Achieving Equivalent Effect in Translation of African American Vernacular English:

Foreignization versus domestication

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Abstract

According to Eugene Nida's theory of Dynamic Equivalence, the most important aim for translators should be to achieve *equivalence in effect* between original and translated text. Equivalent effect is achieved when a translated text creates the same associations and feelings in the minds of its readers as was produced in the minds of the readers of the original text.

Venuti argues that equivalent effect can only be achieved using what he refers to as ethnocentric *domesticating* strategies – placing the text in the cultural context of the target audience. He claims that a foreignizing strategy – placing the reader in the cultural context of the original text – is more appropriate. Consequently, equivalent effect is, in his view, a poor guiding principle for translation.

In this thesis, I challenge Venuti's view that only domesticating strategies can achieve equivalent effect in translation. Using a response-oriented method, I measure the associations to African American Vernacular English (AAVE) produced in the minds of respondents from the source audience. Then, I compare these associations with the associations produced in the minds of readers of two translations of AAVE – one using a domesticating strategy to translate AAVE, and one using a moderate foreignizing strategy. In contrast to Venuti's assertions, I find that the moderate foreignizing strategy produces associations in the minds of the target readers that are more in accordance with the associations produced in the minds of the source readers than the domesticating strategy.

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1 Introduction

Our ideal in translation is to produce on the mind of our readers as nearly as possible the same effect as was produced by the original on its readers.

(Souter 1920: 7)

The principle of achieving *equivalent effect* or *dynamic equivalence* in translation—i.e. to transfer the effect of the original text onto the translated text—is a well-known principle in the field of translation and among the main goals for modern translators. The term equivalent effect, introduced by linguist and translation theorist Eugene Nida in the 1960s, refers not only to equivalence in the literal *meaning* of words alone but to the *associations* or *emotions* that words bring forth in the mind of the reader. Obviously, achieving equivalent effect in translation is a very difficult task.

A particular challenge when it comes to achieving equivalent effect is in the translation of dialects. Dialect is usually closely tied to the source culture, and can communicate important information about the user of the language. How can the meaning and effect of a socially and culturally bound dialect be transferred to a foreign linguistic and cultural context? In these cases, the translator must rely on clever strategies to achieve equivalent effect. The choice of translation strategy is a recurring dilemma in translation theory which can be seen as part of a bigger debate concerning what makes a translation good. The two perhaps most debated strategies are known as *domestication*—in which cultural items such as a dialect are replaced by an 'equivalent' target culture dialect in the attempt to recreate the effect of the source text without disrupting the fluency of the text—and *foregnization*— in which the foreignness of the source dialect is preserved as much as possible in the translation, and the translator aims to assist the reader in understanding the foreign culture.

One dialect that has received much attention in the literature is African American Vernacular English (AAVE). In this thesis, I will compare the strategies of domestication and foreignization in terms of how they succeed in achieving equivalent effect in the

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translation of AAVE into Norwegian: To what degree do the different translation strategies actually succeed in recreating the original effect of a text on a new audience? How much of the original effect is lost? Is one strategy 'better' than the other for reproducing the effect of AAVE in the minds of Norwegian readers?

I will address these questions by comparing two cases of translation of AAVE into Norwegian – one using the domestication strategy and one using the foreignization strategy – in terms of achieving equivalent effect. In this introductory chapter, I present the research questions and an outline for the thesis.

1.1 Research questions and design

Every text and context, and every combination of source and target language, represents a plethora of unique challenges to the translator. The messages expressed in the source text (ST) are often culturally bound and the text must be rewritten and adapted during translation in order to be comprehensible to the target audience. When a dialect is used as a literary device in fictional prose, these challenges are exacerbated.

AAVE is a good example of such a literary device. Different varieties of this social dialect have been used for effect in a huge number of literary works; often, as in the much studied work of Zora Neale Hurston (1891 – 1960) to give authenticity to fictional characters from the rural South in the United States. In this thesis, I consider two cases of translation of AAVE into Norwegian: *Someone Knows My Name / Noen Kjenner Mitt Navn* (SKMN/NKMN) and *The Color Purple / Fargen Bortenfor* (TCP/FB). The translators of these two books have chosen very different strategies for translating AAVE. In FB, the translator Isak Rogde has chosen a domesticating approach of rendering the source culture dialect by the use of a target culture geographical dialect. In NKMN, on the other hand, the translator Stian Omland has chosen a moderate foreignizing approach of rendering the source culture dialect through non-standard handling of the TL grammar and deliberate variation of the lexis in the TL.

My research questions are:

1. *To what degree is equivalent effect achieved in the minds of the readers of the books Someone Knows My Name and The Color Purple and their respective translations when it comes to the translation of the dialect AAVE?*

2. *To what degree can a potential difference in equivalent effect between the translations of Someone Knows My Name and The Color Purple be explained by the use of different translation strategies?*

To answer these questions, I conduct a survey of both source and target audiences in order to gather information about the effect achieved in the readers' minds when reading extracts of dialogues from both novels. By asking questions about the readers' perception of the characters in the dialogues based on their dialect and examining the answers, I will look for general tendencies in the respondents' perception of the fictional characters and their connotations to the dialect. This will allow me to see if there are significant differences between the source audience's perception of the characters in the original and the target audience's perception of the characters in the translated text and whether the effect varies depending on the strategy used to translate the dialect. Methodological choices and challenges are more thoroughly discussed in chapter 3.

1.2   Outline

Chapter 2 focuses on Nida's criterion of *equivalent effect* in translation. Since this criterion is one of the most debated in translation theory and is still considered among the ultimate goals of translation, I use this chapter to clarify important concepts such as 'equivalence', 'equivalent response' and 'meaning'. The chapter is structured as follows. Firstly, I look at how the focus shifted in translation theory and how the communication of different kinds of meaning in translation paved way for a more receptor-based orientation in translation theory. Secondly, I present some of the receptor-oriented thoughts of the leading scholars in the field, and their views concerning the concept of equivalence. Important elements in this section include a review of the seminal work of Eugene Nida and his much debated theory of 'dynamic equivalence'. Since the most important principle of Nida's theory is the principle of equivalent effect, I continue by looking at what is meant by the term *effect*. Finally, I review some of the most common criticisms of the principle of equivalent effect.

In Chapter 3, I start by discussing some of the general strategies for translating dialect in literature with particular focus on Venuti's *domesticating* and *foreignizing* practices. Further, I look at the definition of the language variety called African American Vernacular English by a giving a brief review of the origins, history and common associations of AAVE. This is to provide an understanding of the historical and social weight of the dialect, and of the kinds of associations and effect it therefore might bring forth in the minds of the readers. To continue, I look specifically at how AAVE is represented in the two chosen books

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Someone Knows My Name by Lawrence Hill, and *The Color Purple* by Alice Walker. I discuss the writers' reasons for using the dialect in the respective novels, and the Norwegian translators' reasons for using the different strategies for translating the dialect.

Chapter 4 considers methodological choices and challenges connected to my research. Since my research involves an assessment of the degree of equivalent effect achieved by two different translations strategies I start by explaining the response-oriented method I take in use. Further on, I go into detail on the method used to select cases for comparison – the Most Similar Systems Design Method. A central question in this chapter will be the measurement of effect. In order to empirically measure the effect of the dialect AAVE, I use the theoretical concept of AAVE provided in chapter 3 to divide the concept into parameters in an attempt to operationalize the effect. In the section called Survey Design, I describe the use of questionnaires to gather information about the readers' response to the use of the dialect in the two original texts and in the two translations.

Chapter 5 is the analysis of data. In this chapter, I start by giving a quick recap of my study and a presentation of my hypotheses. Since it is impossible to say anything about the degree of equivalence achieved in translation without first knowing the effect of the original, I start by analyzing the results from the surveys conducted on the source audience. Their answers to the battery of questions concerning how they perceive the fictional characters based on the way they speak will function as the yardstick of measurement for degree of equivalent effect between source texts and target texts. Further, I present the results from the surveys conducted on the target audience. I compare the results from each of the variables to the results from the source audience. Finally, I compare the degree of equivalence in effect achieved between the two source texts and their respective translations. This way I will try to find out which of the two translation strategies foreignization or domestication – achieved the highest degree of equivalence in the effect of AAVE.

Chapter 6 gives a summary of my thesis.

2 Equivalent effect

In 1964, Eugene Nida proposed three fundamental criteria that he considered basic to the evaluation of all translation. These were: (1) general efficiency of the communication process, (2) comprehension of intent, and (3) equivalence of response (Nida 1964: 182). The third of these criteria, also known as the *principle of equivalent effect* marked an important turn in translation theory, and contributed to a debate which had dominated the field for centuries, known as *the free-versus-literal debate*.

In this chapter, I will shed light on how Nida's principle of equivalent effect became such an important criterion in translation. To do this, I will start by reviewing the major trend shift in the development of translation theory from the so called 'linguistic stage' to the 'communicative stage'. By looking at the change of focus throughout these stages, I hope to provide an understanding of how the receptor-oriented view came to influence many of the theories in the field. An understanding of this shift in focus will enable us to apprehend the meaning of the term effect, and the reasons why the Nida's criteria of equivalent response became a debated topic in modern translation.

Furthermore, I will give examples of how the shift in translation theory resulted in many different theories on how to achieve equivalence in translation. In many of the equivalence theories, we can witness an increasing focus on reader response and a continuing dispute about what should be the first priority in translation. This section will lead to a presentation of Nida's dichotomous distinction of *formal* and *dynamic equivalence*.

Since Nida's criterion of equivalence in response is considered among the major priorities of translation, I continue by going in depth on the term response / effect. What lies in this expression? What does it mean to achieve equivalent effect, and how is it done? Finally, I look at some of the criticisms of Nida's criterion of equivalent response.

2.1 Turns in Translation

Since its conception, translation theory has undergone a gradual change of focus. Broadly speaking, we can divide translation theory into a linguistic stage, where the focus is on the form of message, and a communicative stage, where the focus was on the response of the receiver of the message (Nida and Taber 1969). In this section, I briefly present the historical background for these changes.

2.1.1 The Linguistic Stage

Early translators were mostly concerned with transferring what can be called the *linguistic meaning* of text, and this stage in translation theory has been called 'the Linguistic Stage'. The early translators wanted to stay 'true' to the source text by communicating its linguistic features such as grammar and syntax onto the target language. This tendency became known as 'literal' or 'word for word' translation. By using this direct method, the translated text and the original could be used for educational purposes, where students of language could compare different language systems.

In this period, translation was used mainly for educational purposes within the academic discipline of grammar: As part of their language training, students of Greek and Latin worked with literal translations of texts in order to compare language systems, perform linguistic analysis and do other language-related exercises. The number one priority of such translations was to maintain the grammatical structure of the source text (ST) in the target text (TT). This approach was useful within the context of language and grammar learning, but the rigid *grammarian* translation method often resulted in incomprehensible 'word for word' translations with little value to those interested in more than the grammatical features of texts (Venuti 2004: 14).

Roman orator and translator Marcus Tullius Cicero became aware of the shortcomings of the literal translation method. In his *De Optimo Genere Oratum* (46BC) he advocates 'free translation' and the communication of more than just linguistic meaning through translation. As an orator, he was concerned with delivering meaningful knowledge in eloquent ways. He thought it necessary to focus more on how the text as a whole was received by an audience, rather than on the equivalence at a linguistic level. It was the beginning of the *free-versus-literal-debate*, which would dominate the field of translation up until the 1950s and the beginning of the 'Communicative Stage'.

Cicero's stand was one of the first steps towards a more 'receptor based' translation theory, where the target reader, as opposed to the grammatical approximation between source and target text, received new focus (Munday 2008: 43). This major shift broadened the scope of translation and made room for communication of other kinds of meaning.

2.1.2 The Communicative Stage

Ever since Cicero's views challenged the traditional view on translation and started the shift from 'literal' to 'free' translation, the questions of *equivalence* of *effect* and of *reader reception* began to influence the field of translation. Translation theory changed in the

sense that the target audience and their reception of the text became of larger concern than that of staying 'true' to the formal structures of the source text (Chesterman 1997: 36).

Different kinds of meaning within the text became concerns of the translator, and the concept of equivalence expanded. The formal, linguistic and grammatical equivalence between an original and a translation now received less attention than the equivalence of *effect* produced by a text in the minds of its readers. Modern translation theories focus on achieving a balance between 'staying true' to the original, and communicating the *meaning* of the source text to the target audience. The focus on the target audience and their reception of the text have given new meaning to the term 'equivalence', and paved way for a modern *receptor-based* or *reader-based* orientation in the field of translation.

2.2   The concept of equivalence

Along with the new focus on communication of meaning, many definitions and theories on how to achieve equivalence emerged. The concept of equivalence had always been central to translation: During the 'Linguistic Stage' it was usually about maintaining the formal and grammatical structures of the original in the translated version; in the 'Communicative Stage', on the other hand, the views on how to achieve equivalence became increasingly focused on the importance of transferring the *effect* of the source text onto the target audience.

This communicative view on equivalence may sound clear and simple enough, but the picture becomes much more complicated when one looks at all the different categories of equivalence that have been proposed in the literature: Content equivalence, stylistic equivalence, semantic equivalence, communicative equivalence, pragmatic equivalence, formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence are just some examples. Because translation is a practice used for many different purposes, the *type of equivalence* a translator wants to achieve tends to vary from text to text. The question remains as to which qualities in the text should be prioritized. In the following sections I illustrate how the focus on the target audience became increasingly important and by reviewing some of the many different views on what should be considered important criteria in translation.

2.2.1   Koller

German translation theorist Werner Koller was among those who did important work on equivalence. In his view, there were five types of equivalence known as denotative, connotative, pragmatic and formal equivalence. Koller was of the opinion that different

kinds of texts calls for different priorities in translation and different kinds of equivalence. He stressed the importance of setting up a hierarchy of the different values or qualities of a text to be preserved in the translation. The hierarchy of priorities should reflect the communicative situation in which the text appears. If, for example the source text is a poem, the translator should decide what kind of values are the most important of that poem before choosing what kind of equivalence to pursue. In other words, the translator must decide which qualities or values in the ST he or she would like to preserve; the content, form, style, function, etc.

When an appropriate hierarchy of values is established, the translator will know what kind of equivalence is suitable for that kind of text. Then, the translation must seek to preserve those values as far as possible. The communicative function of the language should in Koller's view determine the type of equivalence pursued by the translator (Koller 2011: 91-186).

2.2.2 The Skopos Theory

Another theory with focus on the communicative function of the language is the Skopos theory. This theory was developed by German linguist Hans Vermeer in the1970s and introduced a functional approach where the extra-linguistic and textual factors like the recipient's culture and the purpose of the text were the focus of attention (Munday 2008: 79). The main idea of this theory is that a text should be translated according to what kind of purpose it is supposed to serve in the source language. If for example the purpose of a text is to convey accurate information about evidence in a lawsuit, then that purpose must be carefully attended in the translation. The purpose of the translation determines the translation method and strategies that are to be employed in order to produce a functionally adequate result. Knowing why a text is being translated is therefore essential for the translator according to Vermeer's theory.

2.2.3 Newmark

Peter Newmark is also concerned with the function of the language, and distinguishes between two types of translation; semantic and communicative translation. He describes the two translation types in the following manner: 'Communicative translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close to that obtained on the readers of the original. Semantic translation attempts to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original' (Newmark 1981: 39). In other words, for some texts, the most important criteria and first priority should be

to transfer the effect of the original onto the target audience, while for other texts, the main priority should be to remain faithful to the form of the source text. Basically, depending on the text, the translators focus can be either on communication of message or on linguistics.

While a communicative translation will imply a generous transfer of foreign elements into the target culture and language in order to recreate the same effect in the translation, a semantic approach will remain within the original culture and rather assist the reader in connotations of foreign elements it they are important to the message of the text. If, for example, the punch line of a joke depends on the respondents' understanding of certain cultural references, the translator can either (i) render the joke word for word followed by a subtle explanation to assist the reader in understanding the necessary connotations, or (ii) transfer the joke into the target culture by choosing a suitable target culture reference. The choice between semantic and communicative translation depends, in this case, on whether the author wants to be informative or funny.

2.2.4   Nida

The scholar who received the most attention for his work on equivalence theory was the prominent linguist and Bible translator, Eugene Nida. In his article 'Principles of Correspondence' (1964), Nida introduced two fundamentally different types of equivalence; in his view the translator could either aim for *formal equivalence* or *dynamic equivalence*.

Formal equivalence is achieved when both form and content is transferred to the target text (Venuti 2004: 156). Such a translation prioritizes accuracy and equivalence in form and structure, and is not intended for translating fictional texts. Similarities can be seen between Nida's formal equivalence and Newmark's semantic translation. This type of approach is intended for formal texts where the translator's main priority is to communicate exactly and accurately the so-called referential meaning of the text. The term *referential* has to do with the so-called *dictionary* definitions of words. This and other types of meaning will be explained further in section 2.3.

Dynamic equivalence, on the other hand is more receptor-oriented, and focuses on the receiver of the message rather than on the formal linguistical structure of the message. This type of equivalence was to be prioritized in most cases according to Nida. The most important principle of this theory is known as the *principle of equivalent effect*. To achieve equivalent effect means to achieve the similar response or mood in the reader of the translated text, as in the reader of the original (Venuti 2004: 154). The principle is

described by Nida and Taber (1969) in the following manner: 'The message of the original text is so transported into the receptor language that the response of the receptor is essentially like that of the original receptors.' Nida claims that the way of knowing if equivalent effect is achieved is by determining the response of the receptor of the translation and then comparing that response with the way in which the original receptors presumably reacted to the message when it was given in its original setting (Nida and Taber 1969: 1).

According to Nida's dynamic equivalence theory, the most important criterion of a good translation is equivalence in response between the target reader and the source reader. But what exactly is meant by effect / response? In order to understand the controversy revolving the principle of equivalent response, it is necessary to fully grasp the meaning of the term. In the following section I therefore discuss what lies in the term effect / response.

2.3   What is effect?

Most translation theorists agree that words and texts consist of many levels of meaning. The meaning of the word *mother* for example, does not only refer to the so-called 'dictionary meaning' of the word, but can also involve the associations and feelings we experience when we hear or read the word. Our associations to a word can change depending on for example where we hear it and even how it is said, thus changing a part of the word's meaning. Newmark defined the act of translating as 'transferring the meaning of a stretch of language' from source text to target text, and continued by raising the question 'what is the meaning of *meaning*?' (Newmark 1991: 27). As we have seen in section 2.2, many of the theories on equivalence acknowledge the idea of different kinds of meaning, and propose different views on which meaning types should be prioritized in translation. What kind of meaning should be prioritized according to Nida's dynamic equivalence theory? If the main focus of the theory is to achieve equivalent effect, then what is effect? Since many terms exist about various kinds of meaning, I will avoid confusion by first presenting some of the scientific approaches to meaning, including Nida's. Further on, I will discuss what Nida meant with the term *effect*.

Newmark believed there were three levels of meaning to be considered in translation: *cognitive*, *communicative* and *associative* meaning. *Cognitive* meaning refers to the so-called 'dictionary meaning' or primary significance of a word or an utterance. For example, the cognitive meaning of 'father' is a male parent. *Communicative* meaning refers to the

communicative function of what is being said. For instance, whether the phrase under consideration it is a question, an order or a plea, can be of significance to how the receiver of the message understands it. *Associative* meaning is perhaps the less tangible of the three levels of meaning, and refers to the feelings and associations experienced by the receiver of the message. Newmark claims that 'associative meaning may be related to the writer's background, or the sound effects conveyed by the SL. It covers in particular pragmatic meaning, which identifies the effect which a text is likely to have on a particular readership' (1991: 29). Associative meaning is often determined by the receivers' personal frame of reference, and can be difficult to define objectively. If for instance the receiver of the message is highly religious, the word 'father' may have a different associative meaning than it would for a non-religious receiver. Newmark explained that since associative meaning is subjective and can vary greatly from person to person and from culture to culture, it is also the meaning type which is the most difficult to preserve in translation (1991: 30).

Daniel Chandler (2002: 140), in his introduction to basic semiotics, uses the terms *denotative* and *connotative* meaning. *Denotative* meaning is what he calls the 'primary order signification' of a word. He describes it as the definitional, 'literal', 'obvious' or 'commonsense' meaning of a word, which is usually what the dictionary attempts to provide. *Connotative* meaning is what Chandler refers to as the 'secondary order signification' of words. It includes the socio-cultural and 'personal' associations (ideological, emotional, etc.) of the sign and can be compared with Newmark's *associative* meaning. Chandler states that the connotative meanings of words are typically related to the interpreter's class, age, gender, and ethnicity and so on. Words are more 'polysemic' – more open to interpretation in their connotations than their denotations.

Mona Baker also sets up a chart of the different meaning levels in texts. In her course book on translation *In Other Words* (1992) she uses the term *lexical meaning* which consists of four different components: *propositional*, *expressive*, *presupposed* and *evoked* meaning. *Propositional meaning* has to do with the dictionary significance of a word, and is more or less the same as Newmark's cognitive meaning, Nida's referential meaning and Chandler's denotative meaning. *Expressive meaning* relates to the speaker's feelings or attitude which can be expressed through choice of words. *Presupposed meaning* has to do with the meaning arising from lexical setting and co/occurrence with other words. *Evoked* meaning is the meaning that arises specifically from the *dialect* or the *register* variation in language. According to Baker, dialect variation includes geographical dialects, temporal dialects and

social dialects. These terms will be explained more closely in chapter 3. The evoked meaning of a social dialect can, for example, include information about the education level of the speaker, while the evoked meaning of a geographical dialect tells us where the speaker is from (Baker 1992: 15).

Nida has his own approach to meaning in text. He used the terms *linguistic*, *referential* and *connotative /emotive* meaning. *Linguistic* meaning has to do with the meanings of grammatical constructions and the relationships between linguistic units. *Referential* meaning is the same as Newmark's *cognitive* meaning, and refers to the relationships between the words and the things to which the words refer (Nida 1964: 58). Referential meaning is in other words the 'dictionary meaning' of the word, (e.g. the word 'stomach' refers to a specific part of the body). *Connotative* or *emotive* meaning is the meaning level which is the most important when it comes to achieving Nida's equivalent effect in translation. Nida describes emotive meaning as 'the relationships between symbols and the psychological reactions of the participants in the communication' (1964: 58). Much like Newmark's *associative* meaning, emotive meaning has to do with the reader's emotional reactions and associations to words and semantic units.

In order to produce a dynamic translation, Nida claims it is important to achieve equivalence on all of these levels of meaning. However, in order to achieve equivalence in effect, the connotative /emotive meaning of the text needs to be prioritized. Nida explains that in the effort to attain dynamic equivalence (which should receive priority over formal equivalence), the *equivalent connotative responses* on the part of the receptors are absolutely crucial (Nida and Taber 1969: 98)*.* Because connotative meaning is largely subjective and culturally bound, it is obvious that a translator's aim to create equivalence in connotative meaning of words and texts across cultures is an immensely challenging if not impossible exercise. Nida himself admits that the connotative meaning of words and texts often is highly subjective and therefore difficult to recreate in translation. However, he insists that achieving equivalence in connotative meaning is necessary to create equivalent effect which again is necessary to create a good translation.

Since achieving equivalent connotative response is a key concept in Nida's theory of dynamic equivalence and equivalent effect, a closer look at Nida's definition of the term connotative meaning can provide a better understanding of his concept of equivalent effect and thus a better insight to the debate it stirred up. Nida divides the concept of connotative meaning into three primary factors: (1) the speaker associated with the word,

(2) the practical circumstances in which the word is used, and (3) the linguistic setting characteristic of the word.

The first factor – the association to speaker – refers to the associations readers experience to the speaker of a word or phrase and can be compared to Baker's *evoked* meaning. A specific word, linguistic unit or dialect can easily be associated with social class or educational differences. Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 1) used the example of sitting on a bus and listening to people talk without seeing their faces to illustrate the associative power of speech. In many instances, our mental image of the unidentified speakers is fairly accurate. This type of associations to speaker is a great literary aid for many writers. The use of a specific dialect in fiction is often intended to 'give life' and depth to fictional characters, and to help the reader identify who the character is, where he is from etc. The phrase *'he done told me to'*, for example, evokes associations to the speaker such as African American, southern, urban, poor etc., while the similar phrase *'he told me to'* does not. Special pronunciation forms and grammatical features may in other words carry connotative meanings of being what Nida called *sub-standard* (Nida and Taber 1969: 97). This is true of many non-standard dialect uses such as for example African American Vernacular English in literature.

The connotative meaning of a word or a linguistic unit may also vary depending on the circumstance in which it is uttered. Nida uses the word 'damn' as an example. When the word is uttered in the circumstantial setting of a church it bears different connotations than when it is uttered in a pub (Nida and Taber 1969: 93). Finally, the linguistic setting in which the word appears can influence its connotative meaning. By this, Nida means that words may change their connotative meaning depending on the words they co-occur with.

As we can see, the connotative meaning of a text is quite complex. In Nida's opinion, the essence of dynamic equivalence is not only to reproduce the source audience's comprehension of the information, but also the less tangible meanings such as association, connotation or feeling produced in the mind of the original audience. This is what makes the idea of achieving dynamic equivalence seem almost impossible in practice. Because of the big differences in peoples' references and their cultural and historical setting, the readers' response to a translated text can probably never be completely identical to the response of the original audience. Naturally Nida's criterion of equivalent effect is difficult to achieve. Because of the complexity of the principle of equivalent effect, the topic has

been heavily debated and criticized. In the following section, I review some of the most common arguments in the debate on equivalent effect.

2.3.1 Equivalent effect: the debate

Many scholars have criticized Nida's criteria of equivalence in response. Broadly speaking, the critics have three main arguments against equivalent response as a guiding principal for translation: (i) that it is unobtainable in practice, (ii) that it is impossible to measure and therefore inadequate for assessing the quality of translation, and (iii) that aiming for equivalence in response in translation will lead to an undermining of the foreign aspects of source texts and an an exeeding use of domesticating strategies. In this section, I start by reviewing the first strand of criticism. I continue by looking at the third strand. Due to the methodological nature of the second argument, I postpone the discussion of measurement to chapter 4.

Equivalent response – obtainable in practice?

Newmark is one of the skeptics with regards to the criteria of equivalent response in translation. Newmark claims that equivalent response should be the *desirable result* rather than the *aim* of any translation (1988: 48). The reason is that he believes such a result is highly unlikely if there is a pronounced cultural gap between the source language and the target language(ibid)(ibid)(ibid).

Newmark believes that equivalent effect should only be pursued in texts where the response of the reader can be considered an important outcome of the message. An example is in vocative texts (i.e. texts where the receiver of the message is expected to react to it in a specific way), such as 'mind the gap' or 'keep to the left'. In other so-called informative texts, Newmark believes that equivalent effect only is desirable in respect to their insignificant emotional impact. He also claims that it is impossible to achieve equivalent effect in these cases if the SL and the TL are remote from each other, and that the translator should try to explain cultural items by using culturally neutral terms instead of trying to recreate the effect of it in the target text (Newmark 1988: 48).

Chinese-American linguist Qian Hu is another fierce critic of Nida's principle of equivalent effect. In his four articles dedicated to the subject (Hu 1992 and 1993), he names several reasons why equivalent effect is not an achievable goal for practicing translators. One of the main reasons for Hu's criticism of Nida's dynamic equivalence has to do with Nida's opinion that *meaning* should receive priority over *form*. Hu criticizes Nida's approach to the problem of equivalence for presupposing the separability of content and form (Hu

1992: 296). In Hu's view, the idea that linguistic form and content are separable is out of date. He states that the definition of language as a mere vehicle or tool that conveys meaning gives the false impression that meaning remains constant regardless of the vehicle by which it is conveyed (Hu 1992: 492). The form of the ST in itself carries parts of the meaning of the text, and that cannot be completely overlooked if one is to obtain equivalence. Supporting this view, Willa Muir stated that '…when thought goes from one language to another, it actually alters and is no longer what it was in the original language' (Cited in Hu 1992:492). French poet and linguist Henry Meschonnic was also critical of Nida's willingness to detach style from meaning. In his *Pour la Poetique* he stated the following about meaning and form: '…there are not two dissociable, heterogeneous entities. A text is a whole entity, to be translated as a whole' (Meschonnic 1973: 349). For these reasons, Nida's aim for equivalent response has been considered unobtainable in practice.

