Diverse origin of the novel's characters results in applying different varieties of English, as well as elements of other languages. Non-standard passages are distinguished by various kinds of dialect markers, from phonetic (e.g. example 14), morphological (e.g. example 24) and lexical (e.g. example 15) to syntactical (e.g. example 19). Furthermore, Ntoya (2018), in an analysis of non-standard language in *White Teeth*, points to two means applied by the author: e y e - d i a l e c t and a l l e g r o s p e e c h. E y e - d i -

a l e c t is respelling of words without changing their actual pronunciation, resulting in an impression of 'dialect to the eye but not the ear' (Hodson, 2014, p. 95, as cited in Ntoya, 2018, p. 17), in order to signal non-standard language variety (e.g. example 13); while a l l e g r o s p e e c h means reduction of certain sounds during rapid, everyday speech (Ntoya, 2018, p. 14; e.g. example 14).

3.2.1. JAMAICAN ENGLISH CREOLE

A significant number of the novel's characters have Jamaican origin. While the official language of Jamaica is English, a part of its society uses a creole language based on English, as well as other varieties placed somewhere between these two (Trudgill, 1988, p. 185).

Table 2
Examples of Jamaican English Creole

No.	English original	Polish translation
11.	Clara: *I see* ***dat*** *you* ***walkin'*** *down and* ***der's*** *a* ***missin'*** *step* ***comin'****. I'm just* ***tellin'*** *you: watch your step!* ***Me jus wan'*** *share heaven* ***wid*** *you.* ***Me nah wan' fe*** *see you* ***bruk-up*** *your legs.* (Eng 35-36)	Clara: *Widzę, że schodzisz na dół, a w schodach brakuje jednego stopnia. Więc* ***powiadam*** *ci, uważaj! Ja chcę tylko dzielić z tobą miejsce w niebie. Nie chcę widzieć, jak łamiesz nogi.* (Pol 43)
12.	Clara: ***Bwoy***, ***me kyant*** *do* ***nuttin'*** *right today* – (Eng 36)	Clara: ***O rany***, *nic mi dzisiaj nie idzie jak* ***trza****…* (Pol 43)
13.	Clara: **Man**, […] *I* ***don'*** believe ***dis biznezz***. ***Dem*** *were* your *friends.* (Eng 42)	Clara: ***Stary*** […] *Ja w tę całą aferę nie wierzę. A oni to przecież t w o i* ***kumple****.* (Pol 50)
14.	Clara: ***'Sno prob-lem****. If you* ***wan'*** *help:* ***jus' arks farrit****.* (Eng 53)	Clara: *Żaden problem. Jak potrzebujesz pomocy, wystarczy poprosić.* (Pol 60)
15.	Clara: *You're pregnant?* […] ***Pickney***, ***you*** *so* ***small me kyant*** *even see it.* (Eng 66)	Clara: *Jest pani w ciąży?* […] ***Kochana***, *taka pani* ***mikra****, że w ogóle nie* ***skumałam****.* (Pol 72)
16.	Denzel: ***Troof*** *be* ***tol***, ***me nah*** *like to believe* ***any ting****.* (En 259)	Denzel: ***Po prawdzie****, to ja nie lubię w nic wierzyć.* (Pl 254)
17.	Hortense: ***Understand****:* ***I and I*** *don't speak from this moment forth.* (Eng 327)	Hortense: *Rozumiem.* ***Ja i ja*** *nie odzywamy się odtąd do siebie.* (Pol 319)
18.	***Djam*** *fool* ***bwoy taut*** *he owned* ***everyting*** *he touched.* (Eng 354)	*Ten* ***gupek*** *myśli, że czego dotknie, to jego!* (Pol 344)
19.	Ambrosia: *Me? He* ***wan'*** *teach* me? (En 356)	Ambrosia: ***Mie****? On chce* ***m i e*** *uczyć?* (Pl 346)
20.	Ambrosia's mother: ***Tree*** *times a week,* […] ***An' don' arks*** *me why. But Lord knows, you could do* ***wid*** *some* ***improvin'****. Be* ***tankful*** *for* ***gen'russ-ity****.* (Eng 356)	Ambrosia's mother: *Trzy razy w tygodniu* […] *I nie pytaj, dlaczego. Bóg świadkiem, że wyjdzie ci to na dobre. Bądź wdzięczna za taką szczodrobliwość.* (Pol 347)

Table 2 (cont.)

