

# The Translation of Youth Language:

## A Comparison of Dutch Translations of

### *The Catcher in the Rye*

and

### *Less Than Zero*

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sleaze flicker weird pikkie boozehound holpooier lulniet  
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bowls smerissen joint mainline booze babe weird shrink  
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fucker onwijs blowtjes sucks bastard lousy crap smack fag  
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## Introduction

Young adult literature has a long history of existence, though it has often been the odd one out within literary classification. It is frequently categorized as part of children's literature or not categorized separately at all. The same holds for youth language as a non-standard language variation within the field of literary translation. The two notions often coincide and to a translator, young adult literature poses a challenge regarding the translation of youth language. Though there are similarities between the translation of youth language and other non-standard language varieties, there are also many differences that need to be taken into account when opting for non-standard language translation strategies.

The main focus of this thesis lies on the translation difficulties of youth language as a non-standard language variety, and the translation strategies that can be applied. The first three chapters together form the foundation to the research in the chapters four to six. The research questions are: What are the translation difficulties of youth language and which strategies can be applied? Which strategies have the translators of the chosen corpus opted for and why?

In the first half of this thesis, various terms of importance to the notion of youth language will be discussed. The question of what youth language really entails, will be explored thoroughly, including its origin, characteristics, speaking situation, and motives for using youth language. Because it is the translation of youth language from English to Dutch that lies at the heart of this thesis, the emphasis of chapter one is on Dutch youth language. Theories and research of, among others, Nortier, Hoppenbrouwers, Cornips, and Appel will be used. Also, the characteristics and history of young adult literature will be discussed. Donalsen and Nilsen are two editors whose work, *Literature for Today's Young Adults*, has provided a substantial introduction to the various

genres of young adult literature and its characteristics. Their work, and the work of others amongst them, has helped to construct an overview of the history of YA literature. This overview begins at the end of the late medieval period and stretches out till the end of the twentieth century. The translation of young adult literature is one of the least researched subjects in the field of literary translation (studies). As for the translation of youth language, only a few have researched this subject on the basis of case studies, for example Pascua-Febles and Horton. The translation of youth language is related to the translation of non-standard language based on the fact that non-standard language is an umbrella concept for all non-standard language varieties, and thus their translation difficulties and strategies show similarities. However, also the differences between youth language and other non-standard language varieties, for example dialect, will be discussed.

The second half of this thesis focuses on two significant works of young adult fiction: *The Catcher in the Rye* by J.D. Salinger, and *Less Than Zero* by Bret Easton Ellis. *The Catcher in the Rye* is in its almost sixty years of existence still considered to be one of the most striking examples of young adult literature. “*The Catcher in the Rye* was the first to capture the post-World War II alienation of youth: the idiomatic slang, the rage against the hypocrisy of the adult world and the fury at the inevitable loss of innocence that growing up demands.” (Donahue, par. 5). Despite the amount of negative criticism in its early years of existence because of its controversy, the novel has managed to remain popular for people of all ages, including a young adult reader’s public. Nowadays it has reached the status of a classic. The novel *Less Than Zero* has been compared by critics to *The Catcher in the Rye*. This novel, also, has been criticized. Many critics were appalled by the character’s lack of morality, the shallowness of their daily life, and their regular (ab)use of alcohol and drugs. In the story, Ellis names

various clubs, movies, brands, and music and has thereby created a work that represents the rich LA youth of the early eighties.

These two novels easily fit the profile of young adult literature because of the adolescent protagonist, the subject matter, and the first-person narrative. An additional aspect makes these novels especially interesting for this thesis, namely the large amounts of non-standard language, i.e. youth language.

In the last part of this thesis, I will make an inventory of the non-standard language in both novels and compare this to their counterparts in two translations of both source texts. For *The Catcher in the Rye*, I will use Max Schucharts' translation *De kinderredder van New York* (1967) and Johan Hos' translation *De vanger in het graan* (1989). For *Less Than Zero*, I will use Peter Bergsma's translation *Minder dan niks* (1986), and Balt Lenders' translation *Minder dan niks* (1993). The terms collected from the source texts and their translations, will reveal the translation strategies that are applied. These findings, together with the theoretical part of the first chapters, will shed light on the choices translators make, and the theory behind them, when faced with a text interlarded with youth language.

## 1 Youth Language

As stated in the introduction, the subject of this thesis is the language of the young adult protagonists in the novels *The Catcher in the Rye* and *Less than Zero*, and in their Dutch translations. In order to examine the language more closely, it is important to use a term that is practical to work with, and, at the same time, as complete as possible. The following chapter is intended as a solid basis for the chapters following. First, the different terms applied to describe the language of young adults will be examined more closely. Second, the basic characteristics of youth language will be discussed.

### 1.1 The Language of Young Adults

The language of young adults is a relatively young concept. In the Netherlands, compulsory education was established at the beginning of the twentieth century for children age six to twelve. In 1969, the duration of compulsory education was lengthened to nine years, from the age six to fifteen. This resulted in an increase of youth cultures during the 1960's. A youth culture originates and develops through intense informal contact between young adults. With the development of a youth culture starts the development of youth language as a noticeable aspect of identity for both peers and outsiders (Hoppenbrouwers 14).

The origin and development of youth language has been much discussed in the fields of psychology, socio-linguistics and literature. The latter is of importance here, since I am focusing on the usage of youth language in two young adult novels. However, the fields of psychology and sociolinguistics are most convenient for the appropriate terminology. The terms *youth sociolect*, *youth slang*, *street language*, and *youth language* are applied to describe the language of young adults.

In the field of sociolinguistics, a sociolect is defined as “a sub-division within a community of speakers that can be described both by its linguistic characteristics and by the social characteristics of its speakers” (Horvath 179). The term *sociolect* thus implies that speakers of a certain variety of sociolect can be defined by their social background, age, wealth, religion, level of education, and so on. A sociolect reveals the social background of its speakers and the various sociolects of a language develop as a result of social barriers and social distance (Trudgill 24).

Similar to a youth sociolect, speakers of youth slang can be defined by their social background. Gonzales examined the language of youth and students and he states that slang words and phrases “characterize various social (...) groups” (201) and that “slang provides and reinforces social identity (...)” (201). The language of young adults cannot be defined by the social characteristics of its speakers, because social characteristics and social differences are not an underlying factor for the origin and development of youth language in general.

Several theorists including René Appel and Jacomine Nortier have used the term *street language* to describe the language of young adults. Street language is a word-for-word translation of the Dutch term *straattaal*. Appel and Nortier use this term, because, according to them, the term refers to the domain of informal speech of young adults from various ethnic backgrounds (Nortier 9); it is spoken among peers in an informal atmosphere to discuss the subjects of interest of a particular group of adolescents. Although this definition seems to fit this thesis’ subject of research, street language is often considered to be a subcategory of the language of young adults. Indeed, street language is often spoken by youngsters and in the same social surroundings as youth language. Its usage, however, is restricted to adolescents in the polycentric urban area in

western Netherlands, called the *Randstad*. Also, the lexicon is a mixture of Dutch youth language and lexical elements of other languages (Appel 99), such as Moroccan, Turkish, and Surinamese. Which languages, other than Dutch, influence a particular variety of street language, is dependent on which groups of immigrants are present in the direct surrounding of the young adults. A street language is used to define its speakers as a subgroup, different from other subgroups in the Randstad.

In comparison with youth sociolect and youth slang, youth language does not imply specific social characteristics, and in comparison with street language, it is a rather general term for the language spoken by young adults. The generality of the term youth language leads to extensive usage, but also causes conflicting definitions. I will clarify the term by describing its main characteristics.

## 1.2 Characteristics of Youth Language

The characteristics set forth here, are based on the Dutch youth language, but several characteristics are inherent to all youth language varieties. The main reason for young adults to use youth language is universal: to include insiders and exclude outsiders. Generally speaking, youth language is intended to exclude parents and authorities from the informal communication among young adults. Sometimes adolescents use a particular variety of youth language to reveal which subgroup they respect and want to be part of, and to exclude other subgroups. A large number of words is accepted and used in every region of the Netherlands, but amongst the various groups of young adults there are variety differences between youth languages, depending on subculture and/or region (Cornips 21). Some terms of youth language start in one region and spread gradually through the entire country. Other terms remain restricted to

one region and may have alternatives in other regions. Youth subcultures function the same as regions in that a term can start in one subculture and spread gradually through other subcultures as well, or a term remains restricted to one subculture and may have alternatives in other subcultures. A successful spread of a term is dependent on the frequency of use and its adoption by other subcultures and regions. When a term has not yet spread to all regions and all subcultures, an individual may use this term to display respect towards a particular region or subculture.

The term youth language implies that it is a complete language with its own lexicon and grammar. Youth language consists for the greater part of lexical elements and expressions. The grammatical part of youth language, however, is present, though much more difficult to describe. A clear example of grammar in the Dutch youth language is the adaption of borrowed verbs. For example, the English term *stress* first came into the Dutch language as a noun and became a verb with Dutch inflections, such as *stressen* (infinitive: *to stress*) and *gestresst* (past participle: *stressed*). In comparison with youth language, street language contains more grammatical deviations from the standard language and the language of immigrants largely influences the aspect of grammar. Adolescents that speak street language often deliberately adopt grammatical mistakes made by speakers with another mother tongue than Dutch, for example, definite article where indefinite is needed and vice versa (Nortier 23).

Youth language has a high rate of circulation through the input of new words and loss of older ones, thus making it difficult to write down a correct and complete inventory of its lexicon. The main reason why youth language is subject to change is its susceptibility to influence and borrowing of elements from other language varieties. Even neologisms are almost always based on

existing terms and expressions (Hoppenbrouwers 18). Also, the fact that young people speak youth language accounts for swift change, because young people are more receptive and flexible than age groups following. Besides elements of borrowing and neologism, youth languages also make creative use of existing terms. These terms are used in their original grammatical form, but with another denotation. An example is the Dutch term *wreed*, which in the Dutch standard language has a negative connotation and stands for *cruel*, *harsh*, and *barbaric*, and can be either used as an adverb or an adjective. In the Dutch youth language of the late 1990's this term had attained a positive connotation and came to be used as an expression of appreciation.

As said before, the language of immigrants largely influences the aspect of borrowing in youth language. In the school year 2006-2007, in 8% of Dutch secondary schools more than 50% were immigrant students<sup>1</sup>, so a fairly large percentage of young adults enrolled in secondary education is child to foreign parents. At home, these children often speak another language than Dutch and at school they mix their lexicon with that of children from a Dutch background and other ethnic backgrounds. The result of these mixed ethnic peer groups is a variety of street language that is influenced by immigrant languages. Though much of the lexicon remains in the domain of street language, some lexical elements are spread and used nationally and become part of the youth language. An example of a lexical element originating from the Surinam creole language Sranang Tongo is the term *doekoe* or *duku*, which means *money*. This term first came into use in a street language variety, but is currently part of the Dutch youth language and has even been included in the Dutch dictionaries, such as *Van Dale Online Basis* and *Van Dale Online Professioneel*. As a result of the

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<sup>1</sup> Source: [http://www.art1.nl/artikel/2058-Segregatie\\_in\\_het\\_onderwijs\\_Factsheet](http://www.art1.nl/artikel/2058-Segregatie_in_het_onderwijs_Factsheet)

flexibility and borrowing capacity of youth language, foreign languages as Sranang Tongo, Turkish, and Moroccan increasingly influence the Dutch youth language. Still, the English language has influenced the Dutch youth language most and has been doing so for a longer period of time.

Young adults in the Netherlands make frequent use of the English language through the use of loan words (Hoppenbrouwers 23). Since World War II, the influence of the English language on the Dutch language has increased. Whereas previously the German and French languages were of the greatest influence, for the past decades the English language is front-runner in influencing the Dutch youth language. Many of the English loan words that appear in the Dutch standard language have started out as loan words that were part of youth language. For example, the terms *discjockey*, *outfit*, and *stoned* were not part of the Dutch standard language in 1976, however, they were part of the Dutch youth language (Hoppenbrouwers 22). Nowadays, we can find these terms in every Dutch dictionary and in the everyday lexicon of the Dutch standard language. This phenomenon is not limited to the Netherlands. Due to the ascent of globalization through television (e.g. stations as MTV) and the internet, the English language influences youth languages and subsequently standard languages all over the world. Sirpa Leppänen, for example, wrote about the enormous influence of the English language on the Finnish youth language.

Another characteristic of youth language is that its usage is restricted to specific subject matter. Labov mentions three main categories in which this subject matter can be grouped: (1) terms for labeling people, (2) terms for painting people, activities, and places positively and negatively, and (3) terms for ways of spending leisure (341). These three categories are associated with the time young adults spend among each other, without interference of parents

or other authorities. The third category of Labov accounts for the difference in lexicon of young adult males and young adult females, because males and females in the age thirteen to eighteen generally practice different hobbies in their leisure time and have different interests. Nelsen and Rosenbaum point out that males tend to use more terms for money, cars and motorbikes, while females use more terms for clothes, styles, appearance, and boys (qtd. in Labov 345). The three categories of Labov are susceptible to conflict, because she does not mention the possibility of overlap between the three categories, and because the characterization of the three categories is indefinite. For example, the first category of Labov includes terms for labeling people, but the second category also includes terms for painting people positively and negatively. Hoppenbrouwers also included a system of classification in his research. This classification consists of eight categories, i.e. semantic fields, which can overlap: (1) everyday life, (2) social relations and communication, (3) emotions, (4) appearance, (5) characterization, (6) relations and sex, (7) pop music, (8) leisure activities (Hoppenbrouwers 35). In Hoppenbrouwers' classification, a term can occur in more than one category. For example, the term *houseparty* belongs to the categories of pop music and leisure activities. The context in which a term is used, defines its category. The terms belonging to these eight categories are related to time. For instance, the music that adolescents listen to nowadays vary from the music adolescents from the 1970's listened to, so consequently the content of the category music has changed. It is important to consider the content of these eight categories as a product of a particular time period and susceptible to change.

The restricted subject matter and the speaking situation in which youth language is used, implies a certain extent of informality. Though this

informality is part of all youth languages, it is not a specific aspect of youth language itself.

In conclusion, youth language consists for the greater part of lexical elements and expressions and is defined by rapid change and specific subject matter that is closely linked to the leisure time adolescents spend together, without interference of parents and authorities. The main motive for young adults to make use of youth language is to set themselves apart from their former phase in life as a child and their coming phase as an adult. Youth language creates a feeling of solidarity among young adults, and, at the same time, labels parents and authorities as outsiders, because they cannot speak or understand the language variety of adolescents.

## 2 Young Adult Literature

Young adult literature is an umbrella term for all literature written for readers in the approximate age group twelve to nineteen, in other words, adolescents. The term young adult literature is somewhat unclear, because in practice it is categorized as part of children's literature as well as adult literature. In Dutch, there is a synonym for young adult literature that perfectly captures its in-between position in literary categorization: *overgangsliteratuur*. In this chapter, I will start by exploring the main characteristics of young adult literature: the adolescent protagonist, the subject matter, and the first-person narrative.

Then, I will give a short overview of the history of literature for adolescents and its most important genres, and the problems that accompany the term *young adult literature*. The frame of reference will be western society, particularly the Netherlands and the United States of America. However, this is a short overview and by no means meant as a complete account of young adult literature and its characteristics.

### 2.1 Characteristics of Young Adult Literature

The definition of young adult literature is fairly broad and its history includes all the genres one can think of. There are three characteristics that describe, rather than define, young adult literature. These characteristics can help in marking off young adult literature from other kinds of literature. The three most important and interconnected characteristics, are an adolescent protagonist, the subject matter, and first-person narrative (Ross 174).

In a young adult novel, the protagonist and a number of characters in his or her immediate surroundings are adolescents. The profile of the main character corresponds to that of the reader. Similar to the reader, they are in the process of self-development, and linger between childhood and adulthood.

The subject matter of young adult literature also relates to the direct environment of the reader. Its appeal lies in the focus on issues that are on the minds and in the lives of adolescents, so that the reader can feel emotionally engaged with the character(s). Often the subject matter even “goes beyond the typical experiences of teen readers so that readers can use the fictional experiences to learn and develop in their own lives” (Donelson and Nilsen 18). The main characters face great difficulties and sometimes go astray, and the reader can take lesson from the character’s experiences without having to face these difficulties himself. Sympathy and identification with the main character(s) is important, especially in young adult literature. Therefore the protagonist’s personal experiences and the subject matter have changed with time, just as real adolescents’ personal experiences and subject matter have changed.

An author can choose various points of view to engage the reader in the events of the story. There are four basic types of narrative: third-person limited, third-person omniscient, first-person, and second-person. Young adult literature is commonly written in a first-person narrative (Roxburgh 7). There are exceptions, such as *I Am Cheese* (1977) by Robert Cormier, in which the narrative alternates between tape scripts, the protagonist’s first person narration, and a third person account. In young adult fiction, the relationship author-narrator-reader is almost always based on a top-down power relationship in which there is an age and maturity gap between author and reader. A veil of artificial authenticity conceals this gap since the author constructs a story through a narrator with a level of maturity less than his own. In his article about narration in the young adult novel, Cadden states that: “Novels constructed by adults to simulate an authentic adolescent’s voice are inherently ironic because the so-called adolescent voice is never – an can never

be - truly authentic" (146). Though I agree with Cadden, I also think that the matter of irony and inauthenticity can be overcome, and choosing first-person narration is one of the first steps. First-person narrative enhances the intensity of engagement. This point of view leaves the reader with nothing else than the knowledge and experiences of the first-person. This makes the narrator unreliable, because the reader does not receive a complete rendering of the story, but it also creates a strong connection between narrator and reader for the reader is relying on the first-person narrator for an account of the story. In addition, the reader will be more strongly involved in the story, because he or she must interpret the events him- or herself.

When discussing the inauthenticity of the narration, it is also important to realize that young adults are more mature and educated than children. Children's literature is also based on a top-down power relationship between author and reader, but children will not realize that as easily as adolescents. Adolescents are well aware of the unlikelihood of an authentic narrator and accept this construction anyway. However, an author should never underestimate his or her readers and the aspect of authenticity should not be thought of lightly. The fact that young adults realize, accept and respect the top-down relationship between the author and them is not to say that they accept anything less than near-authenticity. The three previously laid down characteristics (the profile of the main character, subject matter, and narrative) contribute to the authenticity of the story as an entirety.

As said previously, the characteristics of young adult literature regarding subject matter, the age of the protagonist, and the first-person narrative, are no definite categories that are present in each young adult literary work. These "observations (...) only describe the young adult novel; they do not define it." (Roxburgh 5).

## 2.2 Young Adult Literature Explored: Its History and Genres

It has been said that books were written for children and young adults as early as the sixteenth century (Roberts 16, Van Lierop-Debrauwer and Bastiaansen-Harks 23). In her dissertation on young adult contemporary realistic fiction and young adult formula romance novels, Roberts gives an abstract of young adult literary history. Though Roberts makes no mention of a specific genre or a specific place of origin, she states that the first books “tended to be didactic in tone, written to instruct rather than to entertain.” (16). Van Lierop-Debrauwer and Bastiaansen-Harks also state that literature for adolescence started out in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, with the *schelmenroman* leading the way. The *schelmenroman*, in English the picaresque novel, is based on the Spanish novel *La Vida de Lazaillo de Tormes*, published anonymously in 1554. The picaresque novel revolves around a poor protagonist who lives in the midst of war and social upheaval (Van Lierop-Debrauwer and Bastiaansen-Harks 23). In contrast to Roberts’ findings about literature for adolescents from this date, this genre was not overtly didactic and had not instructing purpose. This can be explained by the fact that the majority of this genre was originally not intended for adolescents. However, because of the, often, adolescent protagonist, this genre is related to the later adolescent novel. One of the first Dutch picaresque novels is *Den vermakelijken Avonturier* (1695) by Nicolaes Heinsius.

