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BRAZILIAN TRANSLATION OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH: GIVING VOICE TO THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

ABSTRACT

African-American Vernacular English has been simulated in literature through eye dialect or feigned orality at least since the time of Mark Twain and Joel Chandler Harris, lurching between realism, empathetic paternalism, and hostile caricature. More recently, Black authors and filmmakers have been foregrounding the connection between identity, speech, and code-switching, and African-American Vernacular English is becoming increasingly present in media. Combined with expanding global media penetration, this trend has created a situation that translators and subtitlers worldwide must address. Among the small body of research on the translation of dialect/orality in Brazil, specific analysis of African-American Vernacular English is lacking, which is surprising, since Brazil is a major consumer of imported American cultural products and home to the second-largest African diaspora community in the world. Because no race-based dialects exist in Brazilian Portuguese, three general translation strategies have been used to represent African-American Vernacular English: homogenizing, ruralizing, and urbanizing. Examples will be presented of each strategy, their limitations will be discussed, and translator justifications for their use will be explored. A recent apparent trend away from homogenization will also be discussed.

Keywords: *dialect translation; African diaspora; Brazilian Portuguese; African-American Vernacular English.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Due to Brazil's formerly large indigenous population, Africans imported against their will, large waves of Asian and European immigrants/refugees and, most importantly, its history of intermarriage, describing the typical Brazilian phenotype is an exercise in futility. However, the majority of Brazilians share some degree of African heritage. According to the 2022 Census, 45.3% of Brazil's overall population self-identified as *pardos* (i.e., mixed race, usually involving African descent), and another 10.6% reported their race as

Black (Censo 2022). Using World Bank data, *El País* (2019) reports that one in four Latin Americans is of African descent (approximately 133 million people). Since more than 100 million of these people live in Brazil, this makes it home to the majority of all Black Latinos. In fact, Gomes (2019) estimates that Brazil has the second largest Black population in the world after Nigeria.

Thus, consideration of the role of African heritage in Brazilian identity is unavoidable, as is, in these increasingly globalized times, the representation of Black communities in different regions of the world. Given the worldwide prevalence of American media, the historical commonalities between the United States and Brazil regarding slavery, and the extensive history of eye dialect, particularly with respect to African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) in American literature, this study focused on the following questions: What strategies are being used in Brazil to translate AAVE eye dialect/feigned orality? What effects do such strategies have on the identity of the characters involved? What are the implications of these effects for Brazil's African diaspora population?

The relation between race and translation has been explored by a number of scholars, who have pointed out the relevance and urgency of the topic. For example, *Translation and Race* (2024), a recent addition to the Routledge New Perspectives in Translation and Interpreting Studies series (edited by Michael Cronin), emphasizes the need for "a long-overdue reckoning with race and racism in translation theory and practice" (Tachtiris 2024, 2). Written from a Black Latino perspective, *Translating Blackness* "proposes translation as an expression of belonging that seeks to conjure unbelonging: to make visible the colonial/colonizing process that engenders human exclusion. It challenges the monolithic representations of Black people and Black histories" (Peña 2022). However, historical and contemporary contextualization is also required, as translation historiographer Lieven D'hulst explains: While translation can be quite useful in understanding history, history can also be essential in "understanding of the multifarious forms of translation" (D'hulst, 2010, 397). Rundle's introduction to a special issue of *The Translator* on theories and methodologies of translation history is also pertinent:

> If I engage in a dialogue with a translation scholar/historian who has no expertise in my particular historical subject, then our exchange will either remain historically superficial or will shift towards shared issues of methodology—which are perfectly valid in their own right, of course, but only if they function as a preamble to the search for new insights (2014, 4).

2. HISTORICAL SETTING

Brazil's current non-White majority is not the result of recent demographic shifts. For example, Gomes (2019) reports that the population of Rio de Janeiro in 1672 was of 4,000 White and 20,000 Black, almost all of whom were slaves. Over a span of 350 years, approximately five million Africans were brought to Brazil, which is calculated as 40% of all slaves shipped to the Americas. Brazil was also the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery, although, as Bergad (2007) points out, it is one of three nations (Brazil, the United States and Cuba) to put a late end to the practice:[1]

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1 Brazilian and Cuban slavery also had other points in common. As discussed by Barcia (2014), many slaves who arrived in Brazil and Cuba were Yoruba-speakers (called Nagô in Brazil and Lucumí in Cuba) and their close neighbors who were shipped through ports in the Bight of Benin.