No.	English original	Polish translation
21.	Hortense: *That's fever as sure as fever is fever.* (Eng 382)	Hortense: *To gorączka, gorączka* ***jak amen w pacierzu****!* (Pol 370)
22.	Hortense: *Come* ***'ere****.* (Eng 382)	Hortense: ***Chono*** *tu.* (Pol 370)
23.	Denzel: ***Dat*** *a lovely suit you* ***gat dere****,* [...] ***Dat's*** *what* ***de*** *Englishmen* ***use ta*** *wear back home in Jamaica,* ***remember dat****, Clarence?* (Eng 450)	Denzel: *Masz śliczny* ***garniak*** [...] *Takie właśnie nosili Anglicy na Jamajce, pamiętasz, Clarence?* (Pol 434)
24.	Denzel: *Clarence,* ***look see****!* ***It de*** *young prince in white.* ***'Im come*** *to play domino. I* ***jus' look*** *in his eye and I and I knew* ***'im*** *play domino.* ***'Im*** *an* ***hexpert****.* [...] ***Def-net-lee****.* ***Gwan****.* (En 456)	Denzel: *Popatrz tylko, Clarence! Młody książę w białej szacie. Przyszedł zagrać w domino. Widać po oczach, że gra w domino. To ekspert.* [...] *Oczywiście. Pytaj,* ***chłopcze****.* (Pl 440)
25.	Hortense: *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.* (Eng 530)	Hortense: *Ja wiem, kim* ***pan jesteś****,* ***człowieku****.* ***Znasz mnie pan*** *i ja znam pana. Ale w tym momencie są tylko dwa rodzaje ludzi na świecie...* (Pol 507)

The original excerpts are rich in dialect markers of various types, as well as examples of eye-dialect and allegro speech. The Polish version, in turn, contains considerably less of those features. In the process of translation, examples 14 and 20 were neutralized into standard Polish. Lexicalization is the technique applied in examples 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, as well as 21, 22 and 23, which involves application of obsolete (examples 11, 12 and 19), colloquial (examples 12, 13, 15, 16, 21, 22 and 23) or regional (example 18) lexical items. In examples 24 and 25 usage of relativization may be observed, since non-standard items involve only forms of address indicating the attitude of the speakers towards their interlocutors, while other dialect markers are neutralized. Interestingly, in example 17 a phenomenon characteristic of one register of Jamaican creole, namely replacing the personal pronoun 'we' by 'I and I' (Ntoya, 2018: 38), is translated literally into '*ja i ja*', which, although undoubtedly indicates non-standard utterance, might cause confusion among target readers since it does not allude to any kind of similar form in Polish.

3.2.2. COCKNEY

Cockney is 'a dialect of the English language traditionally spoken by working-class Londoners, especially in the East End region' (Rusu, 2021, p. 109). In *White Teeth*, this vernacular is spoken by a number of characters of various origin, living in London.