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, another genre emerged: the adventure novel. Again, the gross of this literature was initially intended for adult readers instead of adolescents or even children. This accounts for the fact that in the original stories there was no

distinct didactic tone. For example, the adventure novel *Robinson Crusoe*<sup>2</sup> by Daniel Defoe was written in 1719 for an adult reading public. Later editions of *Robinson Crusoe* in the 1750's were published as chapbooks and around the 1790's there was an edition published especially for younger readers (Sato 1). In order to fit the younger reading public, the original story was edited and became didactic of tone: the novel "intended to instruct (...) children, rather than entertain or amuse them by adventures (Sato 1). The robinsonade revolves around one or more characters, who is or are cut off from civilization. Through the experience of isolation, the protagonist learns how to conform to society when he or she returns. Other, later, example of adventure novels, which were adapted in later editions for a young reading public, are *Moby Dick* (1851) by Herman Melville and *The Jungle Book* (1894) by Rudyard Kipling.

Another significant genre in the history of literature for adolescents is the Bildungsroman, also called the novel of formation. This genre originated in Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century and originally contained didactic ideals that were prevalent in the Age of Reason. The novels in this genre are meant to educate and instruct, teaching self-willingness and adaptability, and revolve around the protagonist's development from childhood into maturity. In the end, the protagonist has obtained a balance between individualization and socialization. In comparison to the picaresque novel and the robinsonade, the Bildungsroman focuses more on the psychological development of the protagonist, instead of the adventures he or she takes part in (Van Lierop-Debrauwer and Bastiaansen-Harks 25). Examples

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<sup>2</sup> Title in full: *The Life And Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe Of York, Mariner: Who lived eight and twenty Years, all alone in an un-inhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River Oroonoque; having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, where-in all the Men perished but himself. With an Account how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by Pyrates. Written by Himself.*

of the genre are *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795-96) by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and *David Copperfield* (1850) by Charles Dickens. Up to today, the Bildungsroman is still the genre mostly identified as young adult literature (Donelson and Nilsen V).

In the nineteenth century, two important genres emerged: the series books and the novel of adolescence. The series books had a distinct didactic and moralistic tone. There is little to no characters development and the storyline always follows the same outline: “[it] starts with the protagonist in a particular situation, then a complication occurs, which is solved as much through luck or help from outside as through the efforts of the protagonist.” (Donelson and Nilsen 4). Though series books were “severely criticized by teachers and librarians for their unrealistic plots” (Roberts 16), they were for a long time the most popular reading material for boys and girls (Lukenbill 26). Examples of series novels are the *Frank and Archie* series by Harry Castlemon<sup>3</sup>, of which the first<sup>4</sup> was published in 1864, and *The Rover Boys* series by Arthur M. Winfield<sup>5</sup>, of which the first<sup>6</sup> of a total of thirty was published in 1899.

The novel of adolescence emerged at the end of the nineteenth century as a reaction to the Bildungsroman and shows much similarity with the Dutch *initiatieroman*, though the place of origin of these genres differs. According to Grenz, the novel of adolescence originated in German-speaking countries (173), while, according to Van Lierop-Debrauwer and Bastiaansen-Harks, the *initiatieroman* originated in United States (28). This genre differs from the Bildungsroman in that the protagonist expresses the varying emotions he or she

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<sup>3</sup> Pseudonym of Charles Austin Fosdick

<sup>4</sup> *Frank the Young Naturalist*

<sup>5</sup> Pseudonym of Edward Stratemeyer

<sup>6</sup> *The Rover Boys at School*

experiences more openly and in that a happy ending cannot be guaranteed. The storyline is marked by three phases: leaving behind the old phase of life, the transition, and the entering of a new phase of life (Van Lierop-Debrauwer and Bastiaansen-Harks 30). Examples of novels of adolescence are *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884) by Mark Twain and *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) by J. D. Salinger.

The last genre that I would like to mention in this historic overview of literature for adolescents is the realistic problem novel. This genre emerged in the second half of the twentieth century and “is marked by taboo-breaking realism in the depiction of teenage social experience and conflict, and by documentary explicitness in the presentation of emotional and sexual development.” (Hollindale 84). The rough and unadorned subject matter of realistic problem novel is what sets it apart from the former genres in this overview of literature for young adults. The realistic problem novel is, thus, “very strongly subject-oriented with the interest primarily residing in the topic rather than in the telling.” (Egoff qtd. in Ross 175). Examples are *The Outsiders* (1967) by S. E. Hinton and *Go Ask Alice* (1971) by an anonymous author<sup>7</sup>.

It is important to note that the above-mentioned genres are no closed of boxes in which literary works can be grouped. The examples do not solely define the genres and it is possible, even probable, that a literary work belongs to one or more genres.

It is also important to note that the term *young adult literature* has another history than the literature for adolescents itself. The term came in use in the 1960's, more than half a century later than that the concept of adolescence itself became accepted. As a result of the industrialization, which started in the late

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<sup>7</sup> Press interviews and copyright records suggest that the novel is written by Beatrice Sparks.

nineteenth century, youngsters went to school for a longer period of time and the age of adulthood became postponed, making room for the concept of adolescence. The German psychologist G. Stanley Hall was one of the first to describe adolescence and to acknowledge it as a separate phase of life. He called it a rebirth, characterized by a “tension between the self-interest of childhood and the move towards a social responsibility and a sense of the rights and welfares of others.” (Berzonsky qtd. in Lake 21).

Still, even with the acknowledgement of adolescence as a separate phase of life and a brand new term to define the literature for this group, young adult literature is often merged together with children’s literature. This is partially due to the fact that the term young adult literature has not been the best pick. It implies a reading public of young adults. However, a young adult is not by everyone considered to be the same as an adolescent. In the field of psychology, the term young adult refers to an individual in the phase of early adulthood, age nineteen to forty, succeeding the phase of adolescence and preceding the phases of middle adulthood and maturity. In the sociolinguistic and literary field, however, the term young adult as an interchangeable term for adolescent is currently widely used and accepted. Therefore I will take the liberty to use both terms to refer to the previously stated definition of an adolescent, which is an individual in the approximate age group twelve to nineteen.

The difficulty with the terminology contributes to the ever-changing character of the canon of young adult literature. Some classics, like *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) by Mark Twain and *The Pigman* (1968) by Paul Zindel, are, nowadays, included on every list of young adult literature. Still, the inclusion and exclusion of literary works remains a matter of opinion, rather than fact. As said before, a large amount of young adult literature is still considered to be part of children’s literature. Consequently, they are published

by juvenile divisions of publisher houses, thereby marked as children's literature and not included in the canon of young adult literature. Additionally, young adult literature with controversial features, such as coarse language use or taboo subject matter, is often published by the adult division of publisher houses, thereby marked as adult or crossover literature and, also, not included in the canon of young adult literature. Donelson and Nilsen have observed that this is especially true for controversial literary works before 1975 (Donelson and Nilsen 20), such as *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *The Catcher in the Rye*, though it still occurs nowadays. For example, the novel *The Book Thief* (2005) by Markus Zusak was initially intended and published for an adult reading public in Australia. In the years following, the book became regarded as young adult literature and even received the Michael L. Printz Award in 2007.

Kenneth Donelson and Alleen Pace Nilsen have made important contributions to what is considered to be young adult literature. Each edition of their *Literature for Today's Young Adults* includes an Honour Sampling of young adult literary works for every year from 1967. Though this work focuses on young adult literature written in the English language and is written from a western society's point of view, it provides a sound historical overview of young adult literature.

Also, the various literary awards for young adult fiction contributed to the notion of young adult literature as a separate literary category. However, it was not until the late 1980's that young adult literature became distinguished from children's literature and various awards, solely for young adult literature, were established. In the United States, the Margaret A. Edwards Award is presented annually since 1988. This award honors an author that made a significant and lasting contribution to young adult literature. The Michael L. Printz Award, established in 2000, is also presented annually to excellence in

young adult literature. These two awards are just few in the awards list for honoring young adult literature. In the Netherlands, there are several long-standing awards for literature intended for young readers. For example, the *Woutertje Pieterse* price, presented since 1988, does not draw a definite line between children's literature and young literature and is intended for the best Dutch children's book in the age 0-15, published in the preceding year. In 1991 the book *Anderland* by Paul Biegel received this award. This book was originally published as a book for adults, but was reviewed as young adult fiction for readers from the age of twelve and older. Other examples of Dutch awards for young adult fiction are the *Gouden en Zilveren Griffel*<sup>8</sup>, which also merge children's and young adult literature together under the name juvenile literature. However, since the 1990's there is a visible trend in the Netherlands in awarding young adult literature separately from children's literature. For example, as from 1997 the *Gouden* and *Zilveren Zoenen* are annually presented to the best books for children from the age of 12. Following the United States, Dutch libraries and other educational establishments find it more and more important to distinguish young adult literature from children's literature.

It is important to notice the difference between children's literature and young adult literature, simply because there *is* a difference between a child and a young adult, both in age and development. Donelson and Nilsen have included a model of the "Stages of Literary Appreciation" in their work *Literature for Today's Young Adults*. Though this model is very specific and limited to western societies, it reveals the difference between a child and a

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<sup>8</sup> The Gouden Griffel is presented annually on the occasion of the *Children's Book week* to Dutch or Flemish children's books written in Dutch. The Zilveren Griffel is also presented annually. Both prices are conferred by the *CPNB*, the Collective Promotion of the Dutch Book. (Source: [www.literaireprijzen.nl](http://www.literaireprijzen.nl), [www.cpnb.nl](http://www.cpnb.nl))

young adult when it comes to literary appreciation: children in late elementary read to lose themselves in literature, while young adults in junior high read to find themselves in literature (11). Identification with the characters is, thus, an important characteristic of young adult literature, and according to the model of Donelson and Nilsen it is also one of the most distinctive differences between children's literature and young adult literature. The difference between losing and finding oneself in literature also accounts for the increasing interest in realistic fiction, instead of interest in fantasies, animal stories and comic books, which are genres of interest to the earlier age group.

The difference between children and young adults is not restricted to age and development solely. There is also a major difference on the practical level of purchasing. Children's literature is partially written for children and partially for their parents. Parents have a great influence on what children read. In a way, children are subject to censoring by their parents and by authorities such as educational establishments and libraries. Adolescents, on the other hand, have gained the freedom to select their reading material themselves. They can, for the most part, purchase their own choice of literature without intervention of parents and authorities.

The last and concluding reason to distinguish between children's literature and young adult fiction is that young adult fiction is more likely to get out of date, due to the use of youth language. As Hunts points out "language, particularly dialogue, can date a young adult book faster than anything else"(6). For example, children will still enjoy the fairy tales of Hans Christian Andersen, which were written in the first half of the eighteenth century. However, adolescents will find that outdated use of language stands in the way of enjoying literature properly, because it hinders the identification between characters and reader, which is of major importance for young adult literature.

### 3 Translating Youth Language in Young Adult Literature

#### 3.1 Translation Difficulties in Young Adult Literature

Little is written about the translation difficulties in young adult literature. Therefore, I will rely on the vast amount of writing on the translation of children's and adult literature.

Pascua-Febles wrote an article about the translation of young people's language in literary texts, specifically in *Greg, Eine ratselhafte Verwandlung*. In the first passage, she focuses on the translation difficulty of ambivalence: "When translating, the translator not only has the child reader in mind, but also a variety of other factors, including the parents who buy the book, the teachers or librarians who recommend it, the possible didactic purpose of the text and the publisher's norm." (111). To a lesser extent, these factors are also of importance in the translation process of young adult literature. The parents are more or less out of the picture when it comes to purchasing books. Young adults have gained that freedom by means of pocket money and first jobs. Teachers, i.e. educational institutions, however, are of great influence. In these modern days of video gaming, the Internet, and television, young adults spend less of their leisure time on reading. The majority of reading material they do process, is for educational purposes. Therefore, a didactic purpose is still of importance in the translation process of young adult literature, though not as important as it is in the translation process of children's literature.

The influence of the publisher's norm on translating for a young adult readers public is closely connected to the position of young adult literature in the polysystem. The polysystem hypothesis was first developed by Even-Zohar in 1970. The hypothesis has since been researched further by him and other scholars, and by the 1990's, his work acquired the status of a theory. The

polysystem theory approaches culture and literature as a “structured, heterogeneous and stratified whole, which is divided into “canonised” and “non-canonised” sub-systems” (Lianeri 4), canonized being the literary works that are “accepted as legitimate by the dominating circles within a culture and (...) are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage” ((Even-Zohar qtd. by Tötösy de Zepetnek 96), and non-canonized being the literary works that are not accepted and preserved. “As a rule, the centre of the whole polysystem is identical with the most prestigious canonized system.” (Even Zohar 296).

Shavit has researched the peripheral position of translated children’s literature in the polysystem. Due to this peripheral position, a translator can permit him- or herself great liberties in order to adjust the translation to existing models of children’s literature in the target culture. There are two principles that underlie the translation of children’s literature:

1. Adjusting the text in order to make it appropriate and useful to the child, in accordance with what society thinks is "good for the child."
2. Adjusting plot, characterization and language to the child's level of comprehension and his reading abilities (Shavit 172).

The adaption of a translation to existing models of children’s literature in the target culture, are in line with the two principles mentioned above. Any adaptation of the source text is carried out according to the target culture’s interpretation of the two principles. In both canonized and non-canonized children’s literature, simplification of the source text is still the norm. “This norm, rooted in the self-image of children's literature, tends to determine not only the thematics of the text but also its characterization and its main structures” (Shavit 175).

The question that results from this is, does the translation of young adult literature follow the same principles that underlie the translation of children's literature? Young adult literature is not as subjected to the above-mentioned principles as children's literature. However, young adult literature, too, is translated according to a model from the target culture, because it does not occupy a central position in the polysystem. The adjustments of the text are less drastic than in children's literature. Proper names, for example, are maintained in young adult literature, whereas these are often adapted to the target culture in children's literature.

One must bear in mind that the extent of alterations in the translation process depends on cultural differences between source culture and target culture. Ben-Arie explored the difficult position in which a translator finds him- or herself when posed with two dissimilar cultures, such as German and Hebrew. She mentions the example of translating *Ben Hur*, a historical fiction novel, into Hebrew. The source text includes passages concerning Jesus Christ and other characters from the New Testament. These passages were omitted in the Hebrew translation in order to conform to the target culture's model for historical fiction (Ben-Arie 224).

The translation of young adult literature requires further research in order to make any definite conclusions about its difficulties. Until then, the subject remains a rather grey area in the field of translation studies, in which comments are still based upon research on the translation of children's literature.

### 3.2 Translation Strategies for Non-Standard Language

Texts with a large amount of non-standard language are sometimes labeled as *untranslatable* (Cincotta 2). In this thesis, youth language is regarded to be a non-standard language, because the lexical terms and expressions researched here, did not yet occur in general dictionaries at the time those terms occurred in literature. The translation of youth language can be compared to the translation of other non-standard forms of languages, such as dialects. They share a divergence from standard norms and are often used as a stylistic device in fiction.

It is important, however, to notice the fundamental difference of the intended effects of these two stylistic devices on the reader. Youth language in young adult literature is used to strengthen the engagement between narrator and reader: it functions as a common ground between the two. Dialect, on the other hand, is a stylistic device that signals a contrast between one character and others, and/or between character and reader. The translation of dialect should aim to “render ‘strangement’ effect” (Vizcaíno 222), whereas the translation of youth language should aim to maintain the common ground between narrator and reader. For both the translation of dialect and the translation of youth language it is important that the effect of the target text on its reader is similar to the effect that the source text had on its reader.

In his thesis, Mašlaň researched the notion of dialect in the translation process and the various theories on this subject. He states that the norm still is “to reduce and neutralize the SL dialect markers” (24). Similar to the translation of dialect, this norm also holds for the translation of youth language. Pascua-Febles concludes from her research on the translation of *Greg, Eine ratselhafte Verwandlung* that the English translator opted for “linguistic and cultural domestication” (20), which resulted in neutral expressions in the target text

opposed to juvenile expressions in the source text. Van der Lingen, who reviewed the Dutch translation of Tom Wolfe's young adult novel *I Am Charlotte Simmons* (2004), provided another example. Wolfe's writing is marked by numerous non-standard language varieties, i.e. youth language varieties, which differ from group to group. Characteristic of these non-standard varieties are the restricted lexicon and repetition of certain discourse particles. Van der Lingen states that the Dutch translation *Ik ben Charlotte Simmons* cut back on the repetition of discourse particles by means of omission and substitution, i.e. *repetition* cancelling. In comparison to the source text, the translator has made more use of the Dutch standard language, includes more variety when it comes to discourse particles, and has omitted entire sentences (73, 74).

The consequence of neutralizing youth language is that the aspect of code switching is erased. Novels with youth language include other language varieties, most importantly a standard language variety. Code switching occurs thus between the standard language and the youth language. For example, in *The Catcher in the Rye* there is a difference in language between the dialogue of Holden and his history teacher mister Spencer, and the dialogue of Holden and his peers at Pencey Prep. While the dialogue of Holden and his teacher is not exactly formal, it is written in the English standard language, whereas the dialogue of Holden and his peers is written down how it would be pronounced by them, as if Salinger wants to signify the nonchalance and the indifference of the adolescent characters.

(Mister Spencer) "Have you yourself communicated with them?"

(Holden) "No, sir, I haven't communicated with them, because I'll probably see them Wednesday night when I get home."  
 "And how do you think they'll take the news?"  
 "Well... they'll be pretty irritated about it," I said.  
 "They really will. This is about the fourth school I've gone to."  
 (17)

(Stradlater) "Where'dja get that hat?" Stradlater said.

(Caulfield) (...) "I got it in New York this morning. For a buck. Ya like it?"  
 Stradlater nodded. 'Sharp,' he said. He was only flattering me, though, because right away he said, "Listen. Are ya gonna write that composition for me? I have to know."  
 (45)

The reason for this code switching lies in the nature of the situation. As said earlier, youth language is spoken only among young adults in a certain setting. When the protagonist speaks to people of age groups other than his own, like his teachers, he speaks the standard language, but when he speaks to people in the same age group, his speech becomes more informal and includes elements of youth language.

Cincotta wrote a paper about code switching in translated literature. She calls deviations from the standard language *linguistic aliens*. Examples of linguistic aliens are "a word or expression borrowed from a dialect related to the ordinary source language" and "a word in the source language modified so as to indicate the speech of a particular geographical location or social class" (2). Cincotta states that there are four possible strategies for the translation of linguistic aliens, i.e. non-standard language: 1) "make no distinction between

the two different languages and keep the entire text in the same target language, 2) keep the transfer in the original source language, i.e. the original second source language, 3) use a slang or colloquial form of the main target language, 4) find another language or dialect, i.e. a “second” target language for the passage” (2, 3).

Cincotta’s translation strategies for non-standard language, apply also to the translation of youth language, though some adjustments are necessary. The first translation strategy is a domesticating strategy that is extremely neutralizing. “[It] levels the speech of all characters and inevitably ignores the meanings embedded in SL heteroglossia<sup>9</sup>.” (Mašlaň 27). In the case of youth language, this strategy erases the common ground between narrator and reader, which is one of the most specific features of young adult novels such as *The Catcher in the Rye* and *Less than Zero*. Additionally, the aspect of code switching as a stylistic device is not transferred to the translation: the entire text is translated in one language variety.

The second translation strategy is a foreignizing strategy. This strategy maintains the non-standard language, i.e. youth language of the source text and thereby would require readers to have sufficient knowledge of the source language and the non-standard variety that is being used. For course words such as *shit* and *fuck*, a transfer would be fully understood by Dutch adolescent readers, but the meaning of an expression such as *to snow someone* (Salinger 70) would pose problems. Transferring the original youth language elements will, in most cases, cause illegibility in the target text.

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<sup>9</sup> The term heteroglossia was first employed by Bakhtin in the essay “Discourse in the Novel” and refers to the coexistence of distinct varieties within a single linguistic code.

The third translation strategy is a neutralizing strategy. The youth language of the source text is replaced with slang or colloquial terms from the target culture. It erases the common ground between narrator and reader, which is characteristic for young adult literature. However, this strategy maintains the aspect of code switching between a standard language variety and a non-standard language variety.

The fourth translation strategy replaces youth language from the source text with youth language from the target culture. This strategy maintains the aspect of code switching and the common ground between narrator and reader.