> long after it had been abolished elsewhere in the Americas slavery stubbornly persisted in Brazil, Cuba, and the southern United States, and there was little inclination on the part of slaveholders or political elites to end this barbaric system of human exploitation. It took a destructive Civil War in the United States to bring an end to racial slavery in the southern states in 1865. Even in the aftermath of emancipation in the American South, slavery remained central to Cuba and Brazil until the 1880s, when a series of internal and external factors forced political elites to end the institution. In 1886 slavery was officially ended in Cuba, and in 1888 Brazil finally abolished this dreadful institution (Bergad 2007, xiii).

The influx of African peoples led to an impressive confluence of languages. According to Petter (2005), this population was derived from many different tribes speaking as many as 300 different languages. Despite forced conformity to the erstwhile lingua franca, a pidgin called *Lingua Geral*, speakers of these African languages made a distinct contribution to what is now known as Brazilian Portuguese, the official language of a nearly completely monolingual country (scattered speakers of indigenous languages notwithstanding).

Brazil's majority non-White population was long viewed as detrimental by its intelligentsia. "Whitening" Brazil was an open topic of public discourse, and European immigration in the late 19th and early 20th century was incentivized to this end. The presumed inferiority of the majority population has had long-standing consequences on Brazil's culture and society.

3. HISTORICAL CONSEQUENCES: BEING BLACK IN CONTEMPORARY BRAZIL

Recent data on Black and mixed-race Brazilians is alarming. For example, 78% of the poorest 10% of the population are Black or of mixed race (Gomes 2019, 32). Dourado and Fregonasse (2023) report that 70% of incarcerated Brazilians are Black, which could indicate that the criminal justice system is being weaponised against them in a manner similar to America's "war on drugs" (see DuVernay 2016). As a result of government initiatives to improve access to education, approximately 50% of all university students in Brazil are now Black or of mixed race, though they represent less than 3% of the students in elite courses such as medicine, and many are still surprised to meet a non-White professor in the classroom. As a reflection (or reinforcement) of this harsh reality, Blacks in Brazilian fiction have historically been portrayed in subaltern roles. Author Conceição Evaristo describes the situation:

> One may conclude that the construction of White characters in my texts is always representative of some form of power. They are in command. Historically, this is our reality, and fiction, in a way, does not remove this character from its established and permanent place in History. Fiction doesn't remove him, just denounces him. The construction of the White characters highlights the arrogance, the excesses, the privileges of power exercised by White people over non-White people. Perhaps the lack of construction of White characters could mean something even more serious. I'm thinking about this right now, as I consider the absence and the kind of presence of these characters. Were they being constructed in a stereotypical way, as Black characters appear in literature written by White authors? I'm tempted to say that Black characters, as a rule, are shaped under a gaze that defines them within one characteristic or another, such as these: lazy, childish adults, disorganized in their social and cultural environments, extremely sexualized with

their infertile bodies, subjects incapable of thinking or experiencing feelings such as love and affection. African and Afro-Brazilian cultures are exoticized or folklorized. It is difficult to find the construction of a Black character that represents the power of the human being with all its dignity.[2] (Evaristo 2020, 28–29).

In Brazilian soap operas, which have been the mainstay of prime-time programming for at least 50 years, Blacks characters have generally been depicted as slaves in period dramas or as manual laborers, such as housekeepers, in contemporary narratives. National cinema has deviated little from this pattern, even in critically acclaimed contemporary films, such as 2002's *Cidade de Deus*. Stereotype reinforcement through mass media feeds a vicious cycle; Black people are shown again and again that their race occupies (or can only occupy) lower social positions, and the full range of their social possibilities is seldom shown to them.

However, in recent years, the situation has been changing in television and cinema, in part due to social movements and the mobilization of Black audiences, both in Brazil and abroad. The 2016 Academy Awards was a clear example. For the second year in a row, all 20 acting nominations went to White actors, which led to online backlash and boycotts by influential figures such as filmmaker Spike Lee, who had directly addressed issues of AAVE and identity in *BlacKkKlansman,* released in 2018.[3] This foreign initiative encouraged Black Brazilians to question their own lack of representation in the national audiovisual industry. Actors began speaking out about their lack of opportunity and, in 2023, the first Brazilian soap opera (*Vai na Fé*) with a majority non-White cast (70% Black) was aired. The fact that it was one of the most successful shows of that year is proof of grassroots support for a more realistic portrayal of national society on television.