Table 3
Examples of Cockney

No.	English original	Polish translation
26.	Londoner: *Sorry, love, don't you know what day it is? It's Sunday,* ***innit****? I'm* **knackered**. *I've spent* all week *creating the land and oceans. It's* ***me*** *day of rest.* (Eng 35)	Londyńczyk: *Przepraszam, kochanie, nie wiesz, jaki to dzień tygodnia? Niedziela, prawda? Jestem* ***skonany****. Spędziłem cały tydzień na tworzeniu lądów i oceanów. To mój dzień wypoczynku.* (Pol 42)
27.	Ryan: *You're from my school,* ***ain't ya****?* (Eng 36)	Ryan: *Jesteś z mojej* ***budy***, ***co nie****?* (Pol 43)
28.	Ryan: *Put* ***somefin'*** *on that.* (Eng 36)	Ryan: ***Trza*** *to czymś zakleić.* (Pol 44)
29.	Ryan: ***'Simportant***. ***Need*** *to talk to you.* ***Ain't*** *much time left.* (Eng 42)	Ryan: *To ważne. Muszę z tobą* ***pogadać****. Mamy mało czasu.* (Pol 49)
30.	Abdul-Mickey: ***'Sall*** *in* ***'ere***, ***mate****.* (En 186)	Abdul-Mickey: *Wszystko tu jest,* ***bracie****.* (Pl 185)
31.	Abdul-Mickey: ***No problemo***, ***mate****.* (Eng 187)	Abdul-Mickey: ***Nie ma problema***, ***bracie****.* (Pol 186)
32.	Archie: ***'Dunno***. ***He's on about*** *tradition again.* (Eng 191)	Archie: *Nie wiem. Teraz znów* ***truje*** *o tradycji.* (Pol 189)
33.	Abdul-Mickey: *I* ***says*** *to* ***'im***, ***you fucking stupid*** *or* ***sommink****? What the fuck is the point of that? At least steal the* ***fucking*** car, *if that's the way you feel about it. I mean, why?* ***'E*** *says it's* ***sommink*** *to do* ***wiv*** *some* ***fucking*** *Beetie Boys or some such* ***bollocks****.* (Eng 191)	Abdul-Mickey: *Mówię mu: „****Czyś ty***, ***kurwa****, zgłupiał* ***czy co****?* ***Po coś*** *to,* ***kurwa****, zrobił? Jak już musisz coś* ***podpieprzyć***, ***podpieprz*** *przynajmniej cały samochód". Zachodziłem w głowę, co mu* ***odbiło***. ***A on mi na to****, że to ma coś wspólnego z jakimiś Beetie Boys czy jakąś inną* ***bzdurą****.* (Pol 189–190)
34.	Archie: *Phone's out.* ***'Lectricity****'s out.* (Eng 224)	Archie: *Telefon nie działa.* ***Elektryka wysiadła****.* (Pol 222)
35.	Ryan: ***Nuffink*** *fancy. I did* ***fink*** *about* ***givin'*** *it away at one point. It represented a life I'd* ***raaver*** *forget, if you get my meaning.* (Eng 393)	Ryan: *Żadne* ***cudo****. Kiedyś chciałem go już nawet komuś oddać. Przypomina mi o życiu, o którym już zapomniałem.* (Pol 381)
36.	Johnny: ***Whattareya tryin'*** *to do to us, Sammy?* […] *Overrun us, are* ***ya*** *or* ***sumthin****?* (Eng 448)	Johnny: *Co ty tu* ***knujesz***, *Sammy?* […] *To jakiś nalot* ***czy co****?* (Pol 432)
37.	Abdul-Mickey: *Well, I'll have to* ***nip*** *next door,* ***'cos*** *I* ***ain't*** *got none at present…* […] (Eng 451)	Abdul-Mickey: *Będę musiał* ***skoczyć*** *do* ***knajpki*** *obok, bo w tej chwili nie mam…* […] (Pol 435)
38.	Abdul-Mickey: *When they* ***gonna*** *get on* ***wiv*** *it, then?* […] ***Taking*** *their time, eh?* (Eng 521)	Abdul-Mickey: *Kiedy oni mają zamiar zacząć?* […] *Nie śpieszy im się,* ***co****?* (Pol 499)

Almost all of the examples above underwent colloquial lexicalization, with occasional usage of obsolete items (example 28). In

some excerpts it was narrowed to r e l a t i v i z a t i o n (example 30). However, in certain examples the number of markers in the translation is so infinitesimal that the language in those passages was nearly completely n e u t r a l i z e d (examples 26, 29, 35 and 38).

3.2.3. OTHER LANGUAGES

Diverse roots of the novel's characters result in specific linguistic phenomena, along with employment of lexical items derived from languages other than English.