There are various opinions about the fourth translation strategy in relation to the translation of dialect. Mašlaň has listed the different approaches in his thesis. Levý states that the fourth strategy is a *misleading* strategy. A dialect is restricted to a certain area and replacing a dialect from the source text with a dialect from the target culture inevitably has certain associations as effect, because “any specific non-standard form (regional dialect) bears too close connotations of a particular region (...)” (qtd. in Mašlaň 25). He states that “a translator should avoid using a specific dialect in translation of SL dialect” (qtd. in Mašlaň 26) Instead, Levý proposes a different strategy, in which a dialect is translated by an unmarked non-standard variety, which is marked phonetically, lexically and syntactically, but which does not refer to a particular region, occupation or social class (Mašlaň 26). This way, the aspect of code switching is maintained. Catford opposes Levý’s point of view and states that it is perfectly possible to translate a dialect variety from the source culture with a dialect variety of the target culture. He (Catford) “based his strategy (...) mainly on universal objective factors that are common to all countries: geographical factors (the north, the south), and the similar social and cultural position of capital” (Mašlaň 25).

Newmark researched the underlying motives for the use of a non-standard variety. He states that a non-standard variety is used for three reasons: to show a slang use of language, to stress social class contrasts, or to indicate local cultural features (Mašlaň 25). The use of a non-standard variety such as youth language is in accordance with the first motive. It is not related to social class contrasts and, although youth language can differ per region, it does not indicate local cultural features. In this regard, the translation of youth language seems to be less complicated than the translation of dialect: social factors and geographical factors do not need to be taken into account and the fourth translation strategy of Cincotta can be applied. This translation strategy has the advantage of preserving, both, the common ground between narrator and reader, and the aspect of code switching. It produces a translation that gives the target text reader a reading experience near similar to that of the source text reader.

In addition to the translation strategies mentioned by Cincotta, there are two other translation strategies frequently applied to the translation of youth language: repetition cancelling and omission. Repetition cancelling means that repetitive words in the source text are translated with a diversity of words with the same denotation in the target text, thus making the lexicon of the target text more diverse than the lexicon of the source text. This strategy neutralizes the use of youth language, which is characterized by the repetition of certain words that are considered to be popular. It is a commonly applied translation strategy all over the world and in every possible genre, though children's and young adult literature are particularly susceptible for this strategy from a pedagogical and educational point of view. "Repetitions of words are rejected with the overt or unconscious ideological justification that the text in this system has the semiofficial complementary role of enriching the vocabulary of the young (...)"

(Ben-Arie 223). According to Van der Lingen, repetition cancelling in young adult literature makes the speech of youngsters less powerful and discloses the fact that the translator him- or herself is not an adolescent. Furthermore, the large amount of repetition in the speech of young adults is a characteristic that signifies both the otherness in comparison to standard language and the popularity of certain words. Repetition canceling in young adult literature, thus, levels out the difference between a standard language and a non-standard variety such as youth language, and thereby erases the aspect of code switching. In this thesis repetition canceling will not be listed as a separate translation strategy. Rather, it is part of the neutralizing first translation strategy.

The translation strategy omission is well known and frequently applied. It is used in all genres of texts and to almost every extent: words, sentences, paragraphs, and chapters. This strategy is applied more frequently in literary genres that occupy a peripheral position in the polysystem than in genres that are at the center. This is due to the fact that literary genres at the periphery are more subjected to change than genres that are at the center.

#### 4 Methodology

The starting point for this chapter is the research of Hoppenbrouwers and Cincotta. Hoppenbrouwers has researched the youth language in the Netherlands in the late 1980's and has written the book *Jeugdtaal: De tipparade van de omgangstaal* (1991). He tested various terms that he thought were part of the youth language by checking if the terms were included in four contemporary Dutch dictionaries. If the terms were included in two or more dictionaries, he would regard them as part of the Dutch standard language. If the terms were included in only one dictionary or if they were not included in any dictionary, he would regard them as youth language. Hoppenbrouwers' research of the Dutch youth language included also a classification of the terms of youth language into different categories, i.e. semantic fields: everyday life, social relations and communication, emotions, appearance, characterization, relations and sex, pop music, and leisure activities. For this thesis, Hoppenbrouwers method could not be used fully due to the difference between spoken and written youth language. The topic of Hoppenbrouwers' research was the speech of a group of adolescents, whereas the topic of this thesis is youth language in young adult fiction. The difference between the two appeared to be unbridgeable, which resulted in the inability to use Hoppenbrouwers' eight categories for youth language. However, Hoppenbrouwers' method to assess non-standard terms with the help of contemporary dictionaries turned out to be very useful.

In chapter three of this thesis, I laid down the various translation strategies for non-standard language. These translation strategies are researched previously by, among others, Pascua-Febles, Mašlaň, and Cincotta. The final list of strategies that will be used in my research is for the greater part based on Cincotta's research, but is extended by the work of others to provide a

complete overview of strategies. Also, I have included a sixth translation strategy, which I will call *non-standardization*. This strategy refers to the translation of a non-standard term by a term that is even more non-standard, for example, when a slang term is translated with a term that is part of the youth language. In short, the six translation strategies for non-standard language are:

1. Omitting a passage, sentence, and/or term of non-standard language (omission),
2. Translating a non-standard term of the source text with a standard language term of the target culture (neutralizing),
3. Maintaining the non-standard term of the source text (maintenance),
4. Using a slang or colloquial term of the target language (slang/colloquial),
5. Translating a non-standard term of the source text with a non-standard term of the target culture (equal),
6. Translating a non-standard term of the source text with a term from the target culture that is even more non-standard (non-standardization).

The novels included in this research of the translation of youth language in young adult literature, are *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) by J. D. Salinger and *Less than Zero* (1985) by Bret Easton Ellis. For the research of *The Catcher in the Rye*, I will make use of the following target texts: *De kinderredder van New York* (1967) translated by Max Schuchart and *De vanger in het graan* (1989) translated by Johan Hos. For the research of *Less than Zero*, I will make use of the target texts *Minder dan niks* (1986) by translated by Peter Bergsma and *Minder dan niks* (1993) translated by Balt Lenders.

The first step in this research is to restrict the research area. Not every chapter, paragraph, and sentence in the two researched young adult novels

includes youth language. As said in chapter one, the use of youth language is restricted to a specific speaking situation. Adolescents use youth language when they are among peers, in an informal atmosphere, and without interference of other age groups. Following from this, the research of youth language will be restricted to conversations between two or more adolescents, in an informal atmosphere, and without interference of other age groups.

In assessing the elements of youth language in these novels, it is important to distinguish youth language from the idiolect that belongs to the fictional character, for example, when he or she is thinking instead of speaking. Idiolect is “the speech of one person at one time in one style” (Trudgill 21). An idiolect is what an individual speaker knows about the language that he or she speaks and how he or she uses it and it consists of vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, and usage (Gasser 19, 20). “The speech of single speakers (...) may differ considerably from those of others like them.” (Trudgill 29). Following from this, an idiolect of an adolescent may differ from that of his or her peers, though their use of youth language may be similar. In order to distinguish idiolect from youth language, it is important to limit the research of youth language to the dialogues. Taking this into account, from *The Catcher in the Rye*, the chapters three, four, six, seven, nine, fifteen, seventeen, and nineteen will be included in the research. From *Less Than Zero*, the pages 5-10, 12-15, 19-29, 39-50, 64, 65, 68-103, 105-107, 110, 114-117, 119, 123, 124, 130, 136-139, 141-149, 154-160, 165, 167-178, 183-185, 187, and 190-193 will be included in the research.

The next step will be to distinguish the youth language from the standard language. As described in chapter one, youth language is a non-standard language variety consisting of lexical and grammatical elements that deviate from the standard language. These elements can be neologisms, borrowed elements from other language varieties, or elements from the

standard language used with a different and/or new denotation. In addition, authors make use of non-standard writing methods to signal the difference between standard language and non-standard language, in this case youth language. This means that many elements are written how they would be pronounced.

In order to distinguish the elements of youth language from the standard language, I will make use of Hoppenbrouwers' research and method, which functions as a lexical filter. The lexical filter consists of four contemporary dictionaries per novel (source and target texts). Terms that do not occur in these dictionaries, or that occur in only one out of four dictionaries, are considered to be youth language. By using this method, I will filter out the neologisms and borrowed elements. However, the elements that occur in the standard language, but that are used with a different denotation in youth language, do not filter out. These elements will be assessed by means of a comparison between the denotation derived from the context and the denotation described in the dictionary. In default of the necessary four dictionaries per year of publishing (source and target texts), I extended the lexical filter and made use of dictionaries from three years or less previous and three years or less following. The lexical filters for the two source texts and the four target texts are listed under appendix I.

The non-standard language in the source text will function as the starting point for the research of youth language in the target texts. This will be assessed in a similar manner. First, the corresponding target text terms will be assessed by means of the lexical filter mentioned previously. After applying the lexical filter, which will reveal the terms that are not translated with a youth language variety of the target culture, the following question can be answered; which translation strategies have been used?

The data will be presented in the form of tables, which will be listed under appendix II, III, IV, and V. From this data, a comparison will be made between the two translations of the source texts.

## 5 The Catcher in the Rye

J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* was published on July 16, 1951. The novel of 276 pages was published by Little, Brown and Company. Within ten years, *The Catcher in the Rye* had sold 1.500.000 copies, and by 1965 5.000.000. (Ohman and Ohman 15). In 2009, the List of Best-Selling Books recorded that the number of sold copies had increased to sixty-five million. The novel is repeatedly chosen as one of the best novels of the twentieth century, for example by magazine *Time*, the *Modern Library*, and *Amazon.com*.

*The Catcher in the Rye* has been translated three times into Dutch: *De eenzame zwerftocht* (1954) and *Puber* (1958) by Henk de Graaff, *De kinderredder van New York/De vanger in het koren* (1967) by Max Schuchart, and *De vanger in het graan* (1989) by Johan Hos. The last title has had fourteen editions of which the last one was printed in 2005.

### 5.1 Contents and Characters

The novel is written in first-person narrative from the perspective of Holden Caulfield. Holden is an intelligent, cynical and sensitive young man of sixteen years old. His rite of passage, of which the reader only gets to see three days, is not without struggle.

The story starts at the moment he is expelled from his third private school, Pencey Prep. Holden gives a rendering of his actions and thoughts in the three days at the end of December. These three days include his leave from Pencey Prep, his journey home, and two days of wandering through New York, waiting for the right time to face his parents. The novel is shaped so that Holden tells his story to someone within the mental institution in California in which he undergoes treatment.

Through Holden's actions and comments on past and present events, the reader gets acquainted with his character. Holden's most extreme character traits are his cynicism and his ambivalence. His ambivalence shows through the discrepancies between thought and action. Edwards has written an article about the ambivalent nature and the subsequent discrepancies of Holden's character. According to Edwards, readers have overlooked the deficiencies of Holden, because they were taken in by his appealing *surface*, whereas in fact Holden is a phony as well (554). Edwards points out the various accounts of Holden's discrepancies, for example, he hates the movies, the Lunts, and phony conversations, but he goes to the movies, takes Sally to the Lunts, and engages in phony conversations. Edwards ascribes this ambivalence to Holden's mental instability (556). Other critics relate Holden's ambivalence to another important character trait, namely his need to please people. For example, Jonathan Baumbach and Robert Bennett paint a picture of Holden as an innocent, sensitive, and selfless character. In this context, Holden's ambivalence is a mere outcome of his need to please people. Early on in the novel, the reader gets to see this side of Holden when he is on the train from Pencey Prep to New York. On the train he meets a woman who turns out to be the mother of a fellow student at Pencey Prep. His thoughts on the boy are that he is "doubtless the biggest bastard that ever went to Pencey (...)." (77). Instead of being honest to the woman about her son, Holden makes up a wonderful story "in order to please his classmate's mother (...)." (Bennett, par. 4). Later on in the novel, he tries to please Sally with tickets to the Lunts, who he himself strongly dislikes. "I didn't much want to see it, but I knew old Sally (...) would start drooling all over the place when I told her I had tickets (...)." (160). It seems that several of Holden's actions do not agree with his opinions, because he sets these opinions aside in order to please the people around him.

There is yet another explanation for several of his ambivalent demonstration: sarcasm. Holden's sarcastic nature becomes obvious at the very beginning of the novel when he states: "They give guys the ax quite frequently at Pencey. It has very good academic rating, Pencey. It really does."(11). It seems that Holden's ambivalence has three underlying causes: his mental instability, his need to please people, and his sarcastic nature.

As for the other characters in the novel, many critics have pointed out that Holden's sister Phoebe and Mr. Antolini are of great importance. Phoebe is important, because she stands for innocence and purity (Holzman and Perkins 111). She represents the child that Holden can no longer be. Mr. Antolini is important, because he is a role model and someone to look up to while transitioning into adulthood. These characters, their development, and their relation to Holden have been reviewed many times. However, these characters are of minor importance for this thesis. The characters of Ackley, Stradlater, Sally, and Carl Luce are of more importance, though these are so-called flat characters and have no development in the story whatsoever. Their importance lies in the fact that they are in the same age group as Holden. Holden's conversations with Ackley, Stradlater, Sally, and Carl Luce meet the requirements of the specific speaking situation in which youth language occurs: leisure time spend among adolescents, without interference of parents and authorities.

## 5.2 Reception in Source Culture

*The Catcher in the Rye* was discussed at the Book-of-the-Month Club before its formal date of publishing. This "adoption of the novel by the Book-of-the-Month Club automatically destined it for vast sales and widespread attention."(Laser and Fruman 6). After its formal publication date, reviews

revealed mixed opinions towards *The Catcher in the Rye*. The majority was rather enthusiastic and praised Salinger's innovative style. The novel was repeatedly compared to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. For example, Kaplan states:

Huck Finn and Holden Caulfield are true blood-brothers, speaking to us in terms that lift their /76/ wanderings from the level of the mere picaresque to that of a sensitive and insightful criticism of American Life."

(Kaplan ed. by Laser and Fruman 31)

However, not everybody was as positive. Several critics have argued that the novel failed to live up to the expectations. Jones from *The Nation* called the novel "predictable and boring", *The Catholic World* called it "monotonous and phony", and the *Times Literary Supplement* stated, "Mr. Salinger ... has not achieved sufficient variety in this book for a full-length novel." (Kaplan ed. by Laser and Fruman 16, 17).

Also, the form of the reviews varied. Most critics held on to a classic review including the pros and cons of the novel and its characters. Some critics tried to fill in the gap following the end of the novel, as in speculating what would become of Holden. Other critics, for example James Stern in the Sunday New York Times tried to be original in their reviewing and adopted the style Holden's speech.

As far as the translation history of *The Catcher in the Rye*, the novel has been translated in almost every language one can think of. Gutwillig reviewed in 1961 the popularity of *The Catcher in the Rye* and stated: "One of the more obvious tests of a book's quality, appeal and endurance, is the sale of translation rights for publication in foreign countries." (Gutwillig ed. by Laser and Fruman 2). Within ten years, the novel was translated in numerous languages, including Dutch, Finnish, French, German, and Italian. From this,

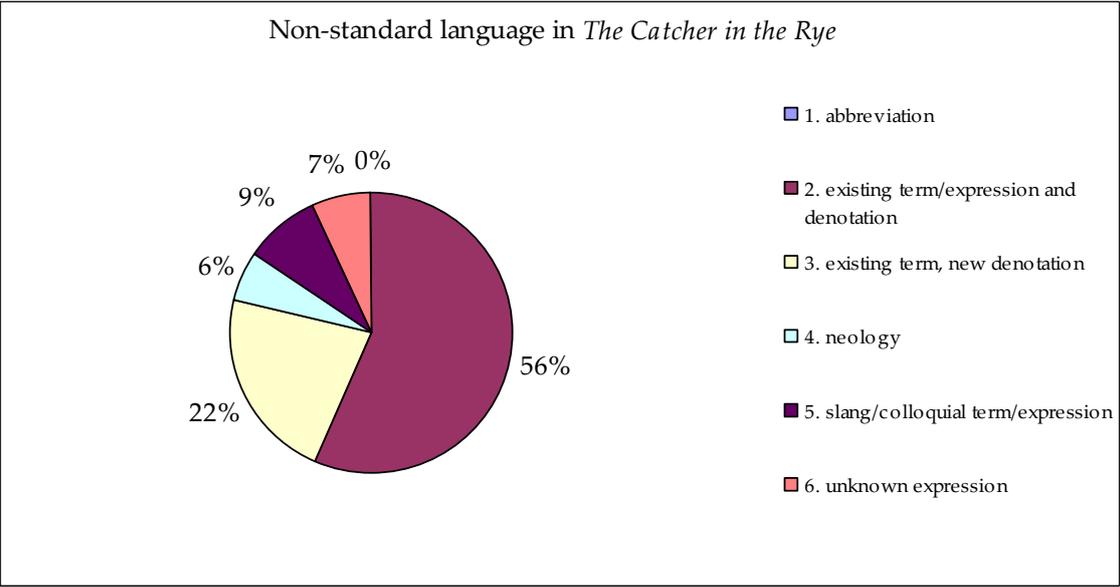
one can conclude, as did Gutwillig, that *The Catcher in the Rye* was indeed of great appeal to a very broad audience.

Surprisingly, Gutwillig has also stated that there had not been a novel more American than *The Catcher in the Rye* and that its colloquial speech was almost impossible to translate into another language than American English (Gutwillig ed. by Laser and Fruman 2). Apparently, the appeal of *The Catcher in the Rye* was put before its difficulty to translate. The translation difficulties due to the occurrences of non-standard elements of speech are the starting point for the following paragraphs.

### 5.3 Youth Language in the Source Text: *The Catcher in the Rye*

*The Catcher in the Rye* has been on the “short list of most banned books in school libraries, curricula, and public libraries” (Whitfield 574), due to its coarse and profane language. Much of this language consists of curse terms, such as *Goddamn* and *for Christ’s sake*. The lexical filter, consisting of four contemporary dictionaries, showed that such terms were already included in the dictionaries with their new denotation of being curse terms. These terms are thus classified as standard language. However, Salinger chose to spell the majority of these curse terms how they would be pronounced, thereby classifying them as non-standard language. The curse terms that are spelled how they would be pronounced are therefore included in this research.

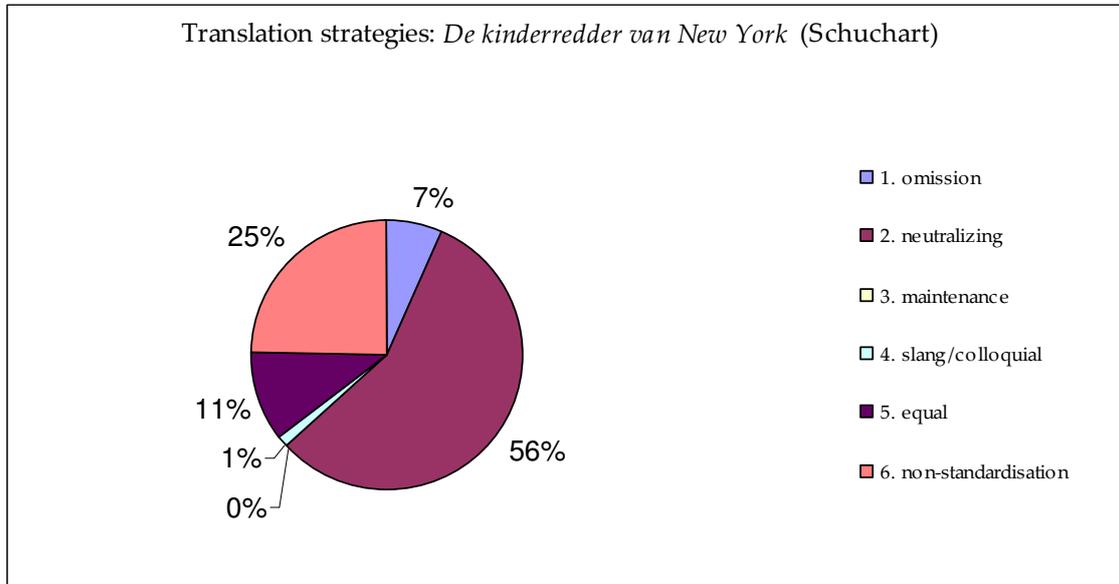
Starting out with the parameter set in chapter four, the total amount of non-standard elements in the source text is 317. This number consists of various types: abbreviation; existing term/expression and denotation; existing term, new denotation; neology; slang/colloquial term/expression; unknown expression. The results are shown in appendix II and III. The chart below gives an overview of the non-standard language in the source text.