4. THE AFRICAN DIASPORA AND CONTEMPORARY BRAZILIAN LANGUAGE

As previously mentioned, Brazil is overwhelmingly monolingual, although this does not mean that Brazilian Portuguese is without variation. Each wave of immigration has made some contribution to Brazilian Portuguese, and the distribution of the population over the large national territory gave rise to a number of dialects, which have been mapped in detail (Cardoso et al. 2014). However, Brazilian Portuguese involves a further linguistic peculiarity:

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2   All translations from Brazilian Portuguese into English made by the author. Original quote: "Pode-se concluir que a construção de personagens brancas em meus textos é sempre representativa de alguma forma de poder. Estão no local de mando. Historicamente, é essa a nossa realidade, e a ficção, de certa forma, também não retira esse personagem desse lugar construído e permanente ao longo da História. Não retira, apenas denuncia. Pela construção dos personagens brancos aponta-se a prepotência, os desmandos, os privilégios do poder exercido pelas pessoas brancas sobre os não brancos. Talvez, até a ausência de construção de personagens brancos possa significar algo mais sério ainda. Estou pensando sobre isto nesse momento, enquanto avalio a ausência e o modo de presença dessas personagens. Estariam sendo construídas de forma estereotipada, como as personagens negras aparecem na literatura de autoria branca? Sou tentada a dizer que os personagens negros, por via de regra, são moldados sob um olhar que os define dentro de uma ou outra característica, tal como estas: preguiçosos, adultos infantis, desorganizados em seus ambientes sociais e culturais, extremamente sexualizados com seus corpos infecundos, sujeitos incapazes de pensar ou viver sentimentos como o amor, o afeto. As culturas africanas e afro-brasileiras são exotizadas ou folclorizadas. Dificilmente se encontra a construção de uma personagem negra que represente a potência do ser humano com toda a sua dignidade."

3   BlacKkKlansman" was joined in this discussion by another 2018 film, Boots Riley's *Sorry to Bother You*.

There is a conspicuous gap between written and spoken discourse. According to Kato (2005, 131), "unlike in Portugal, the grammar of speech and the grammar of writing entail such differences that children's exposure to the latter may have acquired the character of learning a second language".[4]

African contributions to the language of Brazil have been documented in a number of studies, including that of Mendonça (1933/2012) and Castro (1983). Mendonça, a pioneer in this kind of research, documented approximately 350 words of African origin still used in Brazil in the 1930s. Decades later, Castro expanded this number to nearly 3,000 words. *Quiabo* (okra), *cafuné* (scalp massage), and *batucar* (to drum on something) are but a few examples of African words that have become commonplace in Brazilian speech. Nevertheless, no characteristically Black speech patterns are discernible in Brazil, unlike in the United States, where AAVE has been documented as peculiar to a racial community and as a component of that community's identity.[5] Instead, Brazilian language differences are based on social class; thus, Black speech is more likely to align with that of the lower classes instead of standing apart as a unique variant shaped through generations of segregation. According to Brazilian sociolinguist Marcos Bagno:

> The profound social discrimination that characterizes our society results in a polarization between the language of the poorest strata of our population – most of the people, including Whites and, more essentially, non-Whites – and the language of the richest strata – essentially White. The most stigmatized language variations in our society are spoken by Blacks, native Brazilians, mixed-race and White individuals with a limited access to education, work, and income. Even though Brazil is a country socially embedded in racism, linguistically, the differences that separate the privileged urban varieties from the stigmatized ones are of a socioeconomic nature: the grammar of poor Whites and poor Blacks is the same (2014, 7).[6]

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4   Original quote: "No Brasil, ao contrário do que ocorre em Portugal, a gramática da fala e a "gramática" da escrita apresentam uma distância de tal ordem que a aquisição desta pela criança pode ter a natureza da aprendizagem de uma segunda língua."

5   Scholars consider AAVE to be a specific dialect that is distributed throughout the United States, and that is distinct from General American English in its grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary. Labov and Harris (1986) report that the isolation of African American communities in Northern cities subsequent to migration from the South caused AAVE and surrounding White varieties to drift apart, thereby gradually increasing their dissimilarity.