Table 4
Examples of other languages

No.	English original	Polish translation
39.	Mo: *This place* ***halal****. Kosher, understand?* (Eng 7)	Mo: *To miejsce jest* **halal**. *Koszerne, rozumiesz pan?* (Pol 17)
40.	Customer: ***Chicken Jail Fret See wiv Chips, fanks.*** (Eng 55)	Klient: ***Skurcze z fredkami. Cienkuję.*** (Pol 62)
41.	Boy: ***Mr Soldier,*** [...] ***bubblegum please thankyou.*** (Eng 94)	Chłopiec: ***Panie żołnierz*** [...] ***Guma, proszędziekuję.*** (Pol 98)
42.	Boy: ***Dollars, mister!*** (Eng 94)	Chłopiec: ***Dolary, pan!*** (Pol 99)
43.	Boy: ***He no one. He Dr Sick, only.*** (Eng 95)	Chłopiec: ***On jest nikt. On tylko doktor Sick.*** (Pol 100)
44.	Dr Perret: ***Mon Dieu****, you are very young to have got so far in life, Captain.* (Eng 116)	Dr Perret: **Mon Dieu**, *zaszedł pan daleko w życiu jak na tak młodego człowieka, kapitanie.* (Pol 119)
45.	Archie: *Oh, you know.* ***Comme si, comme sar****.* (Eng 187)	Archie: *No wiesz,* **comme ci, comme ça**. (Pol 186)
46.	Clarence: *What dat* ***bambaclaat*** *say?* (Eng 187)	Clarence: *Co ten* **bambaklaat** *powiedział?* (Pol 187)
47.	Hifan: *See-ya!* ***Bidāyo****!* (Eng 232)	Hifan: *Pa, pa!* **Bidāyo**! (Pol 230)
48.	Abdul-Mickey: ***Comme-See-Comme-Sar****, as the Frogs say.* (Eng 250)	Abdul-Mickey: ***Kąsi kąsa*** *– jak mówią żabojady.* (Pol 246)
49.	Mrs Olive Roody: *Because... some of the class need to listen to* – **nae***, are even a* ***wee*** *bit* interested in – *what I have to say. So if you could spare some time from your* ***doooodling*** – (Eng 267)	Pani Olive Roody: *Bo... niektórzy chcieliby jednak posłuchać – są nawet zainteresowani tym, co mam do powiedzenia. Tak więc gdybyś mogła poświęcić odrobinę tego czasu, który zajmują ci* ***g r y - z m o ł y*** *...* (Pol 261)
50.	Samad: *Do you never read the* ***Qur'ān****?* (Eng 453)	Samad: *Czy ty nigdy nie czytałeś* ***Koranu****?* (Pol 437)

Table 4 (cont.)

No.	English original	Polish translation
51.	Hifan: […] *the effect is far stronger,* ***accha****?* (Eng 501)	Hifan: […] *efekt jest dużo mocniejszy,* **accha***?* (Pol 482)
52.	Samad: *You two-faced buggering bastard trickster* ***misā mātā, bhainchute, shora-baicha, syut-morāni, haraam jaddā****…* (Eng 533)	Samad: *Ty fałszywy, pieprzony sukinsyński oszuście, ty* **misā mātā, bhainchute, shora-baicha, syut morāni, haraam jaddā**… (Pol 510)

P a r t i a l t r a n s l a t i o n was applied in examples 39, 44, 47, 51 and 52, where foreign words from the original text were left untranslated in the target version. In examples 46 and 48 similar items were t r a n s l i t - e r a t e d, while in example 50 – replaced with recognised Polish equivalent. In example 45, in turn, a phrase that was transliterated in the English version, in translation was restored into its original, French form. Examples 41, 42 and 43 were p i d g i n i z e d into simplified version of Polish, and in example 40 flawed spelling present in the original is retained as analogical errors in the translation. Finally, minor features of 'melodious Scottish emphasis' (Smith, 2001, p. 267) in example 49 were n e u t r a l i z e d in the Polish version.

3.3. Age and hierarchy

Age and hierarchical differentiation of the characters is visible in distinct linguistic means used by particular groups.