Not included in the chart is the total percentage of terms that are spelled as pronounced, which is 50%. These terms are signalled by an asterisk in the appendixes.

#### 5.4 Translation of Youth Language: *De Kinderredder van New York*

*De Kinderredder van New York* is a translation by Max Schuchart and was published by Bruna in 1967. It was the second Dutch translation of *The Catcher in the Rye*.



Schuchart omitted 7% of the non-standard language. A number of these omissions are due to differences in sentence structure. For example, the sentence: “You like ‘em that old?” (Salinger 197), is translated with: “Hou je van zulke oude vrouwen?” (Salinger translated by Schuchart 155). In this translation, the object pronoun *em* (them) has become redundant. Other omissions are mostly curse terms that Schuchart choose to exclude in the target text.

Schuchart translated over half of the non-standard language with a neutralizing translation strategy. All the terms that Salinger had written how they would be pronounced, are neutralized in the target text. Also, of Salinger’s nineteen neologies, Schuchart translated thirteen with a neutralizing strategy.

None of the non-standard terms from the source text are maintained in their original form in the target text.

1% of Schuchart's translation strategies belong to the slang/colloquial category. This percentage includes terms of the source text that were part of the standard language, but also terms of the source text that were part of the youth language, i.e. more non-standard than terms belonging to the slang/colloquial category. For example, the standard English term *morons* is translated with the Dutch slang term *rotzakken*, and the source text neology *yap* is translated with the Dutch slang term *smoel*.

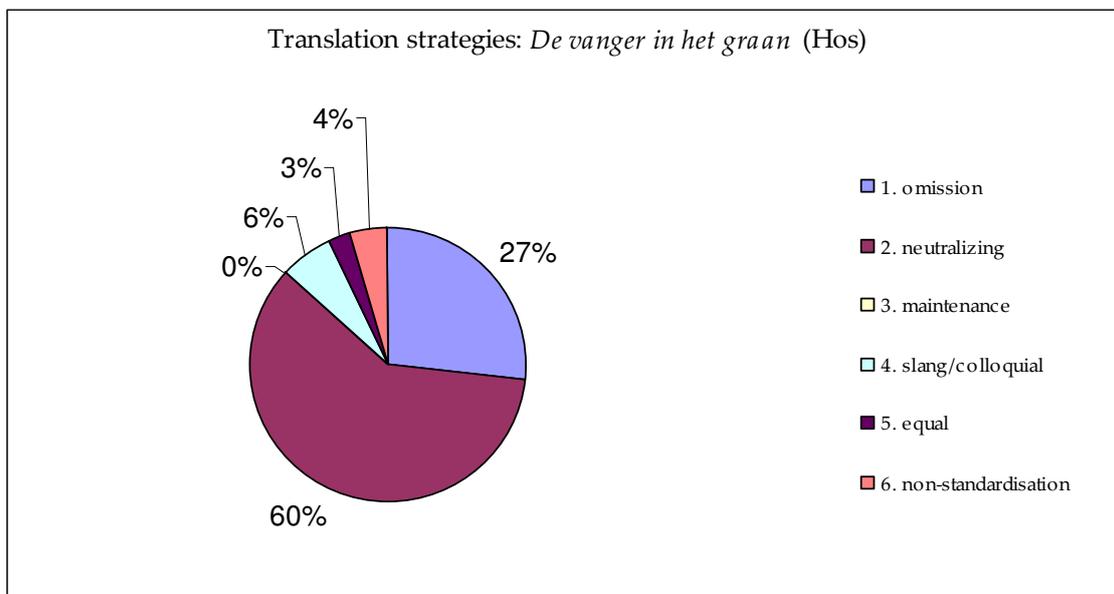
11% of Schuchart's translations of non-standard language are equal in category to their counterparts in the source text, for example when an English slang term is translated with a Dutch slang term. Schuchart choose to maintain some of the repetition of the term *hell* by translating a large amount of its occurrences with the term *verdomme*. Both these source text and target text terms belong to the category of existing terms with a new denotation.

25% of Schuchart's translations are more non-standard than their counterparts in the source text. For example, the term *can* (noun), which belongs to the category of existing terms with a new denotation, is translated with the term *plee*, which did not occur in the Dutch dictionaries of that time. A large amount of Schuchart's non-standardizations are repetitions of curse terms that were not yet part of the standard Dutch language.

Schuchart used repetition cancelling to some extent. For example, the term *hell* is translated with various terms, such as *verdomme*, *in Jezusnaam*, *hel*, *god bewaar me*, *goddomme*, *bliksem*, and *de pest*.

## 5.5 Translation of Youth Language: *De Vanger in het Graan*

*De Vanger in het Graan* is a translation by Johan Hos and was published by Meulenhoff in 1989. It was the third Dutch translation of *The Catcher in the Rye* and the fifth Dutch title.



Hos omitted 27% of the non-standard language within the set parameter. Over half of these omissions (59 out of 85) are omissions of curse terms, such as *goddam*, *for Chrissake*, and *hell*. A number of these omissions are substituted by adding a curse term in a different position in the same sentence. Also, Hos omitted certain terms that had become redundant due to differences in sentence structure between source and target text.

60% of the non-standard language in *The Catcher in the Rye* is translated by Hos with a neutralizing translation strategy. All the terms that Salinger had written as they would be pronounced, are neutralized in the target text. Also, of Salinger's nineteen neologies, Hos translated eleven with a neutralizing strategy. For example, the term *crap* is translated with the standard Dutch term *smurig spul*, and the term *oodles* is translated with *volop*.

None of the non-standard terms from the source text are maintained in their original form in the target text.

Hos translated 6% of the non-standard language with slang/colloquial terms. He translated, for example, the term *basterd*, which belongs to the category existing terms with a new denotation, with the Dutch slang term *kloothommel*, and the neology *sonuvabitch* with the slang term *klootzak*.

3% of Hos' translations of non-standard language are equal in category to their counterparts in the source text. For example, Schuchart translated the terms *how'sa* with the Dutch terms *hoe gaat ie*. Both are existing terms that are written how they would be pronounced.

4% of Hos' translations are more non-standard than their counterparts in the source text. A large amount of these non-standardizations are curse terms of which the Dutch counterparts were not (yet) included in the dictionaries or were included with a different denotation. Examples of Dutch curse terms are: *godbetert* and *godsvredesnaam*.

Hos' used repetition cancelling to some extent. For example, he translated the source text term *hell* with various terms: *Jezus*, *ontzettend*, *godsjezusnaam*, *in Jezusnaam*, *godgeklaagd*, *allejezus*, and *pest*.

## 5.6 Discussion

Not all translation strategies that I have laid down in chapter four are as clearly visible in the charts, because of the overlap between two or more strategies. I have said that the strategy of repetition cancelling is part of the first, neutralizing strategy and, therefore, this particular strategy is not included in the charts. It is clear, though, that both translators repeatedly applied this particular translation strategy. They have thereby reduced the amount of non-standard language and the overall sense of youth language that the source text had.

Another translation strategy that overlaps with others is the strategy of using a slang or colloquial term of the target language. For example, Schuchart translated the neology *yap* with the Dutch slang term *smoel*. A slang term is more standardized than a neology and is even included in dictionaries. So Schuchart neutralized the neology by translating it with a slang term. On the other hand, Hos translated the standard English term *goddam*, with the slang term *klote*, thereby applying also the strategy of non-standardization. One could argue that strategy of using a slang or colloquial term can be part of, either, the strategy of neutralizing and the strategy of non-standardization, depending on the category of non-standard language to which the source text term belongs.

The two translators have in common that they use the neutralizing translation strategy most of all: over 50% of the non-standard terms are translated with standard Dutch terms. However, there are also two striking differences between the translations of Schuchart and Hos. First, Hos has omitted almost four times as much non-standard terms as Schuchart (27% to 7%). Second, Schuchart non-standardized over five times as much terms as Hos (25% to 4%). So both translators have permitted themselves liberties, but with help of two various translation strategies. Hos' omissions have as a consequence that the target text is more neutral in comparison to the source text, whereas Schuchart's strategy of non-standardizations has a foreignizing effect.

Both translators tried to partially substitute the source text terms that are spelled as pronounced by spelling other terms and expressions how they would be pronounced. Hos even takes it a step further when he stresses certain words by putting them in italics. This adds to the sense of youth language between the

adolescent characters, because the reader can imagine how conversations would sound.

In short, the four non-standard language categories *abbreviation*, *neology*, *existing term*, *new denotations*, and *unknown expression* consist of terms that are part of the youth language. In the source text, these two categories together consist of 111 terms, which is 35% of the total amount of non-standard terms. In the translation of Schuchart, these four categories together consist of 112 terms, which is also 35%. In the translation of Hos, the total amount is 24 terms, which is only 8% of the total amount of non-standard terms. These numbers give a slightly distorted view, because a large number of the youth language that Schuchart has used in his translation, consists of curse terms. Fact is that these curse terms were, at the time, not part of the standard Dutch language and are considered to be neologies and thus part of the youth language.

## 6 Less Than Zero

Penguin Books published Ellis's *Less Than Zero* in 1985. Within a year, *Less Than Zero* had sold 75,000 hard copies and a first paperback run of 100,000 copies (Carroll and Tafoya 35). *Less Than Zero* became a New York Time Bestseller. The novel was Ellis' formal debut, but he had already written two books when he was in high school. This became his first big success, followed by *The Rules Of Attraction* (1987), *American Psycho* (1991), *The Informers* (1994), *Glamorama* (1998), and *Lunar Park* (2005). Ellis established himself as part of the brat pack, together with Jay McInerney and Tama Janowitz. The brat pack is a term that was created by the media in the 1980's and stands for a group of New York authors who can be characterized by their "stark descriptions of sex, drugs and conspicuous consumption" (Durand, Mandel 2).

In 1987, the movie *Less Than Zero* came out, which was based on the novel, though in no way an exact rendering.

*Less Than Zero* is translated into Dutch twice: *Minder dan niks* (1986) by Peter Bergsma, and *Minder dan niks* (1993) by Balt Lenders. Both translations have had four editions.

### 6.1 Contents and Characters

The novel is a first-person narrative from the perspective of Clay, who is an eighteen-year-old college student that came home to Los Angeles for his Christmas vacation. While at home, he takes up his old life, including his old friendships and his old habits. The novel covers the time span of the Christmas holiday, starting when Clay's on/off girlfriend Blair picks him up at the airport. After what seems to be an endless stream of parties, drugs, one-nightstands, and curious, shocking events, the novel comes to an end and Clay goes back to college.

During his stay, Clay becomes more and more aware of the emptiness and the superficiality of his daily life at home. He reacts cold and detached to the things that happen around him. His rendering of shocking events, such as his friend Muriel shooting up heroine and his friends raping a twelve-year-old girl, are unconcealed and emotionless, almost as if it does not affect him. "(...) [He] feels something between ennui and a headache, takes no action, and goes on with his life as it was." (Burnham 50). However, comparing Clay to his friends and acquaintances, he seems to stay at the sideline of these events instead of taking part in the action. Most of the time, he is observer, rather than partaker. Sahlin argues that Clay is the only one that realizes the consequences of the out-of-control behavior of his friends: "He alone seems to see this absurdity: his friends accept as path to pleasure practices that are actually paths to destruction." (33). Throughout the story, Clay remains an observer without interfering nor criticizing the negative and absurd events his friends undertake. The one time he does confront one of his friends, Rip, who is about to rape a twelve-year-old girl, he backs down cowardly after Rip's response.

Apart from Clay's parents, sisters and the occasional waitress and bystander, every character in the novel is of importance for this thesis. The majority of characters that Clay hangs out with are of the same age as him and conversations between them include non-standard language i.e. youth language. His inner circle of friends consists of his girlfriend Blair, his dealer Rip, his addicted, long-time friend Julian, and his friends Trent, Daniel, Kim, and Alana.

## 6.2 Reception in Source Culture

Many reviewers discussed the autobiographical nature of the novel, because *Less Than Zero* was regarded to be a debut and was written by such a young author (Ellis was twenty-one at the time). For example, McCarthy writes in the *Saturday Review*: "(...) you sometimes get the feeling that chunks of this book were lighted whole from the high melodrama and adolescent angst of Ellis's diary". Also, Katakuni states in the *New York Times*: "(...) his slick, first-person narrative encourages one to read the novel as a largely autobiographical account of what it's like to grow up, rich and jaded, in Beverly Hills today." In later interviews, Ellis insists that the novel is by no means an autobiographical creation.

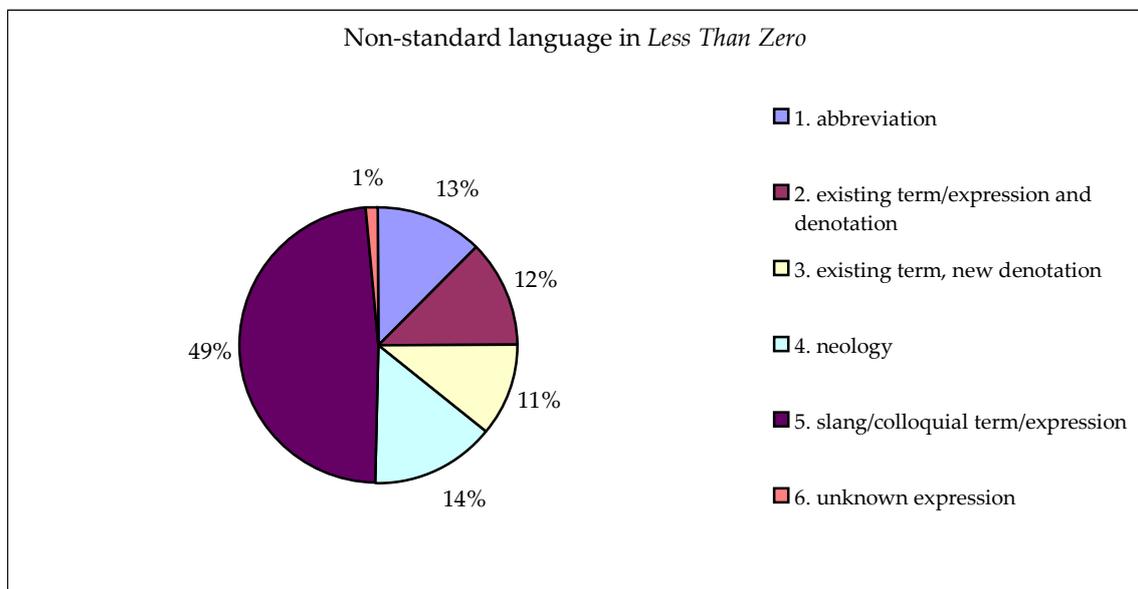
Hensgens wrote a thesis about the question of autobiography in the works of Ellis. In contrary to the reviews, he states that it is almost impossible to regard *Less Than Zero* autobiographical in the traditional sense, because of the narrative tenses, the amount of direct speech, the identity of the author and the protagonist's name (Hensgens 33). An autobiographical novel is essentially "an account of life written in retrospective by that person, so that the authorship of autobiographical texts is represented by an identity (or rather 'similarity') of the author, the narrator, and the protagonist of the narration" (Hensgens 31). In this respect, *Less Than Zero* could never be regarded to be an autobiographical novel. Furthermore, Ellis had written two books before his formal debut, when he was sixteen. According to himself, he had rid himself of autobiographical tendencies in these earlier writings (Amerika and Laurence, par. 16).

Many reviews included the notion of the 'MTV generation'. *USA Weekly* has even reviewed this novel as the "*Catcher in the Rye* for the MTV generation". The television network MTV was launched in 1981 and plays a significant role in the novel. MTV functions as part of the atmosphere: the channel is almost

always on in the background when Clay is at home or at friend's places. The influence of music does not stop with MTV. There is also mentioning of various nightclubs and artists of the eighties, like Culture Club, Deborah Harry, Icicle Works, The Blasters, and Exene. The mentioning of various music, brands and movies create an atmosphere that is only fully accessible for adolescents of the eighties and which makes this novel clearly a product of that era. Many adolescents of the eighties will also recognize the non-standard language use. Terms such as 'sleaze', 'shrink', and 'asshole' were neologies in the early eighties. Nowadays these terms can be found in dictionaries as being part of the general language or as slang terms.

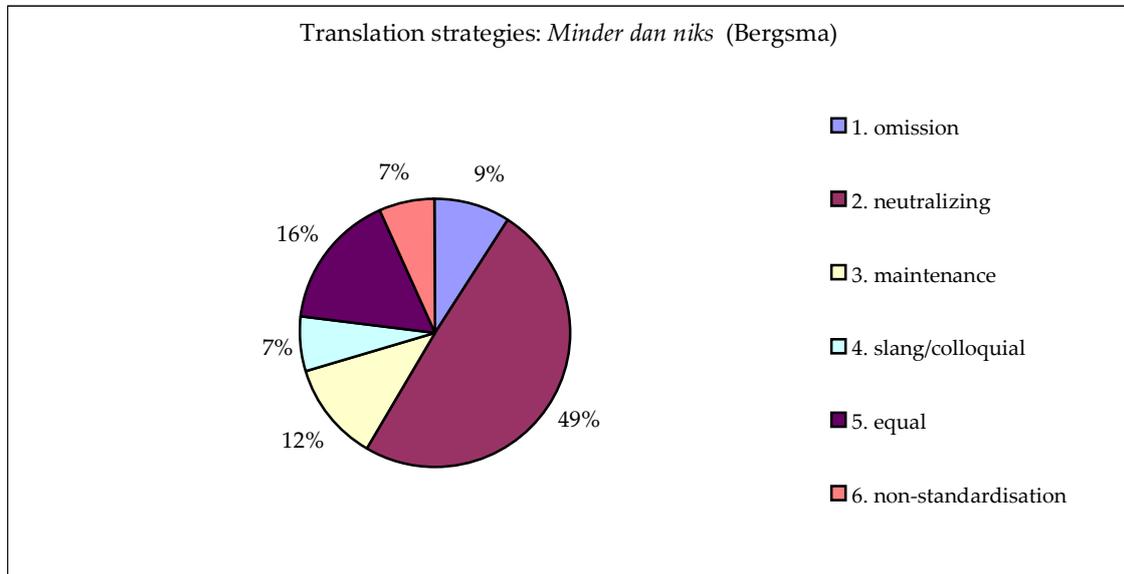
### 6.3 Youth Language in the Source Text: *Less Than Zero*

The total amount of non-standard elements in the source text is 284. The results are shown in appendix IV and V. The chart below gives an overview of the non-standard language in the source text.



#### 6.4 Translation of Youth Language: *Minder dan niks* (Bergsma)

*Minder dan niks* is a translation by Peter Bergsma and was published by Bakker in 1986. It was the first Dutch translation of *Less Than Zero*.



Bergsma used the translation strategy omission 9%. Some omissions are repetitions from the source text, some are particles that do not have syntactic value, such as *like* and curse terms, such as *who the fuck*. The majority of the curse terms that Bergsma omitted are substituted by placing a curse term in another position, but in the same sentence.

Bergsma translated almost half of the non-standard language in *Less Than Zero* with a neutralizing translation strategy. He has translated the 41 neologies with 27 terms that belong to the Dutch standard language. For example, the neology *shrink* is translated with the standard Dutch term *psychiater*, and *pissed of* is neutralized by using *nijdig*.

12% of the source text terms are maintained. The source text contained many terms that were already being used in the Dutch language, either as slang or as standard language. For instance, the terms for some types of drugs are the

same between the two languages: *coke*, *acid*, *speed*, and *meth*. The term *acid* was even more accepted in the Dutch language than it was in the English language at that time; in English dictionaries the term is listed as a slang term, whereas in Dutch dictionaries the term is already part of the standard language. These terms and their English spelling are all maintained in Bergsma's translation. Also, other terms related to the use of drugs, such as *stoned* and *joint* are maintained in the target text.

7% of Bergsma's translation strategies belong to the slang/colloquial category. The neologies *dick* and *asshole*, for example, are translated with the Dutch slang terms *lul* and *klootzak*.