6   Original quote: "o que existe é uma polarização, decorrente da profunda discriminação social que tem caracterizado a nossa sociedade, entre a língua dos segmentos mais pobres — a maioria da nossa população, composta de brancos e, mais essencialmente, de não-brancos — e a língua dos segmentos mais ricos — essencialmente brancos. As variedades linguísticas mais estigmatizadas em nossa sociedade são faladas por negros, índios, mestiços e brancos com menor acesso a escolarização, ao trabalho e a renda. Embora, no plano social, o Brasil seja um país impregnado de racismo, no plano linguístico as diferenças que separam as variedades urbanas privilegiadas das demais, estigmatizadas, são de ordem socioeconômica: a gramática dos negros pobres e dos brancos pobres é a mesma."

5. WHERE DOES TRANSLATION COME IN?

To paraphrase Niranjana (1992), in Brazil's postcolonial context, translation becomes a field for historical questions of representation and power, even more so when the ubiquity of translation is considered. Translation plays a central role in Brazil's cultural polysystem (Even-Zohar 1990), where Anglophone, particularly American, cultural products are avidly consumed by monolingual Brazilians. According to Martins (2021), between 2016 and 2019, and considering only titles with new ISBN numbers, approximately 40% of the books published in Brazil were translations, and most of these had been translated from English.

This influence is even starker in cinema. According to Ramos (2023), the 10 highest grossing films in Brazil in 2022 were not just Anglophone, but Hollywood mega-productions. However, in a number of these films (e.g., *Black Panther: Wakanda Forever*, *Black Adam*, *The Batman, Jurassic World: Dominion*), Black characters are either the protagonists or they play important supporting roles. Thus, when Black characters use Black (i.e., non-standard) varieties of English, thereby identifying them as part of a specific community, how is this presented to Black monolingual Brazilians through translation? Does this audience perceive such dialects through (or in spite of) translation? As Salgueiro (2015) points out, translation strategies for Black expression are influenced by a network of factors, including relations of power, colonial and postcolonial identity building, the construction of literary canons, cultural hegemony and globalization.

Investigation into the translation of AAVE is not new, especially regarding Romance languages: Examples include studies by Mereu Keating (2014) regarding Italian, and Sánchez (2015) regarding Spanish. Both of these studies focused on audiovisual translations of Black discourse. However, further study on this topic is needed in Brazilian and Latin American contexts. Our analysis was limited to American fictional literature, although it cannot encompass key features of orality, such as its prosodic and paralinguistic features (Halliday 1985). Thus Goetsch's (1985) concept of "feigned orality" (mimesis of spoken language) was useful. Nevertheless, Azevedo (2003, 20) points out that "even though a work of fiction is not a linguistic text, there are reasons to believe that a well-constructed representation of speech may provide interesting data for a study of variation".[7]

Assuming that many readers will be unfamiliar with Portuguese, only a few examples will be presented here, although they should suffice to illustrate Brazilian translation strategies. In general, there are only three approaches (although they are not applied to AAVE alone, nor are they limited to literary translation): 1) homogenizing (rendering everything in standard Brazilian Portuguese); 2) ruralizing (poor "backwater" speech patterns not associated with any particular race); and 3) urbanizing (jargon and intentional non-standard usage of urban youth, somewhat analogous to Multicultural London English). Each of these strategies will be explained further and their consequences will be considered below. In fact, two of them can be found in translations of the same novel published in different decades.

Homogenizing, the most traditional strategy, dates back to at least the early 20th century and is still widely used. An example follows below (Table 1) from a 1957 translation of Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by influential author Monteiro Lobato.

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7   Original quote: "Conquanto uma obra de ficção não seja primordialmente um texto linguístico, há razões para crer que uma representação bem construída da fala pode fornecer dados de interesse para o estudo da variação."

Table 1: Excerpt from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in the original English and Lobato's 1957 translation to Brazilian Portuguese

Original text (p. 40)	Lobato's translation (p. 57)
"Have you got hairy arms and a hairy breast, Jim?"	- E você? tem pêlos nos braços e no peito, Jim? Indaguei.
"What's de use to ax dat questi-on? Don' you see I has?"	- Para que perguntar? não está vendo com os seus olhos?
"Well, are you rich?"	- Então você é rico?
"No, but I ben rich wunst, and gwyne be rich again. Wunst I had foteen dollars, but I tuck to specalat'n', en got busted out."	- Já fui e hei de ser. Já possuí quatorze dólares, mas entrei nuns negócios e perdi tudo.