Equivalent response – ethnocentric violence?

Another reason for Newmark's criticism of Nida's dynamic equivalence-theory has to do with the third of the arguments mentioned above, namely that aiming for equivalence in response will undermine the foreign aspects of the source texts. Newmark believes Nida's priority of aiming for equivalent response will lead to a sacrifice of the foreign elements of source texts and a undermining of foreign culture. In his view, the role of the translator should be to promote understanding among people and nations by *explaining* cultural items instead of using ethnocentric strategies to preserve the original effect of the source text.

Other translation theorists agree with Newmark and are convinced that because language is culturally bound, it is impossible to aim for equivalent response without having to cut the cultural ties to the source culture and replace them with cultural ties to the target culture, i.e. by moving the writer towards the reader (Schleiermacher 1813: 49). This idea was especially expressed by American translator and translation theorist Lawrence Venuti. In his opinion, Nida, through his principle of equivalent response, is '…imposing the English language valorization of transparency on every foreign culture, masking a basic disjunction between the foreign an translated text' (Venuti 1995: 17). Venuti observed that many translators took in use what he saw as destructive translation strategies in order to fulfill the criteria of equivalent response. He named this destructive practice of translation *domestication*. The domesticating translation strategy means taking

foreign elements from the source text and replacing them with elements from the target culture to ease the comprehension and minimize the effort of the target audience.

Venuti encouraged translators to avoid this practice and instead use what he called *foreignizing* approaches. These meant leaving the foreign elements of the source text foreign, and use other methods to preserve the 'otherness' of the source culture in the translation. Like Newmark, Venuti believed the role of the translator should be to promote understanding among people and nations, and was therefore against Nida's principle of equivalent effect.

Since Venuti's argument is an important motivation for my research question, the terms *foreignization* and *domestication* will be further discussed in chapter 3.

2.4   Summary

In this chapter, I have aimed at providing an understanding of what Nida's principle of equivalent effect implies and why it became a debated principle in the field of translation. To do this, I have started by presenting a brief review of the major shift in translation theory from the 'linguistic' to the 'communicative' stage. As we have seen, the shift involved a more receptor-oriented focus in translation, which opened for new theories about equivalence and what makes a translation good. To illustrate this multitude of equivalence theories, and the different opinions concerning what were the most important criteria in translation, I have briefly presented a few examples of theories. The last theory presented is Nida's theory of formal and dynamic equivalence.

Since the most important aspect of Nida's dynamic equivalence theory is the strong focus on equivalence in response /effect, I continued by raising the question 'what is effect?' To answer this question, I started by looking at the different levels of meaning in text. I have presented some scholars' views on the different kinds of meaning and how they should be prioritized, arriving at Nida's approach. Nida uses the terms linguistic, referential and connotative meaning, and believes that equivalence in connotative meaning is absolutely crucial in the aim for equivalent effect in translation.

After having established what is meant by Nida's principle of equivalent effect, I have given an overview of the main arguments in the debate it stirred up. The argument which is of greatest relevance to my thesis is Venuti's claim that aiming for equivalent effect in translation will lead to an undermining of the foreign aspects of source texts, and excessive use of so-called domesticating translation strategies.

3 Dialects and translation strategies

According to Nida's dynamic equivalence theory, the translator's highest priority should be to try and achieve equivalent effect. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the term *effect* refers to the associations and feelings created in the minds of the reader of the text. Since the main question of this thesis has to do with the possibility of achieving equivalent effect in translation, I have chosen to study the use of a literary device which is applied for the main reason to elicit a certain set of associations in the minds of the readers. The literary device I am referring to is the use of the social dialect African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in fictional literature.

This chapter consists of two parts. In the first part, I will start by examining the general use of dialect in fiction by raising questions such as; why are dialects applied in fiction? Since I am interested in how different translation strategies can affect the degree of equivalent effect achieved, I will look at some of the different strategies for dealing with dialect in translation. This will lead to a presentation of Venuti's theory of *foreignization* and *domestication,* and a brief recap of his arguments against the aim for equivalent effect with the use of domesticating strategies (introduced in section 2.3.1).

The second part of the chapter focuses on the dialect called AAVE. To understand why this particular dialect is sometimes applied in fiction it is necessary to take a closer look at the history and origins of the dialect. This will shed light on the potential *effect* the dialect can have on an audience, and the difficulties involved in transferring that effect onto a Norwegian audience. I start by looking at the history, origins and common associations to the dialect, and continue by describing its most common linguistic features. Furthermore, I will look how and why AAVE has been used in fiction throughout history, and how and why it is applied today. Finally, I study the use of AAVE in the two chosen novels *The Color Purple* by Alice Walker and *Someone Knows My Name* by Lawrence Hill. I also discuss the translation strategies that have been used to translate AAVE into Norwegian in the two novels.

3.1 Translation of dialect

The term *dialect* is a broad term which can include many types of language varieties. In Mona Baker's view, dialect is a so-called *user-related* variety of language which includes (1) geographical dialects (e.g. Australian or Scottish as opposed to British English), (2)

temporal dialects (e.g. words or structures used by members of different age groups, or words used in different periods in history) and (3) social dialects (words and structures used by members of different social groups and/or classes) (Baker 1992: 15). This means that dialect can produce associations connected to place, time and social background of speaker. In order to reproduce the appropriate associations in the minds of a target audience, and to achieve equivalent effect in translation, translators have experimented with a variety of strategies. In this section, I start by addressing some scholars' thoughts on why dialect is applied in fiction, followed by some of the views on how do deal with (and how *not* to deal with) dialect in translation.

Why dialect?

Before looking at ways of dealing with dialect in translation, we should raise the following questions: Why are dialects used in literature? What are the writer's reasons for intentionally choosing a language variety which deviates from the standard form? What kind of effect are they trying to produce? Naturally, there are many answers to these questions. If we look at Nida's description of connotative meaning, he mentions *associations to speaker* as an important factor. Association to speaker is often one of the reasons for using dialect in literature. The writer is often aiming specifically at producing certain associations in the minds of the reader by giving the fictional character a social, temporal or geographical dialect. Peter Newmark has narrowed it down to three main purposes. In his opinion, a regional or social dialect is used either: (1) to display a certain use of slang, (2) to underline social and/or class differences, or (3) to display the culture of a specific local minority (Newmark 1988: 195). According to Walt Wolfram, the notion of social dialects in American society has come to be associated with the vernacular varieties spoken by *low-status* groups. In his opinion, the use of social dialect is closely connected and associated with differences between groups that are unequal in status and power. He even suggests that 'it is not really the meaning of what you say that counts socially, but who you are when you say it' (In Rickford and Finegan 2004: 60). In other words, the deliberate use of social dialect in fiction is often applied in order to indicate social differences, i.e. *low social status of the speaker*.

In his paper on the problems of translating Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* into German, professor of multilingualism Raphael Berthele wrote that 'One classic literary / artistic purpose of using dialect writing is to establish 'authenticity'—of persons, historical and geographical settings' (Berthele 2000: 589). In Berthele's opinion, the writer's deliberate choice of using dialect as a literary device creates one of the most difficult tasks for literary

translators which is to find target-language equivalents for dialectal speech (ibid). Sylvia Wallace Holton writes that 'A writer who chooses to use dialectal features will usually do so either because he expects to impose an atmosphere of 'realism' on his material, or because he wants to emphasize the linguistic idiosyncrasies of a character's speech for humorous or ironic effect' (Holton 1984: 55). More about the use of AAVE in fiction will appear in section 3.3.3.

Translating dialect

In order to respect the writer's choices and to achieve equivalent effect in translation, the translator should ideally transfer all of the levels of meaning that exist within the use of the dialect. As we have seen in section 2.3, the type of meaning that should receive priority in aiming for equivalent response is what Nida called *connotative meaning*. When it comes to translation of dialect, the connotative meaning connected to the associations to *speaker* is often the most important. The reason for this is that, as Baker stated, dialect is *user-related*, which means that it communicates various levels of information about the user /speaker of the dialect. This implicit information about the speaker of the dialect is culturally bound, which makes the attempt to achieve equivalent effect in translation of dialect seem almost impossible, especially when there is a pronounced cultural distance between the two communication contexts (Nida 1964: 183). Because of these challenges, many scholars have suggested ways of dealing with dialect in translation in translation, and ways not to deal with dialect in translation.

First step: analysis

Nida claimed that the way of knowing if equivalent effect has been achieved is by determining the response of the receptor of the translation and then comparing that response with the way in which the original receptors presumably reacted to the message when it was given in its original setting (Nida and Taber 1969: 1). In other words, to achieve equivalent effect, one must obtain knowledge about the effect of the original on the source audience. In that sense it could be useful to start the process of translating dialect by imagining the original effect it might have had on the source audience. Hatim and Mason (1990) suggested performing analyses of the different *language-varieties* the source text as a first step in the translation process. In their view, a text can include many different language varieties which can be either *use-related* or *user-related*. A use-related language variety, also known as language *register*, has to do with the situation in which language is used. The language used in a conversation between a mother and child, for instance, can be very different from the language used between a boss and an employee. A

translator who is not aware of this difference in language register might fail in his attempt to achieve equivalent effect.

The same is true about *user-related* varieties. User-related varieties have to do with the kind of social, temporal or geographical dialect used in the text. Mona Baker claims that user-related varieties carry evoked meaning, and can tell a lot about the social and cultural background, geography, sex and age of the speaker (Baker 1992: 15). By analyzing the user-related varieties in the text, the translator can get an understanding of the connotative meaning of the dialect that has been used. This could be done by raising questions such as *why is this language variety applied for this particular character?* Or, *what does the dialect tell me about the speaker?* If the translator interprets the use of the dialect as the writer's attempt at creating associations to for example a rural environment, then she can use that knowledge in the next step of the translation process, namely in choosing translation strategy.

Gloria and Herman Wekker suggested a similar method in their article 'Coming in from the Cold' (1991), in which they studied the linguistic and socio-cultural aspects of translating AAVE into German. They agreed with Nida that the most important purpose of literary translation is to 'engender similar feelings and reactions in the reader' (Wekker, G. et al. 1991: 228). To achieve this goal in the translation of dialects they suggest the translator 'ask himself/herself what function the non-standard fulfills in the SL text. He/she must try to find out what the author's motives were in using the non-standard, and then look for a non-standard equivalent language variety which fulfills a similar function in the target culture'(ibid).

In the case of geographical dialects, Hatim and Mason stated that 'An awareness of geographical variation, and of the ideological and political implications that it may have, is essential for translators and interpreters' (1990: 40). In their view; 'The role of the translator as reader is one of constructing a model of the intended meaning of the ST and of forming judgments about the probable impact of ST on intended receivers. As a text producer, the translator operates in a different socio-cultural environment, seeking to reproduce his or her interpretation of 'speaker meaning' in such a way as to achieve the intended effects on TT readers' (Hatim and Mason 1990: 92).

Second step: choosing strategy
Choosing a strategy for translating dialect can be difficult, especially when there are big differences between the source and target culture. For instance, translating a social dialect

which is spoken by lower-class members in the source culture society is especially difficult if the target culture does not have pronounced social differences. In this section I start by looking at some of the different methods that have been discussed as potential strategies in dealing with dialects in translation, and continue by giving a more thorough description of Venuti's well-known strategies of foreignization and domestication.

After having analyzed the connotative meaning of the user-related varieties in the text, the translator must decide on how to transfer this meaning onto the target text. If the user-related variety were a social dialect, Hatim and Mason stress the importance of trying to relay 'the full impact of the social dialect, including whatever discoursal force it may carry' (Hatim and Mason 1990:42). In their view, translation of dialects is normally solved in one of two ways, which both include potential pitfalls and loss of effect. They state that 'Rendering source language (SL) dialect by target language (TL) standard has the disadvantage of losing the special effect intended in the ST, while rendering dialect by dialect runs the risk of creating unintended effects' (Hatim and Mason 1990: 41). They believe that even though many translators might aim for equivalent effect, many are tempted to 'neutralize social dialects for the sake of mutual comprehension, and to avoid appearing patronizing' (1990: 42). An example of neutralization is to replace the use of a non-standard variety in the ST with a standard form in the TT. According to Hatim and Mason, this way of dealing with dialect does not transfer any of the associated meaning or the discoursal force of the language, and can result in a massive loss of important information about the speaker and the cultural context.

As we have seen, Hatim and Mason suggest two methods of translating dialect, both of which have certain weaknesses. They claimed that the neutralizing strategy of rendering SL dialect by TL is the most used strategy. In his study of dialects in translation in 1997, Professor Leszek Berezowski attempted to map out the different ways of dealing with dialects in translation, and which of these strategies were the most practiced. Much like Hatim and Mason, Berezowski identified two commonly practiced approaches to translation of dialect. He called the two approaches *neutralization* and *amplification.* He described the neutralization strategy as 'forfeiting the SL image by resorting it to the standard language', and the amplification strategy as 'introducing surplus differentiation where it does not exist in the SL text' (Sienkiewicz in Berezowski 1997: 35). From this description it seems that both neutralization and amplification have certain disadvantages when it comes to achieving equivalent effect. With neutralization, i.e. translating dialect with TL standard, much, if not all of the intended effect of the dialect will inevitably

disappear. With amplification, on the other hand, it seems inevitable that the effect of the original dialect will become distorted in the translation.

By locating and counting the dialect-markers in the ST and comparing them to the number of markers in the TT, Berezowski was able to see which of the two strategies was most practiced by Polish translators. His study showed that the dominant practice for translating dialects was, as Hatim and Mason had anticipated, *neutralization*. This shows that even though most translators wish to achieve equivalent effect in ST and TT, the most common way of dealing with dialect in translation is by pretending it is not there. Even though many scholars, like Hatim and Mason, advise strongly against this strategy because of the potential loss in meaning, translators tend to efface the dialect markers altogether instead of finding ways of preserving them in the TT.

Because the neutralizing strategy is not the optimal way of creating equivalent effect in translation, scholars have continued to discuss other potential strategies that can be used in translation of dialects. Most have, however been concerned with how *not* to proceed. Antoine Berman was one of them. In his 'Translation and the Trials of the Foreign'(1985: 280). Berman describes twelve deforming tendencies in translation, two of which are especially focused on how not to deal with different language varieties in translation. One of the deforming tendencies Berman addresses is the so-called 'effacement of the superimposition of languages.' By this the means that the neutralizing strategy can be especially destructive when different forms of language *co-exist* in the ST. When two fictional characters in a novel take in use different dialects, it is often to underline a social or geographical difference between them. One example of this is in the play *Pygmalion* by George Bernard Shaw, where the non-standard English variety of Cockney, spoken by Eliza is used to show an important class difference between her and the professor who speaks Standard English. If Eliza's non-standard dialect were to be neutralized in a translation, the superimposition of standard and non-standard would be erased, and the social difference (in which the entire plot of the play is based) would be gone (Hatim and Mason 1990: 43). So much meaning would be lost, that the play would probably not make sense to the target audience. In other words, when the 'superimposition of languages' is effaced, much of the intended effect of the dialect is lost in translation. Hatim and Mason also claimed that 'in situations where two or more codes coexist in a speech community [...] the translator or interpreter must be able to recognize the question of identity involved' (1990:43).

The second of Berman's deforming tendencies in dealing with dialect in translation has to do with what he calls 'the destruction of vernacular networks and their exoticization.' In Bermans view, vernaculars (i.e. user-related varieties) are either effaced altogether, causing 'serious injury to the textuality of prose works' (1985: 286), or they are *exotized*. According to Berman, there are two ways of exoticizing a vernacular. One way is to use italics to isolate what does not exist in the original. Another and far more destructing form of exoticization is when the translator renders a foreign vernacular with a local one. This method is often called *domestication*, which I will come back to in section 3.2. In Berman's opinion, a vernacular clings tightly to its soil and therefore completely resists any direct translating into another vernacular. In his opinion 'translation can occur only between 'cultivated' languages' (1985: 286)*.*

As we have seen in the previous paragraphs, when dealing with dialect in translation, it may seem as though translators are always faced with a choice between two evils. Either by choosing a neutralizing strategy resulting in a loss of effect, or by choosing a strategy that draws too much or unwanted attention to the dialect, thus creating an effect that was unintended in the original. In chapter 2 as well, we have witnessed that translation theory often is reduced to a question of *either or*. A few examples of this tendency include the choice between *free* or *literal*, *beautiful* or *faithful*, *dynamic* or *formal*, *communicative* or *semantic*, *fluent* or *accurate* translation. Some have humorously claimed that like women, translations can be either beautiful or faithful, but never both. In reality, however, translation is a much more complicated and nuanced operation.

 It is important to keep in mind that many translators apply a number of different strategies within a single text. Within one text one approach can be used for translating dialect, while others are applied to translate idioms or proper names. A translator can also choose more moderate versions of the strategies discussed in this section. An example of a more moderate strategy for translating dialects was proposed by Hatim and Mason (1990). They claimed that it was possible to establish equivalence *functionally* by using a so-called *functional approach*. The functional approach is when the translator renders the dialect not by neutralizing it or choosing another dialect, but by modifying the standard itself. Hatim and Mason stated that 'The user's status may have to be reflected […] through non-standard handling of the grammar or deliberate variation of the lexis in the target language' (1990: 43). In other words, this method can be placed somewhere between the two 'evils' presented above.

3.2 Foreignization versus Domestication

One of the most famous dichotomies in translation theory is the one presented by Lawrence Venuti in his work *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995). Inspired by the work of Schleiermacher, Lawrence Venuti named the two strategies *foreignization* and *domestication*. I will start by presenting the thoughts of Schleiermacher, who was a great source of inspiration for Venuti. Furthermore, I will link Venuti's view to the debate concerning Nida's principle of equivalent effect.

German theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher was among the first to look at language as a culture-bound phenomenon. In his opinion language is a 'historical entity', and for that reason it is 'impossible to appreciate it rightly without an appreciation of its history' (Schleiermacher 1813: 51). When it comes to the use of dialect in fiction, this is especially true because the effect of a dialect is often closely tied to the history of the people who use it, or the region in which it is used. With a dialect such as AAVE, for instance, it is likely that much of its effect is largely influenced by the history of the dialect. I will get back to this in section 3.3.1.

In Schleiermacher's view, there were two possible approaches to translating texts: Either the translator tries to preserve the cultural weight of the source text by 'leaving the author in peace as much as possible and moving the reader toward him', or the translator replaces the source text's ties to its culture with 'equivalents' from the target culture in an attempt to produce a fluent and easily comprehensible text for the target audience by 'leaving the reader in peace as much as possible and moving the writer towards him' (1813: 49).

Schleiermacher was worried that instead of attempting to give the target audience the impression of the foreignness and the culture of the SL, many translators aimed at being 'invisible' in the translation process and wished to translate texts by writing 'as the original writer would have if the TL were his mother tongue'. He strongly opposed this method, and compared it to the event of showing someone a picture of a man the way he would have looked if his mother had conceived him by a different father (1813: 49). He claimed that instead of trying to adapt the original text to 'fit into' the target culture, the translator should humbly attempt to assist the target readers in understanding the foreignness of the original text.

Venuti agreed with Schleiermacher that the goal of the translator should be to preserve the foreign aspects of texts even if it were to be at the cost of 'fluency' or 'beauty'. He

borrowed Schleiermacher's ideas of moving the reader towards the author and visa versa and introduced a couple of new terms. Like most translation theories, Venuti's also builds on a dichotomy. He saw two possible approaches to translation, which he called *domestication* and *foreignization.*

In Venuti's view, to choose a *domesticating* strategy, is to prioritize beauty over fidelity and fluency over accuracy. This strategy involves what Schleiermacher described as 'moving the writer towards the reader'. Like Schleiermacher, Venuti strongly opposed this practice and described the domesticating practice as: 'an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to receiving cultural values, bringing the author back home' (Venuti 1995: 15). An example of a domesticating strategy for translating dialect could be for instance to render the source dialect with an 'equivalent' target dialect. This strategy demands little effort from the target reader and aims rather at creating a fluent and easily comprehensible target text.

To choose a *foreignizing* strategy of translation, on the other hand, is to prioritize fidelity over beauty and accuracy over fluency. This strategy involves what Schleiermacher described as 'moving the reader towards the writer' in an attempt to preserve the foreignness of the source culture and to give the reader an understanding of the foreign culture. Like Schleiermacher, Venuti was in favor of this practice and described the foreignizing strategy as 'an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad'. Looking at the foreignizing practice from a dialectal point of view, it would involve translation strategies which transferred the foreignness of the dialect onto the target audience. This could involve leaving traces of dialect markers indicating a foreignness of the original. Preserving such foreign traits in the TT will move the target reader towards a better understanding of the source culture.

As we have seen in section 2.3.1, Venuti was one of the main critics of Nida's principle of equivalent effect. His argument in the debate has motivated the research questions of this thesis. One of the reasons why Venuti was against Nida's principle of equivalent effect was that, like Schleiermacher, he believed since language is so closely connected to and defined by its situation in history and culture, the exact same impact or effect can never be imparted on the target readers whose language is rooted in a different history and culture. According to the hermeneutic way of thought that Schleiermacher held, the understanding of a text is above all that of an expressive product of a subject. It is also the understanding

of the phenomenon of objective language that is defined not so much by its author as by its situation in the history of the language and the culture (Nida and Taber 1969: 1). It is therefore impossible to present a text, as the original author would have written it were his native tongue the target language.

Venuti's second reason for opposing Nida's principle of equivalent effect is closely connected to his view on foreignization and domestication. In Venuti's view, Nida's principle equivalent effect in translation encourages the use of domesticating strategies which he strongly opposed. Venuti accuses Nida of, through opting for dynamic equivalence and equivalent effect in translation, 'imposing the English-language valorization of transparency on every foreign culture, masking a basic disjunction between the foreign and translated texts' (Venuti 1995: 16). He was influenced by Schleiermacher, who was convinced that the domestication of text or 'ethnocentric translation' as he also called it, can deform the foreign text by assimilating it to the target language and culture. Venuti claimed that the domesticating practice, which he considers the dominant practice in modern translation, involves an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target language values (1964: 159). He even suggested that a foreignizing method of translation can work as a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism (Berman 1992: 142). In this thesis, I wish to find out if Venuti is right in his assumption that domesticating strategies are the only way of achieving equivalent effect.

When using terms like foreignization and domestication, it is important to remember that there are many interpretations of what they mean. They are often used about translation in general, but can also refer to how a translator has chosen to pursue a particular problem in translation. In this thesis, I am particularly interested in domestication and foreignization as potential tools for achieving equivalent effect in the translation of dialect in fiction. More precisely, I will look at two methods of translating the dialect AAVE into Norwegian. One method being in approximation to what has been described as domesticating in this section and the other being more close to a foreignizing method (explained further in section 3.4). I will conduct a study to see which of these translation strategies manage to create the highest degree of equivalent effect according to source audience representatives and target audience representatives. The study will be explained in detail in chapter 4.

As we have seen in the previous paragraphs, many scholars, including Nida, suggested that in order to choose translation strategy and in order to know if equivalent effect has been achieved in translation, it is fruitful to analyze the language-varieties and to establish an idea of the source text's original effect on the source audience. Since my focus is on achieving equivalent effect in the translation of AAVE, I will dedicate the next part of this chapter to the potential effect of AAVE in general, and in the two chosen books *Someone Knows My Name* and *The Color Purple*.

3.3   About AAVE

The terms *African American Vernacular English*, *Black English Vernacular* and *Afro-American English* are only a few that have been used to refer to the social dialect spoken by approximately eighty percent of the African American population of the United States. In this thesis, I use the term *African American Vernacular English* (AAVE) because it is the preferred term among contemporary linguists and because it is considered the most politically correct of the terms. As has been established earlier, a dialect is a language variety which can be of three types; temporal, social or geographical. I choose to define AAVE as a social dialect because it is a language variety spoken by members of a specific minority group. It can be argued that AAVE is also a geographical dialect, since it is often linked to the southern geographical region of the US. However, because of the dialect's strong connotations to social identity and ethnicity, it can safely be characterized as a social dialect. In order to understand why AAVE has been a frequent literary device in American fiction, and what kind of literary effects it has been meant to generate among readers, it is necessary to take a closer look at some of the historical background and the linguistic identity of the dialect.

The aim of the following sections is to provide an understanding of the connotative meaning of the dialect. I start by giving a brief review of the most important theories concerning the linguistic development of AAVE. To continue I will look at the historical setting in which the dialect has developed. In section 3.3.2, I briefly consider some of the most common linguistic features associated with AAVE followed by a section on some of the reasons why AAVE has been used for literary effects in the past and today. Finally, I analyze the use of AAVE in the two chosen novels and the translation strategies that have been used to translate the dialect into Norwegian.

3.3.1   Origins, History and Connotations
Origins

There have been many conflicting theories about the origins and linguistic development of AAVE. The Anglicist theorists claimed that the dialect was a frozen form of early peasant British English and rejected any suggestions of African language ancestry. More linguistically correct observations about the dialect were made by Lorenzo Dow Turner in his *Africanism in the Gullah Dialect* of 1949. Turner's opinion was that the dialect was strongly influenced by native African languages. A third theory called dialect geography claimed that AAVE was simply a result of where in the US the black speakers were born and brought up. This hypothesis was based on the many similarities between AAVE and other non-standard American dialects.

Of the theories concerning the origins of AAVE, the most common has been called the creolist view. According to this theory, trade activities between native Africans and English speaking Europeans created a need for a common language. The common language which evolved consisted of simplified versions of the two languages language and became known as pidgin. When African speakers of pidgin languages were taken as slaves to the New World, the mix of different pidgin languages resulted in a Creole language which again became influenced by English (Holton 1984: 17-31). As we can see, there are many theories on the origins of AAVE, and it is still a matter of debate.

History and connotations

As we have seen in section 3.2, Schleiermacher thought that the meaning of language was inseparable from its history. He stated that 'Just as language is a historical entity, so too is it impossible to appreciate it rightly without an appreciation of its history' (1813: 51). In the case of AAVE, much of the connotative meaning of the dialect is closely tied to the history of the language-variety and to the history of its speakers.

In Wolfram and Fasold's opinion (1974: 1) we all make judgments about people based on the way they speak. From a social dialect we can often determine a person's education, origin, ethnicity and social class. According to J.U. Ogbu (1999), the judgments we make about speakers of AAVE, are highly influenced by the historical setting in which the dialect originated and evolved. In his study 'Beyond Language: Ebonics, Proper English, and Identity in a Black-American Speech Community', Ogbu claimed that the historical, social and cultural factors of a minority group take great part in shaping speech communities. He claimed that 'of particular importance in the history of minority groups is whether people

became a minority voluntarily through immigration, or involuntarily through conquest, slavery and so forth' (Ogbu 1999: 149). This is important because members of minority groups construct their collective identity out of their collective historical experience. Language becomes an important part of this collective identity.

Unlike standard American English, AAVE has developed in a setting of centuries of black oppression. When native Africans were thrust unwillingly on American soil and began to communicate in a strange language (without any form of language education), they did so by adopting characteristics of their native tongue. The language which developed within partly or totally isolated slave communities was not only a part of the last remains of their linguistic and cultural heritage, but also what became a symbol of togetherness against a common enemy. In his article 'Social Varieties of English' (Wolfram 2004) Wolfram claimed that 'the dichotomy between standard and vernacular may be viewed as the symbolic token of a class struggle', and that speakers of non-standard often 'use vernacular speech forms as a symbolic expression of separation from the upper classes with whom they conflict' (2004: 63).