16% of Bergsma's translations of non-standard language are equal in category to their counterparts in the source text. For example, the English slang term *weird* is translated with the Dutch slang term *mafkees*. Bergsma has also tried to use Dutch abbreviations for their English counterparts. He translated the abbreviated greeting *later* with the Dutch abbreviated greeting *zie je*.

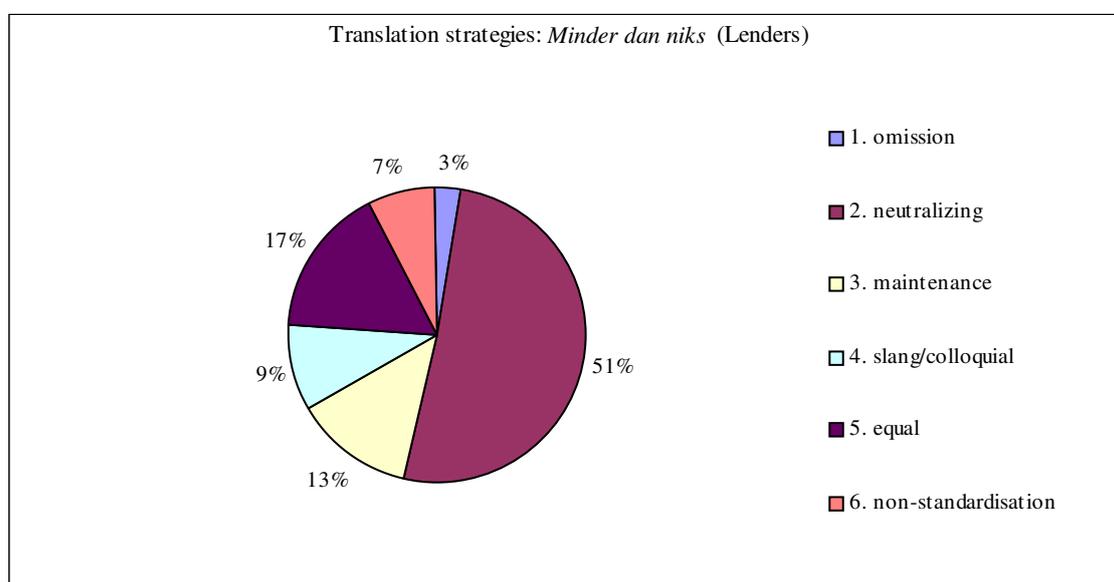
7% of Bergsma's translations are more non-standard than their counterparts in the source text. An expression such as *stijf staan van de dope* was not yet included in the Dutch standard language, whereas the English dictionaries did already include the expression *strung out* as being a slang expression.

Bergsma used repetition cancelling to some extent. In the source text, there are a few terms that add to overall use of youth language, for example the repetition of *fuck* and *dude* (19). *Fuck* is translated with numerous Dutch terms, such as *godverdomme*, *verdomme*, *neuk*, and *kut*. The most obvious reason for this is that the term has many different denotations in English, whereas Dutch does not have an equivalent that has the same amount of denotations. When the term *fuck(ing)* is used as a curse term, Bergsma chooses to translate this single term

with three different Dutch terms: *kelere*, *kut*, and *goddomme*. In this case, he could choose between repetition and repetition cancelling. The same holds for the term *dude*, which Bergsma translated with four different terms: *man*, *makker*, *maat*, and *allemaal*.

### 6.5 Translation of Youth Language: *Minder dan niks* (Lenders)

*Less Than Zero* is a translation by Balt Lenders and was published by Luitingh-Sijthoff in 1993. It was the second Dutch translation of *Less Than Zero*.



Lenders used the translation strategy omission only 3%. For the most part, these omissions are due to the fact that Lenders used a sentence structure in which not all source text terms were necessary. He has also omitted some curse terms, but substituted them by placing a Dutch curse term in another position in the same sentence.

Lenders translated over half of the non-standard language in *Less Than Zero*, with a neutralizing translation strategy. He has translated the 41 neologies with 22 terms that belong to the Dutch standard language, thereby reducing the amount of neologies with more than half. Opposed to this reduction of

neologies, Lenders has added neologies in the translation. The total amount of extra neologies is nine. One of these neologies is the term *uitfreaken*, which is obviously based on its source text counterpart *freaking out*. Lenders mimics Bergsma translation strategy, who has translated this with *freakt (ze helemaal) uit*. Both translators have used the source text term as a loan term, but with an inflection that is based on Dutch grammar rules. Nowadays this term is still absent in Dutch dictionaries and can therefore, still, be considered a neology. Another neology in Lenders' translation is the term *smack*, which Lenders maintained from the source text, but which was not yet included in Dutch dictionaries at that time.

In addition to the term *smack*, Lenders has maintained many more terms from the source text that are drug, or drug related, terms: *stoned*, *joint*, *speed*, and *meth*. In total, 13% of all non-standard language is maintained in the translation of Lenders.

9% of Lenders' translation strategies belong to the slang/colloquial category. For example, he translated the neologies *pissed of* and *asshole* with the Dutch slang terms *pissig* and *hufter*, and the English abbreviation *fag* with *flikker*.

17% of Lenders' translations of non-standard language are equal in category to their counterparts in the source text, for example the source text term *cool* is translated with the Dutch term *tof*. Both of them are slang terms. The same holds for the slang expression *fuck off* and its Dutch translation *sodemieter op*.

7% of Lenders' translations are more non-standard than their counterparts in the source text. For example, the English slang term *fucked up* is translated with *naar de kloten*, which was at the time an unknown expression in the Dutch standard language.

Lenders also used repetition cancelling. As said before, in the source text, two terms in particular are important to the overall impression that Clay and his friends use youth language, namely *dude* and *fuck(ing)*. These two terms are used repetitively in conversation between the adolescents. Lenders has cancelled the repetition by translating these two terms with numerous Dutch terms. For example, *dude* is translated with *kerel*, *jongen*, *knul*, *man*, *schat*, and *jochie*. The term *fuck(ing)*, used as a curse term, is translated with *kloterige*, *kut*, *verdomme*, *verklooi*, *pest*, *verzieken*, *verdikkeme*, *opgefokt*, *goddomme*, *sodemieter* and *verrekte*.

## 6.6 Discussion

The two translators have in common that they use the neutralizing translation strategy most of all: around 50% of the non-standard terms are translated with standard Dutch terms.

There is only one difference between the charts of Bergsma's translation and Lenders' translation that is worth mentioning and that is that Bergsma made more use of the translation strategy omission than Lenders did: 9% to 3%. Major differences in translation strategies, which could be seen between the two translations of *The Catcher in the Rye*, are absent in the comparison of these two translations. There are two reasons for this: a) the translation of Bergsma and the translation of Lenders have a shorter period of time between them, and b) a large amount of the non-standard terms in *Less Than Zero* is less subject to differences in interpretation than the non-standard terms in *The Catcher in the Rye*. Several of the non-standard terms in *Less Than Zero* have their origin in the world of medicine. Terms, such as *heroin* and *cocaine*, are listed as illegal substances, but started out as medication. The medical world has an international jargon in which differences between languages are minimized so

that it is easy to relate a term to its origin. The English terms *heroin* and *cocaine* have the Dutch equivalents *heroïne* and *cocaïne*. Dictionary research has pointed out that a great deal of these medical originated terms are already integrated in the English and Dutch standard language. Terms as *coke* and *meth* are listed in dictionaries as slang terms or even without any further comments. Because these drug-related terms are used in both the English and Dutch language, the majority is maintained in both translations.

Both Bergsma and Lenders have repeatedly applied the translation strategy repetition canceling. The amount of non-standard language is thereby reduced. In addition, certain terms, of which the repetition in the source text added to the specific use of youth language of the main characters, have been reduced to single occurrences. These terms do not attract as much attention as they did in the source text.

The four non-standard language categories *abbreviation*, *neology*, *existing term*, *new denotations*, and *unknown expression* consist of terms that are part of the youth language. In the source text, these two categories together consist of 112 terms, which is 39% of the non-standard language. In the translation of Bergsma, these four categories together consist of 38 terms, which is only 13%. In the translation of Lenders, the total amount is 51 terms, which is 18%. These statistics speak for themselves. Both translators have reduced the amount of youth language drastically.

## Conclusion

Non-standard language has been a subject of interest to me since high school. Youth language as a non-standard language variety is especially interesting because of its relation to age and its high circulation rate. This fast change of popular terms and phrases make it a particular difficult subject to research. I made it somewhat easier by combining the subject of youth language with another of my interests: young adult literature. The youth language that I have researched in this thesis, is spoken by the protagonists of two widely known American-English novels: *The Catcher in the Rye* and *Less Than Zero*.

The goal of this thesis was to establish what the translation difficulties of youth language are and which strategies can be used for its translation. Different strategies have different consequences for the target text and its effect on the reader. Before these translation difficulties, strategies, and their consequences could be determined, it was necessary to first lay down a theoretical part about youth language and young adult literature. This theoretical part exists of chapters one to three, in which the definition, characteristics, and history of youth language and young adult literature are explored. Striking was the lack of information and research on the translation of young adult literature. I tried to substantiate why this is, and came to the conclusion that for the greater part, young adult literature is not regarded to be a category in its own, but rather as a subcategory of children's literature. The fact remains that there is a void in translation studies when it comes to research on young adult literature.

The second half of this thesis is dedicated to a case study in which I researched the translation of youth language in *The Catcher in the Rye*, *Less Than Zero*, and two Dutch translations of each novel. Both novels were controversial in the first period after their publication. *The Catcher in the Rye* was published in

1951 and was said to be the first novel that included the uncensored realm of thought of an adolescent boy. The novel was criticized because of themes such as mental instability and the awakening sexuality of a young man, which were not considered to be suitable themes for adolescent readers. *Less Than Zero* was published in 1985 and came to be known as *The Catcher in the Rye* for the MTV generation. The novel was considered to be controversial, because of the extensive drug and alcohol use of the main characters.

For this thesis, both novels perfectly fit the profile of young adult literature because of their adolescent protagonists, subject matter, first-person narratives, and, of course, youth language. For the case study, I listed all the non-standard language that occurred in both source texts. This included only the non-standard language that occurred in conversations between young adult characters. My method of research was inspired by Hoppenbrouwers, who has worked with lexical filters to include youth language and exclude standard language. Hoppenbrouwers also used a classification system in which the various terms of youth language can be grouped. Though this worked perfectly for research on youth language that is based on scripts of actual, real life youth language, it proved to be unsuccessful in my case study on youth language in young adult literature. The gap between youth language that is spoken by real adolescents and youth language that is written by an author was bigger than I could have predicted on forehand.

The outcome of my research was quite clear in that it points out the differences between two translations of the same work. There were great differences in translation strategies between the two translations of *The Catcher in the Rye*, which did not come as a surprise, because there is a time gap of twenty-two years between their publication dates. There is a great difference in the liberties that the two translators have allowed themselves in their

translations. Schuchart choose to stay very close to the source text, for example by omitting only 9% of the non-standard language and translating over 10% with a term of equal non-standardness. In comparison, Hos took the liberty to omit 27% of the non-standard language and translated only 3% with a term of equal non-standardness. On the other hand, Schuchart non-standardized more terms than Hos, which is surprising for a translator who stays so close to the source text. The reason for Schuchart's high percentage of non-standardization lies in that many of the recurring curse terms that he uses, where not yet part of the standard language. The greater part of the percentage is made up by a small variety of recurring terms. Both translators neutralized over half of the non-standard terms.

The differences in translation strategies between the two Dutch translations of *Less Than Zero* are minor compared to the translations of *The Catcher in the Rye*. The only difference that is worth mentioning is that Bergsma omitted almost 10% of the non-standard language, whereas Lenders omitted only 3%. Both translators neutralized around half of the non-standard language.

Following from the results of this case study, I draw the conclusion that in the translation of non-standard language, such as youth language, the focus of the translator is primarily on finding an equivalent in denotation, rather than a combination of an equivalent in denotation and non-standardness. A large amount of youth language was neutralized or substituted by other non-standard types, such as slang or colloquial terms. Thereby, the function of youth language in these young adult novels disappears. The common ground between protagonist and reader, which was carefully constructed by the author of the source text, is erased. In addition, the aspect of code switching is not transferred to the translations. All in all, in comparison to the two source texts, the four translations contain less youth language in the set parameter.

An important characteristic of *The Catcher in the Rye* and *Less Than Zero* is reduced in the translations of these novels. In my opinion, a translator should include an extensive assessment of the non-standard language, i.e. youth language, in the translation process of a novel. A proper assessment of the non-standard language of the source text is necessary in order to create the same effect of the non-standard language in the target text. One of the most important features of non-standard language is the effect on the reader. A translator should keep in mind that such an effect is not an incidental consequence, but an intentional one. An assessment of the non-standard language should include an overview of the types of non-standard language and the repetition of certain words.

In order to get a complete impression of the youth language in a translation of a young adult novel, one should also assess the youth language in the direction target text to source text. In further research, it would be interesting to see what the overall outcome would be when the research process is reversed.

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## Appendixes

### Appendix I – Lexical Filter

#### *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951):

1. The American Everyday Dictionary (1955) fourth edition,
2. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (1951) fourth edition,
3. The New American Webster Dictionary (1951) seventh edition,
4. Thin Paper Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1951) second edition.

#### *De kinderredder van New York* (1967):

1. Kramer's Woordenboek Nederlands (1965) tenth edition,
2. Prisma Nederlands woordenboek (1969) fifteenth edition,
3. Van Goor's klein Nederlands woordenboek (1966) tenth edition,
4. Verklarend Handwoordenboek der Nederlandse Taal (1966) twenty-sixth edition.

#### *De vanger in het graan* (1989):

1. Kramer's groot woordenboek Nederlands, tevens vreemde woordenboek (1986) second edition,
2. Van Dale groot woordenboek van hedendaags Nederlandse (1991) second edition,
3. Wolters' ster woordenboek Nederlands: kleine Koenen (1989) first edition,
4. Wolters' woordenboek Nederlands Koenen (1987) twenty-eight edition.

*Less than Zero* (1985):

1. Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1987) second edition,
2. Longman Webster English College Dictionary (1984) first edition,
3. The Bloomsbury Concise English Dictionary (1985) first edition,
4. Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (1983) ninth edition.

*Minder dan niks* (1986):

1. Kramer's groot woordenboek Nederlands, tevens vreemde woordenboek (1986) second edition,
2. Kramers' woordenboek Nederlands (1986) nineteenth edition, seventeenth (oplage),
3. Van Dale groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal (1984) eleventh edition,
4. Wolters woordenboek eigentijds Nederlands: grote Koenen (1986) first edition.

*Minder dan niks* (1993):

1. Van Dale groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal (1992) twelfth edition,
2. Wolters woordenboek Nederlands Koenen (1992) twenty-ninth edition,
3. Wolters' ster woordenboek Nederlands: kleine Koenen (1993) second edition,
4. Woordenboek Nederlands (1992) fourth edition.

Appendix II – Youth Language in *De Kinderredder van New York*

Chapter 3

Source Term	Page	Type <sup>10</sup>		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
goddam	32	2*		verdomde	27	3	non-standardisation
and stuff	32	4		en zo	27	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	32	2*		allejzus	27	4	non-standardisation
ya	32	2*		je	27	2	neutralizing
ya	32	2*		je	27	2	neutralizing
goddam	33	2*		verdomde	27	3	non-standardisation
'em	33	2*		(er)	27	2	neutralizing
(don't give a) damn	33	6		(kan me geen) donder (schelen)	27	6	equal
'bout	33	2*		zou	28	2	neutralizing
goddam	33	2			28	n/a	omission (1)
hellya	33	3*		in Jezusnaam	28	4	non-standardisation
goddam	33	2*		kelere(boek)	28	4	non-standardisation
nuts	34	3		stapel	28	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	34	2*		in Jezusnaam	28	4	non-standardisation
belongsa	34	2*		(van wie is dit)	29	2	neutralizing
hellia	34	3*		in Jezusnaam	29	4	non-standardisation
buck	34	5		dollar	29	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	34	2*		godbetert	29	3*	non-standardisation
like hell it is	34	6		dat dacht je maar	29	2	neutralizing
kicked out	35	6		(van school af bent) getrapt	29	6	equal

---

<sup>10</sup>

1. abbreviation
2. existing term/expression and denotation
3. existing term, new denotation
4. neology
5. slang/colloquial term/expression
6. unknown expression

\* Written as spoken

\*\* English

\*\*\* Spelled differently

hell	35	3			29	n/a	omission
willya	35	2*		wil je	29	2	neutralizing
ya	35	2*		je	29	2	neutralizing
got'em	35	2*		'm	29	2*	equal
'em	36	2*		'm	30	2*	equal
willya	36	2*		wil je	30	2	neutralizing
lemme	36	2*		laat mij	30	2	neutralizing
goddam	36	2*		godvergemese	30	4	non-standardisation
'bout	36	2*		zou je	30	2	neutralizing
'em	36	2*		ze	30	2	neutralizing
willya	36	2*		alsjeblijft	30	2	neutralizing
crumby	36	3		rot(nagels)	30	2	neutralizing
sonuvabitch	36	4*		klootzak	30	4	equal
sonuvabitch	36	4*		klootzakken	30	4	equal
goddam	37	2*		godvergeten	30	2	neutralizing
sonuvabitch	37	4*		klootzak	30	4	equal
goddam	37	2*		verdomd	31	2	neutralizing
sonuvabitch	37	4*		klootzak	31	4	equal
for Chrissake	37	2*		in Jezusnaam	31	4	non-standardisation
willya	37	2*		wil je	31	2	neutralizing
crumby	37	3		gore	31	3	equal
(for) cryin' (out loud)	37	2*		schreeuwde	31	2	neutralizing
(don't ) gimme (that)	37	2*		schei (...) uit	31	2	neutralizing
sonuvabitch	38	4*		rotjongen	31	2	neutralizing
sonuvabitch	38	4*		rotjongen	31	2	neutralizing
helluva	38	6*		weg van bent	31	2	neutralizing
goddam	38	2*		rot(das)	31	2	neutralizing
hell	38	3		verdomme nog an toe	31	3*	non-standardisation
dough	38	5		geld	31	2	neutralizing
dough	38	5		poen	31	2	neutralizing
lousy	38	3			32	n/a	omission
goddam	38	2*		godvergeten	32	2	neutralizing
hell	39	3			32	n/a	omission
'bout	39	2*		zou	32	2	neutralizing
gonna	39	2*		heb je (...) nodig	32	2	neutralizing
crap	39	4 (2)		spul	32	2	neutralizing
goddam	39	2*		verdomde	32	3	non-standardisation
how'sa	39	2*		hoe gaat het	32	2	neutralizing

ya	39	2*		je	33	2	neutralizing

## Chapter 4

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
wanna	42	2*		zou	35	2	neutralizing
goin'	42	2*		ga	35	2	neutralizing
'bout	43	2*		zou	35	2	neutralizing
be up the creek	43	6		er zwaait wat	35	2	neutralizing
goddam	43	2*		rot(ding)	35	2	neutralizing
'bout	43	2*		zeg	35	2	neutralizing
flunking out	43	5		wordt afgetrapt	35	2	neutralizing
goddam	43	2*		pokken(school)	35	3	non-standardisation
goddam	43	2*		kelere(opstel)	35	4	non-standardisation
be up the creek	43	6		er wat voor me zwaait	35	2	neutralizing
buddy	43	5		fideel	35	2	neutralizing
buddyroo	43	4		fidele vent	35	2	neutralizing
as hell	43	6		als de hel	35	3	neutralizing
sonuvabitch	43	4*		rotzak	36	2	neutralizing
hot-shot	43	4		geweldenaar	36	3	neutralizing
and stuff	43	3		en zo	36	2	neutralizing
goddam	44	2*		rot(gouverneur)	36	2	neutralizing
goddam	44	2*		verdomme	36	3	non-standardisation
drunk as a bastard	44	6		straalbezopen	36	4	non-standardisation
ole	44	2*			36	n/a	omission
goddam	44	2*		rot(mormel)	36	2	neutralizing
where'dja	44	2*		waar heb je	37	2	neutralizing
buck	45	5		dollar	37	2	neutralizing
ya	45	2*		je	37	2	neutralizing
gonna	45	2*		ga	37	2	neutralizing
hell	45	3		god bewaar me	37	3	equal
ya	45	2*		je	37	2	neutralizing
cut it out	45	5		hou op	37	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	45	2*		in Jezusnaam	37	4	non-standardisation
wuddaya	45	2*		wat wil je	37	2	neutralizing

wanna	45	2*			37	n/a	omission (3)
goddam	45	2*		verdomme	37	3	non-standardisation
cut out	46	5		schei uit	37	2	neutralizing
crap	46	4		gelazer	37	4	equal
babe	46	3 (4)		griet	38	2	neutralizing
screwed up	46						
		3		in het honderd gelopen	38	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	46	2*		in Jezusnaam	38	4	non-standardisation
ya	46	2*		je	38	2	neutralizing
oughta	46	2*		moet	38	2 (5)	neutralizing
willya	47	2*		alsjeblijft	38	2	neutralizing
lousy	47	3		lelijk	39	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	47	2*		in Jezusnaam	39	4	non-standardisation
dough	48	5		geld	39	2	neutralizing
oughta	48	2*		moest	39	2 (6)	neutralizing
don'tcha	48	2*		doe je 't niet	39	2*	equal
booze hound	48	4 (7)		dronkelap	39	2	neutralizing
goddam	48	2*			39	n/a	omission
booze	48	5		zuipen	39	5	slang/colloquial
goddam	48	2*		godvergeten	39	2	neutralizing
goddam	48	2*		godvergeten	39	2	neutralizing
lousy	48	3		rot(jeugd)	40	2	neutralizing
oughta	48	2*		kan doen	40	2	neutralizing
hell	49	3		verdomme	40	3	equal
don'tcha	49						
		2*		doe je dat (...) niet	40	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	49	2*		in Jezusnaam	40	4	non-standardisation
willya	49	2*		wil je	40	2	neutralizing
kicked out	49	6		afgetrapt	40	6	equal
willya	49	2*		wil je	40	2	neutralizing
hell (8)	50	3		verdomme	41	3	equal
ya	50	2*		je	41	2	neutralizing
ya	50	2*		je	41	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	50	2*		in Jezusnaam	41	4	non-standardisation
goddam	50	2*		verdomme	41	3	non-standardisation
don't knock yourself out	50						
		6 (9)		werk je niet te barsten	41	6	equal
as hell	51	6		als de pest	41	2	neutralizing
take it easy	51	5		kalm aan	41	2	neutralizing