Table 5
Examples of age and hierarchy-related elements

No.	English original	Polish translation
53.	Dickinson-Smith: Mackintosh, […] *come now, let's not stop the Sultan. Continue, Sultan.* (Eng 85)	Dickinson-Smith: *M a c k i n t o s h* […] *bardzo* ***was*** *proszę, nie* ***przerywajcie*** *Sułtanowi.* ***Mówcie*** *dalej, Sułtan.* (Pol 90)
54.	Dr Perret: *Are you going to kill me,* ***boy****?* (Eng 121)	Dr Perret: *Czy zamierzasz mnie zabić,* ***chłopcze****?* (Pol 124)
55.	Millat: *Ooh! Cold seat! Cold seat!* ***Frozen bum****!* (Eng 146)	Millat: *Uuu! Zimne! Zimne!* ***Zięby w pupę****!* (Pol 147)
56.	Millat: *No problem, Miss.* (Eng 156)	Millat: *Nie ma sprawy,* ***pszepani****.* (Pol 156)
57.	Millat: *Well, that's lucky,* ***'cos*** *I* don't*.* ***So*** **shame**, […] **Shame** ***in the*** **brain**. (Eng 163)	Millat: *No to* ***fajnie się składa****, bo nie chcę.* ***Palma****!* […] ***Szajba****!* (Pol 163)
58.	Irie: *Well,* **akchully***, don't worry* ***'cos*** *you're not going to get it* – (Eng 163)	Irie: *No to* ***spokojna czacha****, bo nie dostaniesz ani odbrobiny…* (Pol 163)

Table 5 (cont.)

No.	English original	Polish translation
59.	Millat and Magid: *L I A R !* [...] ***P A N T S O N F I R E !*** (Eng 171)	Millat i Magid: ***KŁAMCZUCHA!*** [...] ***KURZY SIĘ JEJ Z GŁOWY!*** (Pol 171)
60.	Mr Hamilton: *Now,* ***you young men*** *shouldn't tell fibs should you? Fibs will rot your teeth.* (Eng 173)	Pan Hamilton: *A* ***wy, młodzi ludzie****, nie powinniście* ***łgać****. Od* ***łgarstw*** *psują się zęby.* (Pol 172)
61.	Millat: *All right.* [...] Irie: *All right.* [...] Millat: ***Crazy this, eh****?* Irie: ***Yeah, mental****.* Millat: *Dad's* ***having a fit****. House is* ***torn to shit****.* Irie: ***Ditto****. It's been madness around here, too.* (Eng 225)	Millat: ***W porządelu****?* [...] Irie: ***W porządelu****.* [...] Millat: ***Kompletny odjazd, no nie****?* Irie: ***Aha. Kompletna szajba****.* Millat: ***Tatę szlag trafia****. Dom* ***rozpierdzieliło w drobny mak****.* Irie: *Tu to samo.* ***Dom wariatów****.* (Pol 222)
62.	Millat: *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****?* (Eng 230)	Millat: *Przecież powiedziałem* ***okej****? Jeden do Bradford,* ***okej****?* ***Masz pan*** *jakiś problem?* ***Kumasz pan*** *po angielsku? To jest King's Cross,* ***nie****? Jeden do Bradford,* ***okej****?* (Pol 227)
63.	Millat: ***You what****?* ***Takin'*** *liberties! Seventy –* **chaaaa***,* ***man****. That's* **moody***. I* ***ain't payin' no*** *seventy-five pounds!* (Eng 230)	Millat: ***Że co****?* ***Żartujesz pan****! Siedemdziesiąt...* ***człowieku****!* ***To jakieś jaja****. Nie będę płacił ponad siedmiu* ***dych*** *za bilet!* (Pol 228)
64.	Students: [...] **gis a fag**, spare us a **fag** [...] (Eng 292)	Uczniowie: [...] ***daj zajarać****,* ***kopsnij szluga*** [...] (Pol 286)
65.	Irie: *Marcus,* ***chill out****,* ***man****...* ***Hi****, Joyce.* ***Hi****, Josh.* ***Hey****, Jack. Oooh* ***hell-low****, Oscar, you* ***cutie****.* (Eng 329)	Irie: ***Wyluzuj trochę****, Marcus... Cześć, Joyce. Cześć, Josh.* ***Siemasz****, Jack. Och, witaj Oscar,* ***ślicznoto****.* (Pol 320)
66.	Millat: ***Evening all****. Door was ajar.* ***Let*** *myself in. One day somebody's going to wander in here and murder the* ***fucking*** *lot of you.* (Eng 330)	Millat: ***Brywieczór*** *wszystkim. Drzwi były uchylone. Więc wszedłem. Pewnego dnia ktoś tu wejdzie i wymorduje całą waszą* ***pieprzoną rodzinkę****.* (Pol 322)
67.	Denzel: ***Def-net-lee****.* ***Gwan****.* (Eng 456)	Denzel: *Oczywiście. Pytaj,* ***chłopcze****.* (Pol 440)

Social hierarchy is reflected in forms of address in examples 53 and 54. In a significant number of examples (55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65 and 66) the language of children and adolescents characterised by rich usage of colloquial and vulgar vocabulary, simplified grammatical constructions, as well as respelling, undergoes c o l l o q u i a l i z a t i o n, mainly in the level of lexis. Examples 60 and 67, in turn, are instances of utterances of elderly characters, containing obsolete vocabulary and appropriate forms of address in the Polish version.