Because of the history of oppression and racism against the speakers of AAVE, the dialect has often been seen as inferior to Standard English. Is has often been characterized as 'broken English' and a 'wrong' use of English grammar, and some are still reluctant to acknowledge its status as a dialect. This reputation as a 'sub-standard' language variety, and the levels of racism involved have resulted in many negative connotations to the use of AAVE, some of which are unfortunately alive today. Some of these ideas can be explained by the so-called Theory of Language Deficiency which claimed that speakers of AAVE have linguistic and cognitive deficiencies due to cultural deprivation. According to Walter M. Brasch, deficit theorists equated AAVE with low-class status, and claimed that 'for Blacks to advance in society, they must cast off the shackles of Black English' (Brasch 1981). Brasch claimed that this view of AAVE as 'poor', 'sloppy' or 'sub-standard' English remains even today. He stated that 'to speak Black English is perceived as a failure. Black English is regarded as 'unacceptable' and 'inferior language' [and] those who speak it are perceived, subconsciously perhaps by some, as inferior to those who do not speak it'.

While in captive, African slaves were prohibited from learning to read or write, and they were little exposed to communication with speakers of standard American English. According to the findings Ogbu made in his study of dialect perception in the black community in Lafayette, when asked about how they perceive their own dialect, many of

the respondents expressed that their perception of AAVE is shaped by the language experiences of their forebears under slavery. Many of the respondents believed the fact that white people went to school while black people were slaves and could not, is part of the reason for the negative connotations involving the supposed low level of education of speakers of AAVE.

Since the abolition of slavery, the history of the black population of the United States has included various levels of exclusion from society in form of racial segregation. Racial segregation in school, work and religious life separated the lives of white and black population of the US for many years. This also resulted in little influence of standard American English on the dialect of AAVE. When asked about the use of AAVE, most of Ogbu's respondents stated that AAVE was not suitable for use outside the community (i.e. family and friends within the African American community) because it is associated with ignorance and laziness (Ogbu 1999:164). The use of AAVE is so closely connected to the speakers 'collective identity and feeling of 'belonging', that the use of standard American English is discouraged within the community.

As we can see from the above studies, the collective historical experiences of an 'involuntary minority' group such as the African American population in the US is strongly connected to the use of AAVE. Some have also found evidence that the use of AAVE correlates with social status. Because of these underlying meanings and associations connected to the dialect, the use of AAVE as a literary device in fiction is extremely effective in creating associations to speakers and adding authenticity to fictional characters. The language adds a new dimension to the fictional characters, sharing information about them that could not have been expressed as effectively through explicit descriptions.

3.3.2 Linguistic features

In this section I will review some examples of common linguistic features which make the AAVE a non-standard variety. Some scholars claim that it is wrong to look at AAVE as a single dialect, because there are as many varieties of AAVE as there are of non-standard varieties spoken by white Americans. Due to the scope of this thesis, I choose to focus on the dominant linguistic patterns of the dialect. In her *Down Home and Uptown* (1984), Sylvia Wallace Holton gives a presentation of some of the most common linguistic features of AAVE. Basing my approach on Holton's presentation, i divide the most common

linguistic features of AAVE into the following categories; (1) features of pronunciation, (2) features of tense and aspect and (3) features of negation.

Pronunciation

An important characteristic of AAVE has to do with pronunciation or phonological features of the dialect. One example of a pronunciation feature which differs from Standard English is the common reduction of consonant clusters where words such as *test*, *desk* or *hand* can be pronounced *tes'*, *des'* and *han'*. Another common feature is the pronunciation of the fricative *th* in *they* as *d*: *dey* and *th* in *nothing* as *f*: *nufin*. The deletion of unstressed syllables is another common pronunciation feature. The word *explain* for instance becomes *splain,* while *about* becomes *bout* etc. Final consonants and consonants that are not followed by a vowel are often deleted in the pronunciation of AAVE, specifically the rothic consonant r, e.g. SE *for* can be pronounced *fuh*.

Tense and Aspect

Some examples of grammatical features of AAVE which deviate from the standard form are the deletion of the copula *be* in some sentences, e.g. *you crazy* instead of *you're crazy* or *where* you at? instead of *where are you (at)?* The use of the verb *to be* in uninflected form is often to imply a general state or a habitual action. It expresses a habitual aspect of a sentence. The sentence *he be workin´* thus implies that he is working regularly, whereas the sentence *he workin´* means that he is working right now. When it comes to verbal tense, users of AAVE often do not use the preterit markers i.e. *–ed* as in *worked*. The dialect instead has its own system of expressing completed actions by using the auxiliary verbs *been* or *done* before the main verb of the sentence, e.g. *he done tell me to* instead of *he told me to*.

Negation

A common grammatical feature in AAVE is double or multiple negations. A standard English sentence with simple negation such as *'she never says anything'* can in some cases become *'she don't never say nothin'* in AAVE (Holton 1984: 41-46). Another feature having to do with negation, is the use of *ain't* as a general negative indicator. *Ain't* is often used instead of Standard English *am not*, *isn't*, *aren't* and *hasn't*, e.g. *I ain't surprised*, but can also be used instead of S.E *don't*, *didn't* and *doesn't* e.g. *I ain't know that* instead of *I didn't know that*.

These are only a small selection of the most common linguistical features of AAVE that deviate from the standard form. Naturally, not all African Americans practice all of these features in their daily speech, and like any other dialect AAVE has changed over time. Like

one of the respondents in Ogbu's study put it: 'where I come from, we all got out own voices' (1999: 164). However, since these features are among the most common in AAVE, some of them are used frequently as dialect markers in written representations of AAVE. In many cases, linguistic features like these are responsible for producing the wanted effect and associations in the minds of the readers.

3.3.3 AAVE in fiction

When writers take in use dialectal features to represent the speech of their characters it is often to add a certain authenticity and depth to fictional characters, and to insinuate features concerning the character's social or cultural background. AAVE has been used as a literary device in fiction for several reasons, and its intended effect has changed over time. In the early nineteenth century the representation of African American characters in fiction consisted mainly of stereotypes that were considered objects of ridicule. Much like in the popular minstrel shows and blackface entertainment of the 1800s, where the African American character was lampooned as lazy, ignorant and goofy, the representation of black characters in fiction were patronized by the writers. The more exaggerated the stereotype, the more exaggerated was the rendering of his speech. One way to render the dialect of AAVE was often to record certain pronunciation features by adapting sounds of the speech to the Roman alphabet. Many took in use what is known as 'eye dialect' (i.e. changing the spelling of words that did not differ significantly is pronunciation) to emphasize the difference in speech and to enhance the humorous effect, (e.g. *wimmin* in stead of *women* etc.) Famous writers such as Mark Twain and William Faulkner frequently applied eye dialect in their work. The method was also used to create associations between the African American speech and illiteracy. Strange spelling and pronunciation would create an image of the black character as unable to read, write or spell and therefore also someone the reader can laugh at and feel superior to (Holton 1984: 63).

As the cultural attitude towards black people changed, so did the literary representation of AAVE. The stereotypes disappeared and the recording of AAVE was simplified. In the first half of the twentieth century, the representation of Black English dialect or AAVE for black characters was seen as the key to authenticity. The writers' motives for using the dialect were no longer to create black humorous stereotypes, but to identify characters by race, social class and region. The use of exaggerated pronunciation features and eye-dialect became less common, and writers instead used elaborate phonological and grammatical features to try and render the dialect as correctly as possible. Even though this was a big step up from the caricatures of the nineteenth century, the ways in which AAVE was

represented in fiction still depended largely on the writer's personal attitudes towards black people. The tendency to stereotype black characters through language continued to some degree, but as more and more people stood up against racism and segregation, the tolerance of black stereotypes in fiction also gradually diminished (Holton 1984: 96).

From the mid twentieth century and until today, the representation of African American speech in fiction has been mainly to create 'real' and believable characters. Many use AAVE to show the difficulty in communication between black and white characters or to create associations to African American culture. When AAVE is used together with Standard English, it is usually to indicate a social or cultural difference which is important to the essence of the story. Contemporary writers seldom apply pronunciation features in their representations of the dialect, but instead use common linguistic features to recreate the dialect as accurately as possible (Holton 1984: 145-186).

3.4 AAVE in the chosen books

So far we have seen that there are many different reasons for writers to use AAVE in fiction as well as different ways of representing the dialect in written form. As we have seen in section 3.1, a useful first step in achieving equivalent effect in translation is to analyze the writer's motives for using a non-standard. In order to get an idea of the possible effect of AAVE in the two novels *Someone Knows My Name* (Hill 2007) and *The Color Purple* (Walker 1983), I will start by analyzing the respective writers' motives for choosing AAVE as literary device in the two chosen novels. My choice of novels will be further explained in chapter 4.

As we have seen in section 3.1 and 3.2, some use domesticating strategies of translating AAVE by opting for a local dialect from the target culture, while others use foreignizing strategies focusing of preserving the foreign aspects of the source text in the translation. Some also choose 'in-between' alternatives like Hatim and Mason's *functional approach* opting for deliberate variation of the grammar and lexis of the target language. Regardless of strategy choice, the aim for most translators is to try and bring out the social stigma of the dialect, and to evoke identification with values of a particular social group. Since I am interested in testing whether the degree of equivalent effect achieved in the translation of AAVE is affected by the choice of translation strategy, I will also discuss the kind of translation strategies that have been used to translate AAVE into Norwegian in the respective novels.

3.4.1   AAVE in The Color Purple

The novel, written by Alice Walker in 1983, tells the story of a poor, uneducated fourteen year old African American girl named Celie who grows up with her abusive stepfather and her beloved younger sister Nettie in a rural, African American community in the southern state of Georgia. The novel is written in letter or diary form. Most of the letters are written by Celie in her own non-standard AAVE dialect, and are addressed either to God or her sister Nettie. Towards the end of the story, there are also letters form Nettie to Celie, but these are written in Standard English.

The fact that Walker has given Celie a non-standard dialect while her sister Nettie uses standard English even though they share the same background is an example of what Berman referred to as 'superimposition of language varieties' (see section 3.1) This co-existence of standard and non-standard language indicates a difference between the sisters that is underlined by the use of language. Nettie is often described as 'the smarter one' and the pretty one' of the two sisters, while Celie is portrayed as a helpless child who, unlike her sister is unable to break free from the pathological life in poverty and oppression. Celies use of AAVE can be interpreted as a symbol of this.

As we have seen in section 3.3.1, AAVE was often seen as inferior to Standard English, and therefore as a language variety that hold its speakers back. Deficit theorists for instance, equated AAVE with low-class status, and claimed that 'for Blacks to advance in society, they must cast off the shackles of Black English' (Brasch 1981). With this in mind it is easy to see how Walker's use of AAVE can be interpreted as a symbol of the 'shackles' Celie is living with and which she is unable to cast off. While Nettie, who speaks Standard English, is able to escape to a better life, Celie is forced to stay behind and live the life of an adult woman with the physical abuse of her stepfather, and the mental abuse of being denied education even though she is only fourteen years old.

The representation of Celie's speech often is childish and repetitive with short sentences and simple vocabulary (e.g. 'My mama dead. She die screaming and cussing. She scream at me. She cuss at me') (Walker 2004: 4). This use of the dialect creates associations to the helplessness and naiveté of the character, and also to her lack of education. In her *Living by the Word*, Walker claims that Celie's language emphasizes the hopelessness of the situation, and that language says a lot about who we are: 'For it is language more than anything else that validates one's existence, and if the language we actually speak is denied

us, then it is inevitable that the form we are permitted to assume […] will be one of caricature' (Walker 1988: 58).

In addition to the symbolic function of AAVE, Walker uses the dialect to add authenticity and 'local color' to the work. She claims that she uses AAVE not only to portray her novel's characters, but to emphasize the unbreakable link between black culture and black language. In her view: 'to deny the language would be to deny the culture (Cited in Wekker, G. et al. 1991: 222).' An important association to the use of AAVE is in that sense connected to the culture of a discriminated, involuntary minority group. The rural association of the dialect is also important to the reader's perception of the culture. The representation of the dialect is created without use of unnecessary pronunciation features, and is strictly grammatically conveyed. Use of *ain't* as a negative form of *is*, *are*, *am* etc. (e.g. 'You here, ain't you') and use of *be* to imply a general state (e.g. 'Any woman be proud') are some examples of grammatical features present in Walker's representation of AAVE.

In *The Color Purple*, everything from the story itself to the reader's perception of the characters is in many ways influenced by the non-standard English language of Celie, which is present throughout the text. In a way, the language of the author represents a dimension of the text that influences the effect the story has on the reader. How can a text have the same effect in two different cultures when the language of the source text is closely associated with a social-cultural minority group, which has no equivalent in the target culture?

Translation strategy
In the Norwegian translation of the novel, translator Isak Rogde has chosen to use a Norwegian non-standard dialect from the north of Norway to replace AAVE. He has, as Berman would say 'rendered a foreign vernacular with a local one' (1985: 286), or, as Hatim and Mason would say 'rendered dialect by dialect'(1990: 41). By opting for a target culture dialect it can be argued that he is 'moving the writer towards the reader'. This means that when it comes to the translation of AAVE, Rogde has used a strategy that can be characterized as *domesticating*.

In the preface of the translated novel (*Fargen Bortenfor/ FB*), Rogde explains his choice of strategy. He is aware of the possible pitfalls in using a Norwegian dialect to substitute the use of AAVE in the original, and acknowledges the possibilities of unwanted associations to the Norwegian dialect. However, in Rogde's opinion, when a writer deliberately takes in

use a dialect which clearly deviates from the standard form, something essential about that work will be lost if the translator does not also use dialect in the translation. He therefore bases his choice in the similarities he sees between the two dialects which may contribute to achieving the appropriate effect.

In Rogde's view, AAVE carries associations to a rural environment distant from the official centre. He believes that similar associations can be produced by the Northern-Norwegian dialect. Rogde also believes that association to a suppressed minority group is an important part of the effect of AAVE. He justifies his choice of strategy by claiming that the Norwegian dialect he has used also can be associated with a minority group exposed to discrimination. A possible explanation of this claim is that many Northern-Norwegians who moved to Oslo in the 50s and 60s experienced varying levels of discrimination (Hellstad 2010). This is, however, not the case today. Finally, Rogde added that the Norwegian dialect is similar to AAVE in that it deviates strongly from the standard form both lexically and grammatically (Walker 2009).

3.4.2   AAVE in Someone Knows My Name[1]

The novel, written by Lawrence Hill, is about the life of an African girl named Aminata Diallo who is kidnapped by slavers at the age of eleven and brought to America where she is sold to an Indigo plantation in South Carolina. During her life, Aminata acquires the skills of reading and writing, and learns to communicate in different languages and dialects. There are three different language-varieties co-existing within the novel (i.e. a superimposition of languages). In the chapter *Words swim farther than a man can walk* (Hill 2007: 145), Aminata narrates the different levels of language in use at the plantation: 'There was the language that Georgia spoke when she was alone with the negroes on the plantation, and she called Gullah. And there was the way she spoke to Robinson Appleby or other white people, and she called that English'. The two language-varieties described here are Gullah; a Creole language that emerged among African slaves in the islands off the coast of South Carolina, and AAVE, the way fellow slave and friend of Aminata, Georgia, speaks to white people. The third language-variety that is used in the novel is Standard English which is used by white characters and in Aminata's narrations.

Hill explains that generally, the dialect varieties used throughout the novel are to 'denote colorful engagement, and to remind the reader periodically that the characters are not

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[1] The novel's official name when first published in Canada was *The Book of Negroes*. The book was later published in the US under the title *Someone Knows my Name.* Since my study is of the effects of the dialect and its translation on American readers, I choose to use the American title of the novel.

conversing on a daily basis in standard white English' (personal communication[2]). He stated that one of his motives for using AAVE and other co-existing varieties of English in his work was to illustrate 'the intellectual flexibility and linguistic skill that slaves had to demonstrate in order to survive and thrive as much as possible under awful circumstances' (p.c). The code-switching applied by the African slaves when they go from communicating with each other to communicating with white people also works to underline the social, cultural and racial difference between African slaves and the white masters. As Wolfram (2004) pointed out 'the dichotomy between standard and vernacular may be viewed as the symbolic token of a class struggle'. The use of AAVE also creates associations to the collective socio-cultural identity of the African American community and the strong sense togetherness against a common enemy. In a way, AAVE can be seen, as Wolfram claimed, 'as a symbolic expression of separation from the upper classes with whom they conflict' (2004: 63).

Although Aminata is an African slave for large parts of her life and takes part in the collective identity of the African American community, she rarely takes in use AAVE herself. This contributes to the notion that Standard English is associated with higher level of education and intelligence, while AAVE is an 'inferior' language which is used by uneducated people.

Translation strategy

In the Norwegian translation of SKMN (i.e. *Noen Kjenner Mitt Navn/ NKMN*), translator Stian Omland has chosen to translate the bits of AAVE by using a non-standard handling of the grammar and lexis of standard Norwegian Bokmål. An example of non-standard handling of grammar is the incorrect use of the third person plural pronoun *dem* in sentences like '*Dem* engelske og *dem* franske drepte hverandre'. Since the non-standard handling of grammar can be perceived as 'wrong' grammar, this strategy might also preserve some of the association connected to lack of education and low social status of the speakers.

Instead of opting for a specific regional dialect from Norway, Omland uses some dialect markers such as *tel* instead of *til* to indicate the presence of a source culture dialect. In an interview with Omland he stated that he deliberately chose to avoid dialect markers of one specific Norwegian dialect, and has instead borrowed the 'tone' of dialect in general (p.c[3]).

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[2] E-mail correspondence with Lawrence Hill (April 15th 2011)
[3] Personal interview with Stian Omland (May 4th 2011)

By using this technique, he aimed to preserve some of the foreignness of the dialect without creating unwanted connotations to a specific Norwegian region.

In addition to the use of dialect-markers and non-standard handling of grammar, Omland's strategy involves the use of a rustic and unsophisticated Norwegian vernacular to replace AAVE. An example of this can be seen in the sentence 'Blir du dryg med unge, hovner føtta opp'. The expression 'dryg med unge' is old fashion and rustic, while the a-ending of the word *føtta* might give associations to an unsophisticated language. This approach may produce an evoked meaning of an unlettered naivety which could capture some of the associations to speakers with little education from a rural environment.

Because of the superimposition of language-varieties in the original, a domesticating strategy of rendering dialect by dialect would not be an adequate solution in this case. In order to preserve the difference between the three language-levels, Omland has rendered the Standard English bits with standard Norwegian and the AAVE bits with non-standard handling of grammar etc. The strategy used to translate AAVE is also applied in the translation of the few Gullah bits, however in translating the Gullah language, Omland has chosen let the foreign words that are foreign in the original stay foreign in the translation. We can witness the difference between Gullah and AAVE in the two following sentences: 'De buckra gib we de gam; demse´f nyam de hin´quawtuh' which is translated 'Buckra vil gi dem gam, dem sjøl nyam dem bakpå', and 'The white people done give us the front quarter, they done eat the hindquarter themselves' which is translated 'Dem hvite folka har gitt oss forparten, og dem har eti bakparten sjøl'. This way it is easy to see the difference between the two varieties AAVE and Gullah.

Since Hill's representations of Gullah and AAVE can be described as two related dialects where one is more 'extreme' than the other, it would be difficult to find a believable Norwegian equivalent dialect pair with similar connotations. Neutralization of dialect or the 'effacement of the superimposition' of languages could result in massive loss in meaning in the translation of *SKMN* because of the many levels of language, which play important part in the 'bildung' of the main character, Aminata Diallo. When asked about his choice of strategy for translating the dialects in *SKMN*, Omland replied that he tried to stay as close to the source text as possible. In his opinion, the idea of writing as if the original author would have written in Norwegian is an impossible task. By choosing some lexical and grammatical markers and using them consequently, he instead aimed to give

the reader an impression of the presence of dialect without attracting too much attention to it (p.c).

Based on my analysis of Omland's strategy for translating AAVE, I chose to categorize his method as a *moderate* foreignizing strategy. I use the word *moderate* because it can be argued that there are other strategies that could be characterized as much more foreignizing than Omland's method, and there are still many conflicting views on how to interpret Venuti's terms *foreignization* and *domestication*. If we look at domestication and foreignization as opposite poles on a scale, it can be argued that neither Rogde's or Omland's approach would appear in the extreme ends of the scale. However, since Omland, unlike Rogde, does *not* use a specific local dialect in his translation of AAVE, but instead creates an impression of the foreign dialect thereby preserving the foreignness of the source text, I believe it is reasonable to define Rogde's approach as domesticating and Omlands approach as foreignizing.

4 Research Design

In this chapter, I consider the methodological choices and challenges connected to my research. I start by presenting my research plan. Since my research involves an assessment of the degree of equivalent effect achieved by two different strategies of translating AAVE to Norwegian, I introduce the response-oriented method I take in use to access the readers' associations to the dialect AAVE. Further on, I address the design of the surveys including administration, selection of respondents, choice of dialogue extracts and formulation of questions.

4.1 Research plan

My goal is to find out whether the choice of translation strategy affects the degree of equivalent effect achieved between source and target texts in the translation of AAVE. In order to study the degree of equivalent effect that is achieved in translation it is necessary to perform a *translation quality assessment*. There are several existing ways of assessing the quality of translation, some of which focus attention mainly on the response of the readers. These methods of quality assessment are called response-oriented or behavioral approaches. Since I am interested in Nida's concept of effect and reader response to translated texts I have carried out a response-oriented investigation. As can be seen in section 4.2, many of the previous response-oriented quality assessment methods have received criticism for ignoring the importance of *comparing* the translation to its source text. Because of this criticism, and because of the importance of creating a basis for comparison between source text and target text, I have actively included the source texts in my research. In order to assess and compare the foreignizing and domesticating strategy in terms of achieving equivalent effect, I have conducted a comparative case study of two translations of AAVE—*Someone Knows My Name*/*Noen kjenner mitt navn* (SKMN/NKMN) and *The Color Purple*/*Fargen bortenfor* (TCP/FB)—using the Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD) method (see section 4.3).

I have gathered data on the effect of the novels and their translations by conducting a survey. I had two sets of respondents: one from the source culture (source audience, SA), and one from the target culture (target audience, TA). The respondents from the source culture were presented with dialogue extracts containing use of AAVE from SKMN and TCP. The respondents from the target culture were presented with the same dialogue extracts translated to Norwegian using the strategies of *moderate* foreignization (see

section 3.4.2) —in the case of SKMN/NKMN—and domestication (see section 3.4.1) —in the case of TCP/FB.

I have assessed to what degree equivalent effect is achieved in two steps. First, I measured the effect of the use of dialect in the two extracts through a battery of questions about how the respondents perceive the characters in the dialogue in terms of socio-cultural status. Then, I compared the effects produced in the minds of the readers of the original and the translated text. Let E_{SKMN} denote the effect of the dialogue extracts from SKMN on the source audience, and E_{NKMN} the effect of the translation of the dialogue extracts from SKMN on the target audience. Furthermore, let E_{TCP} denote the effect of the dialogue extracts from TCP on the source audience and E_{FB} the effect of the translation of the dialogue extracts from TCP on the target audience.

The degree of equivalent effect is equal to the relationship between the effect of the original text on the source audience and the effect of the translation on the target audience. Since SKMN/NKMN is a case of translation using the foreignization strategy, the degree of equivalent effect achieved by using foreignization (EE_f) can be defined as:
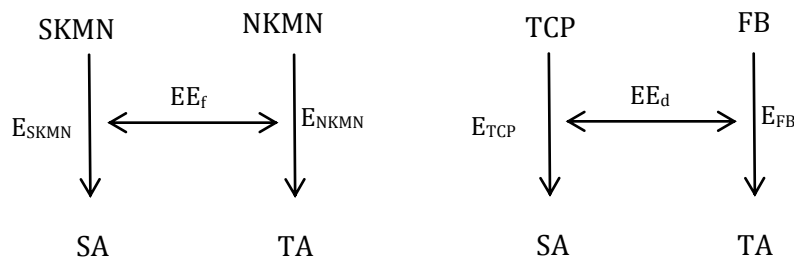
$$EE_f = (E_{SKMN} \leftrightarrow E_{NKMN})$$

Similarly, since TCP/FB is a case of translation using the domestication strategy, the degree of equivalent effect achieved by using domestication (EE_d) is defined as:

$$EE_d = (E_{TCP} \leftrightarrow E_{FB})$$

Figure 1 presents this understanding of effect and degree of equivalence graphically:

Figure 1

Finally, I use the relationship between EF_f and EF_d to assess the two strategies in terms of achieving equivalent effect. There are three possible outcomes:

$EE_f > EE_d$	Foreignization achieves a higher degree of equivalent effect than domestication.
$EE_f = EE_d$	No difference in equivalent effect
$EE_f < EE_d$	Domestication achieves a higher degree of equivalent effect than foreignization

This research design has several challenges. In the next sections, I discuss what I consider to be the most important of these. First, in section 4.2, I give a general treatment of the challenges in response-oriented quality assessment of translation. In section 4.3, I review the Most Similar Systems Design method and the choice of cases. In section 4.4, I discuss the operationalization of effect. Finally, in section 4.5, I look at the design of the survey.

4.2   Response-Oriented Quality Assessment

Many criteria have been established for what makes a translation good. In her study *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment* (1997), Juliane House states that 'in order to make statements about the quality of translation, one addresses the heart of any translation theory, i.e. 1) The relationship between the source text and its translation, 2) The relationship between features of the text(s) and how they are perceived by human agents, and 3) The consequences views about these relationships have for determining the borders between translation and other textual operation' (House 1997: 1). House focused on the first of these three relationships when she developed a model for quality assessment aiming to assess translation quality by comparing the relationship between source text and translation. To measure the degree of equivalence between source text and target text as objectively as possible, she divided the texts into comparable categories based on Halliday's systemic functional theory. By analyzing the linguistic-discoursal as well as the situational-cultural particularities of the source and target texts, and comparing the two texts, she was able to assess the quality of translation in a systematic manner (House 1981: 43).

In his *Toward a Science of Translation* (1964: 183) Nida proposed three criteria for assessing the quality of translation based on his theory of dynamic equivalence: (1) general efficiency of the communication process, (2) comprehension of intent, and (3)

equivalence of response. The third of these criteria, also known as Nida's principle of equivalent effect calls for a focus on the second point in House's definition of the 'heart of any translation theory', namely the relationship between text and reader. Nida describes the criteria of 'equivalence of response' in the following way: 'the manner in which receptors of the translation text respond to the translation text must be equivalent to the manner in which the receptors of the source text respond to the source text' (Nida 1964: 159). House agrees that equivalence in response should be an important criterion in translation. However, the inevitable question is: *Can the requirement of equivalent response be empirically tested?* As House points out, 'if it cannot be tested, it seems fruitless to postulate the requirement, and the appeal to 'equivalence of response' is really of no more value than the philologists' criterion of 'capturing the spirit of the original' '(ibid: 9). I will discuss the question concerning the possibility of measuring effect further in section 4.4.

There have been a number of attempts to evaluate the quality of translation. Like House's model, most of these have been comparative analyses of source and target texts. Some have also experimented with more response-oriented or *behavioral* methods of quality assessment where the focus has been, to varying degrees, on measuring the response of the reader and using the results of the measurement to say whether the translation fulfills the criteria of equivalent response. One of the methods House mentions (1997: 4) is called the 'cloze technique', which was used as a method to evaluate the comprehensiveness of a translation by presenting respondents with a translation text in which, for instance, every fifth word had been deleted and asking them to fill in the words they thought would 'fit best' in the empty spaces. The more correct guesses, the easier the translation text is to comprehend, and the better the translation.

Another response oriented method of assessment was carried out by presenting respondents with a number of alternative translations of the same source text and examining their responses, or reading passages from translated texts aloud to respondents and asking them to retell the content of the passage in their own words, i.e. how they understood the content (House 1997: 5).