## Chapter 6

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
hell	58			(voor de) donder	48	6	non-standardisation
goddam	58	2*		verdomd	48	3	non-standardisation
for Chrissake	59	2*		in Jezusnaam	49	4	non-standardisation
goddam	59	2*		verdomde	49	3	non-standardisation
wuddaya	59	2*		wabedoelje	49	2*	equal
ya	59	2*		je	49	2	neutralizing
goddam	59	2*		verdomde	49	3	non-standardisation
hell	59	3		verdomme	49	3	equal
backasswards	59			tegen de draad in	49	2	neutralizing
flunking out	59	5		getrapt	49	6	non-standardisation
hell	59	3			49	n/a	omission
hellja	60	3*		verdomme	49	3	equal
goddam	60	2*		godvergeten	49	3	non-standardisation
coupla	60	2*		paar	49	2	neutralizing
hell	60	3		verdomme	50	3	equal
ya	60	2*		je	50	2	neutralizing
hell	60	3		in Jezusnaam	50	4	non-standardisation
gonna	60	2*		gaat	50	2	neutralizing
'bout	60	2*		zou	50	2	neutralizing
can	60	3		plee	50	4	non-standardisation
hell	60	3			50	n/a	omission
stick around	60	6		blijven	50	2	neutralizing
hell	61	3		verdomme	50	3	equal
ya	61	2*		je	50	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	61			Jezus nog aan toe	50	3	non-standardisation
where'd	61	2*		waar heb	50	2	neutralizing
ya	61	2*		je	50	2	neutralizing
cut it out	61	5		kap er mee	50	3	non-standardisation
where'd	61	2*		waar ben	50	2	neutralizing
goddam	61	2*		rot(wagen)	51	2	neutralizing
cut it out	61	5		kap ermee	51	3	non-standardisation
what'd	62	2*		wat heb	51	2	neutralizing
give her the time	62						
		6		versierd	51	3	neutralizing
goddam	62	2*			51	n/a	omission
buddy	62	5		vriendje	51	2	neutralizing
hell	63	3		verdomme	52	3	equal

lousy	63	3		rot(knieën)	52	2	neutralizing
offa	63	2*		op	52	2	neutralizing
ya	63	2*			52	n/a	omission (10)
crumby	63	3		vuile	52	2	neutralizing
bastard	63	3		klootzak	52	4	non-standardisation
ya	63	2*		je	52	2	neutralizing
goddam	63	2*		verdomde	52	3	non-standardisation
moron	63	3		idiot	52	2	neutralizing
ya	63	2*		je	52	2	neutralizing
ya	63	2*		je	52	2	neutralizing
moron	63	3		idiote	52	2	neutralizing
letcha	63	2*		je laat	52	2	neutralizing
letcha	63	2*			52	n/a	omission (11)
willya	63	2*			52	n/a	omission (12)
sonuvabitch	64	4*		klootzak	52	4	equal
moron	64	3		idiote	52	2	neutralizing
yap	64	4 (13)		smoel	52	5	slang/colloquial
gonna	64	2*		zal	52	2	neutralizing
morons	64	3		idioten	52	2	neutralizing
moron	64	3		idiot	52	2	neutralizing
hell	64	3		verdomme	53	3	equal
don'tcha	64	2*		hou je je	53	2	neutralizing
tellya	64	2*		zeg	53	2	neutralizing
ya	64	2*		je	53	2	neutralizing

## Chapter 7

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
y'awake	66	2*		bêje wakker	54	2*	equal
hellya	66	3*		(wat voor de) bliksem	54	4	non-standardisation
wuddaya	66	2*		wat bedoel je	54	2	neutralizing
hell	66	3		(wat voor de) bliksem	54	4	non-standardisation
tryna	66	2*		probeerde te	54	2	neutralizing
hell	66	3			54	2	omission
hell	66	3			54	2	omission
goddam	66	2*		godvergemese	54	4	non-standardisation
for Chrissake	67	2*		in Jezusnaam	54	4	non-standardisation
ya	67	2*		je	54	2	neutralizing
wanna	67	2*		wil	54	2	neutralizing

don'tcha	67	2*		of niet	54	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	67	2*		in Jezusnaam	54	4	non-standardisation
gotta	67	2*		moet	55	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	67	2*		in Jezusnaam	55	4	non-standardisation
goddam	67	2*		goddomme	55	4	non-standardisation
hell	67	3		goddomme	55	4	non-standardisation
wanna	67	2*		wil	55	2	neutralizing
ya	67	2*		je	55	2	neutralizing
hell	67	3		verdomme	55	3	equal
hell	67	3		in Jezusnaam	55	4	non-standardisation
for Chrissake	68	2*		in Jezusnaam	55	4	non-standardisation
goddam	68	2*		verdomde	55	3	non-standardisation
hell	68	3		in Jezusnaam	55	4	non-standardisation
hell	68	3		in godsnaam	55	3	equal
for Chrissake	68	2*		allejzus	56	4	non-standardisation
goddam	68	2*		godvergeten	56	3	non-standardisation
lousy	68	3		klootzak	56	4	non-standardisation
don'tcha	69						
		2*		stuur je ze nooit	56	2	neutralizing
'bout	69	2*		zou	56	2	neutralizing
goddam	69	2*		rot(licht)	56	2	neutralizing
'bout	69	2*		zou	56	2	neutralizing
goddam	69	2*		verdomde	56	3	non-standardisation
gotta	69	2*		moet	56	2	neutralizing
ya	69	2*		je	56	2	neutralizing
what're	69	2*		wat	56	2	neutralizing
gonna	69	2*		ga	56	2	neutralizing
(like) hell	69	6		rot	56	2	neutralizing
goddam	69	2*		verdomde	57	3	non-standardisation
what the hell's	71			(wat is er)			
		6		goddomme		4	non-standardisation
for Chrissake	71	2*		goddomme	58	4	non-standardisation
bastard	71	3		klootzak	58	4	non-standardisation
gonna	71	2*		ga	58	2	neutralizing
bastards	71	3		klootzakken	58	4	non-standardisation
bastards	71	3		klootzakken	58	4	non-standardisation
cracks	71	3		bespottelijk	58	2	neutralizing
goddam	71	2*		verdomde	58	3	non-standardisation
for Chrissake	71	2*		in Jezusnaam	58	4	non-standardisation
cracks	71	3		bespottelijk	58	2	neutralizing
goddam	71	2*		verdomde	58	3	non-standardisation
goddam	71	2*		verdomde	58	3	non-standardisation

aces	71	3		mieterse vent	58	4	non-standardisation
gonna	72	2*		zal	58	4	neutralizing
bash	72	5		je hersens in-	58	6	non-standardisation
ya	74	2*			60	n/a	omission (14)
morons	74	3		rotzakken	60	5	slang/colloquial

## Chapter 9

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
goddam	89	2*		godvergeten	72	3	non-standardisation
bein'	90	2*		worden	72	2	neutralizing
and stuff	90	3			72	n/a	omission
gal	91	4 (15)		meisje	73	2	neutralizing
gotta	91	2*		moet	73	2	neutralizing
ya	91	2*			73	n/a	omission (16)
callin'	91	2*		belt	73	2	neutralizing
ya	91	2*		u	73	2	neutralizing
ya	91	2*		u	73	2	neutralizing
willya	92	2*		wilt u	73	2	neutralizing

## Chapter 15

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
ya	146	2*		jou	116	2	neutralizing
swell	146	5		geweldig	116	2	neutralizing
ya	146	2*		jij	116	2	neutralizing
swell	146	5		geweldig	116	2	neutralizing

## Chapter 17

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
swell	170	5		mieters	134	4	non-standardisation
ya	170	2*		je	134	2	neutralizing
corny	171	5 (17)		duf	135	2	neutralizing
soul kiss	173	6		pakkerd	137	2	neutralizing
don't give a darn	175			kan me geen snars schelen	138	2	neutralizing
fed up	177	6		buik vol van	140	2	neutralizing
lousy	177	3		rottig	140	2	neutralizing

and all that stuff	177	6		en dat soort dingen	140	2	neutralizing
goddam	178	2*		rot(knol)	140	2	neutralizing
hell	178	3			141	n/a	omission
goddam (place)	178	2*		God weet waar	141	3	non-standardisation
goddam	178	2*		godvergeten	141	3	non-standardisation
give a damn	178	6		kan schelen	141	2	neutralizing
goddam	178	2*		goddomese	141	4	non-standardisation
goddam	178	2*		godvergeten	141	3	non-standardisation
goddam	178	2*			141	n/a	omission
goddam	179	2*		verdomme	141	3	non-standardisation
lousy	179	3		rottig	141	2	neutralizing
as hell	179	3		als de hel	141	3	equal
bucks	179	5		dollar	141	2	neutralizing
hell	179	3		godvergeten	141	3	equal
bucks	179	5		dollar	142	2	neutralizing
dough	179	5		geld	142	2	neutralizing
dough	179	5		geld	142	2	neutralizing
wuddaya	179	2*		wat (zeg) je ervan	142	2	neutralizing
c'mon	179	2*		vooruit	142	2	neutralizing
wuddaya	179	2*		wat (zeg) je ervan	142	2	neutralizing
hell	180	3		goddomme	142	4	neutralizing
can'tcha	180	2*		kun je niet	142	2	neutralizing
oodles	180	4 (18)		heleboel	142	2	neutralizing
oodles	180	4		heleboel	142	2	neutralizing
oodles	180	4		heleboel	142	2	neutralizing
dough	181	5		geld	143	2	neutralizing
goddam	181	2*		godvergeten	143	2	neutralizing
c'mon	181	2*		vooruit	143	2	neutralizing
outa	181	2*		gaan	143	2	neutralizing
giving me a royal pain in the ass	181	6		krijg pijn aan me gat	143	6	equal
c'mon	183	2*		ga mee	143	2	neutralizing



Appendix III – Youth Language in *De vanger in het graan*

Chapter 3

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
goddam	32	2*		klote(floretten)	28	5	slang/colloquial
and stuff	32	4		en alles	28	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	32	2*		Jezus	28	2	neutralizing
ya	32	2*		je	28	2	neutralizing
ya	32	2*			28	n/a	omission (1)
goddam	33	2*			28	n/a	omission
'em	33	2*		ze	28	2	neutralizing
(don't give a) damn	33	6		(kan me geen) moer (schelen)	28	2	neutralizing
'bout	33	2*		als	28	2	neutralizing
goddam	33	2		goddomme	28	2	neutralizing
hellya	33	3*			29	n/a	omission (2)
goddam	33	2*			29	n/a	omission (3)
nuts	34	3		gek	29	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	34	2*		in jezusnaam	29	4	non-standardisation
belongsa	34	2*		van wie	30	2	neutralizing
hellia	34	3*			30	n/a	omission (4)
buck	34	5		dollar	30	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	34	2*			30	n/a	omission
like hell it is	34	6		vergeet 't maar	30	2*	neutralizing
kicked out	35	6		getrapt	30	6	equal
hell	35	3			30	n/a	omission
willya	35	2*			31	n/a	omission
ya	35	2*		je	31	2	neutralizing
got'em	35	2*		heb (...) hem	31	2	neutralizing
'em	36	2*		hem	31	2	neutralizing
willya	36	2*		ja	31	2	neutralizing
lemme	36	2*		neem mij	31	2	neutralizing
goddam	36	2*			31	n/a	omission
'bout	36	2*			31	n/a	omission
'em	36	2*		ze	31	2	neutralizing
willya	36	2*			31	n/a	omission
crumby	36	3		smerige	31	2	neutralizing
sonuvabitch	36	4*		kloutzak	32	5	slang/colloquial
sonuvabitch	36	4*		kloutzak	32	5	slang/colloquial
goddam	37	2*			32	n/a	omission
sonuvabitch	37	4*		kloutzak	32	5	slang/colloquial
goddam	37	2*			32	n/a	omission

sonuvabitch	37	4*		klootzak	32	5	slang/colloquial
for Chrissake	37	2*		Jezus	32	2	neutralizing
willya	37	2*		wil je	32	2	neutralizing
crumby	37	3		smerige	32	2	neutralizing
(for) cryin' (out loud)	37	2*		(als je dat soms denkt)	32	2	neutralizing
(don't ) gimme (that)	37	2*		(zit niet te zeiken)	32	2	neutralizing
sonuvabitch	38	4*		klootzak	33	5	slang/colloquial
sonuvabitch	38	4*		klootzak	33	5	slang/colloquial
helluva	38	6*			33	n/a	omission
goddam	38	2*			33	n/a	omission
hell	38	3		Jezus	33	2	neutralizing
dough	38	5		centen	33	2	neutralizing
dough	38	5		centen	33	2	neutralizing
lousy	38	3		waardeloze	33	2	neutralizing
goddam	38	2*			33	n/a	omission
hell	39	3			34	n/a	omission
'bout	39	2*		kan	34	2	neutralizing
gonna	39	2*		trek	34	2	neutralizing
crap	39	4 (6)		smerig spul	34	2	neutralizing
goddam	39	2*			34	n/a	omission (7)
how'sa	39	2*		hoe gaat ie	34	2*	equal
ya	39	2*		je	34	2	neutralizing

## Chapter 4

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
wanna	42	2*		kun je	37	2	neutralizing
goin'	42	2*		ga	37	2	neutralizing
'bout	43	2*		(als jij nou eens)	37	2	neutralizing
be up the creek	43	6		ben (ik) ontzettend zuur	37	6 (8)	equal
goddam	43	2*		klote(stuk)	37	5	slang/colloquial
'bout	43	2*		(kan dat)	37	2	neutralizing
flunking out	43	5		afgetrapt	37	6	non-standardisation
goddam	43	2*		klote(school)	37	2	neutralizing
goddam	43	2*			37	n/a	omission
be up the creek	43	6		ben (ik) ontzettend zuur	38	6	equal

buddy	43	5	(doe mij nou een lol)	38	6 (9)	non-standardisation
buddyroo	43	4	(oké)	38	2	neutralizing
as hell	43	6	ontzettend	38	2	neutralizing
sonuvabitch	43	4*	klootzak	38	5	slang/colloquial
hot-shot	43	4	beregoed	38	2	neutralizing
and stuff	43	3		38	n/a	omission
goddam	44	2*		39	n/a	omission
goddam	44	2*		39	n/a	omission
drunk as a bastard	44	6	zo zat als een aap	39	6 (10)	equal
ole	44	2*		39	n/a	omission
goddam	44	2*		39	n/a	omission
where'dja	44	2*	waar heb je	39	2	neutralizing
buck	45	5	dollar	39	2	neutralizing
ya	45	2*	je	39	2	neutralizing
gonna	45	2*		39	n/a	omission (11)
hell (no)	45	3	schei uit	39	2	neutralizing
ya	45	2*	je	39	2	neutralizing
cut it out	45	5	schei uit	40	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	45	2*	Jezus	40	2	neutralizing
wuddaya	45	2*	(wat wil je nou)	40	2	neutralizing
wanna	45	2*	(wat wil je nou)	40	2	neutralizing
goddam	45	2*	godverdomme	40	2	neutralizing
cut out	46	5	ophouden	40	2	neutralizing
crap	46	4		40	n/a	omission
babe	46	3 (12)		40	n/a	omission
screwed up	46	3	in de puin gelopen	40	6	non-standardisation
for Chrissake	46	2*	Jezus	41	2	neutralizing
ya	46	2*	je	41	2	neutralizing
oughta	46	2*	moet	41	2	neutralizing
willya	47	2*	til je	41	2	neutralizing
lousy	47	3	lelijke	41	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	47	2*	Jezus	41	2	neutralizing
dough	48	5	geld	42	2	neutralizing
oughta	48	2*	moet	42	2	neutralizing
don'tcha	48	2*	(dan) doe je dat toch	42	2	neutralizing
booze hound	48	4 (13)	drankorgel	42	2	neutralizing
goddam	48	2*		42	n/a	omission
booze	48	5	zuipen	42	2	neutralizing

goddam	48	2*			42	n/a	omission
goddam	48	2*			42	n/a	omission
lousy	48	3		waardeloze	42	2	neutralizing
oughta	48	2*		moet	42	2	neutralizing
hell	49	3			42	n/a	omission
don'tcha	49	2*		doe je	42	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	49	2*		Jezus	43	2	neutralizing
willya	49	2*		oké	43	2	neutralizing
kicked out	49	6		(van school) getrapt (ben)	43	6	equal
willya	49	2*		oké	43	2	neutralizing
hell (14)	50	3			44	n/a	omission
ya	50	2*		je	44	2	neutralizing
ya	50	2*		je	44	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	50	2*		godbetert	44	3*	non-standardisation
goddam	50	2*			44	n/a	omission
don't knock yourself out	50	3 (15)		je hoeft jezelf niet af te beulen	44	6	non-standardisation
as hell	51	6		ontzettend	44	2	neutralizing
take it easy	51	5		de mazzel	44	3	non-standardisation