This excerpt not only effaces the non-standard language, but substitutes extremely high-register Portuguese, which simply does not correspond to the speech of a poor, semi-illiterate White boy and a runaway slave. For example, using the verb *possuir* [possess] for "to have" elevates Jim's discourse to a level that even the intelligentsia would hardly have used in informal conversation such as this. Thus, readers of this translation would not even be aware that language variation exists in American English, which, certainly to Twain, was a key means of characterizing the protagonists and localizing them within a social context. Indeed, Lobato was aware of this strategy and used it in his own fiction: In his famous children's series *Sítio do Picapau Amarelo*, for example, everyone speaks standard Brazilian Portuguese, except Tio Barnabé, a Black man.[8] Thus, although Lobato's motives for homogenizing the speech in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* are unclear, it could be argued that glossing over such distinctions could set all the characters on an equal footing and avoid stigmatization.

Be that as it may, clearly both the author and the translator play important roles in this transmission process. Only recently has the translation of Black authors into Brazilian Portuguese been problematized, given that, for socio-historical reasons, most translators are White. Philosopher Djamila Ribeiro's concept of *lugar de fala* (2017, 13) (one's "place of speech" or discursive standpoint) raises the question of whether it is really the place of White translators to give voice to Black characters or represent the views of Black authors. Although this may seem irrelevant from a corporate point of view or even discriminatory from a professional point of view, it is becoming more and more significant to those being represented. From an American perspective, Corine Tachtiris decries what she calls the "unbearable whiteness of translation" in the West, which "excludes scholars and translators of color from the field and also upholds racial inequities more broadly" (2024, 2).

Regardless of the merits or demerits of homogenization, perhaps because of increasing dissatisfaction with the absence of non-standard language in translations of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* major publisher L&PM released a retranslation in 2011 by Rosaura Eichenberg. The same excerpt from Table 1 is presented in Table 2.

8　However, Lobato does this very inconsistently, and both Tia Nastácia and the folkloric figure Saci, who are also Black, speak standard Brazilian Portuguese.

Table 2: Excerpt from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in the original English and Eichenberg's 2011 translation to Brazilian Portuguese

Original text (p. 40)	Eichenberg's translation (p. 57)
"Have you got hairy arms and a hairy breast, Jim?" "What's de use to ax dat questi-on? Don' you see I has?" "Well, are you rich?" "No, but I ben rich wunst, and gwyne be rich again. Wunst I had foteen dollars, but I tuck to specalat'n', en got busted out."	- Ocê tem braços e peito peludo, Jim? - Pra quê fazê essa pergunta? Num tá veno que tenho? - Bem, ocê é rico? - Não, já fui rico uma veiz e vô sê rico de novo. Uma veiz eu tinha catorze dólar, mas comecei a ispeculá e perdi tudo.

In this translation, Eichenberg was not only given license to use non-standard Portuguese to represent the speech of both characters, but was allowed a lengthy translator's note in the front matter (highly unusual in Brazil) to explain her choices and strategies. In the translator's note, Eichenberg remarks that Twain's characters had been, in her opinion, "civilized" in Brazilian Portuguese for too long, which ironically, was a fear that Huck expressed directly in the novel. She reasoned that their discourse warranted translation into non-standard Brazilian Portuguese, which she achieved by ruralization through a dialect called *caipira*, which evokes "backwater" "semi-literate" and "farm hand". *Caipira* involves truncations, such as *ocê* instead of *você* (for "you") and *veno* rather than *vendo* (for "seeing"), as well as incoherent plural concordance, such as *catorze dólar* for *catorze dólares* (i.e., "fourteen dollar" instead of "fourteen dollars"). As per Bagno's description above, this dialect would be used irrespective of race, as it is shared among people of a lower and a (literally) more marginalized social position. Nevertheless, the majority of *caipira* speakers would be Black or of mixed race because of the above-mentioned historical factors.

The fact that a major publisher backed Eichenberg's approach could be indicative of a new paradigm in Brazilian translation: representing otherness with otherness. Nevertheless, uncritical use of such a strategy has met with resistance. Alva and Salgueiro (2010) criticize a Brazilian translation of Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (in Portuguese, *Seus olhos viam Deus*) that employed lower-class Portuguese but provided no explanatory notes or background on the author, despite her career as an activist. They claim that such treatment allows the translator's views on race to drown out the author's intent. Thus, substituting one form of non-standard language with another has not necessarily been considered progress in the representation of AAVE to Brazilian audiences. The lack of an equivalent to AAVE in Brazil is, of course, the central problem in this situation, which places the burden of finding a solution fully on the translator. And given that the translator's choices can drastically alter the implications of the original, even narratives whose intent was the opposite can be made to reinforce stigma and social inequality.