House however criticized these kinds of response-oriented approaches for ignoring the importance of comparing the translations to the source texts. She states that one of the main weaknesses is 'that there is no provision made for a norm against which the results of any response test may be measured, i.e. the basic "double-bind" relationship

constitutive for any translation, is not taken into account' (1997: 6). In other words, since the researchers do not produce verifiable information about the comprehension or effect of the *source texts*, the methods do not say anything about the relationship between source and target text. There is no use in assessing aspects of translations if one does not compare those aspects it with same aspects of the source text. Without first measuring the response of the source audience there is no basis for comparison, and thus no yardstick against which the quality of the target text can be measured.

Other response-oriented methods that take this criticism into account have been suggested. House mentions the work done by MacNamara (1967) and Caroll (1966). One of the suggestions is described in the following manner: 'having respondents answer questions about a passage when they had seen either its source text or its translation text. If the answers are equivalent across the respondents, then original and translation are to be considered equivalent' (House 1997: 5). By using this method, it should be possible to compare the response of the source audience to the response of the target audience, and thus determine to what degree Nida's criteria of equivalent response has been achieved in the translation. In this thesis, I try to avoid the possible pitfalls in using response-oriented approach by including the original text, and respondents from the source audience in the analysis, thus establishing observable, verifiable responses to a passage from the source text. By carrying out a so-called response test on the source audience first, and using the results as a yardstick against which the results of the target audience response test may be measured, I take into account the double-bind relationship constitutive for translation.

4.3 The Most Similar Systems Design Method

I have used The Most Similar Systems Design Method (MSSD) to choose cases for comparison. The idea of MSSD is to compare cases that are identical in all relevant aspects, except one, and compare the outcome. Logically, any difference in outcome can be attributed to the one relevant factor that sets the cases apart. In practice it is usually impossible to find cases that differ in only one important aspect. However, by eliminating as many possible explanations for the difference in outcome as possible, the MSSD method, guided by careful consideration of alternative explanations, can give valuable insights into the importance of the variable of interest (Frendreis 1983: 260).

The table below gives an image of how the MSSD method works. In this example the difference in outcome in the two cases (Y and y) can be attributed to the difference on the variable X_3 – the only relevant variable that differs across the cases.

Table 1

Relevant factors:	Case 1	Case 2
X_1	0	0
X_2	0	0
X_3	1	0
Outcome:	Y	Y

In this thesis, the dependent variable is the degree of equivalent effect achieved, and the independent variable is the choice of translation strategies. The aim is *not* to provide a full explanation of the variance on the dependent variable, i.e. identify all the factors that influence whether and to what degree equivalent effect is obtained in translation of AAVE. Rather, the objective is to assess the effect of one single variable—the choice of translation strategy. To do this, as many other relevant factors as possible must be controlled for through careful choice of cases. The ideal situation would have been to look at two Norwegian translations of the same text, by the same translator, where the only difference was the choice of translation strategy. This way I could have made sure that no other factors could have influenced the outcome, and thus have been certain that is was the choice of strategy that created the change in effect.

4.3.1 The choice of cases

In choosing cases of translation of dialogue extracts, two criteria are crucial for effectively employing the MSSD method: a) the dialogue extracts must be as identical as possible in the way the dialect African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is used, and b) the translation strategies used to transfer the effect of AAVE to the target language must differ. When these criteria are met, any potential change in effect between the cases can be explained by the use of translation strategy. In this section, I discuss the choice of the translations of dialogues from SKMN and TCP as cases.

Similarities in the use of AAVE

It is important that the use of AAVE in the original texts is as similar as possible in order to use the readers' responses to them as yardsticks for the effect of AAVE on source readers. As mentioned earlier, it is virtually impossible to find two original texts in which the writers' motives for using AAVE and their written representation of the dialect are completely the same. Such differences can potentially influence the effect the dialect has on the audience. If for example one of the writers had used AAVE for humoristic effect, and

used Eye-Dialect to represent it, the response of the source readers would be influenced by that. If the second writer had used AAVE for a different reason, such as to identify the ethnicity or social status of the character, the response of the readers of this text would deviate greatly from that of the readers of the first text. In such case the results from the source surveys could not have been used to indicate common associations to AAVE.

In *Someone Knows My Name* and *The Color Purple*, AAVE is used to identify characters within a certain social minority group. The writers have both used grammatical features to render the dialect in written form, and none have used exaggerated pronunciation features like Eye Dialect. The writers' reasons for using AAVE are also similar. From personal correspondence with Lawrence Hill, and comments made by Alice Walker about her use of AAVE in her *Living by the Word* (1988), I find that their reasons for using the dialect are comparable in the sense that both writers use AAVE to remind the readers of socio-cultural differences between speakers of non-standard and standard language varieties. They use AAVE to add authenticity to their characters and to awaken associations about their socio-cultural identity. The dialect is mainly used by characters that are poor, uneducated and live in rural environments. This is true for both novels (see section 3.4.1 and 3.4.2).

Furthermore, the version of AAVE in the original texts should descend from the same regional area. As we have seen in chapter 2, some theorists believe the use of AAVE varies depending on where in the USA it is spoken. If this is the case, and the representation of AAVE in the first novel was from an urban environment such as Harlem or Baltimore, while the representation of AAVE in the second text was from a rural environment such as South Carolina, any potential variance in effect between them could be explained by this difference. Although there are conflicting theories on geographical varieties of AAVE, I have taken the possibility into consideration by choosing representations of AAVE from the same regional district, namely South Carolina, USA.

A potential weakness in my choice of literature is that the use of AAVE is set in different periods in history. The story in SKMN spans from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, while the story in TCP is set in the 1930s. This means that potential variance in effect could also be explained by this dissimilarity between the cases. I choose to proceed with the chosen cases in spite of this because the written representations of the dialect in the two novels are similar in the sense that the writers apply the same linguistic features to mark the presence of the dialect. There are a few incidences where the characters in SKMN

take in use a variety of AAVE that is more old-fashioned and specific for the time period (the Gullah dialect). As long as i do not include this variety in the dialogue extracts of the surveys, I believe it is safe to proceed with the chosen cases.

The biggest concern with the choice of cases is that the overall effect of the dialect use in the novels is to a large degree decided by the context in which it appears. Naturally, the story surrounding the characters will influence the reader's perception of them along with the dialect they use. However, I remind readers that my aim is *not* to study readers' perception of characters after having read the whole novel, but to study the degree to which an eventual difference in effect between the translations of AAVE in the two novels can be explained by the use of different translation strategies. For this reason, the respondents will only be presented with dialogue extracts presented out of context. The choice of dialogue extracts is discussed further in section 4.5.

Different translation strategies

An important reason for my choice of literature has to do with the ways in which AAVE is translated into Norwegian. Since I want to study how the choice of translation strategy influences the readers' response to the dialect, and which of the foreignizing and domesticating strategy are 'best suited' to create the most equivalent effect in the minds of the readers, I need two translations that respectively take in use each of these strategies. In the pursuit of a case where the translator had used a domesticating strategy to translate AAVE, most natural choice fell on Isak Rogde's translation of *The Color Purple*, namely *Fargen Bortenfor*. Rogde has used a domesticating strategy for translating the dialect of AAVE in the sense that he has substituted the source dialect of AAVE with a geographical dialect from a small region in Northern Norway. From the definition of the domesticating strategy provided in section 3.2, we can deduce that rendering a source dialect by an 'equivalent' target dialect as done by Rogde, qualifies as a domesticating translation strategy.

In his translation of SKMN, Stian Omland has used a *moderate* foreignizing strategy for translating AAVE. I use the word *moderate* because there are many existing views on what constitutes a foreignizing strategy. One could argue that Omland's strategy can be defined as what Hatim and Mason described as 'achieving equivalence functionally'. They wrote that an alternative to the domesticating strategy of achieving equivalence by opting for a particular regional variety was through 'non-standard ahndling of the grammar […] in the target language' (Hatim and Mason 1990: 43). Instead of rendering dialect by dialect,

Omland has chosen a non-standard handling of the target grammar to preserve the markedness of the source dialect. By choosing some grammatical markers and using them consistently, he gives the reader an impression of the presence of dialect. I believe Omland's strategy can be seen an an attempt at foreignizing the standard, and therefore chose to call it a moderate foreignizing strategy.

A potential weakness of this choice is that there are two different translators, when ideally the same person should have translated both texts to avoid this factor to influence the effect of the dialect. If, for example, one of the translators is more experienced or is a 'better' translator than the other, such factors could also influence the overall effect of the translation. Another possible weakness is the difference in historic setting between the translations. SKMN was published in Norwegian in 2009 while TCP was published in Norwegian in 1984. Since the time gap from 1984 to 2009 is relatively small, and the socio-economic status of the community is unlikely to have undergone dramatic changes over this short period of time, I chose to proceed with the selected cases. I will, however, keep the possibility of influence on effect in mind during my analysis. The table below displays the relevant factors of the source texts and the target texts.

Table 2

Relevant factors:	Case 1: SKMN/NKMN	Case 2: TCP/FB
Factors related to the novels		
Uses AAVE to communicate information about the socio-cultural status of characters	Yes	Yes
Written representation of dialect	Grammatical features only	Grammatical features only
The socio-cultural status of characters	Poor, uneducated, rural	Poor, uneducated, rural
Historic setting of novel	18th and 19th century	1930s
Geographical setting of novel	South Carolina	South Carolina
Factors related to the translation		
Translators	Stian Omland	Isak Rogde
Historic and cultural setting	2009, Norway	1984, Norway
Translation strategy	**Foreignization**	**Domestication**
Outcome:	EF_f	EF_d

4.4   Measuring effect

One of the main arguments against Nida's principle of equivalent effect is the problem of measurement, i.e. *how do we know when equivalent effect has been achieved?* Robert Larose is one of many who have criticized Nida's theory for being 'unscientific' and subjective. In his *Théories contemporaines de la traduction*, he challenged the work of Nida by asking: 'How is the *effect* to be measured and on whom? How can a text possibly have the same effect and elicit the same response in two different cultures and times?' (In Munday 2008: 43).

As we have seen in Chapter 2, one of the most important components of Nida's concept or equivalent effect is that of *connotative meaning*. Measuring effect thus involves measuring connotative meaning. The general meaning of *measuring* is to objectify and quantify information so that it can be systematically scaled and compared. A big challenge of measuring effect is therefore that connotative meaning mainly consists of *subjective* associations. Needless to say, it is difficult to objectify subjective associations. Nida himself admitted that there is no adequate method for measuring the connotative values of words and other linguistic units exists, and that it is difficult to objectify and to measure such psychological values.

One attempt at measuring connotative meaning was undertaken by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum in the 1950s. They measured the reactions of respondents to words by presenting them with a variety of words and asking them to make a mark somewhere between 1 and 10 on a scale between polar contrast pairs of adjectives such as *good – bad*, *beautiful – ugly*, *strong – weak* etc. Their experiment showed that even though people's reactions are highly individual, one can in most cases notice certain recurring tendencies (Osgood, Suci et al. 1967).

Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum concentrated on measuring the meaning of single words. But how can the connotative meaning of whole linguistic messages be measured? The connotative meaning of dialect in literature can contribute largely to the effect of the text. Nida admits that dialect forms often carry connotative meanings of being 'substandard' (ibid: 97), but he does not suggest ways of measuring the connotative meaning of linguistic units that contain use of dialect. Nida's principle of equivalent effect states that the effect of the translated text should be equivalent to that of the original. In order to transfer the effect of a dialect to a translation, the translator must therefore first know what that effect of the

dialect is in the original. The first step to creating a basis for comparison and measurement is thus to try and determine the effect of the dialect in the source text.

Defining one universal association to dialect is an impossible task, since each reader's association is rooted in his or her frame of refrence and individual biases. However, it is reasonable to assume that the use of dialect will produce certain general associations shared by the majority of readers in the source culture. Such association can be either of social class, ethnicity, origins etc. In the next section, I attempt to determine possible parameters for measuring the effect of AAVE in the chosen novels.

4.4.1 The effect of AAVE

The most common reason for giving fictional characters a social dialect is to evoke an identification with values of a certain group or class (Venuti 1995: 20). As we have seen in section 3.3.1, speakers of AAVE are members of a so-called involuntary minority group, namely the African American community in the USA. This means that the speakers of AAVE differ from speakers of Standard English in terms of socio-cultural identity. The dialect is in many ways a result of the common historic experiences of the minority group, and is therefore closely tied to the culture and identity of its speakers. These are all parts of the *effect* of AAVE. The use of AAVE in fiction is therefore an effective device for implying information about the socio-cultural identity of characters.

Holton used the following example to underline the associative force of AAVE: 'if a black high school dropout from Harlem is represented as speaking Standard English to his friends, his characterization is not likely to be convincing.' She continues by stating that 'much about the character's origins, his social class, and even his race can be established by the recording of his speech in dialect' (1984: 55). In SKMN and TCP the writers use AAVE to add authenticity to their characters. The dialect serves to amplify the socio-cultural aspects shared by the dialect users. In the two chosen novels, some of the socio-cultural aspects that are communicated about the characters through the use of AAVE are that they are poor, uneducated, members of minority groups who live in rural environments. Such aspects can therefore constitute parts of the effect of AAVE, and should thus be included in the operationalization of the effect of AAVE.

4.4.2 Operationalization of the effect of AAVE

In order to empirically measure the effect of AAVE as a literary device, an operational definition is needed. Operationalization is to specify the exact measurements that will

capture empirically the theoretical concept at hand (Hellevik 2002: 51). In this case, the theoretical concept is the effect of AAVE and the translation of AAVE. Specifically

The associations of the socio-cultural background of the characters the use of AAVE and the translation of AAVE produce in the minds of the readers.

To measure these associations, I divide the theoretical concept of effect of AAVE into eight parameters. These parameters are based on the writers' motives for using the dialect, the common associations related to the use of AAVE, and what is known about the socio-cultural background of the characters from the plot of the novels. If we look back at section 3.1 we see from Baker's definition of the term dialect that it covers social, temporal and geographical dialects. It can be argued that AAVE can fit into all of these categories because it can give information about the speaker's social background, geographical background, and, since AAVE has changed and evolved over time, it can also say something about the historic setting in which it is being used. Not all use of AAVE produces associations to social status, time or region, however, they are all possible parts of the effect of the dialect. Common associations to AAVE can therefore potentially include social, geographical and temporal aspects.

When it comes to the writers' motives for using AAVE, we know that the authors of both SKNM and TCP use AAVE to add authenticity to fictional characters who all share similar socio-cultural backgrounds. Specifically, they are (1) poor, (2) uneducated, (3) members of minority groups of low social status, and (4) live in a rural environment. All of these character traits are possibly communicated to the reader by using AAVE, i.e. they might constitute parts of the effect of AAVE. For these reasons, I have chosen to use the following parameters to measure the effect of AAVE.

Table 3

Parameter		Expected effect on SA
Education		Low level
Time aspect		TCP: 1700s-1800s. SKMN: 1930s
Regional aspect		Southern states
Ethnicity		African American
Social status		Low level
Community	Poor	Very likely
	Homogeneous	Very likely
	Religious	Very likely
	Urban	Very unlikely
	Big	Very unlikely
Family life	Poor	Very likely
	Unresourceful	Very likely
	Single parent	Very likely

The choice of variables and their expected effects are further explained in the presentation of the questions.

In order to establish verifiable data confirming the actual effect of AAVE, I ask the SA respondents to read a number of dialogue extracts from SKMN and TCP, and the TA respondents to read the same dialogue extracts translated to Norwegian. Subsequently, all respondents are asked to answer the eight questions presented below (the questions provided for the TA are in Norwegian). Each question will represent one of the parameters seen in the above table, and together they will capture the essence of the effect of AAVE. The answer-alternative proposed to the respondents after some of the questions will be further discussed in section 4.5.

Education

I consider level of education to be an important parameter to measure the effect of AAVE because the users of the dialect in the two novels all have low levels of education. Since AAVE qualifies as a social dialect it is possible that level of education is communicated through the dialect and thus constitutes part of the effect of AAVE. Possible associations to level of education are measured using question 1:

- *Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the level of education of the characters?*
1 Low
2 Medium
3 High

I name the variable "Education" and code the answers as:

- Low = 1
- Medium = 2
- High = 3

Time aspect

Since the use of AAVE can evoke associations to different historic periods depending on how it is represented, I chose to include this parameter in the measurement of the effect of AAVE. To measure whether readers associate the use of AAVE in the two novels to a specific time in history I ask the following question:

- *When do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?*

The question is followed by the following alternative answers:

- 2000's
- 1900's
- 1800's
- 1700's
- 1600's

The alternatives are not coded because they will be analyzed qualitatively.

Regional aspect

One of the biggest problems in dealing with dialect in translation is to transfer the evoked meaning of the geographical roots of the dialect. Even though much of this effect of the dialect is bound to disappear in translation of the dialect, it will be interesting to see to what degree the sense of a rural environment, which is intended by the original writers, is actually produced in the minds of the SA, and to what degree similar associations are produced by the translations. To avoid giving the respondents clues on what to answer, I ask the following open question:

- *Where do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?*

Ethnicity

As Holton (1984: 55) pointed out, much about a character's origins, social belonging and even his race can be established by the use of dialect in fiction. One of the challenges in translating AAVE is transferring the aspect of race. Since race and ethnicity are possible parts of readers' associations to AAVE, I include a parameter called 'ethnicity' in the

measurement. To measure the associations regarding race and ethnicity connected to the use of AAVE I ask the following open question:

- *What kind of ethnic background do you think the characters have?*

Social status

Since AAVE qualifies as a social dialect, it means that the dialect is often used by members of a specific social class. For this reason I include the parameter 'Social status' in the measurement of the effect of AAVE. The association to level of social status is measured using question 5:

- *Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the social status of the characters?*

1. Low
2. Medium
3. High

I name the variable "SocialStatus" and code the answers as:

- Low = 1
- Medium = 2
- High = 3

Community

The community in which people live is a big part of who they are. Often, the use of a social dialect does not only reveal information about the speaker, but also about what kind of community the speaker lives in. The association to community is measured using question 6:

- *How likely do you think the following words are to describe the community in which the characters live?*
- Poor
- Homogeneous
- Religious
- Urban
- Big

Since there are as many things to say about a community as there are about a person, I ascribe five sub-variables to the community-variable in order to capture possible associations to AAVE. The variable 'poor' is included because the writers' motives for using AAVE is to add authenticity to the characters, and most of the dialect-speakers in the novels are members of a minority group of low social status. Since poverty, homogeneity and

religion are possible realities of minority communities of low social status, they might also be parts of the readers' associations to the dialect use. The variables 'big' and 'urban' are included because the dialect speakers in the novels are members of small, rural communities, and I am curious to see whether this information is communicated through the dialect.

Respondents are asked to rate each of the words by choosing one of the alternatives from the following four-category scale:

1. Very likely
2. Likely
3. Unlikely
4. Very unlikely

I divide question 3 into 5 variables (*CommunityPoor*, *CommunityHomogeneous*, *CommunityReligious*, *CommunityUrban*, *CommunityBig*), and code the answers as follows:

- Very unlikely = 1
- Unlikely = 2
- Likely = 3
- Very likely = 4

Family

Since use of social dialects can suggest information about both social belonging and level of education of the speaker, it might even have us make judgments about the family lives of the dialect speakers. In case associations to family life are produced in the minds of the SA, it will be interesting to see to which degree similar associations are produced by the translations. The association to family is measured using question 4:

- *How likely do you think the following words are to describe the family lives of the characters?*

1. Poor
2. Unresourceful
3. Single parent

The variable 'family' can involve many subcategories. I decided to examine to what degree the respondents find the words *poor*, *unrescourceful* and *single parent* likely or unlikely to describe the family lives of the dialect users. I chose these variables because I believe they are realities in the lives of many of the AAVE-speaking fictional characters in the two novels. Based on what is written about the characters from in the novels, I know that they are of

55

low social status, live in poverty and have low levels of education. These variables might be insinuated through the dialect alone, and may capture parts of the effect of AAVE. I therefore wish to examine to what degree they are parts of the readers' associations to the dialect. Respondents are asked to rate each of the words by choosing one of the alternatives from the following four-category scale:

1. Very likely
2. Likely
3. Unlikely
4. Very unlikely

I divide question 7 into 3 variables (*FamilyPoor*, *FamilyUnresourceful and FamilySingleParent*) and code the answers as follows:

- Very unlikely = 1
- Unlikely = 2
- Likely = 3
- Very likely = 4

In case these parameters fail to capture some of the associations the readers may have, I include the parameter 'Other associations'. To make sure respondents are given a final chance to share all of their associations to the dialect I round off the survey with the final question:

- *Does the way the characters speak evoke further associations that have not been mentioned? Please use our own words to specify.*

Since the data collected through this question are normative, the answers will be analyzed qualitatively.

4.5 Survey Design

In the following paragraphs, i will give more information about my methodological choices concerning the design and administration of the surveys.

4.5.1 Dialogue extracts

I have used questionnaires to collect information about the readers' associations to AAVE. The first part of the questionnaire consists of eight out-of-context dialogue extracts from the text. The dialogue extracts are presented out of context to prevent other features in the dialogue from influencing the effect. Information revealed about the life of Celie in TCP, such as where she lives, with whom etc., can influence the reader's perception of her. My aim is *not* to study the readers' perceptions of the characters based on all the information

about them in the novels, but to look at the effect of AAVE alone. Aside from the dialect use, the extracts do not contain any explicit information about the socio-cultural background of the characters. In order to be used as stimulus, the extracts need to include linguistical features that are common for the AAVE dialect. I have tried to choose extract that represent a broad variety of common linguistic features of AAVE. As we have seen in section 3.3.2, these include for instance the use of double negation, zero copula, deletion of final consonants, deletion of unstressed syllables etc. Another criterion for the dialogue extracts is that the translated versions of the chosen extracts display an overall impression of the kind of strategy that has been used.

The first extract taken from TCP; '*Naw, she say, I don't miss nothing*' for example, contains the common linguistic feature of AAVE of double negation (i.e. *don't* and *nothing* as opposed to *don't* and *anything*). The translation also displays the strategy of opting for target dialect (i.e. domesticating strategy); '*Næ, sa ho. Eg savne ingenting*'.

Another extract taken from TCP; '*I don't know nothing bout it*' contains both double negation and the deletion of the unstressed syllable in the word *bout* (i.e. about>bout). The extract is translated in the following manner: '*Eg veit ikkje noka om sånt*'.

Respondents are asked to read the dialogue extracts and answer questions about their perception of the fictional characters based on the way they speak. Since there is a chance some respondents might distort the answers in order to avoid the social undesirability of making prejudice statements about people (or fictional characters) based on their dialect, I encourage the respondents to try and answer the questions as honestly as possible even if they think their answers might be considered prejudice or politically incorrect. This precaution is to minimize invalid answers and non-response.

4.5.2 Formulation of questions

Questions 1 (education), 2 (time), 5 (social status), 6 (community) and 7(family life) in the survey are closed questions, each with a provided list of acceptable responses. This approach should maximize the amount of response to the survey, and provide easily comparable data. A potential drawback in using closed questions is that the respondents do not have the opportunity of answering in their own words (Fowler 2002: 91). To make sure the respondents do not feel forced to choose an inaccurate alternative for the lack of a better option, I include comment boxes followed by the request 'please explain in your own words'. This way I guide the respondents to give answers inside a certain frame of

reference, while at the same time avoiding forced unreliable answers by accommodating for freer descriptions.

Questions 3 (region), 4 (ethnicity) and 8 (other associations) are open questions, which means alternative responses have not been provided to the respondents. An advantage to the use of open questions is that the answers are less likely to be influenced of manipulated in any way by the proposed alternatives, and may describe more closely the real views of the respondents (Fowler 2002: 91). In question 3, 4 and 8, potential lists of alternative answers would have been too long because there are many possible answers to the questions, and the suggested answers might give the respondents ideas they otherwise might not have thought of and thus distort the actual effect of AAVE.

Level of measurement

When measuring subjective states such as associations, there is no objective way of validating the answers (Fowler 2002: 89). Only respondents have access to their associations. Therefore, I have chosen to, for the most parts, collect ordinal data. This means that respondents place their personal response to the proposed words on a scale provided to them by the researcher (i.e. respondents are asked for instance; How likely do you think X is to describe Y?).

For the two closed questions 1 (education) and 5 (social status) I collect ordinal data by asking respondents to place themselves on a provided three-category scale (low, medium and high). This scale is unproblematic because it covers all possible answers to the questions. For questions 6 (community) and 7 (family life) I have chosen a four-category scale from *Very Likely* to *Very Unlikely*. One weakness with this scale is that there is no neutral 'in between' choice or a 'don't know' option for the respondents who do not lean to either side of the scale. The leap from 'likely' to 'unlikely' is arguably bigger that the leap from 'unlikely' to 'very unlikely'. This could result in respondents giving invalid answers because they do not find an appropriate alternative. My reason for choosing a four-category scale and for not including a 'no opinion' or 'fairly likely' alternative, is that I believe many of the respondents would be tempted to choose 'no opinion' due to the social undesirability of making statements about someone based on their dialect. Fowler (2002: 85) claims that when respondents are asked questions about their own lives or feelings, they often choose the 'no opinion' option as a statement that they are unwilling to do the work required to give an answer or when they do not feel they have the necessary knowledge to answer a question. In the case of my study, respondents might feel both that they are unwilling to

answer and that they do not have the necessary information to make statements about the dialect-speakers, and I feared the 'no opinion' alternative would be used too frequently. Instead of providing this option, I give the respondents the possibility of not answering at all or selecting more than one alternative. They can also comment on their choices in the 'comments' box for each question. Another weakness is that respondents can differ in their understanding of what the alternatives of the scale means. In that sense, there is unreliability in the measurement. However, it is safe to assume that respondents who choose 'very likely' feel that the word in focus is more likely to describe the community or family life of the dialect-user than respondents who choose 'unlikely', and therefore the measurement still has meaning.

Question 2 (time) is also a closed question, but the level of measurement in this case is nominal. For this question I collect data by providing a list of possible alternative time periods for the respondents to choose their answers from. The alternative answers are not coded because the results will be analyzed qualitatively. I will count how many respondents answered what, and from the results determine which time period is the most frequently associated with the dialect. Since I have few respondents I will look at the distribution of answers to determine the degree of consensus between the respondents.

The open questions 3 (region), 4 (ethnicity) and 8 (other associations) I collect nominal data which will be analyzed qualitatively. This will be done by looking at what the respondents have answered and looking for tendencies in the distribution of answers.

For analyzing the ordinal data from the surveys, I have constructed an index describing how the results are calculated and statistically analyzed. This index is presented in section 5.2.1. The index will display the effect of AAVE numerical to enable the process of comparing effect and determine the degree of equivalence in effect. Since the index only include the ordinal data, the qualitative analysis of the nominal data will function complementary.

4.5.3 Selection of respondents and administration of survey
I had a total of 48 respondents (N), out of which 22 represent the source audience (American) and 26 represent the target audience (Norwegian). All of the representatives of the source audience had English as their first language, while target audience participants had Norwegian as their first language. This was the only variable that was controlled for in the selection of respondents. The survey was created and administered through the online survey-design program called Survey Monkey. I created an account in Survey Monkey allowing me to develop and administer questionnaires online for a small

monthly cost. When the questionnaires were ready, the website provided me with links for each of them. These links could be attached to websites or e-mails, which made the questionnaires easy to distribute.

One of the difficulties in using the novels SKMN and TCP was that SKMN was originally published in Canada (under the original title *The Book of Negroes*) while TCP was published originally in the USA. This means that technically, the source audience for SKMN is Canadian. Nonetheless, I have chosen respondents representing the SA from the USA only. The reason for my choice is that the novel was published in the USA shortly after being published in Canada, and there were no changes made to the novel except for its title. The same language is used, and the novel is clearly intended for both Canadian and American readers (and other speakers of English). Much of the plot of the novel even takes place in the USA. For these reasons, I believe it is safe to include Americans as part of the source audience for SKMN.