## Chapter 6

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
hell	58	3			52	n/a	omission
goddam	58	2*		godverdomme	52	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	59	2*		Jezus Christus	53	2	neutralizing
goddam	59	2*		godverdomme	53	2	neutralizing
wuddaya	59	2*		hoezo	53	2	neutralizing
ya	59	2*		je	53	2	neutralizing
goddam	59	2*		godverdomme	53	2	neutralizing
hell	59	3			53	n/a	omission
backasswards	59	4		andersom	53	2	neutralizing
flunking out	59	5		(van school) getrapt (wordt)	53	6	non-standardisation
hell	59	3			53	n/a	omission (16)
hellja	60	3*			53	n/a	omission
goddam	60	2*		allejzus	54	2	neutralizing
coupla	60	2*		paar	54	2	neutralizing
hell	60	3		in jesusnaam	54	2	neutralizing
ya	60	2*		je	54	2	neutralizing

hell	60	3		in jezusnaam	54	4	non-standardisation
gonna	60	2*		gaat (zitten)	54	2	neutralizing
'bout	60	2*		kan	54	2	neutralizing
can	60	3		plee	54	5	slang/colloquial
hell	60	3			54	n/a	omission
stick around	60	6		blijven	54	2	neutralizing
hell	61	3			54	n/a	omission
ya	61	2*		je	54	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	61	2*			54	n/a	omission (17)
where'd	61	2*		waar ben	55	2	neutralizing
ya	61	2*		je	55	2	neutralizing
cut it out	61	5		schei uit	55	2	neutralizing
where'd	61	2*		waar ben	55	2	neutralizing
goddam	61	2*			55	n/a	omission
cut it out	61	5		schei <i>uit</i>	55	2	neutralizing
what'd	62	2*		wat heb	55	2	neutralizing
give her the time	62			haar een beurt gegeven	55	6	equal
goddam	62	2*		klote(kar)	55	5	slang/colloquial
buddy	62	5		makker	55	2	neutralizing
hell	63	3		in jezusnaam	56	2	neutralizing
lousy	63	3			56	n/a	omission
offa	63	2*		af	56	2	neutralizing
ya	62	2*			56	n/a	omission (18)
crumby	63	3			56	n/a	omission
bastard	63	3		kloothommel	56	5	slang/colloquial
ya	63	2*			57	n/a	omission (19)
goddam	63	2*		stuk	57	2	neutralizing
moron	63	3		imbeciel	57	2	neutralizing
ya	63	2*		je	57	2	neutralizing
ya	63	2*		je	57	2	neutralizing
moron	63	3		imbeciele	57	2	neutralizing
letcha	63	2*		je loslaat	57	2	neutralizing
letcha	63	2*		je loslaat	57	2	neutralizing
willya	63	2*		hou je	57	2	neutralizing
sonuvabitch	64	4*		imbeciele	57	2	neutralizing
moron	64	3		klootzak	57	2	neutralizing
yap	64	4 (20)		bek	57	2	neutralizing
gonna	64	2*		krijg	57	2	neutralizing
morons	64	3		imbecielen	57	2	neutralizing
moron	64	3		imbeciel	57	2	neutralizing
hell	64	3		godsjezusnaam	57	4	non-standardisation

don'tcha	64	2*		hou je	57	2	neutralizing
tellya	64	2*		(als ik dat zeg)	57	2	neutralizing
ya	64	2*		je	58	2	neutralizing

## Chapter 7

Source Term	Page	Type <sup>1</sup>		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
y'awake	66	2*		je wakker	60	2	neutralizing
hellya	66	3*			60	n/a	omission (21)
wuddaya	66	2*		waarom	60	2	neutralizing
hell	66	3			60	n/a	omission
tryna	66	2*		probeerde	60	2	neutralizing
hell	66	3			60	n/a	omission
hell	66	3			60	n/a	omission
goddam	66	2*			60	n/a	omission
for Chrissake	67	2*		Jezus	60	2	neutralizing
ya	67	2*		je	61	2	neutralizing
wanna	67	2*		heb je	61	2	neutralizing
don'tcha	67	2*		of niet	61	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	67	2*		Jezus christus	61	2	neutralizing
gotta	67	2*		moet	61	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	67	2*		man	61	2	neutralizing
goddam	67	2*			61	n/a	omission
hell	67	3			61	n/a	omission
wanna	67	2*		wil	61	2	neutralizing
ya	67	2*		je	61	2	neutralizing
hell	67	3			61	n/a	omission (22)
hell	67	3			61	n/a	omission
for Chrissake	68	2*		jezus	61	2	neutralizing
goddam	68	2*			61	n/a	omission
hell	68	3			61	n/a	omission
hell	68	3			61	n/a	omission
for Chrissake	68	2*		jezus	62	2	neutralizing
goddam	68	2*		godverdomme	62	2	neutralizing
lousy	68	3		waardeloze	62	2	neutralizing
don'tcha	69	2*		doe je	62	2	neutralizing
'bout	69	2*		als	62	2	neutralizing
goddam	69	2*			62	n/a	omission
'bout	69	2*		als	63	2	neutralizing
goddam	69	2*		klote(licht)	63	5	slang/colloquial
gotta	69	2*		moet	63	2	neutralizing



## Chapter 15

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
ya	146	2*			130	n/a	omission
swell	146	5		prima	130	2	neutralizing
ya	146	2*		je	130	2	neutralizing
swell	146	5		prima	130	2	neutralizing

## Chapter 17

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
swell	170	5		leuk	152	2	neutralizing
ya	170	2*		je	152	2	neutralizing
corny	171	5 (30)		melig	153	3	non-standardisation
soul kiss	173	6		tongzoen	154	2	neutralizing
don't give a darn	175			kan het (echt) niet schelen	156	2	neutralizing
fed up	177			er genoeg van hebt	158	2	neutralizing
lousy	177	3		waardeloos	158	2	neutralizing
and all that stuff	177				158	n/a	omission
goddam	178	2*			159	n/a	omission
hell	178	3		godgeklaagd	159	3	equal
goddam	178	2*			159	n/a	omission (31)
goddam	178	2*			159	n/a	omission
give a damn	178	6		het erg vindt	159	2	neutralizing
goddam	178	2*		klote(kliekjes)	159	5	slang/colloquial
goddam	178	2*			160	n/a	omission
goddam	178	2*		godbetert	160	3*	non-standardisation
goddam	179	2*		godverdomme	160	2	neutralizing
lousy	179	3		<i>waardeloos</i>	160	2	neutralizing
get the hellout of here	179			om 'm te smeren	160	2	neutralizing
bucks	179	5		dollar	160	2	neutralizing
hell	179	3		allejzus	160	2	neutralizing
bucks	179	5		dollar	160	2	neutralizing
dough	179	5		geld	160	2	neutralizing
dough	179	5		geld	160	2	neutralizing
wuddaya	179			(wat vind je ervan)	160	2	neutralizing
c'mon	179	2*		kom op	160	2	neutralizing

wuddaya	179	2*		(wat vind je ervan)	160	2	neutralizing
hell	180	3			161	n/a	omission (32)
can'tcha	180	2*		kan dat niet	161	2	neutralizing
oodles	180	4 (33)		zeeën	161	2	neutralizing
oodles	180	4		volop	161	2	neutralizing
oodles	180	4		volop	161	2	neutralizing
dough	181	5		geld	162	2	neutralizing
goddam	181	2*			162	n/a	omission
c'mon	181	2*		kom op	162	2	neutralizing
outa	181	2*		weg	162	2	neutralizing
giving me a royal pain in the ass	181	6		(ik) vind je een behoorlijke trut	162	2	neutralizing
c'mon	183	2*		kom op	163	2	neutralizing

## Chapter 19

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
flit	194	3		nicht	173	2	neutralizing
flit	195	3		nicht	174	2	neutralizing
ya	195	2*		je	174	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	195	2*		godsvredesnaam	175	4	non-standardisation
ya	195	2*			175	n/a	omission (34)
what're	195	2*		wat wil	175	2	neutralizing
babe	195	3		grietje	175	2	neutralizing
'em	196	2*			176	n/a	omission
(in) hell	196	6		<i>eindelijk</i>	176	2	neutralizing
for Chrissake	196	2*			176	n/a	omission
wuddaya	198	2*		wat bedoel je	177	2	neutralizing
ya	198	2*			177	n/a	omission
wuddayacallit	198	2*			177	n/a	omission
hell	198	3			177	n/a	omission
neck	199	5		zoent	178	2	neutralizing
babe	199	3		meid	178	2	neutralizing
lousy	199	3		waardeloos	178	2	neutralizing
goddam	200	2*			179	n/a	omission
screws up	200	3		verpest	179	2	neutralizing
stinks	200	3		klote	179	5	slang/colloquial
goddam	200	2*			179	n/a	omission

I couldn't care less	200	6		het zal mij een worst wezen	179	2	neutralizing
bastard	200	3		klootzak	179	5	slang/colloquial
as hell	200	6		als de pest	180	2	neutralizing

Appendix IV – Youth Language in *Minder dan niks* (Bergsma)

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
bod	6	1		lijf	11	2	neutralizing
dude	6	5		man	12	2	neutralizing
dude	7	5		man	12	2	neutralizing
stuff	7	3		(naakt)gedoe	12	2	neutralizing
stuff	7	3		(dat soort dingen)	12	2	neutralizing
stuff	7	3			12	n/a	omission
getting smashed	7	6		high geworden	12	2**	neutralizing
gotta	8	2*		moet	12	2	neutralizing
beasty	8	4		oentje	13	2 (1)	neutralizing
(total) beasty	8	4		(onvoorstelbaar) oentje	13	2	neutralizing
beasty	8	4		oentje	13	2	neutralizing
bombed	9	4		straalbezopen	13	2	neutralizing
like	9	3			14	n/a	omission (2)
fucked up	9	5		verloedert	14	2	neutralizing
(total) beasty	10	4		(onvoorstelbaar) oentje	14	2	neutralizing
weird	12	5		mafkees	19	5	equal
fucking	12	5		goddomme	16	2	neutralizing
fucking	12	5		goddomme	16	2 (3)	neutralizing
lude	13	1		Quaalude (4)	17	5	slang/colloquial
shit	14	3		shit	18	5	maintenance
(don't give me any) shit	14	5		lul (niet)	18	5	equal
fuck it	14	5		verdomme	18	2	neutralizing
(who the) fuck	19	5			22	n/a	omission (5)
fucked (verb)	19	5		neukten	23	5	equal
whatever (2x)	19	3		tuurlijk (2x)	23	1	neutralizing
Valley-turned-Punk	20	4		salonpunker	23	4	equal
bi	21	1		bi	24	1	maintenance
bi	21	1		bi	24	1	maintenance
sleaze	21	4		trut	24	2	neutralizing
fox	22	3		stuk	26	5	slang/colloquial
(how the) fuck	23	5			26	n/a	omission (6)
dick	23	5		lul	26	5	equal
dude	23	5		makker	26	2	neutralizing
gonna	24	2*		blijf	27	2	neutralizing

jerk	24	5		zak	27	5	equal
dude	24	5		maat	27	2	neutralizing
(don't) fuck of	25	6		nok (er niet mee)	28	5	slang/colloquial
dude	25	5		maat	28	2	neutralizing
deejaying (verb)	25	4		d.j. (noun)	28	2***	neutralizing
trust	25	1			28	n/a	omission
cool	25	5		gaaf	28	2 (7)	non-standardisation
gotta	25	2*		moet	28	2	neutralizing
fuck	25	5		neuken	28	5	equal
fuck	26	5		neuken	28	5	equal
dude	26	5		makker	29	2	neutralizing
fucking	27	5		neuken	30	5	equal
co-kaine	27	2***		co-caine	30	2***	equal
wild	28	3		gaaf	31	3	equal
wanna	29	2*		(zin om mee te gaan)	31	2	neutralizing
freaking out	39	5		uitfreakte	40	4	non-standardisation
strung out	39	5		aan de dope geweest	40	3	non-standardisation
freaking out	39	5		te gek gaan	40	3	non-standardisation
shit	39	3		shit	40	5	maintenance
shit	39	3		shit	41	5	maintenance
shit	40	3		shit	41	5	maintenance
hanging out	40	5		rondgehangen	41	2	neutralizing
bummer (*)	41	4		afknapper	41	2	neutralizing
fuckin'	41	5			42	n/a	omission
bummer	41	4		afknapper	42	2	neutralizing
later	41	1		zie je	42	1	equal
later	41	1		zie je	42	1	equal
babes (plural)	42	5		schat (single)	43	2	neutralizing
faggot	43	5		flikker(vriendjes)	44	5	equal
faggot	43	5		flikker	44	5	equal
fag	44	1		flikker(feestje)	44	5	slang/colloquial
screw you	44	5		je kan de pot op	44	2	neutralizing
lousy	44	5		godvergeten	44	2	neutralizing
fucking	44	5		kut(coke)	44	5	equal
coke	44	1		coke	44	1	maintenance
stoned	44	5		stoned	45	5**	maintenance
stoned	44	5		stoned	45	5**	maintenance
freaking out	45	5		uitfreaken	46	4	non-standardisation
wanna	45	2*		wil	46	2	neutralizing

freak her out	46	5		freakt ze (helemaal) uit	46	4	non-standardisation
narc	47	1		narcoticbrigade	47	2	neutralizing
stick around	48	5		blijf nog even	48	2	neutralizing
dude	48	5		maat	48	2	neutralizing
fucking	48	5			48	n/a	omission (8)
J.A.P.'s (9)	68	4		rijke joodse trutten	66	2	neutralizing
J.A.P.'s	69	4		rijke joodse trutten	66	2	neutralizing
out of their heads	69	6		uit hun dak zijn gegaan	66	6	equal
J.A.P.'s	69	4		ze	66	2	omission
bitch	70	5		kutwif	68	5	equal
strung out	71	5		geflipt	68	2**	neutralizing
cool it	71	5		relaxed	69	2**	neutralizing
nope	72	5		nee	69	2	neutralizing
fucking	72	5		neuken	69	5	equal
shit	72	3		shit	69	5	maintenance
dudes	72	5		allemaal	69	2	neutralizing
rat	72	5		slet	69	2	neutralizing
weird	72	5			70	n/a	omission
moron	72	5		imbeciel	70	2	neutralizing
kicked (me) out	72	5		eraf traptten	70	3	non-standardisation
what in the fuck	72	5		godsnaam	70	2	neutralizing
freebase	72	4		freebasen	70	4	equal
fling	74	3		scharrel	71	2	neutralizing
acid	74	5		acid	72	2**	maintenance
asshole	75	4		klootzak	72	5	slang/colloquial
holed up	75	5		opgesloten	72	2	neutralizing
cunt	75	5		kutwif	72	5	equal
dont't fuck (the door) up	76	5		mol (de deur) niet	72	5	equal
(what's she) on	76	3		(wat heeft ze) gebruikt	73	2	neutralizing
wild	77	3		te gek	74	2	neutralizing
dude	79	5		maat	74	2	neutralizing
coke	81	1		coke	77	2	maintenance
nope	81	5		noppes	77	5	equal
wanna	81	2*		wil (je)	78	2	neutralizing
stoned	81	5		stoned	78	5**	maintenance

bummer	83	4	(daar zou ik van)	balen	79	2	neutralizing
weird	84	5		maf	80	5	equal
bullshit	86	5		klote	81	5	equal
where it's at	86	6	(dat is pas muziek)		81	2	neutralizing
acid	87	5		acid	83	2**	maintenance
acid	87	5		acid	83	2**	maintenance
bitch	89	5		trut	84	2	neutralizing
bummed out	90	4		afgeknapt	85	2	neutralizing
bummed out	90	4		afgeknapt	85	2	neutralizing
fucked	90	5		klote	85	5	equal
fucked up	90	3	staat (continu) stijf (van de dope)		85	3	equal
speed	90	5		speed	85	5**	maintenance
like	91	3			86	n/a	omission
scream	91	5		giller	86	2	neutralizing
like	91	3			86	n/a	omission
hanging around	91	5		rondhangen	86	2	neutralizing
flick	91	4		film	86	2	neutralizing
fab	91	1		te gek	86	2	neutralizing
Uni (noun)	92	1		studeren (verb)	87	2	neutralizing
dude	92	5		man	87	2	neutralizing
asshole	92	4		lul	87	5	slang/colloquial
dude	92	5		man	88	2	neutralizing
wanna	93	2*		wil	88	2	neutralizing
joint	93	5		joint	88	2**	maintenance
babe	94	5		maat	89	2	neutralizing
babe	94	5		maat	89	2	neutralizing
fucking	97	5		kut(-Edge)	91	5	equal
blows your mind away	97	5		niet te geloven	92	2	neutralizing
shit	100	3		shit	94	5	maintenance
hang around	100	5		beetje studeren	94	2	neutralizing
stuff	100	3	(draai 's wat voor ze wat je geschreven hebt)		94	2	neutralizing
fucking	101	5		goddomme	95	2	neutralizing
fucking	101	5		goddomme	95	2	neutralizing
fucked up	101	5		klerezooi	95	5	equal

bullshit	101	5		gelul	95	5	equal
shit	101	3		shit	95	5	maintenance
shit	101	3		shit	95	5	maintenance
full of shit	101	5		lult uit je nek	95	5	equal
suck my dick	102	5		lik me reet	95	5	equal
meth	102	1		methedrine (10)	96	5	slang/colloquial
meth	102	1		meth	96	1	maintenance
meth	102	1		meth	96	1	maintenance
meth	102	1		meth	96	1	maintenance
gotta	102	2*		moet	96	2	neutralizing
mono	103	1		Pfeiffer	96	1	equal
gotta	103	2*		moet	96	2	neutralizing
meth	103	1		meth	96	1	maintenance
dumb-ass	106	4		stomme	99	2	neutralizing
dude	106	5			99	n/a	omission
coke	106	1		coke	99	2	maintenance
dude	106	5		maat	99	2	neutralizing
fucking	106	5		neuk	100	5	equal
fuck	107	5		neuk	100	5	equal
fucking	107	5		neuk	100	5	equal
fucking	107	5		neuk	100	5	equal
screwed	107	3		(dan zit je er mooi naast)	100	2	neutralizing
going-out	107	4		wat hebben	100	3	neutralizing
tacky	107	5		stijlloos	100	2	neutralizing
tacky	107	5		stijlloos	100	2	neutralizing
tacky	107	5		stijlloos	100	2	neutralizing
punk	110	5		waardeloze	103	2	neutralizing
faggot	110	5		flikker	103	5	equal
strung out	115	5		stijf staan van de dope	107	3	non-standardisation
strung out	115	5		stijf van de dope	107	3	non-standardisation
coke	115	1		coke	107	2	maintenance
smack	115	5		horse	107	5**	non-standardisation
smack	115	5		horse	107	5**	non-standardisation
cool	115	5		onwijs goed	107	3	non-standardisation
fucker	115	4		kreng	107	2	neutralizing
hung out	115	5		rondhangen	108	2	neutralizing
jocks	115	4		zwembroek	108	2	neutralizing
cool	115	5		te gek	108	2	neutralizing
dude	115	5		maat	108	2	neutralizing
gonna	116	2*		(er is)	108	2	neutralizing

gotta	116	2*		moeten	108	2	neutralizing
narcs	116	1		smerissen	108	5	slang/colloquial
narc	116	1			108	n/a	omission
no way	116	3		ga weg	108	3	equal
fucking	116	5			108/109	n/a	omission (11)
gotta	117	2*		moeten	109	2	neutralizing
gotta	117	2*		moeten	109	2	neutralizing
gonna	117	2*		moet	109	2	neutralizing
dude	117	5		maat	109	2	neutralizing
bowls	119	4		blowtjes	110	5	slang/colloquial
shit	123	3		shit	115	5	maintenance
fuckin'	124	5*			115	n/a	omission
hot	124	5		het einde	115	2	neutralizing
coke	124	1		coke	115	2	maintenance
sucks	124	3		klote	115	5	slang/colloquial
strung out	124	5		(met mijn tong op mijn schoenen loop)	116	2	neutralizing
coke	138	1		coke	128	2	maintenance
babe	139	5		maat	128	2	neutralizing
booze	141	5		drank	130	2	neutralizing
dude	141	5		man	130	2	neutralizing
gotta	143	2*		moet	132	2	neutralizing
dude	144	5		man	133	2	neutralizing
coke	144	1		coke	133	2	maintenance
mainline	144	5		gespoten	133	2	neutralizing
mainlined	144	5		gespoten	133	2	neutralizing
shit	144	3		troep	133	3	equal
hanging out	147	5		rondgehangen	136	2	neutralizing
hanging out	147	5		rondgehangen	136	2	neutralizing
joint	147	5		joint	136	2**	maintenance
uni	148	1			136	n/a	omission (12)
shooting (her full)	148	5		(haar) vol (horse) spuiten	136	2	neutralizing
smack	148	5		horse	136	5**	slang/colloquial
acid	148	5		acid	136	2**	neutralizing
gangbanged	148	4		(gaat het hele feest) eroverheen	136	4	equal
shit	149	3		shit	137	5	slang/colloquial
weird	149	5		maffe	137	5	equal
ya	154	2*			142	n/a	omission (13)