3.4. Idiolectal traits

There are certain linguistic features that may be observed as characteristic of particular characters of the novel.

Table 6
Examples of idiolectal traits

No.	English original	Polish translation
68.	Alsana: *I came to collect my husband's shoes, not to* ***chit-chat*** *with Niece-of-Shame.* (Eng 63)	Alsana: *Przyszłam po buty mojego męża, a nie na* ***pogawędki*** *z bratanicą bezwstydnicą.* (Pol 69)
69.	Archie: ***I should cocoa****!* (Eng 70)	Archie: ***Gdzie tam****!* (Pol 76)
70.	Alsana: *Nonsense* ***silly-billy*** *word!* (Eng 77)	Alsana: *Co za* ***idiotyzm****!* (Pol 83)
71.	Alsana: *I do not see what's so very* ***funny-funny****.* (Eng 79)	Alsana: *Nie wiem, co w tym takiego strasznie* ***śmiesznego****.* (Pol 85)
72.	Alsana: *But I cannot be* ***worrying-worrying*** *all the time about the* truth. (Eng 80)	Alsana: *Ale ja nie mogę się wciąż* ***zamartwiać*** *i dociekać p r a w d y .* (Pol 86)
73.	Archie: ***I should cocoa****!* (Eng 120)	Archie: ***Gówno muszę****!* (Pol 123)
74.	Clara: ***Wha*** *– ?* ***Iss sa*** *middle of* ***sa nice****… Go back* ***koo*** *bed…* (Eng 377)	Clara: ***S-so*** *ty wyprawiasz…* ***Przesież*** *to środek* ***nosy****…* ***Wrasa****j do łóżka…* (Pol 365)
75.	Clara: *Irie,* ***pleaze****… I'm* ***exhaushed****… I'm* ***shrying koo gesh shome shleep****.* (Eng 377)	Clara: *Irie, proszę… Jestem skonana… Próbuję się trochę przespać…* (Pol 365)

Reduplication (examples 71 and 72) and rhyming compounds (examples 68 and 70) are repeatedly present in utterances of Alsana, a character of Bangladeshi origin. There is, however, absence of analogical distinctive trait in the Polish version. Similarly, in examples 69 and 73 it may be noticed that a phrase used repeatedly by a single character is not translated consonantly, which is in accordance with different contexts but simultaneously blurs an idiolectal feature. Finally, a s p e e c h d e f e c t of one character is retained in translation of certain excerpts (example 74) but lost in others (example 75). It may be stated, therefore, that idiolectal traits in the above examples were most often n e u t r a l i z e d.

4. Conclusions from the analysis

The analysis shows that among the techniques used most often in the process of transaltion of the above examples are: n e u t r a l i z a t i o n, r e l a t i v i z a t i o n and l e x i c a l i z a t i o n, along with p a r t i a l

translation, transliteration, pidginization, colloquialization and speech defect. The number of dialect markers is in some excerpts significantly smaller in the Polish version than in the original, excluding such aspects as youth language where numerous colloquial expressions are present in both versions. However, most phonetic, morphological and syntactic markers are absent from the translation which has more features of standard Polish. It might be said, therefore, that the overall strategy chosen by the translator was domestication, since a significant number of dialectal qualities was lost in the process of translation. It might affect how the readers of the target text perceive the characters, impoverishing the portrayal of people and places described in the book and nullifying some of their specific features. Concurrently, though, it allows to dodge implementing target culture's specific connotations unintended by the author. However, the retained dialect markers are sufficient to capture linguistic diversity of the novel, which is one of the most distinctive features of *White Teeth*.

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