Respondents were chosen through 'accidental selection'. This means that they are not selected solely by the researcher, or by the respondents themselves. Rather, both the researcher and the respondents have had some impact on the selection (Hellevik 2002: 120). The selection procedure was as follows: I used Survey Monkey to send out e-mails containing the links to the SA- questionnaires to five of my American friends, and links to the TA- questionnaires to five of my Norwegian friends, and had them forward the links to all of their friends. This method of distribution, where the respondents do not have to share answers with an interviewer, but answer a questionnaire anonymously via the Internet, is also called self-administration. The anonymity of the respondents provided by this distribution method can, according to Fowler (2009: 69), contribute to a high response rate, and a high validity of answers. For these reasons, and for being a both time- and cost-efficient way of gathering empirical data, I chose self-administration.

A possible weakness of the accidental selection method is that it does not control for bias in the way that random selection does. The sample may be non-representative of the theoretical universe. The selection from the source audience can for example have an excess of Southerners who are more accustomed to hearing AAVE than Northerners. Such a bias could create a false impression of the effect of AAVE on readers. This could potentially harm the validity of my results. If I had chosen a probabilistic approach with random selection of respondents and a large N (i.e., number of respondents), the tendencies I find would be more likely to be representative of the theoretical universe. In

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order to monitor potential selection bias, I ask respondents to state their age and where they are from in the beginning of the questionnaire form. Even though I cannot say for sure whether respondent's age and origins influence their associations to the dialect, this information gives useful knowledge of the potential influence of a possibly biased selection.

Another potential weakness of my selection is its small size. A small number of respondents have two main effects. First, the results are sensitive to outliers, i.e. respondents with extreme opinions. For example, if two out of twenty respondents have unusual opinions on social class and language, they would constitute 10 percent of my sample, and wield a large influence on my overall results. To correct for this possible effect, I use the median value, which is less sensitive to extreme values, alongside simple means to measure tendency. Second, a small N means higher statistical uncertainty. Accordingly, I take caution when generalizing my findings to the universe.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have given a detailed description of my plan for answering the research questions. To find out whether the effect of the dialect varies between the translations and the original, and to what degree potential variation in effect can be explained by the choice of strategy used to translate AAVE, I take in use the MSSD method. In this chapter, I have explained what MSSD is, why it is a suitable method for my study, and the potential weaknesses in choosing this method. The description of MSSD is followed by a review of my choice of cases to compare. I have used tables to illustrate the relevant similarities and differences between the two cases. The independent variable of the research – the choice of translation strategy – is different in the two cases, while as many other relevant factors as possible are controlled for. Since it is impossible to find two literary works that were similar in all aspects except the choice of translation strategy, there are a few differences that could possibly influence the effect. These differences and other potential weaknesses in choice of cases have been explained and discussed in the chapter.

A large part of my research consists of an attempt to measure the effect of dialect, i.e. the connotative meaning of AAVE in its original and translated form. For this reason, I have included a brief review of the previous attempts and the challenges involved in measuring connotative meaning. I have concluded that it is necessary to operationalize the effect of AAVE to be able to measure it. In this chapter, I have given a description of the theoretical concept of the effect of AAVE, and explained how I chose to operationalize the concept to

enable measurement. The result of this operationalization process was to have four questions attempt to capture the most important aspects of the theoretical concept of effect. The four questions are designed to collect ordinal data because it is the most efficient way of measuring subjective states such as associations to dialect.

Finally, I have given a more thorough description of the details of my survey design such as the kinds of questions I have asked the respondents, how I have selected respondents and how I have administered the questionnaires.

5 Analysis

In this chapter, I present and analyze the data I have collected through the surveys, and attempt to answer the research questions. The chapter is structured as follows. First, I give a brief summary of the main points of this study. Then, I present my hypotheses. Finally, I present and analyze the data. The analysis is done in two parts. First, I establish the effect of the original text on the SA (E_{SKMN} and E_{TCP}). Second, I compare the effect of the original texts on the SA with the effect of their translations on the TA (E_{NKMN} and E_{FB}), and assess 1) to what degree these effects are equivalent and 2) whether and how the degree of equivalence differs across the translations.

Presenting the SA data, I look at the distributions of answers given to each of the eight questions, and discuss to what degree the various parameters should be considered part of the effect of AAVE. Only the parameters that show a relatively *equal* effect for both SKNM and TCP are included in the subsequent assessment of equivalence of effect between original texts and translations. The reason for this is that a big difference in effect could point to associations stemming from other elements than the use of dialect. The response of the SA to the dialogue extracts from SKMN is compared to the response of the SA to the dialogue extracts from TCP. For each variable, I also discuss which of the novels seem to produce an effect that is most similar to the effect of AAVE produced by the original texts.

There are two kinds of variables in this study. First, there are variables that measure the respondents' associations to time, place and ethnicity. These are nominal, i.e. the answers cannot readily be ordered on a scale. Second, there are variables that measure the respondents' associations to social background, such as level of education and characteristics of the community in which the characters live. These are structured as ordinal variables, i.e. the respondents have been asked to assess to what degree they associate a specific word with the characters in the dialogue. I sum up the results from the ordinal variables in Table 7.

When the original effect of AAVE is established, I analyze the results from the two TA questionnaires, i.e. the effect of the translations of AAVE. I start by looking at the associations to time, place and ethnicity. Then, I consider the associations to social

background. I compare the results from the original texts with the results from their translations, and discuss the similarities and differences between them.

A quick recap

Nida's principle of equivalent effect was not the first of its kind. For centuries, translators have argued about what should be the most important criteria for translation. Many different dichotomies have been used to describe two recurring opposite poles of opinion. Should the translator aim to achieve fluency or accuracy? Should the translation be free or literal? Communicative or semantic? Dynamic or formal? All of these terms, which have been discussed in Chapter 2, revolve around the question on what makes a translation good. Naturally, there is not one simple answer to this question. Different texts call for different translations and strategies. Even though the topic is still heavily debated, we can assume that Nida's principle of equivalent response, i.e. *the manner in which the receptors of the translation text respond to the translation text must be equivalent to the manner in which the receptors of the source text respond to the source text*, is one of the ultimate goals for any translation. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to specify that the term *equivalent* does not mean identical, as the responses can never be identical across cultural and historical boundaries (House 1997: 4).

Let us assume that equivalent effect is among the ultimate goals of translation. The question of how to achieve this goal has initiated another debate. What kind of translation strategy is 'best suited' for creating equivalent effect? As we have seen in section 3.2, Venuti is among the scholars who strongly disagreed that Nida's concept of equivalent effect should be the most important criterion of translation. The reason is that he believes that many translators take in use what he sees as destructive translation strategies in order to fulfill the criterion. He has named this destructive practice of translation *domestication*. Schleiermacher's idea of two different ways of translating texts – either moving the reader towards the writer or moving the writer towards the reader – inspired Venuti to develop a new dichotomy for translation practice; domestication, which in Venuti's view is the only option if the aim is to achieve equivalent effect, and foreignization if the aim is to preserve the source culture elements and give the target audience an impression of the foreign culture in which the text was originally produced. The latter should, in Venuti's view, be the ultimate criterion for translation.

When we study Nida's principle of equivalent effect, which is explained in detail in chapter 2, we see that it involves transferring the linguistic, referential and connotative levels of

meaning that exist in the original text onto the translation. Venuti interprets the idea of achieving equivalence in connotative meaning across cultures as an impossible task if one does not take in use a domesticating practice of translation. But is domestication the only solution? Because of this interesting and complicated debate of translation strategies and criteria of translation, and the apparently opposite views of Nida and Venuti, I have taken a closer look at two cases of translation where one practices a domesticating strategy for translating the dialect AAVE, while the other practices a moderate foreignizing strategy to translate the same dialect. Is it true as Venuti claims that the only way of reaching Nida's goal of equivalent effect is to use domesticating strategies of translation, and of moving the writer towards the reader? My aim in this chapter is to prove that using domesticating translation strategies might not be the only way of achieving equivalent effect in translation. If equivalent effect can be achieved by using more foreignizing strategies, then 'ethnocentric destruction' of original texts may not be the necessary prize to pay for achieving that goal. If this is the case, and if the term 'effect' can be empirically measured to some degree, I believe Nida's principle of equivalent effect can be a useful criterion for translation, however general it may seem.

By analyzing and comparing the results of my attempt to measure the effect achieved in the minds of readers, and their response to the use of AAVE in original texts and their translations, I will try to answer the questions: Are there differences in the effect achieved in the minds of target readers when AAVE is translated by domestication as opposed to when it is translated by moderate foreignization? And can this potential variation of effect be explained by the use of different translation strategies? Perhaps my findings will make it possible to arrive at a compromise between the two strategies and a greater acceptance of equivalent effect as a criterion for translation.

5.1 Hypotheses

As stated in chapter 4, there are three possible outcomes of my study: i) The foreignizing strategy achieves a higher degree of equivalence with the ST than the domesticating strategy, ii) There are no significant difference in degree of equivalent effect achieved by either of the translation strategies, and iii) The domesticating strategy achieves a higher degree of equivalence with the ST than the foreignizing strategy. My first hypothesis is:

H1: *The domestication and foreignization strategy produce different degrees of equivalent effect in the translation of AAVE to Norwegian*, i.e. $EE_d \neq EE_f$

If it is true as Venuti claims, that the only way of achieving equivalent effect in translation is by moving the original writer towards the target audience in the sense of applying domesticating translation strategies, then the outcome of my study will show that EE_d is bigger than EE_f. In Chapter 3, we have seen examples of how dialect can be dealt with in translation. Many of the cited scholars imply that they are skeptical towards the idea of rendering source dialect by an equivalent target dialect (i.e. domesticating strategies) because of the risk of creating unwanted connotations. For this reason, I believe that in the case of dialect translation, the domesticating strategy will not create the highest degree of equivalent effect. Therefore, my second hypothesis is:

H2: *The domestication strategy does not create a higher degree of equivalent effect than the foreignization strategy in the translation of AAVE to Norwegian*, i.e. $EE_d \leq EE_f$

Both the domesticating and the foreignizing strategies have certain disadvantages when it comes to achieving equivalent effect. While the domesticating strategy can produce unwanted connotations, the foreignizing strategy can attract too much attention to the seemingly unnatural speech patterns of the characters. Rogde's choice to replace the social dialect of AAVE with a geographical Norwegian dialect in FB has the disadvantage that the Norwegian dialect might not be as able to communicate information about social conditions to the same degree as AAVE. Since the Senja dialect is geographical and not social, I believe it will create unwanted connotations that are strongly connected to Norwegian geography and culture. In my opinion the strategy used by Omland in the translation of *SKMN* is the most likely to successfully reproduce the wanted effect in the minds of the readers because it neither renders the dialect by target standard nor by a different dialect. I believe Omland's moderate foreignizing approach of using a neutral non-standard variety of Norwegian to replace the non-standard dialect of AAVE will produce a more similar effect to that produced by the original.

5.2   Effect on source audience

In order to measure the degree of equivalent effect achieved in the two translations, it is necessary to first chart the effect achieved in the minds of the source readers. Their associations to the use of AAVE in the original texts, i.e. the original effect of AAVE, will function as a yardstick against which the effect achieved in the minds of the target readers is measured. Since I use the Most Similar Systems Design method (MSSD, see section 4.3), it is necessary that all relevant factors of the original texts are similar. In this section I will present the data from the SA-questionnaires and compare the results from SKMN and TCP

to make sure that the associations produced by the use of AAVE are similar in the two novels. I start by analyzing the associations to time, place and ethnicity. Since these are nominal data, I asses them qualitatively when comparing and discussing the distribution of answers among respondents and looking for tendencies. I continue by analyzing the associations to social background.

During the analysis of the individual variables, I decide on which of the variables can be considered parts of the effect of AAVE. The parameters that differ in effect across the original texts will not be included in the effect of AAVE. This is to make sure that the effect is a result of the dialect alone, and not a result of other factors in the dialogue extracts. The overall results from the nominal and ordinal data are presented in Table 10. This, together with the statistics for each of the variables will function as the yardstick against which the effect of the translations will be measured.

5.2.1 The SA respondents
The respondents representing the source audience are between the ages 21 and 47. The majority of the respondents, 60 % (n=22), are from southern states of the USA, while 40% are from northern states. This means the selection is slightly biased, which may have consequences for the results of the survey. However, since the bias is small, I do not think it will invalidate the results. For most of the questions, the respondents have had the opportunity of ticking more than one alternative. For this reason, some of the results may show more answers that there are respondents. Not all respondents chose to answer all of the questions in both surveys, and therefore the numbers of respondents sometimes vary between SKMN and TCP results.

5.2.2 Associations to time, place and ethnicity – nominal data
Associations to time: No clear effect
The distribution of answers to the question *When do you think the following dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?* were quite scattered, and not always line with the expected effect of AAVE (i.e., the historical setting of the plot of the novels). As we can see from the bar diagram below, the twenty respondents reading the extracts from SKMN lean mostly towards the 1900s, while the 2000s and the 1800s are also popular choices. The respondents were able to tick as many alternatives as they wished, and many showed difficulty in choosing just one of the alternatives. This indicates a high degree of uncertainty among the respondents and no clear associations to time when reading extracts containing use of AAVE. Since the distribution of answers is scattered and not in

line with the plot of the novel (the plot of SKMN takes place in the 1700s and 1800s) it seems as though the time aspect is not communicated clearly through the dialect in the case of SKMN.

Table 4

Associations to time
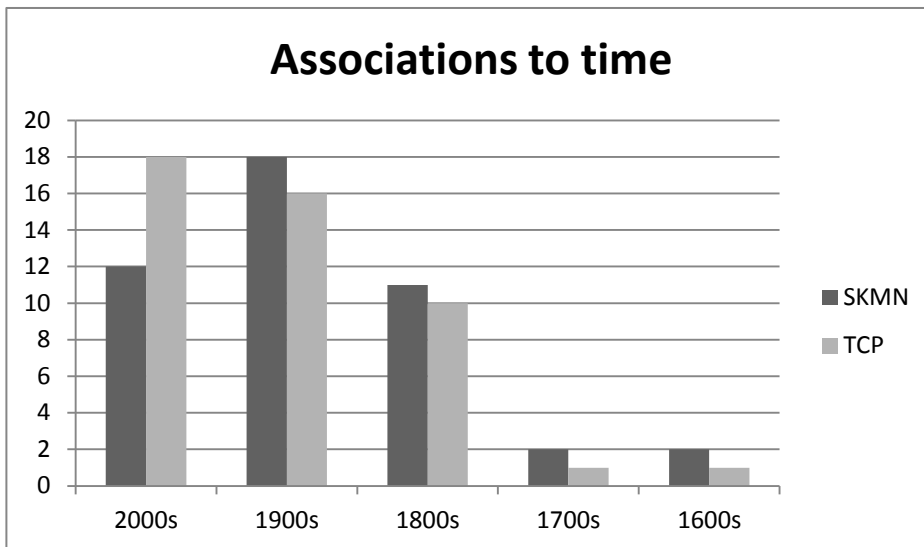
The same tendencies occur among the twenty-two readers of the TCP extracts. As we can see, the answers are scattered mostly between the 1800s, 1900s and 2000s. In this case, the associations are more in line with the plot of the novel, yet the heterogeneous distribution of answers indicates uncertainty among the respondents. Some of the respondents have used the 'comments' box to explain their answers. A recurring comment implies that the dialect extracts could have been uttered in any of the proposed periods. One respondents stated 'it reminds me of Huckleberry Finn, so it could be anywhere from 1800-1940. Depending on the context, plenty of people might say them today though' (See appendix). Another respondent stated that 'it could be any of these periods that I ticked because Black American speech developed around this time and the dialect has not died out in present time' (See appendix). These comments and the tendency of scattered answers imply that the time aspect is not a clear association to the dialect. A reason for this could be that the linguistic features present in the dialogue extracts have been common throughout the development of the dialect, and are still common today.

For the degree of equivalent effect between source texts and target texts to be high on this parameter, the response of the TA should also be scattered between the different time periods. If the TA respondents get associations to a specific time-period when the SA does

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not, this will imply a lower degree of equivalent effect between the texts due to unwanted connotations produced by the translations of AAVE.

Associations to region: The American South

Since the plot of both novels takes place in South Carolina, US, the expected effect of this parameter was that the regional aspect would be communicated through the dialect and make up part of the effect of AAVE. The answers to the question *Where do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?* are more homogeneous, and there seems to be a high degree of agreement between the respondents. The answers are also largely in line with the plot of the novels. Of the twenty respondents reading the SKMN extracts, fifteen (75%) thought the dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place in the southern states of the US. Five of the respondents included the word *rural* (which is descriptive of the American South) in their response while only two respondents used the word *urban*. Of the twenty-one respondents reading the TCP extracts, twelve (57%) thought the dialogues were meant to have taken place in the southern states of the US. Two respondents used the word *rural*, while three respondents had associations to a more urban environment.

As we can see, the majority of the respondents to both sets of dialogue extracts have associations to the southern states of the US, which indicates that the regional aspect is in fact communicated through the dialect. There is some disagreement when it comes to the rural v. urban aspect, which I will come back to in the section about associations to community. Overall, the readers' associations are relatively homogeneous and in line with the plot of the novels and I therefore include the parameter of regional associations in the effect of AAVE. I do, however, expect that this aspect will be largely lost in translation. It is likely that the TA respondents will only have associations to Norwegian regions since the characters communicate in Norwegian, albeit in non-standard varieties of Norwegian. This will be further discussed in section 5.3.2.

Associations to ethnicity: African American

Since AAVE is the social dialect spoken by African Americans in the US, I expected associations to ethnicity to be a part of the effect of the dialect. When asked the question *What kind of ethnic background do you think the characters have?* there was a high degree of agreement among the respondents. Of the twenty responses from readers of SKMN extracts, fifteen (75%) used either *African*, *African American, non white* or *Black* as words to describe the ethnic background of the fictional characters. Four of the respondents also

suggested Latino and Creole as possible ethnicities of the speakers. One of the respondents suggested that the characters could be either white or African American.

Of the twenty-two responses from readers of the TCP extracts, fourteen (64%) used either *African*, *African American*, *non-white* or *Black* to describe the ethnicity of the characters. Three of the respondents suggested that the characters could either be white or African American, while the rest either suggested Creole and other minorities or did not respond. From these results, I believe it is safe to assume that information about the characters' ethnicity and race is largely communicated through their dialect and thus a part of the effect of AAVE, and I choose to include 'African American ethnicity' in the estimate of the effect of AAVE. Since race and ethnicity is such a large part of the effect of the dialect, and there is no equivalent to the African American ethnicity in Norwegian culture, I expect that this part of the effect of AAVE will suffer significant loss in the two translations. As with the associations to region, it is highly unlikely that the associations of the TA respondents will be equivalent to those of the SA on the parameter of ethnicity. Since there is no equivalent ethnicity in Norway, the TA respondents are unlikely to suggest African American as the race of the fictional characters. The problem then is how to decide what associations can be considered equivalent. After all, equivalent does not mean identical. In section 5.3.2, I will briefly discuss this matter.

Other associations

The purpose of including this parameter was to capture associations that had not been addressed in the other parameters. Since associations are largely subjective, I can not include single statements in the effect of AAVE. Instead, I look for general tendencies in the answers that are repeated by more than one of the respondents. When asked the question *Does the way the characters speak evoke further associations that have not been mentioned?*, seven of the SKMN respondents stated additional associations such as 'gang involvement', 'stereotypes' and 'feminine', but there were no signs of agreement between the respondents, and I do not include any of these in the effect of AAVE.

Eight of the TCP respondents added further associations such as 'hillbilly' and 'crime invested', but none of the associations are repeated, and are therefore subjective opinions that cannot be included in the general effect of AAVE.

5.2.3 Associations to social background – ordinal data
Associations to education: Low

As we have seen in section 4.4.2, the parameter *education* is expected to capture some of the associative effect of AAVE. The reason is that, being a social dialect, AAVE might also say something about the levels of education of the speakers. Since most of the dialect speakers in SKMN and TCP are uneducated or have little formal education, the answer 'low level of education' is the alternative most in line with the plot of the novels. The alternative 'low' is coded 1 for the purpose of statistic analysis while the alternative 'medium' is coded 2 and 'high' is 3. When asked the question *Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the level of education of the characters?*, eighteen (90%) of the twenty respondents reading the SKMN extracts chose the alternative 'low' to describe the level of education of the fictional characters. The remaining two respondents chose 'medium' and 'high' respectively.

Of the twenty-two respondents reading the TCP extracts, twenty (90%) chose the alternative 'low', while the remaining respondents chose 'medium'. Some of the respondents commented on their answers stating that: 'While I think it's mostly cultural/ethnic/geographic, I think it's likely that their education level is low, though it is possible that highly educated people would use those dialects' (See appendix). Some express that the dialogue extracts contain 'poor English grammar', which is associated with low levels of education. The results from both groups indicate a high degree of consensus among the respondents, which is necessary in order to draw general conclusions in studies with few respondents. Since the vast majority of respondents agree that the fictional characters have little education, I believe it is safe to include information of education as part of the effect of AAVE.

In the table below, we can see, from a statistical point of view, that both mean and median are in accordance with the expected effect when it comes to associations to level of education.

Table 5

Case	SKMN	TCP
Mean	1.15	1.18
Median	1	1

From these numbers, we also see the high degree of consensus between the respondents on this matter, which supports my decision of including associations to 'low levels of education' as a part of the effect of AAVE.

Associations to social status: Low

Since AAVE qualifies as a social dialect, we may assume that information about the social status of the speakers can be communicated through the dialect. Since the fictional characters using AAVE in the two novels have in common that they are of relatively low social status in their societies, the alternative 'low' is most in line with the plot of the novels. As we have seen in section 4.4.2, the alternative 'low' is coded 1 for statistical analysis while 'medium' is coded 2 and 'high' 3.

When asked the question *Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the social status of the characters?*, the respondents reading SKMN extracts largely agreed on 'low' being the word most likely to describe the social status of the characters. Of the twenty SKMN respondents, nineteen (95%) answered 'low', while only one answered 'medium' and zero answered 'high'. This tendency indicates that associations to 'low social status' is a part of the effect of AAVE.

The same tendency is apparent from the answers of TCP respondents. Of the twenty-two responds, seventeen (77%) had selected 'low social status'. Some of the respondents had ticked more than one alternative, and the alternative 'medium' was chosen by seven respondents. Even though there is slightly less agreement when it comes to the TCP extracts, it is safe to assume that associations to 'low social status' is part of the effect of AAVE.

When we look at the results statistically, as in the table below, we see that the mean and median are low and close to 1, which indicates accordance with the expected effect.

Table 6

Case	SKMN	TCP
Mean	1.05	1.32
Median	1	1

As we can see from the mean value, there is a difference between the mean of SKMN and TCP. A possible explanation for the difference is that the TCP answers were slightly more scattered than the SKMN answers. However, the Median value tells us that the general

tendency among the respondents was the association 'low social status'. Based on these results, I choose to interpret 'low social status' as a part of the effect of AAVE.

Associations to community: Poor, homogenous and religious

Since AAVE is a social dialect, it might communicate information about the speakers' social lives, including their community. A common feature of the characters using AAVE in both SKMN and TCP is that they are members of poor, homogeneous (consisting mostly of African Americans), religious and small, rural communities. Because these characteristics are potentially communicated through the dialect, I include the variables *poor*, *homogeneous*, *religious*, *urban* and *big* in the question and ask the respondents to rate them according to how likely they are to describe the community of the fictional characters. As we have seen in section 4.4.2, the alternatives are rated in the following manner:

- Very likely = 4
- Likely = 3
- Unlikely = 2
- Very unlikely = 1

When asked to rate the word *poor*, there was a high degree of agreement between the respondents. Twelve (60%) of the twenty SKMN respondents rated it as 'very likely' to describe the community, while the remaining nine rated it as 'likely'. The same tendency was apparent among the twenty-two TCP respondents, out of whom twelve (55%) rated the word *poor* as 'very likely' to describe the community of the characters, while nine rated it as 'likely' and only one chose the alternative 'unlikely'. As we can see from the statistical chart below, the mean value of both groups is high, while the median value is 4 i.e. 'very likely'. Since the associations of both groups are similar on this point, and the majority in both groups agree that the word *poor* is 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the community of the dialect-speakers, I believe it is safe to assume that associations to 'poor community' is a part of the effect of AAVE.

When asked to rate the word *homogeneous* according to how likely it is to describe the community of the characters, the respondents gave more scattered answers, but these were still largely in accordance with the expected effect. Of the twenty SKMN respondents, thirteen (65%) rated *homogeneous* as 'likely' to describe the community, while six rated it as 'very likely'. Two chose 'unlikely' and one chose 'very unlikely'. Of the TCP respondents, nine (40%) rated this word as 'very likely', four rated it as 'likely' and the remaining nine

rated it as 'very unlikely'. Although there seems to be more disagreement among the TCP respondents on this point, we can see from Table 10 that both the mean value and the median value are close to 3 (i.e. 'likely') in both groups. I therefore include 'homogeneous community' as a part of the effect of AAVE.

Table 7

Case	SKMN	TCP
Mean		
- Poor	3.60	3.50
- Homogeneous	3.10	3.00
- Religious	3.10	2.86
- Urban	2.10	2.73
- Big	2.35	2.52
Median		
- Poor	4	4
- Homogeneous	3	3
- Religious	3	3
- Urban	2	3
- Big	2	3

When asked to rate the word *religious*, eighteen (90%) of the twenty SKMN respondents thought the community was 'likely' or 'very likely' to be religious, while three respondents rated the word as 'unlikely' to describe the community.

Of the twenty two TCP respondents, fifteen (68%) rated the word *religious* as 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the community of the characters, while seven rated it as 'unlikely'. Even though there is a slight disagreement between the respondents of this point, the mean and the median of the results are close to 3 i.e. 'likely' in both cases, and I choose to include *associations to religious community* in the effect of AAVE.

When the respondents were asked to rate the word urban according to how likely it is to describe the community of the characters, the results varied between SKMN and TCP respondents. Of the twenty SKMN respondents, fifteen (75%) rated the word *urban* as either 'unlikely' or 'very unlikely' to describe the community, while seven rated it as either 'likely' or 'very unlikely'.

Of the twenty-two TCP respondents, on the other hand, the majority or respondents – fifteen (68%) – rated the word as 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the community, while seven rated it as 'unlikely' or 'very unlikely'. This means that the TCP respondents had stronger associations of an *urban* community than the SKMN respondents even though the

linguistic features are similar in both novels. Similar tendencies were evident in several of the comments to the parameter of associations to region. A possible explanation for this is that the use of AAVE in fiction has changed in line with the conditions of life for African Americans in the US. According to Holton (1984: 95) the associations to AAVE changed when many African Americans moved to the cities in the period between 1900 and 1945. She writes: 'With the arrival of a new century came a racial rather than regional, a proletarian rather than a peasant, an urban rather than a rural identity'. This change from rural to urban identity could explain the inconsistent associations of the respondents. As was made clear in the introduction of this chapter, one of my criteria for selecting variables for assessing the degree of equivalent effect is that the effect must be relatively equal for both SKMN and TCP. Since the effect of the variable *urban* is unequal in the two novels, I will not include it in the final comparison of effect.

The same inconsistency is apparent in the results of the variable *big.* Of the twenty SKMN respondents, fifteen (68%) rated it as 'unlikely' or 'very unlikely' to describe the community of the characters, while seven rated it 'likely' or 'very likely'. Of the twenty one TCP respondents, however, we see an opposite distribution where the majority – twelve (57%) rated the word *big* as either 'likely' or 'very likely', and the remaining nine rated it 'unlikely' or 'very unlikely'. As we can see in the table above, there are similar mean and median values on this variable as with *urban.* The facts Holton mention could also be the explanation for this inconsistency. The varieties between the two source texts could also be explained as an effect of the same respondents reading both the dialogue extracts from TCP and from SKMN. It is possible that they *expected* something to be different and for that reason answered some of the questions diffrently in the two surveys. Because of the variety between SKMN and TCP responds, I choose not to include the variable *big* in the estimate of the effect of AAVE.