wanna	154	2*			142	n/a	omission (14)
tops	156	5		topper	143	3	non-standardisation
digs	156	5		ziet (je dik) zitten	143	3	non-standardisation
outta	157	2*		buiten	144	2	neutralizing
lude	158	1		Quaalude	144	5	slang/colloquial
babes	158	5		jongens	145	2	neutralizing
babe	158	5		jochie	145	2	neutralizing
baby	159	5		jochie	145	2	neutralizing
baby	159	5		jochie	145	2	neutralizing
bod	159	1		lijf	146	2	neutralizing
ya	159	2*			146	n/a	omission (15)
fab	159	1		t einde	146	2*	neutralizing
execs	167	1		(studio)bonzen	153	4	non-standardisation
babes	167	5		jochie	153	2	neutralizing
bullshit	167	5		gelul	153	5	equal
fab	168	1		fantastisch	154	2	neutralizing
wanna	168	2*		wil	154	2	neutralizing
asshole	169	4		klootzak	155	5	slang/colloquial
fuck it up	169	5		versjteren	155	5	equal
fuck	169	5		godverdomme	155	2	neutralizing
gonna	169	2*		wil	155	2	neutralizing
gonna	169	2*		wou	155	2	neutralizing
shrink	169	4		psychiater	155	2	neutralizing
fuck	170	5		in godsnaam	155	2	neutralizing
gonna	170	2*		wou	155	2	neutralizing
fuckin'	170	5*			155	n/a	omission
coke	170	1		coke	155	2	maintenance
fuck off	170	5		rot op	155	5	equal
prick	170	5		pikkie	155	3	non-standardisation
asshole (adj)	170	4		hol(pooier)	155	3	non-standardisation
asshole (adj)	170	4			155	n/a	omission (16)
babe	171	5		knul	156	2	neutralizing
fucking	171	5		klere(schuld)	156	5	equal
gonna	171	2*		wou	156	2	neutralizing
baby	171	5		knul	156	2	neutralizing
'em	172	2*		ze	157	2	neutralizing
fucking	172	5			157	n/a	omission (17)
dude	172	5		maat	157	2	neutralizing
coke	172	1		coke	158	2	maintenance
fuckin'	173	5*		stomme	158	2	neutralizing
Spic	173	1		Mexicaan	158	2	neutralizing

gotta	174	2*		moeten	158	2	neutralizing
freak out	174	4		uit haar dak	158	3	neutralizing
gonna	174	2*		gaan	158	2	neutralizing
nope	174	4		nope	159	4	equal
bummer	174	4		afknapper	159	2	neutralizing
wild	174	3		te gek	159	2	neutralizing
bullshit	175	4		lul niet	160	5	slang/colloquial
gotta	175	2*		moeten	160	2	neutralizing
blows your minds	175	5		helemaal uit je dak (zullen gaan)	160	3	non-standardisation
scumbag	177	4		gebruikt kapotje	161	5	slang/colloquial
shit	177	3		shit	162	5	slang/colloquial
outta	177	2*		peren ('m)	162	4	non-standardisation
gonna	177	2*			162	n/a	omission (18)
gonna	177	2*			162	n/a	omission (19)
gonna	178	2*			162	n/a	omission (20)
dude	183	5		man	166	2	neutralizing
going-out	183	4		stap	167	2	neutralizing
fucking	184	4		neukt	167	5	slang/colloquial
catch ya later	184	3*		ik zie je nog wel	168	2	neutralizing
dick	187	4		lul	170	5	slang/colloquial
in the fuck	187	4		verdomme	170	2	neutralizing
pissed of	190	4		nijdig	173	2	neutralizing
dammit	191	2*		verdomme	174	2	neutralizing
in the fuck	191	4			174	n/a	omission (21)
shit	192	3		shit	174	5	maintenance

Appendix V – Youth Language in *Minder dan niks* (Lenders)

Source Term	Page	Type		Target Term	Page	Type	Translation Strategy
bod	6	1		lijf	15	2	neutralizing
dude	6	5		jochie	15	5	equal
dude	7	5		jochie	15	5	equal
stuff	7	3			16	n/a	omission
stuff	7	3		dat soort dingen	16	2	neutralizing
stuff	7	3			16	n/a	omission
getting smashed	7	6		lazerus worden	16	5***	slang/colloquial
gotta	8	2*		moet	16	2	neutralizing
beasty	8	4		gemenerik	16	2	neutralizing
(total) beasty	8	4		(verschikkelijke) gemenerik	16	2	neutralizing
beasty	8	4		gemenerik	16	2	neutralizing
bombed	9	4		straalbezopen	17	5	slang/colloquial
like	9	3		(zo'n beetje)	17	2	neutralizing
fucked up	9	5		naar de kloten	17	6	non-standardisation
(total) beasty	10	4		(verschikkelijke) gemenerik	17	2	neutralizing
weird	12	5		mafkees	19	3	non-standardisation
fucking	12	5		kloterige	19	5	equal
fucking	12	5			19	n/a	omission (1)
lude	13	1		Quaalude (2)	20	5	slang/colloquial
shit	14	3		shit	20	5**	maintenance
(don't give me any) shit	14	5		(zit niet zo te) zeiken	20	5	equal
fuck it	14	5		kut	21	5	equal
(who the) fuck	19	5		verdomme	24	2	neutralizing
fucked (verb)	19	5		neukte	25	5	equal
whatever (2x)	19	3		(och, nou en, wat zou het ook)	25	2	neutralizing
Valley-turned-Punk	20	4		Valley-trut-op-de- Punktour	25	4	equal
bi	21	1		bi	26	1	maintenance
bi	21	1		bi	26	1	maintenance
sleaze	21	4		sloerie	26	2	neutralizing
fox	22	3		(lekkere) kanjer	27	3	equal
(how the) fuck	23	5		verdomme	28	2	neutralizing
dick	23	5		lul	28	5	equal

dude	23	5		kerel	28	3	non-standardisation
gonna	24	2*		wil	28	2	neutralizing
jerk	24	5		eikel	28	5	equal
dude	24	5		kerel	29	3	non-standardisation
(don't) fuck of	25	6		verklooi (het niet)	29	4	non-standardisation
dude	25	5		kerel	29	3	non-standardisation
deejaying (verb)	25	4		discjockeyen	29	4 (3)	equal
trust	25	1		trust	29	3	maintenance
cool	25	5		tof	29	5	equal
gotta	25	2*		moet	30	2	neutralizing
fuck	25	5		neuken	30	5	equal
fuck	26	5		neuken	30	5	equal
dude	26	5		kerel	30	3	non-standardisation
fucking	27	5		neuken	31	5	equal
co-kaine	27	2***		cocaïne	31	2	neutralizing
wild	28	3		te gek	32	2	neutralizing
wanna	29	2*		(heb je zin)	32	2	neutralizing
freaking out	39	5		uitgefreakt (4)	40	4	non-standardisation
strung out	39	5		total loss ben geweest	40	3	non-standardisation
freaking out	39	5		uit d'r dak gaan	40	5	equal
shit	39	3		shit	40	5**	maintenance
shit	39	3		shit	40	5**	maintenance
shit	40	3		shit	41	5**	maintenance
hanging out	40	5		rondgehangen	41	2	neutralizing
bummer	41	4		afgang	41	2	neutralizing
fuckin'	41	5		klote	41	5	equal
bummer	41	4		afgang	41	2	neutralizing
later	41	1		zie je nog wel	41	1	equal
later	41	1		zie je nog wel	41	1	equal
babes (plural)	42	5		schat	42	2	neutralizing
faggot	43	5		homo	43	1 (5)	neutralizing
faggot	43	5		homo	43	1	neutralizing
fag	44	1		flikker(feest)	44	5	slang/colloquial
screw you	44	5		krijg 't heen-en-weer, jij	44	5	equal
lousy	44	5		rottige	44	5	equal
fucking	44	5		kut(coke)	44	5	equal
coke	44	1		coke	44	1	maintenance
stoned	44	5		stoned	44	2**	maintenance

stoned	44	5		stoned	44	2**	maintenance
freaking out	45	5		uitfreaken	45	4	non-standardisation
wanna	45	2*		zin om	45	2	neutralizing
freak her out	46	5		uitfreaken	45	4	non-standardisation
narc	47	1		narcotica	46	2	neutralizing
stick around	48	5		blijf toch	47	2	neutralizing
dude	48	5		kerel	47	3	non-standardisation
fucking	48	5		pest(avond)	47	5	equal
J.A.P.'s (6)	68	4		rijke joodse wijven	62	5	slang/colloquial
J.A.P.'s	69	4		rijke joodse wijven	62	5	slang/colloquial
out of their heads	69	6		niet goed bij hun hoofd zijn	63	2	neutralizing
J.A.P.'s	69	4		wijven	63	5	neutralizing
bitch	70	5		kreng	63	2	neutralizing
strung out	71	5		zit (...) onder de middelen	64	6	non-standardisation
cool it	71	5		hou je 'n beetje in	64	2	neutralizing
nope	72	5		nee	65	2	neutralizing
fucking	72	5		neuken	65	5	equal
shit	72	3		shit	65	5**	maintenance
dudes	72	5		jongens	65	2	neutralizing
rat	72	5		gemenerd	65	2	neutralizing
weird	72	5		raar	65	2	neutralizing
moron	72	5		achterlijk	66	2	neutralizing
kicked (me) out	72	5		d'r af traptten	66	3	non-standardisation
what in the fuck	72	5		(waar sláát dat nou) verdikkeme (op)	66	2	neutralizing
freebase	72	4		freebasen	66	4	equal
fling	74	3		bevlieging	67	2	neutralizing
acid	74	5		LSD	67	2	neutralizing
asshole	75	4		klootzak	68	5	slang/colloquial
holed up	75	5		(in zijn huis) verscholen	68	2	neutralizing
cunt	75	5		stomme kut	68	5	equal
dont't fuck (the door) up	76	5		(help de deur niet naar z'n) mallemoer	68	5	equal

(what's she) on	76	3		(wat heeft ze) gebruikt	68	3	equal
wild	77	3		(te) wild	69	3	equal
dude	79	5		knul	71	2	neutralizing
coke	81	1		coke	72	5	maintenance
nope	81	5		nop	72	1	neutralizing
wanna	81	2*		zin om	73	2	neutralizing
stoned	81	5		stoned	73	2**	maintenance
bummer	83	4		afgang	74	2	neutralizing
weird	84	5		mafkees	75	3	non-standardisation
bullshit	86	5		rotzooi	76	5	equal
where it's at	86	6		da's pas muziek	76	2*	neutralizing
acid	87	5		LSD	77	2	neutralizing
acid	87	5		LSD	77	2	neutralizing
bitch	89	5		(Valley-)trut	79	2	neutralizing
bummed out	90	4		afgeknapt	79	2	neutralizing
bummed out	90	4		afgeknapt	79	2	neutralizing
fucked	90	5		klote	80	5	equal
fucked up	90	3		opgefokt	80	5	slang/colloquial
speed	90	5		speed	80	5 (7)	maintenance
like	91	3		jee	80	2	neutralizing
scream	91	5		giller	80	2	neutralizing
like	91	3		jee	80	2	neutralizing
hanging around	91	5		rondhangen	80	2	neutralizing
flick	91	4		film	80	2	neutralizing
fab	91	1		te gek	81	2	neutralizing
Uni (noun)	92	1		universiteit	81	2	neutralizing
dude	92	5		man	81	2	neutralizing
asshole	92	4		lul	82	5	slang/colloquial
dude	92	5		man	82	2	neutralizing
wanna	93	2*		zin in	82	2	neutralizing
joint	93	5		joint	82	2**	maintenance
babe	94	5		kanjer	83	3	non-standardisation
babe	94	5		kanjer	83	3	non-standardisation
fucking	97	5		klote	85	5	equal
blows your mind away	97	5		daar hejje niet van terug	85	2*	neutralizing
shit	100	3		shit	87	5**	maintenance
hang around	100	5		rondgehangen	88	2	neutralizing
stuff	100	3		wat	88	2	neutralizing

fucking	101	5		klote(serie)	88	5	equal
fucking	101	5		klote(-toptien)	88	5	equal
fucked up	101	5		verrekte scheef	88	5	equal
bullshit	101	5		onzin	88	2	neutralizing
shit	101	3		shit	88	5**	maintenance
shit	101	3		shit	89	5**	maintenance
full of shit	101	5		vuilak	89	2	neutralizing
suck my dick	102	5		lik me lul	89	5	equal
meth	102	1		methedrine (8)	89	5	slang/colloquial
meth	102	1		meth	89	1	maintenance
meth	102	1		meth	89	1	maintenance
meth	102	1		meth	89	1	maintenance
gotta	102	2*		moet	89	2	neutralizing
mono	103	1		pfeiffer	90	1	equal
gotta	103	2*		moet	90	2	neutralizing
meth	103	1		meth	90	1	maintenance
dumb-ass	106	4		slome	92	2	neutralizing
dude	106	5		schat	92	2	neutralizing
coke	106	1		coke	92	5	maintenance
dude	106	5		jochie	92	5	equal
fucking	106	5		neuk	92	5	equal
fuck	107	5		neuk	92	5	equal
fucking	107	5		neuk	93	5	equal
fucking	107	5		neuk	93	5	equal
screwed	107	3		verneukt	93	5	slang/colloquial
going-out	107	4		wat met elkaar hebben	93	6	neutralizing
tacky	107	5		dubieus	93	2	neutralizing
tacky	107	5		dubieus	93	2	neutralizing
tacky	107	5		dubieus	93	2	neutralizing
punk	110	5		vieze	95	2	neutralizing
faggot	110	5		flikker	95	5	equal
strung out	115	5		onder de middelen	99	6	neutralizing
strung out	115	5		onder de middelen	99	6	neutralizing
coke	115	1		coke	99	5	maintenance
smack	115	5		smack	99	4	maintenance
smack	115	5		smack	99	4	maintenance
cool	115	5		te gek	99	2	neutralizing

fucker	115	4		klotebeest	99	5	slang/colloquial
hung out	115	5		rondgehangen	99	2	neutralizing
jocks	115	4		nakie	99	5	slang/colloquial
cool	115	5		te gek	99	3	non-standardisation
dude	115	5		kerel	99	3	non-standardisation
gonna	116	2*		er is	100	2	neutralizing
gotta	116	2*		moeten	100	2	neutralizing
narcs	116	1		lui van de narcotica	100	2 (9)	neutralizing
narc	116	1		iemand van narcotica	100	2	neutralizing
no way	116	3		je meent 't	100	2*	neutralizing
fucking	116	5		verrekte	100	2	neutralizing
gotta	117	2*		moeten	100	2	neutralizing
gotta	117	2*		moeten	101	2	neutralizing
gonna	117	2*		moet	101	2	neutralizing
dude	117	5		jongen	101	2	neutralizing
bowls	119	4		pijpjes	103	3	neutralizing
shit	123	3		shit	106	5**	maintenance
fuckin'	124	5*		verdomd	106	3	non-standardisation
hot	124	5		te gek	106	2	neutralizing
coke	124	1		coke	106	5	maintenance
sucks	124	3		klote	106	5	slang/colloquial
strung out	124	5		gespannen	106	2	neutralizing
coke	138	1		coke	117	5	maintenance
babe	139	5		schat	118	2	neutralizing
booze	141	5		drank	119	2	neutralizing
dude	141	5		man	119	2	neutralizing
gotta	143	2*		moet	120	2	neutralizing
dude	144	5		man	121	2	neutralizing
coke	144	1		snuif	121	3	neutralizing
mainline	144	5		gespoten	122	2	neutralizing
mainlined	144	5		gespoten	122	2	neutralizing
shit	144	3		rotzooi	122	5	slang/colloquial
hanging out	147	5		rondgehangen	124	2	neutralizing
hanging out	147	5		rondgehangen	124	2	neutralizing
joint	147	5		joint	124	2**	maintenance
uni	148	1		universiteit	124	2	neutralizing
shooting (her full)	148	5		(ene) shot (smack na het andere)	124	2**	neutralizing

smack	148	5		smack	124	4	maintenance
acid	148	5		LSD	124	2	neutralizing
gangbanged	148	4		door het hele feest achter mekaar geneukt	124	5*	slang/colloquial
shit	149	3		shit	125	5**	maintenance
weird	149	5		rare	125	2	neutralizing
ya	154	2*			129	n/a	omission (10)
wanna	154	2*			129	n/a	omission (11)
tops	156	5		topklasse	131	2	neutralizing
digs	156	5		ziet (je helemaal) zitten	131	2	neutralizing
outta	157	2*		buiten	131	2	neutralizing
lude	158	1		Quaalude	132	5	slang/colloquial
babes	158	5		jongens	132	2	neutralizing
babe	158	5		schat	132	2	neutralizing
baby	159	5		<i>baby</i>	132	3	maintenance
baby	159	5		jongen	132	2	neutralizing
bod	159	1		lijf	133	2	neutralizing
ya	159	2*		je	133	2	neutralizing
fab	159	1		klasse	133	2	neutralizing
execs	167	1		(studio)bonzen	139	4	non-standardisation
babes	167	5		schoonheden	139	2	neutralizing
bullshit	167	5		lulkoek	139	5	equal
fab	168	1		puik	140	2	neutralizing
wanna	168	2*		heb je zin	140	2	neutralizing
asshole	169	4		huffer	141	5	slang/colloquial
fuck it up	169	5		verzieken	141	2	neutralizing
fuck	169	5		goddomme	141	2	neutralizing
gonna	169	2*		wil	141	2	neutralizing
gonna	169	2*		wou	141	2	neutralizing
shrink	169	4		psychiater	141	2	neutralizing
fuck	170	5			141	n/a	omission (12)
gonna	170	2*		wil	141	2	neutralizing
fuckin'	170	5*		klote	141	5	slang/colloquial
coke	170	1		coke	141	5	maintenance
fuck off	170	5		sodemieter op	141	5	equal
prick	170	5		lulletje	141	5	equal
asshole (adj)	170	4		klote(pooier)	141	5	slang/colloquial
asshole (adj)	170	4		klote(pooier)	141	5	slang/colloquial

babe	171	5		schat	142	2	neutralizing
fucking	171	5		klote(schuld)	142	5	equal
gonna	171	2*		ga	142	2	neutralizing
baby	171	5		schat	142	2	neutralizing
'em	172	2*		ze	143	2	neutralizing
fucking	172	5		verrekte	143	5	equal
dude	172	5		man	143	2	neutralizing
coke	172	1		coke	143	5	maintenance
fuckin'	173	5*		kut-	143	5	slang/colloquial
Spic	173	1		Mexicaan	143	2	neutralizing
gotta	174	2*		moeten	144	2	neutralizing
freak out	174	4		gaat volledig door het lint	144	2	neutralizing
gonna	174	2*		gaan	144	2	neutralizing
nope	174	4		nop	144	1	neutralizing
bummer	174	4		afgang	144	2	neutralizing
wild	174	3		te maf	145	5	slang/colloquial
bullshit	175	4		gelul	145	5	slang/colloquial
gotta	175	2*		moeten	146	2	neutralizing
blows your minds	175	5		(je weet niet wat je overkomt)	146	2	neutralizing
scumbag	177	4		smeerlap	147	2	neutralizing
shit	177	3		shit	147	5**	maintenance
outta	177	2*		wegwezen	147	2	neutralizing
gonna	177	2*			147	n/a	omission (13)
gonna	177	2*			147	n/a	omission (14)
gonna	178	2*		gaat	148	2	neutralizing
dude	183	5		man	151	2	neutralizing
going-out	183	4		ga (...) uit	152	2	neutralizing
fucking	184	4		neukt	152	5	slang/colloquial
catch ya later	184	3*		ik zie je nog wel	152	2	neutralizing
dick	187	4		zak	154	5	slang/colloquial
in the fuck	187	4		goddomme	154	2	neutralizing
pissed of	190	4		pissig	156	5	slang/colloquial
dammit	191	2*		godsamme	157	2	neutralizing
in the fuck	191	4		goddomme	157	2	neutralizing
shit	192	3		shit	158	5**	maintenance