Such issues may be why Brazilian translators have started using a third strategy: non-standard urban speech. In his 2012 book *A Tradução Literária*, Paulo Henriques Britto presents examples of his approach to translating AAVE, including the excerpt in Table 3 from Richard Price's *Lush Life [Vida vadia].*

Table 3:   Excerpt from Richard Price's *Lush Life* in the original English and Britto's 2012 translation to Brazilian Portuguese

Original text (pp. 112–113)	Britto's translation (pp. 112–113)
"Prolly what?" Lugo squinted, his mouth open in concentration. "Nothin' man."	"Acaba o quê?", Lugo apertou os olhos, a boca aberta, concentrado. Nada não, cara."
"Please." Lugo leaning in to get up in his face. "I'm a little hard of hearing."	"Dá pra repetir?" Lugo aproximou-se do rosto do outro. "Eu não escuto muito bem."
"Hey man, do what you gonna do." Dap craning his neck to get some space. "'Cause y'all are like that anyhow."	"Ai cara, faz o que tu tem que fazer." Dap espichando o pescoço para manter uma certa distância. "Vocês são tudo assim mesmo."

Unlike *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Price's story is set in a contemporary urban environment. Here, AAVE is depicted in the context of New York. Britto (2009) carefully explains that he tried to find some common ground between AAVE and urban Brazilian Portuguese, such as the use of contractions (*pra* instead of *para*), double negatives (*nada não*), and irregular verb concordance (*tu tem*, rather than the grammatically correct *tu tens* or *você tem*). Britto goes on to explain, however, that "whenever I'm faced with a case of Black English in a text I'm translating, I know there will be an unavoidable loss"[9] (2012, 116). He exemplifies this with "y'all", a pronoun from Southern American English that, when used in New York, would clearly indicate an AAVE speaker. However, Britto reinforces what has been established previously: that there is no dialect peculiar to Black Brazilians; speakers from different regions adapt to that region and their own social stratum.[10]

Once again, the translator's profile is an important point. Britto is a prizewinning poet, professor and translator of over 100 books, from Byron to Pynchon, so, when he identifies something as untranslatable, it may represent more of an ethical or professional discomfort, that is, an unwillingness to carelessly reconfigure the expression of a people group to which he does not belong. Thus, invoking untranslatability should not necessarily be equated with professional cowardice when so much is at stake.

6.   FINAL REMARKS

These examples provide a limited response to the main questions of this study, showing, principally, that Brazilian translators have used a small range of approaches to Black expression. However, a descriptive survey of alternatives is insufficient to resolve the larger question here: How *should* AAVE be represented in Brazil through translation? This, of course, raises further questions, such as whether there is (or can be) a gold-standard strategy.

These reflections also demonstrate the urgent need for Black Brazilian scholars, translators, and consumers to examine this issue. The identities of those who are creating Black discourse and those who are translating it must be critically considered, given that they

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9   Original quote: "sempre que me deparo com uma marca de Black English num texto que estou traduzindo, sei que haverá uma perda inevitável."

10 Although Britto (2012) mentions a prior suggestion from a colleague that the Portuguese from *quilombola* communities (which were founded in remote areas by runaway slaves who use an idiosyncratic variety of the language, particularly regarding vocabulary) could be used to represent AAVE in translation, he dismisses it on the grounds that a dialect spoken by a tiny and isolated minority cannot be equated with a broadly distributed dialect such as AAVE.

affect the final translations. The process of finding a translation solution or a set of solutions for AAVE and other Black dialects would seem more coherent if the parties involved were cultural stakeholders. Nevertheless, social inequality, low access to education and other factors are structural problems that limit the number of Black Brazilians who are involved in academia and translation.

Studies with larger samples of translated Black dialect could be useful, particularly works by Black authors and works translated by Black Brazilians, comparing them with non-Black translators. In addition, broadening the dialogue to include translators and translation scholars from other countries with large African communities may help clarify the situation from a global perspective.

In conclusion, the least that Brazilian translators could do would be to more carefully tailor their strategies to produce more humanized and richer results. Due to the issue's magnitude and implications, it must be more directly addressed on a collective level by translator trainers, translation scholars, translation professionals, and publishers and other media outlets.

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