Association to family: Poor
Most of the characters using AAVE in the two novels are members of poor families. Since both poverty and low social status can result in unresourcefulness and single parent households, I decided to include the variables *poor, unresourceful* and *single parent* as potential parameters for the measurement of effect, to see to what degree they are associated with the family lives of AAVE users. The respondents are asked to rate the variables in the same manner as shown on page 72.

Table 8

Case	SKMN	TCP
Mean		
-Poor	3.35	3.18
-Unresourceful	2.15	2.40
-Single parent	2.35	2.70
Median		
-Poor	3	3
-Unresourceful	2	2
-Single parent	2	3

As can be seen from the table above, the variable *poor* seems to be the most obvious association to the family lives of AAVE-users. Of the twenty SKMN respondents, eighteen (90%) rated the word *poor* as 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the family lives of the characters, while two rated it 'unlikely'. This indicates a high agreement among respondents that they associate 'poor family life' with the use of AAVE. The same tendency is clear from the responds of the twenty one TCP respondents, of whom twenty (95%) rated the word *poor* as 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the family life. In the table above, we can see that the mean and median of both groups are 3 or higher (i.e. between 'likely' and 'very likely'). Because of this general agreement among the respondents, I include associations to *poor family life* in the effect of AAVE. It can be argued that in hindsight it may seem less desirable to include poor in both community and family life since it is unlikely that this would differ. On the other hand, the numbers for poor community and poor family life are not exactly the same. I therefore choose to include the variable in the comparison of degree of equivalent effect.

The results from the two variables *unresourceful* and *single parent*, on the other hand, show a more scattered distribution of answers and little consensus among the respondents. Of the twenty SKMN respondents, ten (50%) rated the word *unresourceful* as 'unlikely' to describe the family lives of the characters, while the remaining half are scattered evenly between the other alternatives. This means that the answers are too diverse to reveal any specific tendencies. A similar distribution is apparent among the answers of the twenty TCP respondents, of whom eleven (55%) have chosen the alternative 'unlikely', while the remaining nine are scattered between the other alternatives. The mean and median of both groups are between 2 and 3 (i.e. 'likely' and 'unlikely') which confirm the indefinite results.

A possible explanation for this inconsistency is that the word *unresourceful* might have been misinterpreted by some of the respondents. This is further discussed in the final paragraph of this chapter. Because of the ambiguity in the results, I will not include associations to *unresourceful family life* as part of the effect of AAVE.

A similar level of inconsistency is apparent in the results of the variable *single parent*. Of the twenty SKMN respondents, thirteen (65%) rated the word as 'unlikely' to describe the family lives of the characters, while seven rated it as 'likely'. Of the twenty TCP responds, eleven (55%) rated the word as 'likely' to describe the family lives, while the rest are distributed evenly across the other alternatives. The mean value of both groups is between 2 and 3 (i.e. 'likely' and 'unlikely'), while the median is 2 for SKMN and 3 for TCP. The distribution of answers between 'likely' and 'unlikely' confirms the lack of agreement between the respondents, while the difference in median value between the groups shows that there is inconsistency between the groups. Since I have a small selection of respondents, it is not impossible to read any obvious tendencies from these results, and I choose not to include associations to *single parent family* in the effect of AAVE.

Overall it seems as though the respondents are more reluctant to answering questions about the family lives of the characters than about their local community. This is evident in the difference in the numbers on the variables *poor community* and *poor family life*. Even though one would expect the associations to poverty would be equal in community and family life the numbers are lower on manily life than on community (see Table 9).

Table 9

	SKMN	TCP
Community – poor	3.60	3.50
Family life – poor	3.35	3.18

A possible explanation for this and for the inconsistent answers on the variable unresourceful family life is that it might be easier to make assumptions about general tendencies within a whole community than about tendencies in individual family lives based only on the characters' way of speech.

5.2.4   Conclusion

From Table 3 in section 4.4.2 we have seen a table of the expected effect of the various parameters. In the table below, we can see what proved to be the actual effect of the parameters based on the analysis above.

Table 10

Parameter		Expected effect on SA		Actual effect on SA
Education		Low level	=	Low level
Time aspect		TCP: 1700s-1800s. SKMN: 1930s	≠	No clear effect
Regional aspect		Southern states of the US	=	Southern states of the US
Ethnicity		African American	=	African American
Social status		Low level	=	Low level
Community	Poor	Very likely	=	Very likely
	Homogeneous	Very likely	≈	Likely
	Religious	Very likely	≈	Likely
	Urban	Very unlikely	≠	No clear effect
	Big	Very unlikely	≠	No clear effect
Family life	Poor	Very likely	=	Very likely
	Unresourceful	Very likely	≠	No clear effect
	Single parent	Very likely	≠	No clear effect

The actual effect of AAVE, which is presented in this table, will function as the yardstick of measurement for degree of equivalence produced by the two translations. In the following sections, I analyze the results from the two target audience surveys.

5.3 Effect on the target audience

Now that we have established the effect the use of AAVE has on the source audience, we turn to comparing this effect with the effect produced in the minds of the target audience. I expect to find that some of the original effect is lost in both translations, and that the foreignizing translation (NKMN) is more apt than domesticating translation (FB) at producing associations that are similar to those produced by the source texts. I start by analyzing the associations to time, place and ethnicity by looking at the results of each question individually and comparing the results to the results from the SA. I continue by analyzing the associations to social background and comparing the results to the results from the SA. I discuss the results and determine the effect of AAVE produced by the respective translations.

Finally, I compare the degree of equivalent effect between SA and TA on each of the parameters, and discuss which translation – the foreignizing or the domesticating – produces the most equivalent effect (i.e., the most equivalent effect on the most parameters).
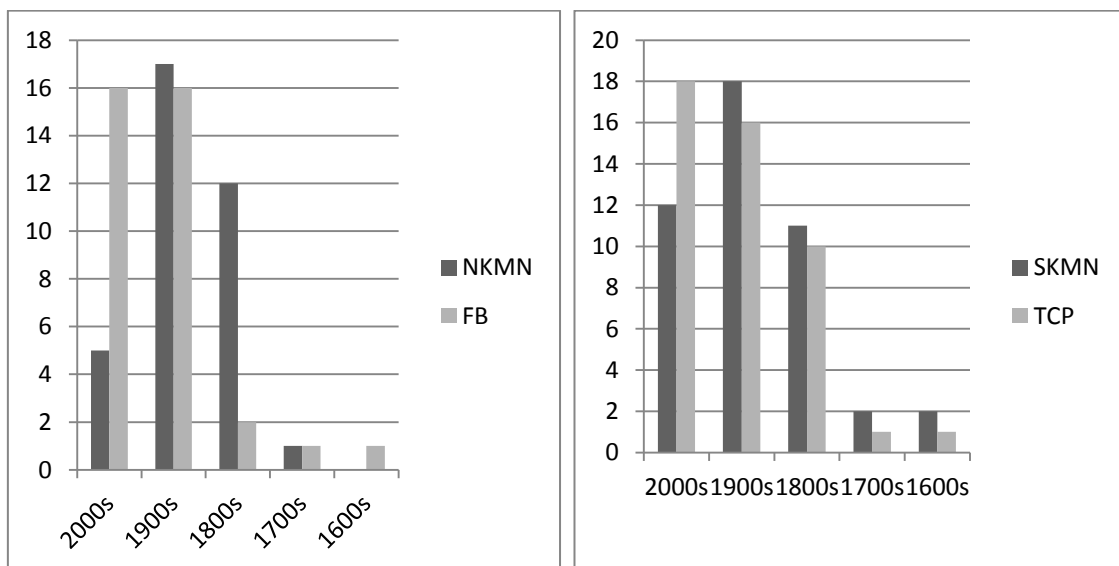
5.3.1 The TA respondents

The target audience respondents are between the ages 24 and 66. 16% of the respondents (n=25) are from Northern Norway, 36% are from Mid Norway and 40% are from Southern

Norway (two respondents did not give their origins). For most of the questions, the respondents have the opportunity of ticking more than one alternative. For this reason, some of the results may show more answers that there are respondents. As was also the case with the source audience respondents, not all of the target audience respondents have chosen to answer all of the questions in both surveys. For this reason the total number of TA respondents vary slightly between the survey results.

5.3.2 Associations to time, place and ethnicity – nominal data
Associations to time: No effect, as in originals
From the SA results, we could see that there were no clear associations to a specific time in history. For there to be equivalence on this parameter, the response of the TA should be equally scattered and unspecific.

As we can see from the tables above, the TA respondents do not seem to associate the translated dialect extracts with any specific time period. Of the twenty-six FB respondents, the majority thought the extracts were likely to be from the 1900s or the 2000s. This was also the case for the TCP respondents. Of the twenty-six NKMN respondents, the majority thought the extracts were likely to be from the 1900s or the 1800s, while the SKMN respondents thought they could be from the 2000s, 1900s or the 1800s. Since the differences here are quite small, and the answers are scattered in both groups, I conclude that both the foreignizing strategy (NKMN) and the domesticating strategy (FB) create an equal degree of equivalent effect on this parameter.

Associations to region: Not preserved in the translations of the dialect

Associations to region proved to be a part of the original effect of AAVE, and a majority of the SA respondents thought the fictional characters were from the Southern States of the USA. It is, however, unreasonable to expect that this exact association can be recreated in the minds of Norwegian readers through the use of dialect. The specific association to the American South produced by the dialect extracts from the original texts are parts of the effect of the AAVE that are impossible to recreate in the translated dialect extracts. Regardless of what kind of translation strategy is used, this effect is no longer communicated in the way the characters speak when the dialect is translated to Norwegian. It is very likely, however, that this loss is compensated for in other ways throughout the novels.

In his preface to FB (In Walker 2009), Isak Rogde wrote that he aimed at recreating parts of the associations of the dialect by analyzing Walker's intentions in using the dialect. He concluded that the original dialect was associated with a rural environment and provincialism, and aimed at reproducing this sense of rurality in his translation. To achieve this, he replaced AAVE with a non-standard dialect from Northern Norway, with potentially strong connotations to that region.

Of the twenty-five FB respondents, the majority – eighteen (75%) – thought the dialogue extracts were likely to have taken place in the North of Norway. In that sense, Rogde accomplished his goal of producing associations to provincialism and rurality. Since the southern states of America, in Rogde's opinion, also produce similar associations, one can say that the effect of FB on this point is similar to that of TCP. It is, however, difficult to decide the degree of equivalence in response on this point because the parameter does not say anything about the potential meaning of 'the American South'.

It can be argued that the TA's associations to Northern Norway for instance have a similar level of rurality and provincialism as the SA's associations to the Southern States of the US, but since this is not measured by this parameter, it is difficult to say for sure. Based on the TA's answers, I must conclude that there is low degree of equivalence between the translations of AAVE in FB and TCP when it comes to associations to region.

As expected, the specific associations to the southern states of America were lost in the foreignizing translation of NKMN as well. When asked the question *Where do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?*, seventeen (65%) of the twenty-six

NKMN respondents, used words indicating rurality (e.g. *bygda, landsbygda, på en gård, på landet* etc.). As with FB, it can be argued that these associations are potential parts of the meaning of the southern states of America. However, since this parameter does not measure the meaning of the southern states of America, I cannot say for sure. Based on the answers, there is a low degree of equivalence between the translations of AAVE in SKMN and NKMN when it comes to associations to region. The degree of equivalence is equally low between both ST – TT pairs in associations to region.

Associations to ethnicity: Not preserved in the translations of the dialect
Associations to ethnicity has proven to be a large part of the effect of AAVE on source audiences in the sense that a majority of the respondents can tell that the speakers of the dialect are African American. Naturally, these associations are culturally decided, and it is impossible to create identical associations in the minds of Norwegian readers based on a few isolated dialogue extracts. It is likely that the loss of associations to ethnicity when it comes to the translation of the dialect alone, is compensated in other ways throughout the translations.

It is hard to find an ethnicity in the Norwegian society which could be characterized as 'similar' or 'equivalent' to African American. To create similar associations in the minds of Norwegian readers one would have to analyze closely what it means to be African American in the US, and then try to recreate at least parts of that meaning in the translation. Rogde used this approach, and concluded that being African American in the US means being member of a suppressed and discriminated people or a 'minority' (In Walker 2009). According to Rogde, this is also true for the speakers of the Senja dialect, and therefore the effect of the Senja dialect may be considered similar to that of AAVE in terms of associations to suppression and minority status.

When asked the question *What kind of ethnic background do you think the characters have?* twenty-three of the twenty-four FB respondents answered 'Norwegian'. Of the twenty-six NKMN respondents, twenty-five answered 'Norwegian'. As expected, the association to African American ethnicity communicated by AAVE in the originals is not transferred to any of the translations. It is possible that readers of the FB extracts had associations to discrimination or minorities, but this is not evident in the results. Since the majority of the TA answered 'Norway' to the question about region, while the SA answered 'the southern states of America' there is equally low degree of equivalence between NKMN and SKMN as between FB and TCP in associations to ethnicity.

Other associations

Six of the FB respondents gave additional associations to the dialect such as 'Norwegian fisherman' and 'they seem young', but there is no general agreement between the respondents on either of these points and I cannot include these associations as parts of the general effect of the dialect used in the translation. If more respondents had spontaneously mentioned the same associations unaware of each other's respond, it would more likely be part of the effect of of the dialect. The same is true about the NKMN responds where there are no general tendencies among the answers.

5.3.3   Associations to social background - ordinal data

Associations to education: Foreignization > domestication

As we have seen in the SA responds to the question about education, the majority of respondents of both SKMN and TCP associate the dialect with speakers with low levels of education. The results from the TA surveys indicate a similar response among the twenty-six NKMN respondents, of whom seventeen (65%) chose the alternative 'low' to describe the level of education of the characters, while ten chose 'medium'. One of the respondents commented that the poor language ('svært dårlig språk') in the extracts indicated low levels of education.

Among the FB respondents, on the other hand, the general associations to level of education differed from those of the SA. In the group of twenty-five FB respondents, the majority – twenty-one (84%) – chose 'medium', while five chose 'low'. As we can see from the table below, there is a difference between both mean and median value of the two groups. Because of this difference and the relatively homogeneous answers in the respective groups, it is safe to assume that the response of the NKMN respondents to the dialogue extracts is more similar to the original effect of AAVE, than the response of the FB respondents.

Table 11

Case	NKMN	SKMN	FB	TCP
Mean	1.37	1.15	1.80	1.18
Median	1	1	2	1

A possible explanation for this difference is that the Senja dialect used to replace AAVE in FB is considered a regional dialect by many of the respondents, and not a social dialect in the same degree as AAVE. The fact that the characters use a geographical dialect from the North of Norway does not necessarily indicate that they have low levels of education. This

is apparent from this FB respondent's comment: 'Could be any of the alternatives. Nothing in the text indicates level of education'.

Omland's strategy of deliberate non-standard handling of grammar, on the other hand, apparently gives an impression of 'wrong grammar' and incorrect language. This effect is much more in line with the effect of a social dialect than with the effect of a geographical dialect because the respondents associate wrong grammar with low levels of education.

As we can see in Table 11, the effect produced by the domesticating strategy (in FB) is less equivalent to the effect of its source text than the effect produced by the somewhat foreignizing strategy (in NKMN) when it comes to associations to education. This means that the results from the 'education' parameter support my hypotheses that a moderately foreignizing translation strategy can be used to achieve equivalent effect in translation.

Associations to social status: Foreignization > domestication

The results from the SA surveys revealed that a majority of the respondents associated AAVE with speakers of low social status. When the same question was presented for the target audience, the opinions were more diverse. Of the twenty-six NKMN respondents, fifteen (58%) thought the characters were of low social status, twelve guessed 'medium' and one 'high'. Even though the consensus is not as obvious at this point as with the *education* variable, the numbers tell us that the most common opinion is that the characters are of low social status. This response is quite in line with the original effect of AAVE, which means that there is a relatively high degree of equivalence between SKMN and NKMN when it comes to associations to social status.

Table 12

Case	NKMN	SKMN	FB	TCP
Mean	1.52	1.05	1.84	1.32
Median	1	1	2	1

The results from the FB respondents indicate a higher degree of consensus between the respondents and a lower degree of equivalence with the original effect of AAVE. Of the twenty-five FB respondents, twenty-one (84%) thought the characters were of 'medium social status', six chose 'low' and two chose 'high'.

Looking at Table 12, we see that the degree of equivalence appears to be similar when comparing means. However, the distribution of the NKMN responses is clearly more in line with the distribution of the SA responses, something which is captured by the median.

As with the 'education' variable, a possible explanation for this difference is that the dialect used in FB is geographical, and does not produce associations to social conditions to the same degree as AAVE, which is a social dialect. FB.respondents seem more uncomfortable in making statements about social conditions than the NKMN respondents. One of the FB respondents commented that s/he does not wish to make prejudiced statements about someone just because they do not speak 'Bokmål'. This is understandable since there are many geographical dialects in Norway, but, fortunately, small social differences in society today.

In the preface of FB, Rogde explains his choice of dialect by pointing to the fact that the Senja dialect, like AAVE, is used by a suppressed people subject to discrimination. This may have been true about Northern Norwegians moving to Oslo in the 1960s, but few associate Northern Norwegian dialects with low social class today. It is possible that the associations would be different, had the survey been carried out in the 1960s.

Associations to community: Foreignization > domestication

As we have seen from the SA results, the variables *urban* and *big* did not provide any general tendencies in response of the readers, and are therefore not included in the TA results. The majority of TA respondents rated the variable *poor* as 'very likely' to describe the community of the fictional characters. Some of the effect of AAVE is lost in translation in both cases but there appears to be a higher degree of equivalence between NKMN, and SKMN than between FB and TCP. In that sense, the associations produced by the moderate foreignization strategy used in NKMN are more in line with the associations produced by its source text, than the associations produced by the domesticating strategy in FB.

Of the twenty-six NKMN respondents, the majority – sixteen (61%) – rated the word *poor* either as 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the family lives of the characters, while eleven rated it as 'unlikely' or 'very unlikely'. There might not be an overwhelming agreement between the NKMN respondents on this point, but compared to the results of the FB respondents, the associations produced by NKMN is more in line with the original effect.

Of the twenty-six FB respondents, the majority – twenty three (88%) – rated the word *poor* as either 'unlikely' or 'very unlikely' to describe the community of the dialect speakers, while three rated it as 'likely' or 'very likely'. This shows that the domesticating strategy used to translate AAVE in this case fails to elicit associations of 'poor community' that are produced in the minds of the SA. As can be seen in Table 13, the mean value is

higher in the NKMN group than the FB group, and while the median is 3 (i.e. 'likely') in the NKMN group, it is only 2 (i.e. 'unlikely') in the FB group.

Table 13

Case	NKMN	SKMN	FB	TCP
Mean				
- Poor	2.81	3.60	2.12	3.50
- Homogeneous	2.70	3.10	2.62	3.00
- Religious	2.56	3.10	2.19	2.86
Median				
- Poor	3	4	2	4
- Homogeneous	3	3	3	3
- Religious	3	3	2	3

When it comes to the variable *homogeneous*, the results of both groups are largely in accordance with the original effect of AAVE. Compared to the SA however, there is not the same level of consensus in the TA. While approximately 95% of the SKMN respondents found the word *homogeneous* as 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the community, only nineteen (73%) of the twenty-six NKMN respondents chose 'likely' or 'very likely' and the remaining seven were scattered between the other alternatives.

There was a similar response among the twenty-six FB respondents, of whom sixteen (61%) rated *homogeneous* as 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the community, while the remaining ten chose either 'unlikely' or 'very unlikely'. As we can see from the numbers in Table 13, the mean values are a little lower than they were in the SA results, but the median values are the same for all groups. Based on these results, the associations concerning homogeneity of community are similar in both NKMN and FB, and the results are similar to the response of the SA. On this point, there seems to be no difference in the degree of equivalence produced by either translation strategy.

From the results of the variable *religious*, it seems as though the foreignizing strategy of NKMN again succeeds in producing the response most similar to that of the SA. The general tendency among the SA was that the community of the characters was likely to be religious. Of the twenty-six NKMN respondents, fifteen thought the word *religious* was 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the community of the characters, while twelve respondents chose either 'unlikely' or 'very unlikely'. Even though this distribution of answers does not indicate total agreement, the number of respondents choosing 'likely' or

'very likely' among the NKMN respondents is significantly higher than among the FB respondents.

Of the twenty-six FB respondents, none of the respondents chose 'very likely', only eight (30%) chose 'likely', while eighteen chose either 'unlikely' or 'very unlikely'. As we can see from the median value, there is a slight difference between the two translations. From these results, I believe it is safe to assume that NKMN produces the highest degree of equivalent response between ST and TT when it comes to associations to religious community.

Associations to family: Foreignization > domestication

As we have seen from the SA results, the variables *unresourceful* and *single parent* did not provide any general tendencies in response of the readers, and are therefore not included in the TA results. The variable *poor*, on the other hand revealed the tendency that the majority of SA respondents found the word *poor* either 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the family lives of the characters. A similar tendency is apparent in the results of the NKMN respondents. Of the twenty-six NKMN respondents, sixteen (61%) found the word *poor* either 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the family lives of the characters, ten chose 'unlikely' and one chose 'very unlikely'. As we can see from Table 14, the mean value is close to 3, i.e. 'likely', and the median is 3, which is the same as the median for SKMN.

Table 14

Case	NKMN	SKMN	FB	TCP
Mean - Poor	2.70	3.35	2.00	3.18
Median - Poor	3	3	2	3

Of the twenty six FB respondents, on the other hand, only three (11%) found the word *poor* 'likely' or 'very likely' to describe the family lives of the characters, while the remaining twenty three rated it as 'unlikely' or 'very unlikely'. As we can see from the table above, the mean is lower than that of NKMN and the median is 2, i.e. 'unlikely'.

Again, a possible explanation for the difference is that the Senja dialect in FB does not produce associations about the social conditions of the lives of the speakers because it is not considered a social dialect. Based on these results, the associations produced in the minds of the NKMN respondents are more in accordance with the effect produced by its

source text, SKMN. In other words there is a higher degree of equivalence produced by the (moderately) foreignizing strategy.

5.4   Conclusion

Three main conclusions emerge from this analysis: 1)In the translation of AAVE, there is little equivalence between the TT – ST pairs regarding associations to place and ethnicity, 2) there is a substantial degree of equivalence of effect achieved in the minds of the readers of SKMN and the readers of its Norwegian translation NKMN regarding associations to social background, and 3) the (moderately) foreignization strategy used in NKMN has, on most of the parameters in this case, proved more apt than the domestication strategy at achieving equivalent effect in the translation of AAVE. The results are summarized in Table 13.

Table 15

Parameter		Actual effect on SA	Effect on TA - foreignization	Effect on TA - domestication
Time, place and ethnicity:				
Time		No clear effect	**No clear effect**	**No clear effect**
Place		Southern states	Norway	Norway
Ethnicity		African American	Norwegian	Norwegian
Social background:				
Education		Low level	**Low level**	Medium level
Social status		Low level	**Low level**	Medium level
Commu nity	Poor	Very likely	**Likely**	Unlikely
	Homogeneous	Likely	**Likely**	**Likely**
	Religious	Likely	**Likely**	Unlikely
Family life	Poor	Very likely	**Likely**	Unlikely

3.1.1 Little equivalence between the TT – ST pairs regarding associations to place and ethnicity

There is no decisive difference between the FB and NKMN respondents in associations to the variables *ethnicity* or *region.* The majority of respondents to both the NKMN and the FB survey answered 'Norwegian' to the question about the characters' ethnicity, which is not equivalent to the prevailing association of 'African American ethnicity' among the SA. Some might argue that there is some degree of equivalent effect in the readers' associations to ethnicity that are not captured in the translation of the dialect alone. The

data collected about TA readers' associations to ethnicity and region are naturally incomparable to the SA readers' associations, and it would be unreasonable to expect a different result. The reason for this is that, based on the translated dialogue extracts alone, in which the characters speak a Norwegian language variety, there is no information suggesting that the characters are African American. Most likely, however, this effect is preserved elsewhere in the novel, and is not completely lost. However, based on the results of the parameter, I must conclude that the effect of AAVE connecting the dialect to the southern states of America is completely lost in both translations.

This is also the case with the results from the *region* parameter. The majority of TA respondents suggested different regions in Norway when asked where they thought the dialogues might have taken place. Since the characters in the Norwegian translations speak in Norwegian language varieties, it would have been unreasonable to expect the TA to have associations to a region in the US. However, the associations to a specific region in the US are most likely preserved elsewhere in the translation, and are in reality not completely lost. Most likely, the readers of the complete novels would understand that the story takes place in the southern states of America through for instance geographical names etc. This information is unavailable to the readers of the isolated dialogue extracts. Omland stated in an interview that many of the things that are lost in the translation of dialect are compensated for in other places in the novel. This means that even though the results of my surveys show zero equivalent effect in associations to region, it is likely that the effect is attended to elsewhere in the translation. Based on the survey results, however, I must conclude that neither of the two translation strategies manages to produce equivalence in the translation of AAVE when it comes to associations to region.

There was an interesting difference between the answers of NKMN respondents and FB respondents when it came to associations to region. The FB respondents had clear associations to Northern Norway, while the NKMN respondents had less geographically specific suggestions such as 'rural environment', etc. It can be argued that such strong associations to a specific region in the target culture can be regarded as what Hatim and Mason called 'unwanted associations'. Problems like these are parts of the reason for Venuti's criticism of the aim for equivalent effect in translation. He was convinced that the aim for equivalent effect in translation would lead to use of domesticating strategies that again would undermine the foreign aspects of the original text and result in ethnocentrical adaptations of foreign texts, tailor-made to fit the frame of reference of the target

audience. On this particular parameter, Venuti's theory is confirmed. However, as we will see in the following sections, Venuti's statement that domesticating strategies are the only way of achieving equivalent effect is disproven.

Another problem that is illustrated in the analysis of these nominal data has to do with the measurement of effect. As we have seen in section 2.3.1 one of the arguments in the debate revolving Nida's principle of equivalent effect was that it is impossible to measure. Like Juliane House stated: 'if it cannot be tested, it seems fruitless to postulate the requirement, and the appeal to 'equivalence of response' is of no more value than the philologists' criterion of 'capturing the spirit of the original' ' (House 1981: 9).

From the results of the parameters measuring associations to ethnicity and region it is apparent that subjective states like associations to dialect are difficult to measure empirically, and it is difficult to objectively decide if equivalence in fact has been achieved. The answer to this problem is to collect ordinal data from the respondents. As we will see in the following section, the associations produced by AAVE that are collected *ordinally* are more readily compared across respondents and therefore a more convenient method for assessing degree of equivalent effect between original and translation.

3.1.2 Substantial degree of equivalence of effect regarding associations to social background

Not all responses are easily measured and compared. However, the ordinal data collected about respondents' associations to social background are quantifiable and can therefore be more easily compared than the nominal data collected on associations to place and ethnicity.

Since AAVE qualifies as a social dialect, it naturally communicates much information about social conditions. As we have seen from the analysis, the foreignizing strategy used by Omland in NKMN proved the most apt at producing associations to social background that were equivalent to those in the minds of the SA. The results showed that Omland's (moderately) foreignizing strategy produces the most equivalent response on both *education* and *social status*. This was also the case for the *community – poor* and *community – religious* variables. There was no difference between the two strategies on the *community – homogeneous* variable. On the *family life – poor* variable, Omland's strategy also achieved a higher degree of equivalence.

From these results we can sum up that the (moderately) foreignizing strategy for translating AAVE into Norwegian creates more similar associations in the minds of the readers than the domesticating strategy on all but one of the parameters measuring associations to social background. One explanation for this is that Rogde's strategy for translating AAVE, which is a *social dialect*, is by replacing it with a Norwegian *geographical dialect*. As we have seen in the explanation of the terms *social*, *temporal* and *geographical* dialect in section 3.1, the evoked meaning can differ significantly from dialect to dialect depending on where, when and by whom it is used. In the case of Rogde's translation of *The Color Purple*, the Norwegian readers do not associate the Senja dialect with particularly low social status or low levels of education of the speakers. For the most parts they only associate it with Northern Norway. Omland's strategy, on the other hand, does not create strong associations to region, but the non-standard handling of grammar is associated with low levels of education and low social status of its speakers.

3.1.3 Foreignization more apt than domestication at producing equivalent effect – contrasting hypotheses and evidence

At the start of this chapter I set forth the following hypotheses:

1. *The domesticating and foreignizing strategies produce different degrees of equivalent effect in the translation of AAVE to Norwegian.*

2. *The domesticating strategy does not produce a higher degree of equivalent effect than the foreignizing strategy in the translation of AAVE to Norwegian.*

Based on the analysis, there is a difference in degree of equivalent response between the two translations. The strategy used by Omland in NKMN produces the most equivalent response on almost all of the social-background variables. As we have seen in the previous sections, the major disadvantage of the domesticating translation strategy may therefore be explained by the geographical nature of the Senja dialect which has been chosen to replace AAVE. Since Rogde has used a dialect from Northern Norway to translate AAVE, it is possible that respondents from this part of Norway have more neutral associations to the dialect because they are more familiar with its use, and are aware that the dialect does not necessarily imply lower socio-economic status today.

The MSSD method used to select cases, ensures that *translation strategy* is the only relevant difference between the translations, which means that the degree of equivalent response correlates with the choice of translation strategy. This confirms my first hypothesis (H1).

Since the associations of the NKMN respondents are more in accordance with the effect of AAVE on the source audience than the associations of the FB respondents on almost all of the variables concerning social background, and this variance can most likely be explained by choice of translation strategy, my interpretation is that the moderate foreignizing strategy used by Omland in NKMN is more apt at recreating the effect of AAVE in the original, than the domesticating strategy used by Rogde in FB. This confirms my second hypothesis (H2).

6 Summary

The first aim of this thesis has been to study whether the choice of translation strategy in translation of the dialect African American Vernacular English affects the degree of equivalent effect between the source text and target text.

Nida's criterion of equivalent effect in translation has been criticized for mainly three reasons: (1) it is unobtainable in practice, (2) it is an unmeasurable concept, and (3) the aim for equivalent effect leads to an increasing use of domesticating strategies.

The third of these arguments has been of particular interest in this study. Venuti claimed that the aim for equivalent effect in translation was harmful to source texts because, in his view, the only way to achieve equivalent effect is by applying what he called domesticating strategies. In his mind, the translators' aim should be to better the cultural understanding between cultures by applying what he called foreignizing translation strategies.

The second aim of my thesis has been to study which of the two strategies, foreignization and domestication, is more apt at creating equivalent effect between source text and target text in the translation of the social dialect AAVE. I have chosen to study the translation of this dialect because it is often used specifically to produce certain associations in the minds of the readers. These associations are parts of the effect of the dialect. My aim was to find out which of the two translation strategies managed to recreate the most similar associations in the minds of the target readers as those produced in the minds of the source readers. It is important to remember that there are different views on what constitutes a foreignizing approach. The one applied by Omland in his translation of *Someone Knows My Name* is only moderately foreignizing, if we can see it as a matter of degree.

I used the Most Similar Systems Design Method to select two original novels that contained use of AAVE. By using the MSSD method I made sure that the use of AAVE in the two original texts were as similar as possible, and that the only difference between them was the strategy that had been used to translate the dialect to Norwegian. This was to make sure that the effect on the source audience readers was a result of the dialect, and that of the potential differences in effect on the target audience readers was because of the

choice of translation strategy. The choice fell on the novels *Someone Knows My Name* by Lawrence Hill and *The Color Purple* by Alice walker.

After closely analysing the use of AAVE in the two novels, I found that both of the respective writers had used the dialect to add authenticity to their fictional characters. The characters using AAVE had similar socio-cutlural backgrounds in that they were poor, uneducated, of African descent etc. The plot of both novels took place in the same geographical area, namely South Carolina, USA. The translators of the novels had used two different strategies for translating the dialect. In the Norwegian translation of *The Color Purple*, translator Isak Rogde had used a domesticating strategy of applying a geographical dialect from the North of Norway to replace AAVE. In the Norwegian translation of *Someone Knows My Name*, translator Stian Omland had used a (moderately) foreignizing strategy of applying a non-standard handling of the standard Norwegian grammar.

To assess the degree of equivalent effect between the text pairs, I took in use a response-oriented assessment method. Since the effect of the dialect is produced in the minds of the readers, the best way of accessing these associations was by asking a set of respondents how their minds responded to the dialect. I used questionnaires to gather information about the readers' associations to the dialect which was presented to them in eight dialogue extracts from the respective novels. The dialogue extracts from the two original texts, which were presented to the respondents, were carefully selected. It was important that the extracts did not reveal anything about the socio-cultural background of the characters besides from what was communicated indirectly through their dialect. The translated versions of the extracts had to display the difference in translation strategies.

The set of source audience respondents were asked to read dialogue extracts from each of the novels and answer a number of questions about how they perceived the fictional charactes based on their way of speech. The questions were farmulated based on an operationalization of the effect of AAVE, dividing it into different variables such as associations to region, ethnicity, level of education, social status, etc. The translated versions of the same dialogue extracts were presented to a set of target audience respondents who in turn were asked to answer the same questions about their perception of the fictional characters.

I analyzed and compared the results from the source audience and the target audience. It was important that the associations produced in the mids of the source audience were

similar regardless of which novel the extracts were taken from. If not, the effect could not have been produced by the dialect, which was similar in both novels, but by another irrelevant factor. The answers that were similar in the source audience were then compared to the answers from the target audience.

By analyzing the results I came to the following conclusions:

1. Based on the analysis of the nominal data, there was low degree of equivalence in both ST-TT pairs regarding TA readers' associations to place and ethnicity.

2. A substantial degree of the original effect of AAVE regarding social background was transferred to the translated texts.

3. The moderate foreignization strategy was more apt than the domestication strategy at achieving equivalent effect in the translation of AAVE, at least regarding associations to social background.

The associations to region (the American South) and etnicity (African American), which were produced in the minds of the source readers by the dialogue extracts alone, were completely lost in the translations of the dialect extracts regardless of the strategy that had been used. Associations to socio-cultural background, on the other hand, were to some degree produced in the minds of the target readers. The results form my comparison of answers showed that the associations produced in the minds of the readers of dialogue extracts from the Norwegian translation of *Someone Knows My Name* were generally more in accordance with the associations in the minds of the readers of the original text than the associations in the minds of the readers of dialogue extracts from the Norwegian translation of *The Color Purple*. This means that the moderate foreignizing strategy applied by Omland in *Noen Kjenner Mitt Navn* proved more apt at producing equivalent effect with its source text when it came to associations to socio-cultural background than the domesticating strategy applied by Rogde in *Fargen Bortenfor*.

I believe the results from my study show that the degree of equivalent effect achieved between a translation and its original is largely affected by the choice of translation strategy applied. The results show that, in translation of the dialect AAVE, the domesticating strategy is not allways the best strategy for achieving equivalent effect. This disproves Venuti's claim that domesticating strategies are the only way of achieving equivalent effect in translation.

The results of my study contibute to disprove some of the major arguments in the debate about equivalent effect as criterion in translation. Since it is possible to achieve equivalent effect in translation without applying what Venuti referred to as destructive and ethnocentrical domesticating translation strategies, I believe Nida's principle of equivalent effect in translation is not necessarily a harmful concept leading to an undermining of foreign aspects.

The results of my research, have also shown that it is, to a certain degree, possible to assess translation quality with a focus on degree of equivalent effect. Even though measuring effect is difficult because it involves the measuring of subjective states such as associations, it is possible as long as one collects comparable data (ordinal data are best suited for comparing subjective associations), and as long as one acknowledges the double-bind relationship between source text and target text. Since it has proven possible to empirically measure the degree of equivalent effect achieved between source texts and target texts, I believe Larose's claim that Nida's principle of equivalent effect is impossible to measure and therefore a fruitless requirement to postulate has also been disproven in this thesis.

Because of this, I believe the concept of equivalent effect can be used as a criterion for translation. As long as the double-bind relationship between source texts and target texts are acknowledged in the assessment it is possible to use similar methods as the one applied in this thesis to assess the degree of equivalent effect between source and target texts on other textual aspects than just dialect translation. If for example a critic feels that the translation of a novel is bad because he suspects that some of the effect of the source text is lost in the tranlation, it is possible to empirically test whether or not this is true. This could be done by for instance having larger numbers of source and target audience respondents read whole sections of original novels and their translated versions, and answer questions about the associations produced in their minds when they read the text. Naturally, to gather data, analyse them and compare the results is a time-consuming process, but a feasible one nonetheless.

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7 Appendix

1.

1. Where are you from?

<div style="border:1px solid #ccc; background:#eee; height:2em;"></div>

2. How old are you?

<div style="border:1px solid #ccc; background:#eee; height:2em;"></div>

Below you will find extracts of direct speech between fictional characters. Please read them and answer the questions about how you regard the fictional characters based on the way they speak. Please try and answer as honestly as possible even if you think your answers might be politically uncorrect. Do not hesitate to use the 'Comments' boxes if you wish to specify your answers.

"Your feets too swole fuh them red shoes"

"Brother done steal the hog"

"Let go my hand, girl"

"He be back, honey chile"

"Evil ain't got no roof"

"She busy as a bird wit' nest"

"She done learn so fast"

"You got a long ways to go"

3. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the level of education of the characters?

☐ Low

☐ Medium

☐ High

Comments (Please use your own words to specify)

<div style="border:1px solid #ccc; background:#eee; height:5em;"></div>

4. When do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place? You may tick as many altertatives as you like.

☐ 2000's

☐ 1900's

☐ 1800's

☐ 1700's

☐ 1600's

Comments (Please use your own words to specify)

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5. Where do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?

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6. What kind of ethnic background do you think the characters have?

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7. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the social status of the characters?

☐ Low

☐ Medium

☐ High

☐ Comments (Please use your own words to specify)

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8. How likely do you think the following words are to describe the community in which the characters live?

	Very likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very unlikely
Poor	☐	☐	☐	☐
Homogeneous	☐	☐	☐	☐
Religious	☐	☐	☐	☐
Urban	☐	☐	☐	☐
Big	☐	☐	☐	☐

Comments (Please use your own words to specify)

9. How likely do you think the following words are to describe the family life of the characters?

	Very likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very unlikely
Poor	☐	☐	☐	☐
Unresourceful	☐	☐	☐	☐
Single parent	☐	☐	☐	☐

Comments (Please use your own words to specify)

10. Does the way the characters speak evoke further associations that have not been mentioned? Please use your own words to specify.

Thank you for taking the time to participate!

1.

1. Hvor er du fra?

[   ]

2. Hvor gammel er du?

[   ]

Utdragene nedenfor er eksempler på direkte tale mellom oppdiktede personer hentet fra en roman. Vennligst les utdragene og svar på spørsmålene om hvordan du oppfatter personene basert på deres talemåte. Bruk gjerne kommentar-feltet hvis du ønsker det.

"Dem føtta dine er for hovne tel dem røde skoa"

"Han broren har stjært grisen"

"Slipp handa mi, jente"

"Han kommer tebake, lille søte"

"Det onde har ikke noen grense"

"Hu er så travel som en fugl med reir"

"Hu lærer så fort"

"Du har langt igjen"

3. Hvilket av alternativene nedenfor tror du best beskriver personenes grad av utdanning?

☐ Lav grad

☐ Middels grad

☐ Høy grad

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)

[   ]

4. Når tror du dialogene skal ha funnet sted? Huk av så mange alternativer du vil.

☐ 2000-tallet

☐ 1900-tallet

☐ 1800-tallet

☐ 1700-tallet

☐ 1600-tallet

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)

5. Hvor tror du dialogene skal ha funnet sted?

6. Hva slags etnisk bakgrunn tror du personene har?

7. Hvilket av alternativene nedenfor tror du best beskriver personenes sosiale status?

☐ Lav

☐ Middels

☐ Høy

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)

8. I hvor stor grad tror du ordene nedenfor beskriver samfunnet personene lever i?

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad
Fattig	☐	☐	☐	☐
Homogent	☐	☐	☐	☐
Religiøst	☐	☐	☐	☐
Urbant	☐	☐	☐	☐
Stort	☐	☐	☐	☐

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)

9. I hvor stor grad tror du ordene nedenfor beskriver familiesituasjonen til personene?

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad
Fattig	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ressurssvak	☐	☐	☐	☐
Eneforelder	☐	☐	☐	☐

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)

10. Får du andre assosiasjoner til personenes talemåte?

Tusen takk for at du tok del i undersøkelsen!

1.

1. Where are you from?

[   ]

2. How old are you?

[   ]

Below you will find extracts of direct speech between fictional characters. Please read them and answer the questions about how you regard the fictional characters based on the way they speak. Please try and answer as honestly as possible even if you think your answers might be politically uncorrect. Do not hesitate to use the 'Comments' boxes if you wish to specify your answers.

"Naw, she say. I don't miss nothing"

"She ast me where they is"

"Where she at?"

"I don't know nothing bout it"

"I ain't gonna"

"I sure hope you done change your mind"

"Yeah, it bees that way sometime"

"How you all?"

3. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the level of education of the characters?

☐ Low

☐ Medium

☐ High

Comments (Please use your own words to specify)

[   ]

4. When do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place? You may tick as many altertatives as you like.

☐ 2000's

☐ 1900's

☐ 1800's

☐ 1700's

☐ 1600's

Comments (Please use your own words to specify)

[ ]

5. Where do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?

[ ]

6. What kind of ethnic background do you think the characters have?

[ ]

7. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the social status of the characters?

☐ Low

☐ Medium

☐ High

☐ Comments (Please use your own words to specify)

[ ]

8. How likely do you think the following words are to describe the community in which the characters live?

	Very likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very unlikely
Poor	☐	☐	☐	☐
Homogeneous	☐	☐	☐	☐
Religious	☐	☐	☐	☐
Urban	☐	☐	☐	☐
Big	☐	☐	☐	☐

Comments (Please use your own words to specify)

9. How likely do you think the following terms are to describe the family life of the characters?

	Very likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very unlikely
Poor	☐	☐	☐	☐
Unresourceful	☐	☐	☐	☐
Single parent	☐	☐	☐	☐

Comments (Please use your own words to specify)

10. Does the way the charachters speak evoke further associations that have not been mentioned? Please use your own words to specify.

Thank you for taking the time to participate!

Survey 2b

1.

1. Hvor er du fra?

[   ]

2. Hvor gammel er du?

[   ]

Utdragene nedenfor er eksempler på direkte tale mellom oppdiktede personer hentet fra en roman. Vennligst les utdragene og svar på spørsmålene om hvordan du oppfatter personene basert på deres talemåte. Bruk gjerne kommentar-feltet hvis du ønsker det.

"Næ, sa ho. Eg savne ingenting"

"Kor e dem? spurte ho meg"

"Kor ho e hen?"

"Eg veit ikkje noka om sånt"

"Eg vil ikkje"

"Eg håpe førr all del at du har skifta meining"

"Javesst, sånn e det av og te"

"Korsen har dokker det"

3. Hvilket av alternativene nedenfor tror du best beskriver personenes grad av utdanning?

☐ Lav grad

☐ Middels grad

☐ Høy grad

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)

[   ]

4. Når tror du dialogene skal ha funnet sted? Huk av så mange alternativer du vil.

☐ 2000-tallet

☐ 1900-tallet

☐ 1800-tallet

☐ 1700-tallet

☐ 1600-tallet

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)

5. Hvor tror du dialogene skal ha funnet sted?

6. Hva slags etnisk bakgrunn tror du personene har?

7. Hvilket av alternativene nedenfor tror du best beskriver personenes sosiale status?

☐ Lav

☐ Middels

☐ Høy

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)

8. I hvor stor grad tror du ordene nedenfor beskriver samfunnet personene lever i?

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad
Fattig	☐	☐	☐	☐
Homogent	☐	☐	☐	☐
Religiøst	☐	☐	☐	☐
Urbant	☐	☐	☐	☐
Stort	☐	☐	☐	☐

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)

9. I hvor stor grad tror du ordene nedenfor beskriver familiesituasjonen til personene?

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad
Fattig	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ressurssvak	☐	☐	☐	☐
Eneforelder	☐	☐	☐	☐

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)

10. Får du andre assosiasjoner til personenes talemåte?

Tusen takk for at du tok del i undersøkelsen!

Survey 1a

1. Where are you from?

	Response Count
	20
answered question	20
skipped question	0

2. How old are you?

	Response Count
	20
answered question	20
skipped question	0

3. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the level of education of the characters?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Low		90,0%	18
Medium		5,0%	1
High		5,0%	1
Comments (Please use your own words to specify)			4
answered question			20
skipped question			0

4. When do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place? You may tick as many altertatives as you like.

		Response Percent	Response Count
2000's		60,0%	12
1900's		**90,0%**	**18**
1800's		55,0%	11
1700's		10,0%	2
1600's		10,0%	2
	Comments (Please use your own words to specify)		4

answered question	20
skipped question	0

5. Where do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?

	Response Count
	20
answered question	20
skipped question	0

6. What kind of ethnic background do you think the characters have?

	Response Count
	20
answered question	20
skipped question	0

7. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the social status of the characters?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Low		95,0%	19
Medium		5,0%	1
High		0,0%	0
Comments (Please use your own words to specify)		10,0%	2
	answered question		20
	skipped question		0

8. How likely do you think the following words are to describe the community in which the characters live?

	Very likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very unlikely	Response Count
Poor	**60,0% (12)**	45,0% (9)	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	20
Homogeneous	30,0% (6)	**65,0% (13)**	10,0% (2)	5,0% (1)	20
Religious	25,0% (5)	**65,0% (13)**	15,0% (3)	0,0% (0)	20
Urban	10,0% (2)	25,0% (5)	**55,0% (11)**	20,0% (4)	20
Big	5,0% (1)	20,0% (4)	**65,0% (13)**	10,0% (2)	20
Comments (Please use your own words to specify)					1
answered question					20
skipped question					0

9. How likely do you think the following words are to describe the family life of the characters?

	Very likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very unlikely	Response Count
Poor	**45,0% (9)**	**45,0% (9)**	10,0% (2)	0,0% (0)	20
Unresourceful	5,0% (1)	30,0% (6)	**50,0% (10)**	20,0% (4)	20
Single parent	0,0% (0)	35,0% (7)	**65,0% (13)**	0,0% (0)	20
			Comments (Please use your own words to specify)		2

answered question	20
skipped question	0

10. Does the way the characters speak evoke further associations that have not been mentioned? Please use your own words to specify.

	Response Count
	7

answered question	7
skipped question	13

	S1. Where are you from?	
1	Vermont, United States of America	Sep 23, 2011 11:01 AM
2	East Brunswick, New Jersey, USA	Sep 23, 2011 9:16 AM
3	Massachusetts	Sep 23, 2011 8:17 AM
4	Columbus Ohio	Sep 23, 2011 7:37 AM
5	Brea, California	May 31, 2011 11:03 AM
6	CA	May 30, 2011 8:10 PM
7	Dallas, Texas, USA	May 30, 2011 6:25 PM
8	Baton Rouge, Louisiana	May 19, 2011 12:14 PM
9	I grew up in Baton Rouge, LA, but currently live in Bethel, CT	May 18, 2011 3:57 PM
10	louisiana	May 18, 2011 1:01 PM
11	Maryland	May 18, 2011 12:22 PM
12	New Orleans, LA	May 18, 2011 10:50 AM
13	Birmingham, Alabama, USA	May 18, 2011 1:47 AM
14	Baton Rouge, LA	May 17, 2011 6:18 AM
15	New Orleans	May 17, 2011 5:15 AM
16	Chicago	May 16, 2011 7:03 PM
17	Tampa	May 16, 2011 5:56 PM
18	United States, Louisiana, New Orleans	May 16, 2011 5:44 PM
19	Upstate NY	May 16, 2011 4:46 PM
20	Baton Rouge, Louisiana, USA	May 16, 2011 3:07 PM

	S2. How old are you?	
1	21	Sep 23, 2011 11:01 AM
2	22	Sep 23, 2011 9:16 AM
3	21	Sep 23, 2011 8:17 AM
4	21	Sep 23, 2011 7:37 AM
5	24	May 31, 2011 11:03 AM
6	42	May 30, 2011 8:10 PM
7	25	May 30, 2011 6:25 PM
8	27	May 19, 2011 12:14 PM
9	35	May 18, 2011 3:57 PM
10	27	May 18, 2011 1:01 PM
11	27	May 18, 2011 12:22 PM
12	49 y.o.	May 18, 2011 10:50 AM
13	26	May 18, 2011 1:47 AM
14	23	May 17, 2011 6:18 AM
15	26	May 17, 2011 5:15 AM
16	23	May 16, 2011 7:03 PM
17	26	May 16, 2011 5:56 PM
18	27	May 16, 2011 5:44 PM
19	26	May 16, 2011 4:46 PM
20	26	May 16, 2011 3:07 PM

S3. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the level of education of the characters?

1	Some of these sentences are in a dialect that indicate little formal English education.	May 19, 2011 12:14 PM
2	"Brother done steal the hog"	May 17, 2011 5:15 AM
3	Incorrect grammar is used. Although this could be code switching--the language is cultural, not educational.	May 16, 2011 5:56 PM
4	at least low FORMAL education. I don't think it necessarily indicates the intelligence of the characters.	May 16, 2011 4:46 PM

S4. When do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place? You may tick as many altertatives as you like.

1	possibly 1990s	Sep 23, 2011 9:16 AM
2	Reminds me of dialogue from Huckleberry Finn, so it could be anywhere from 1800-1940. Depending on the context, plenty of people might say some them today, though.	May 19, 2011 12:14 PM
3	It could be any of these periods that I ticked because Black American speech developed around this time and the dialect has not died out in present time.	May 18, 2011 1:47 AM
4	most likely the late 1800s or early to mid 1900s, but some phrases still said presently	May 16, 2011 4:46 PM

S5. Where do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?		
1	They seemed as though they were steriotypical from the southern states of the US	Sep 23, 2011 11:01 AM
2	It could be on the street or in a school or a club. It makes me think most likely in an urban setting.	Sep 23, 2011 9:16 AM
3	In the South	Sep 23, 2011 8:17 AM
4	In the southern part of the United States	Sep 23, 2011 7:37 AM
5	the South	May 31, 2011 11:03 AM
6	Rural south	May 30, 2011 8:10 PM
7	Urban community, USA	May 30, 2011 6:25 PM
8	In the American South before the civil rights era, anytime between 1800-1950.	May 19, 2011 12:14 PM
9	The south	May 18, 2011 3:57 PM
10	american south somewhere	May 18, 2011 1:01 PM
11	South, or in areas of poverty	May 18, 2011 12:22 PM
12	Southern U.S.	May 18, 2011 10:50 AM
13	In the South of the United States probably.	May 18, 2011 1:47 AM
14	The American South	May 17, 2011 6:18 AM
15	Rural South	May 17, 2011 5:15 AM
16	A yard, front porch, in rural setting	May 16, 2011 7:03 PM
17	I have no idea.	May 16, 2011 5:56 PM
18	Southern United States	May 16, 2011 5:44 PM
19	the rural South	May 16, 2011 4:46 PM
20	In a rural area in the southern US	May 16, 2011 3:07 PM

	S6. What kind of ethnic background do you think the characters have?	
1	religious, southern Americans	Sep 23, 2011 11:01 AM
2	I think low income, most likely black or latino in an urban setting. These are just stereotypes but it is what comes to mind.	Sep 23, 2011 9:16 AM
3	African American	Sep 23, 2011 8:17 AM
4	I think they are mostly likely African American	Sep 23, 2011 7:37 AM
5	White, African-American	May 31, 2011 11:03 AM
6	Don't know	May 30, 2011 8:10 PM
7	African American or Latino	May 30, 2011 6:25 PM
8	Primarily African-American, with a few exception. Anybody could say "you got a long ways to go."	May 19, 2011 12:14 PM
9	African-American	May 18, 2011 3:57 PM
10	african american	May 18, 2011 1:01 PM
11	Non white, or uneducated	May 18, 2011 12:22 PM
12	African American	May 18, 2011 10:50 AM
13	Black	May 18, 2011 1:47 AM
14	African American	May 17, 2011 6:18 AM
15	Creole	May 17, 2011 5:15 AM
16	Some type of minority- black, creloe	May 16, 2011 7:03 PM
17	I have no idea.	May 16, 2011 5:56 PM
18	African or Poor EuroSouthern American	May 16, 2011 5:44 PM
19	African American	May 16, 2011 4:46 PM
20	African American	May 16, 2011 3:07 PM

	S7. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the social status of the characters?	
1	They're probably poor people who have little or no political/economic power.	May 19, 2011 12:14 PM
2	"Brother done steal the hog"	May 17, 2011 5:15 AM

S8. How likely do you think the following words are to describe the community in which the characters live?

1	Could be Urban or not.	May 18, 2011 12:22 PM

S9. How likely do you think the following words are to describe the family life of the characters?

1	We have absolutely no insight into whether there are many single parents in this community.	May 19, 2011 12:14 PM
2	probably quite resourceful with what they have but not how mainstream society views wealth.	May 16, 2011 4:46 PM

S10. Does the way the characters speak evoke further associations that have not been mentioned? Please use your own words to specify.

1	they seem like the steriotypical way that someone would represent aomeone who was poor and from the south.	Sep 23, 2011 11:01 AM
2	I think of possible gang involvement, however some of these judgements may be do to movies or TV.	Sep 23, 2011 9:16 AM
3	This dialog makes me think of African American people imitating their ancestors for comedic relief	Sep 23, 2011 7:37 AM
4	No, just reflects a lack of education and/or positive role models who speak English well.	May 30, 2011 6:25 PM
5	Reminds me of novels like Beloved - people don't really speak like that today, and if they do, it's older people and is pretty uncommon.	May 19, 2011 12:14 PM
6	some of them evoke more association with gender. for some reason, "He be back, honey chile" seems more feminine to me.	May 18, 2011 1:01 PM
7	All have been mentioned	May 18, 2011 12:22 PM

Survey 1b

1. Hvor er du fra?

	Response Count
	24
answered question	**24**
skipped question	**1**

2. Hvor gammel er du?

	Response Count
	24
answered question	**24**
skipped question	**1**

3. Hvilket av alternativene nedenfor tror du best beskriver personenes grad av utdanning?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Lav grad		**64,0%**	**16**
Middels grad		40,0%	10
Høy grad		0,0%	0
	Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)		7
		answered question	**25**
		skipped question	**0**

4. Når tror du dialogene skal ha funnet sted? Huk av så mange alternativer du vil.

		Response Percent	Response Count
2000-tallet		20,0%	5
1900-tallet		**68,0%**	**17**
1800-tallet		44,0%	11
1700-tallet		4,0%	1
1600-tallet		0,0%	0
	Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)		4

answered question	25
skipped question	0

5. Hvor tror du dialogene skal ha funnet sted?

	Response Count
	25
answered question	25
skipped question	0

6. Hva slags etnisk bakgrunn tror du personene har?
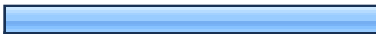
	Response Count
	25
answered question	25
skipped question	0

7. Hvilket av alternativene nedenfor tror du best beskriver personenes sosiale status?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Lav		**56,0%**	**14**
Middels		48,0%	12
Høy		4,0%	1
	Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)		5

answered question	**25**
skipped question	**0**

8. I hvor stor grad tror du ordene nedenfor beskriver samfunnet personene lever i?

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad	Response Count
Fattig	16,0% (4)	**56,0% (14)**	36,0% (9)	0,0% (0)	25
Homogent	12,0% (3)	**64,0% (16)**	16,0% (4)	8,0% (2)	25
Religiøst	8,0% (2)	**52,0% (13)**	28,0% (7)	16,0% (4)	25
Urbant	4,0% (1)	20,0% (5)	28,0% (7)	**48,0% (12)**	25
Stort	4,0% (1)	12,0% (3)	**60,0% (15)**	24,0% (6)	25
	Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)				2

answered question	**25**
skipped question	**0**

9. I hvor stor grad tror du ordene nedenfor beskriver familiesituasjonen til personene?

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad	Response Count
Fattig	12,0% (3)	**48,0% (12)**	40,0% (10)	4,0% (1)	25
Ressurssvak	20,0% (5)	**36,0% (9)**	32,0% (8)	16,0% (4)	25
Eneforelder	4,0% (1)	16,0% (4)	**60,0% (15)**	24,0% (6)	25

Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)	1

answered question	**25**
skipped question	**0**

10. Får du andre assosiasjoner til personenes talemåte?

	Response Count
	10

answered question	**10**
skipped question	**15**

S1. Hvor er du fra?		
1	Østfold	Sep 23, 2011 5:32 AM
2	Norge/Oslo	Sep 23, 2011 5:29 AM
3	Oslo	Sep 23, 2011 5:26 AM
4	Bærum	Sep 23, 2011 4:45 AM
5	Norge	Sep 23, 2011 4:33 AM
6	Oslo	Jul 4, 2011 10:20 AM
7	Trondheim	Jun 30, 2011 1:27 PM
8	Alta	Jun 30, 2011 8:58 AM
9	Larvik	Jun 30, 2011 7:41 AM
10	Oslo	Jun 30, 2011 5:07 AM
11	Stryn	Jun 20, 2011 11:42 AM
12	Hordaland	Jun 19, 2011 4:42 AM
13	Molde	Jun 18, 2011 1:05 PM
14	Gausdal	Jun 18, 2011 2:55 AM
15	Saltdal	Jun 17, 2011 4:00 PM
16	Stryn	Jun 17, 2011 12:40 PM
17	Stryn	Jun 17, 2011 10:16 AM
18	Drammen	Jun 17, 2011 12:28 AM
19	Bergen	Jun 16, 2011 8:14 AM
20	Longyearbyen	Jun 16, 2011 3:50 AM
21	Kristiansand	Jun 16, 2011 3:47 AM
22	Solør	Jun 16, 2011 1:40 AM
23	Molde	Jun 16, 2011 1:36 AM
24	Norge	Jun 16, 2011 1:15 AM

S2. Hvor gammel er du?		
1	66	Sep 23, 2011 5:32 AM
2	54	Sep 23, 2011 5:29 AM
3	55	Sep 23, 2011 5:26 AM
4	24	Sep 23, 2011 4:45 AM
5	30	Sep 23, 2011 4:33 AM
6	25	Jul 4, 2011 10:20 AM
7	24	Jun 30, 2011 1:27 PM
8	25	Jun 30, 2011 8:58 AM
9	27	Jun 30, 2011 7:41 AM
10	26	Jun 30, 2011 5:07 AM
11	29	Jun 20, 2011 11:42 AM
12	28	Jun 19, 2011 4:42 AM
13	49	Jun 18, 2011 1:05 PM
14	26	Jun 18, 2011 2:55 AM
15	28	Jun 17, 2011 4:00 PM
16	28	Jun 17, 2011 12:40 PM
17	28	Jun 17, 2011 10:16 AM
18	23	Jun 17, 2011 12:28 AM
19	27	Jun 16, 2011 8:14 AM
20	26	Jun 16, 2011 3:50 AM
21	25	Jun 16, 2011 3:47 AM
22	23	Jun 16, 2011 1:40 AM
23	23	Jun 16, 2011 1:36 AM
24	25	Jun 16, 2011 1:15 AM

S3. Hvilket av alternativene nedenfor tror du best beskriver personenes grad av utdanning?

1	Svært dårlig språk i de fleste eksemplene - indikerer lav utdannelse, men kan også være dialekt f eks fra Østfold/Vestfold	Sep 23, 2011 5:32 AM
2	Typisk øskantspråk, ofte med lav utdannelse, men kan også være dialekt.	Sep 23, 2011 5:29 AM
3	Språket høres ut som gammel middelklasse, kanskje ikke så stor forskjell i dag?	Jul 4, 2011 10:20 AM
4	Bruker assosiasjonar og då kan det tyde på at ein er litt reflektert.	Jun 19, 2011 4:42 AM
5	..men det er to utsagn som skiller seg ut - "det onde har ikke noen grense" og "du har langt igjen". Dette er standardspråk, og ligner ikke på noen dialekt.	Jun 18, 2011 2:55 AM
6	"Hu"-setningene for meg er ganske vanlige, saa det sier egentlig ingenting om utdanning for min del (jeg sier det jo selv). Det er "tel" og "tebake" som gjor at jeg merker godt at personen har dialekt, i tillegg til "dem". "Fotta" sier jeg selv, men jeg ville heller sagt "de fotta". Allikevel saa er dette smaating synes jeg, saa det sier ikke noe fra eller til om utdanning, derfor har jeg merket av paa "middels grad".	Jun 17, 2011 12:28 AM
7	Litt grovkornet språk pluss bruken av similer og ordtakslignende sitater, veldig muntlig språk	Jun 16, 2011 3:50 AM

S4. Når tror du dialogene skal ha funnet sted? Huk av så mange alternativer du vil.

1	Pga kommentar nr. 2, trur eg det er ei stund sidan	Jun 19, 2011 4:42 AM
2	Jeg innbiller meg at norsken paa 1800-tallet hadde flere vanskelige, eller annerledes ord enn de som er i dialogen, men dette er bare gjetning.	Jun 17, 2011 12:28 AM
3	sent 1800-tall eller tidlig 1900-tall. Mye pga bruken av dialekt i skriftlig språk og i tillegg referanser til bondemiljøet	Jun 16, 2011 3:50 AM
4	Høres litt ut som noe Alf Prøysen karakterer ville sagt.	Jun 16, 2011 1:36 AM

	S5. Hvor tror du dialogene skal ha funnet sted?	
1	I et fabrikkmiljø, men hvor folk også holder dyr	Sep 23, 2011 5:32 AM
2	Enten østkanten i Oslo eller Hedmarken.	Sep 23, 2011 5:29 AM
3	I gamle Kristiania - nede ved kaia	Sep 23, 2011 5:26 AM
4	På bygda	Sep 23, 2011 4:45 AM
5	På landsbygda	Sep 23, 2011 4:33 AM
6	I større by, men i underklassedelen der.	Jul 4, 2011 10:20 AM
7	Nord-Norge	Jun 30, 2011 1:27 PM
8	I sør-Norge	Jun 30, 2011 8:58 AM
9	Østlandet	Jun 30, 2011 7:41 AM
10	Trøndelags området	Jun 30, 2011 5:07 AM
11	På østlandet	Jun 20, 2011 11:42 AM
12	Østlandet	Jun 19, 2011 9:50 AM
13	Telemark	Jun 19, 2011 4:42 AM
14	Innad i en familie, eller andre som står hverandre nær	Jun 18, 2011 1:05 PM
15	Hedmark	Jun 18, 2011 2:55 AM
16	på landsbygda	Jun 17, 2011 4:00 PM
17	På bygda	Jun 17, 2011 12:40 PM
18	På bygda	Jun 17, 2011 10:16 AM
19	Om den fant sted paa 1900tallet, saa sier jeg Buskerud, Drammen feks, fordi jeg vet at de snakka mer bredt der for. Om det er paa 2000tallet ville jeg sagt mer Hamar og lenger opp.	Jun 17, 2011 12:28 AM
20	I nørheten av Trondheim	Jun 16, 2011 8:14 AM
21	På en gård	Jun 16, 2011 3:50 AM
22	Østlandet	Jun 16, 2011 3:47 AM
23	Oslo. el. omegn	Jun 16, 2011 1:40 AM
24	Kanskje i Gudbrandsdalen?	Jun 16, 2011 1:36 AM
25	På landet	Jun 16, 2011 1:15 AM

	S6. Hva slags etnisk bakgrunn tror du personene har?	
1	De er norske	Sep 23, 2011 5:32 AM
2	Norske	Sep 23, 2011 5:29 AM
3	Norsk	Sep 23, 2011 5:26 AM
4	Norsk	Sep 23, 2011 4:45 AM
5	Norsk	Sep 23, 2011 4:33 AM
6	Norsk	Jul 4, 2011 10:20 AM
7	Norsk	Jun 30, 2011 1:27 PM
8	Norsk	Jun 30, 2011 8:58 AM
9	NorsK	Jun 30, 2011 7:41 AM
10	Ingen formening, men de snakker jo norsk..	Jun 30, 2011 5:07 AM
11	norsk	Jun 20, 2011 11:42 AM
12	Kan være norske	Jun 19, 2011 9:50 AM
13	Norske bønder	Jun 19, 2011 4:42 AM
14	Norsk	Jun 18, 2011 1:05 PM
15	Norske, oppvokst på landet.	Jun 18, 2011 2:55 AM
16	norske	Jun 17, 2011 4:00 PM
17	Norsk	Jun 17, 2011 12:40 PM
18	Norsk	Jun 17, 2011 10:16 AM
19	Norsk	Jun 17, 2011 12:28 AM
20	Norsk	Jun 16, 2011 8:14 AM
21	Nordmenn	Jun 16, 2011 3:50 AM
22	Norsk	Jun 16, 2011 3:47 AM
23	Norsk	Jun 16, 2011 1:40 AM
24	Norsk	Jun 16, 2011 1:36 AM
25	Norsk	Jun 16, 2011 1:15 AM

S7. Hvilket av alternativene nedenfor tror du best beskriver personenes sosiale status?

1	Noen av setningene indikerer høyere utdannelse	Sep 23, 2011 5:32 AM
2	Veit ikkje kvifor	Jun 19, 2011 4:42 AM
3	Se kommentar ovenfor om utdanning.	Jun 17, 2011 12:28 AM
4	ordtakene og måten setningene er formulert på	Jun 16, 2011 3:50 AM
5	Pga. ordvalget. Ikke dialektmessig, men språket er veldig direkte, uten noen høflighetsfraser.	Jun 16, 2011 1:40 AM

S8. I hvor stor grad tror du ordene nedenfor beskriver samfunnet personene lever i?

1	Men synes dette er vanskelig å vurdere, og om jeg skal ta hensyn til ordene i utsagnene eller kun dialekten.	Jun 18, 2011 2:55 AM
2	Hmm, jeg synes ikke kommentarene sier saa veldig mye om samfunnet er fattig eller urbant. Jeg har allerede definert setningene som dialekter, derfor er det ikke et stort samfunn tror jeg. Jeg tror samfunnet er homogent, mest kanskje fordi jeg tenker naa at dialogen er paa 60tallet for oljen, velferdsstat og sosialdemokrati. Jeg synes setningene sier lite om det er et religiost samfunn, de snakker om det onde, men det trenger ikke aa si saa mye nodvendigvis om samfunnet.	Jun 17, 2011 12:28 AM

S9. I hvor stor grad tror du ordene nedenfor beskriver familiesituasjonen til personene?

1	Tihi Silje, jeg forstaar mer konteksten naa etter sporsmaalene dine, men etter forsteinntrykket maa jeg si at jeg ikke tenkte at de var noen av de tre punktene nevnt ovenfor.	Jun 17, 2011 12:28 AM

S10. Får du andre assosiasjoner til personenes talemåte?		
1	Tenker på Oscar Braathens fabrikkmiljøer	Sep 23, 2011 5:32 AM
2	Nei	Sep 23, 2011 5:29 AM
3	Tenker Oscar Braaten-bøkene..	Sep 23, 2011 5:26 AM
4	Nei	Jul 4, 2011 10:20 AM
5	Nei	Jun 30, 2011 1:27 PM
6	vildanden..	Jun 30, 2011 8:58 AM
7	Ser forsåvidt for meg bygde-Norge..	Jun 30, 2011 5:07 AM
8	Nei	Jun 20, 2011 11:42 AM
9	Talemåten er sterkt preget av dialekt, særlig feil bruk av pronomenet "dem" blir lagt merke til. Det er vanlig å høre blant ungdommer fra østkanten i Oslo og Akershus.	Jun 19, 2011 9:50 AM
10	At personene er avslappa, direkte, personlige og kjaerlige.	Jun 17, 2011 12:28 AM

Survey 2a

1. Where are you from?

	Response Count
	22
answered question	**22**
skipped question	**0**

2. How old are you?

	Response Count
	22
answered question	**22**
skipped question	**0**

3. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the level of education of the characters?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Low		**90,9%**	**20**
Medium		18,2%	4
High		0,0%	0
	Comments (Please use your own words to specify)		7

answered question	**22**
skipped question	**0**

4. When do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place? You may tick as many altertatives as you like.

		Response Percent	Response Count
2000's		**81,8%**	**18**
1900's		72,7%	16
1800's		45,5%	10
1700's		4,5%	1
1600's		4,5%	1
	Comments (Please use your own words to specify)		6

answered question	22
skipped question	0

5. Where do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?

	Response Count
	21
answered question	21
skipped question	1

6. What kind of ethnic background do you think the characters have?

	Response Count
	22
answered question	22
skipped question	0

7. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the social status of the characters?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Low		**77,3%**	17
Medium		31,8%	7
High		4,5%	1
Comments (Please use your own words to specify)		40,9%	9
		answered question	22
		skipped question	0

8. How likely do you think the following words are to describe the community in which the characters live?

	Very likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very unlikely	Response Count
Poor	**54,5% (12)**	40,9% (9)	4,5% (1)	0,0% (0)	22
Homogeneous	**40,9% (9)**	18,2% (4)	**40,9% (9)**	0,0% (0)	22
Religious	18,2% (4)	**50,0% (11)**	31,8% (7)	0,0% (0)	22
Urban	22,7% (5)	**45,5% (10)**	13,6% (3)	18,2% (4)	22
Big	4,8% (1)	**52,4% (11)**	33,3% (7)	9,5% (2)	21
Comments (Please use your own words to specify)					5
				answered question	22
				skipped question	0

9. How likely do you think the following terms are to describe the family life of the characters?

	Very likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very unlikely	Response Count
Poor	23,8% (5)	**71,4% (15)**	4,8% (1)	0,0% (0)	21
Unresourceful	5,0% (1)	35,0% (7)	**55,0% (11)**	5,0% (1)	20
Single parent	10,0% (2)	**55,0% (11)**	35,0% (7)	5,0% (1)	20
			Comments (Please use your own words to specify)		5

answered question	21
skipped question	1

10. Does the way the charachters speak evoke further associations that have not been mentioned? Please use your own words to specify.

	Response Count
	8

answered question	8
skipped question	14

	S1. Where are you from?	
1	Detroit, Michigan, USA	Jun 14, 2011 2:17 PM
2	Washington, DC USA	Jun 1, 2011 7:08 AM
3	new york city	May 31, 2011 5:35 PM
4	Chicago, Illinois -- USA	May 31, 2011 12:46 PM
5	Brea, California	May 31, 2011 10:51 AM
6	New Orleans/Washington, D.C.	May 31, 2011 4:31 AM
7	Texas	May 30, 2011 8:34 PM
8	Most recently--California, but I grew up in Florida and lived in the Midwest (MI & IL) and Seattle for	May 30, 2011 8:07 PM
9	Dallas, Texas	May 30, 2011 7:24 PM
10	Dallas, Texas. USA	May 30, 2011 7:22 PM
11	Texas, USA	May 30, 2011 6:23 PM
12	Baton Rouge, LA	May 19, 2011 12:22 PM
13	Grew up in Baton Rouge, LA, currently live in Bethel, CT	May 18, 2011 3:59 PM
14	louisiana	May 18, 2011 1:08 PM
15	Maryland	May 18, 2011 12:24 PM
16	Birmingham, Alabama, USA	May 18, 2011 1:50 AM
17	New Orleans, LA	May 17, 2011 5:23 AM
18	Chicago	May 16, 2011 7:04 PM
19	Tampa Florida	May 16, 2011 5:58 PM
20	United States, Louisiana, New Orleans	May 16, 2011 5:45 PM
21	Upstate NY	May 16, 2011 4:53 PM
22	Baton Rouge, Louisiana, USA	May 16, 2011 3:05 PM

	S2. How old are you?	
1	57	Jun 14, 2011 2:17 PM
2	60	Jun 1, 2011 7:08 AM
3	26	May 31, 2011 5:35 PM
4	25	May 31, 2011 12:46 PM
5	24	May 31, 2011 10:51 AM
6	22	May 31, 2011 4:31 AM
7	23	May 30, 2011 8:34 PM
8	42	May 30, 2011 8:07 PM
9	25	May 30, 2011 7:24 PM
10	24	May 30, 2011 7:22 PM
11	25	May 30, 2011 6:23 PM
12	27	May 19, 2011 12:22 PM
13	35	May 18, 2011 3:59 PM
14	27	May 18, 2011 1:08 PM
15	27	May 18, 2011 12:24 PM
16	26	May 18, 2011 1:50 AM
17	26	May 17, 2011 5:23 AM
18	23	May 16, 2011 7:04 PM
19	26	May 16, 2011 5:58 PM
20	27	May 16, 2011 5:45 PM
21	26	May 16, 2011 4:53 PM
22	26	May 16, 2011 3:05 PM

S3. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the level of education of the characters?

1	While I think it's mostly cultural/ethnic/geographic, I think it's likely their education level is low, though it's possible that highly educated people would use those dialects.	Jun 14, 2011 2:17 PM
2	While use of regional or cohort-based slang isn't a perfect indicator of educational attainment (for instance, some slang can be 'charming' and may be used by educated people to influence others), poor grammar or mispronunciations can often lead to presumptions about a subject's a.) educational level or b.) attitude towards education in general.	May 31, 2011 12:46 PM
3	Poor English grammar, likely from a low-income area	May 31, 2011 4:31 AM
4	Just to let you know, the title of your survey is tipping me off, so I know that the utterances are from Afr-Am individuals in the south in the early 1900s. And that the level of Ed will be low, based on my socio-historical understanding, not just linguistics.	May 30, 2011 8:07 PM
5	Problems with subject-verb agreement, spelling, general grammar.	May 30, 2011 6:23 PM
6	Could be both "low" and "medium," though the word "bees" as used in the sentence above is pretty darn rare.	May 19, 2011 12:22 PM
7	these seem like a different selection than the others, more contemporary somehow.	May 18, 2011 1:08 PM

S4. When do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place? You may tick as many altertatives as you like.

1	Certain extracts could have taken place during any era; however, given what seems to be a combination of "Black" slang and "Southern White" my mind wanders towards Pre-Civil War USA.	May 31, 2011 12:46 PM
2	Late 1800s, early 1900s	May 30, 2011 8:07 PM
3	1990s-present, specifically.	May 30, 2011 6:23 PM
4	I say "I ain't gonna" and "Where she at?"	May 19, 2011 12:22 PM
5	The Black English dialect started probably in the 1800s and continues to this day.	May 18, 2011 1:50 AM
6	later 1900s to 2000s	May 16, 2011 4:53 PM

	S5. Where do you think these dialogue extracts are meant to have taken place?	
1	Southern US	Jun 14, 2011 2:17 PM
2	USA - anywhere	Jun 1, 2011 7:08 AM
3	anywhere	May 31, 2011 5:35 PM
4	Based on the above answer, 1800's Southern USA, south of the Mason-Dixon line. The extracts above sound like something out of a Mark Twain novel.	May 31, 2011 12:46 PM
5	the South	May 31, 2011 10:51 AM
6	Could be anywhere, maybe the deep south	May 31, 2011 4:31 AM
7	Either in a neighborhood or at a day job during work	May 30, 2011 8:34 PM
8	See my earlier comments . . . Rural south	May 30, 2011 8:07 PM
9	Not sure a place. Inner city probably.	May 30, 2011 7:24 PM
10	In an alley or low-scale apartment.	May 30, 2011 7:22 PM
11	Urban communities, USA	May 30, 2011 6:23 PM
12	Somewhere in the American South.	May 19, 2011 12:22 PM
13	Louisiana	May 18, 2011 3:59 PM
14	american south	May 18, 2011 1:08 PM
15	New Orleans!	May 18, 2011 12:24 PM
16	Most likely in the southern states of the USA.	May 18, 2011 1:50 AM
17	Could be anywhere. Maybe the Caribbean.	May 17, 2011 5:23 AM
18	no clue	May 16, 2011 5:58 PM
19	Southern United States	May 16, 2011 5:45 PM
20	mmm, could be South, but just as easily urban or suburban as country. Could also be the North, somewhat rural.	May 16, 2011 4:53 PM
21	In a rural area and probably in the southern US	May 16, 2011 3:05 PM

	S6. What kind of ethnic background do you think the characters have?	
1	All kinds possible	Jun 14, 2011 2:17 PM
2	African-American	Jun 1, 2011 7:08 AM
3	black	May 31, 2011 5:35 PM
4	Perhaps split between African-American and Caucasian/Non-Hispanic White.	May 31, 2011 12:46 PM
5	White, African-American	May 31, 2011 10:51 AM
6	Minority	May 31, 2011 4:31 AM
7	African	May 30, 2011 8:34 PM
8	African-american	May 30, 2011 8:07 PM
9	I really couldn't say.	May 30, 2011 7:24 PM
10	Most likely african-american.	May 30, 2011 7:22 PM
11	African American	May 30, 2011 6:23 PM
12	I think these are less specifically characteristic of African-American vernacular. In the previous survey, there were words like "chile," which is how many people write a particularly African-American dialectical enunciation of the word "child."	May 19, 2011 12:22 PM
13	White, creole	May 18, 2011 3:59 PM
14	could be a mix, this time. i say some of these things and i'm white.	May 18, 2011 1:08 PM
15	non-white or general uneducated	May 18, 2011 12:24 PM
16	Black	May 18, 2011 1:50 AM
17	Creole	May 17, 2011 5:23 AM
18	black	May 16, 2011 7:04 PM
19	no idea.	May 16, 2011 5:58 PM
20	African or Poor EuroSouthern American	May 16, 2011 5:45 PM
21	I've heard both White and Black people talk like that.	May 16, 2011 4:53 PM
22	African American	May 16, 2011 3:05 PM

S7. Which of the following words do you think are likely to best describe the social status of the characters?

1	Could be any or all of the above.	Jun 14, 2011 2:17 PM
2	Probably low socio-economic status when compared to national as a whole; potentially rural folk.	May 31, 2011 12:46 PM
3	Their social status within their peer group may be high.	May 31, 2011 4:31 AM
4	What words? This question is very confusing.	May 30, 2011 8:07 PM
5	Depends. The Individual's social status within their peer group could vary. However, if compared to society as a whole it is probably low.	May 30, 2011 7:22 PM
6	I feel like their parents aren't well-educated either.	May 30, 2011 6:23 PM
7	They sound poor.	May 19, 2011 12:22 PM
8	I feel like these could be more mixed level of social status, as they don't seem as deeply rooted to collaqual language. They've been adapted by groups that maybe didn't 'originally' use them.	May 18, 2011 1:08 PM
9	could be wrong. if said in my culture today, would likely be poor african american, but who knows, maybe this was speech of elites a long time ago.	May 16, 2011 5:58 PM

S8. How likely do you think the following words are to describe the community in which the characters live?

1	Again, any and all of the above are possible.	Jun 14, 2011 2:17 PM
2	Again, I'm somewhat limiting my assumptions to pre-Civil War South, wherein most black or white subjects would be lower income, associate in homogenous cohorts but live in mixed communities or households, religious upbringing, probably not incredibly well-fed.	May 31, 2011 12:46 PM
3	Following words is confusing . . . You meant the utterances that were presented earlier, yes?	May 30, 2011 8:07 PM
4	Some of these I'd say "unsure."	May 30, 2011 6:23 PM
5	maybe small urban area but also country	May 16, 2011 4:53 PM

S9. How likely do you think the following terms are to describe the family life of the characters?

1	New Orleans family life and public school systems are a great example	May 31, 2011 4:31 AM
2	Now you use the word, terms, but I see no terms in this item.	May 30, 2011 8:07 PM
3	I really didn't know what to think concerning "unresourceful" or "single parent"	May 30, 2011 7:24 PM
4	The "single parent" issue is again very difficult to tell.	May 19, 2011 12:22 PM
5	I think it could go either way in terms of single or 2 parent homes.	May 16, 2011 4:53 PM

S10. Does the way the charachters speak evoke further associations that have not been mentioned? Please use your own words to specify.

1	Black, hillbillies	Jun 14, 2011 2:17 PM
2	I tend to believe that the characters are more likely from the southern US than from the north.	Jun 1, 2011 7:08 AM
3	It depends on the context. If I were to shift focus to my next most likely assumption, I'd say the characters could perhaps be modern, urban African-Americans. I don't take any pleasure in this prejudiced thought -- the characters could easily be poor, Appalachian Whites -- but nonetheless it's a stereotype that does exist.	May 31, 2011 12:46 PM
4	Minority, low-income, crime invested, poor education, lack of job	May 31, 2011 4:31 AM
5	not that I can think of	May 30, 2011 8:34 PM
6	Poor and uneducated are the two biggest words that come to mind.	May 30, 2011 7:24 PM
7	No.	May 30, 2011 6:23 PM
8	"How you all?" sounds like a tight ass northerner making fun of southerners. Nobody says 'you all.' It's y'all.	May 18, 2011 1:08 PM

Survey 2b

1. Hvor er du fra?

	Response Count
	26
answered question	**26**
skipped question	**0**
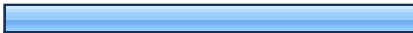
2. Hvor gammel er du?

	Response Count
	26
answered question	**26**
skipped question	**0**

3. Hvilket av alternativene nedenfor tror du best beskriver personenes grad av utdanning?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Lav grad		20,0%	5
Middels grad		**84,0%**	**21**
Høy grad		0,0%	0
	Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)		2
		answered question	**25**
		skipped question	**1**

4. Når tror du dialogene skal ha funnet sted? Huk av så mange alternativer du vil.

		Response Percent	Response Count
2000-tallet		61,5%	16
1900-tallet		61,5%	16
1800-tallet		7,7%	2
1700-tallet		3,8%	1
1600-tallet		3,8%	1
	Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)		2

answered question	26
skipped question	0

5. Hvor tror du dialogene skal ha funnet sted?

	Response Count
	25
answered question	25
skipped question	1

6. Hva slags etnisk bakgrunn tror du personene har?

	Response Count
	24
answered question	24
skipped question	2

7. Hvilket av alternativene nedenfor tror du best beskriver personenes sosiale status?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Lav		24,0%	6
Middels		**84,0%**	**21**
Høy		8,0%	2
	Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)		3
	answered question		25
	skipped question		1

8. I hvor stor grad tror du ordene nedenfor beskriver samfunnet personene lever i?

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad	Response Count
Fattig	3,8% (1)	19,2% (5)	**65,4% (17)**	15,4% (4)	26
Homogent	3,8% (1)	**57,7% (15)**	34,6% (9)	3,8% (1)	26
Religiøst	0,0% (0)	30,8% (8)	**57,7% (15)**	11,5% (3)	26
Urbant	0,0% (0)	23,1% (6)	**57,7% (15)**	19,2% (5)	26
Stort	3,8% (1)	15,4% (4)	**69,2% (18)**	15,4% (4)	26
		Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)			3
		answered question			26
		skipped question			0

9. I hvor stor grad tror du ordene nedenfor beskriver familiesituasjonen til personene?

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad	Response Count
Fattig	3,8% (1)	7,7% (2)	**73,1% (19)**	15,4% (4)	26
Ressurssvak	0,0% (0)	15,4% (4)	**73,1% (19)**	11,5% (3)	26
Eneforelder	0,0% (0)	7,7% (2)	**65,4% (17)**	26,9% (7)	26
			Kommentar (vennligst spesifiser)		2
				answered question	**26**
				skipped question	**0**

10. Får du andre assosiasjoner til personenes talemåte?

	Response Count
	11
answered question	**11**
skipped question	**15**