A Comparison of the Strategies for Translating Racial Terminology in Harper Lee's Novels into Slovenian and German

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Abstract

This article addresses the strategies used to translate terms for black people in the novels *To Kill a Mockingbird* and *Go Set a Watchman* into Slovenian and German; these literary works were translated into both languages during the same periods. The extent to which the connotative meaning of a specific term from the original culture was preserved in a certain target culture is analysed and the potential influence of the translation strategies on the perception of the novels is discussed.

Keywords: *To Kill a Mockingbird*, *Go Set a Watchman*, Harper Lee, racial terminology, translation

INTRODUCTION

The novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* received critical acclaim immediately upon its publication in 1960 and has gone on to become a classic of American literature, but it has also been challenged numerous times, including due to the frequent use of racial slurs (Johnson 6; Sova 277–278, Saney 59). *Go Set a Watchman* was written in 1957—prior to Lee's debut novel—but published only in 2015; it received a lively reception and stirred up some controversy because in this novel, Atticus Finch, who had been an admirable character in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, displays racist views—some reviewers (e.g. Gorman; McClurg; Mindock) also referred to the use of racial slurs.

This article is going to analyse how the issue of racial terminology was addressed in translations of Lee's novels into Slovenian and German.[1] According to Johan Heilbron's classification, Slovenian is one of the languages with a peripheral position in the world system of translation, while German is a central language. The translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird* into the latter language was published in 1962 and a revised version of that translation was published in 2015. The novel was translated into Slovenian for the first time in 1964, while the re-translation was published in 2015. The German translation of *Go Set a Watchman* was also published in the latter year, while the Slovenian translation of this novel was published in 2016.

Theo Hermans (11) remarked that "[f]rom the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose." Heilbron asserted that translators into central languages tend to employ domesticating translation strategies, whereas translators into peripheral languages more frequently use foreignizing translation strategies (cf. Zlatnar Moe, Žigon and Mikolič Južnič 122–123).[2] The present analysis will show whether this is true for the Slovenian and German translations of *To Kill a Mockingbird* and *Go Set a Watchman*, which were published around the same time. Since in each language there are two versions of the former novel, the so-called re-translation hypothesis will also be tested: according to this theory, foreignization is more characteristic of re-translations than first translations of literary works (Tahir Gürçağlar 233–234).

The analysis will be done in accordance with the basic concepts of Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart's model for translation analysis: the texts are going to be compared on the microstructural level first, followed by a discussion of the potential

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2   Domestication makes the translation conform to the conventions of the target culture, whereas foreignization retains elements from the original that break the conventions of the target culture (Venuti).

consequences of the established *shifts*[3] on the macrostructural level of a particular target text, i.e., the readers' perception of certain aspects of the narrative. In order to have a frame of reference, the relevant racial terms in English, Slovenian and German are going to be discussed before commencing with the comparison of the texts.

THE RELEVANT RACIAL TERMS FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN ENGLISH, SLOVENIAN AND GERMAN

Five different terms for black people are used in *To Kill a Mockingbird* and *Go Set a Watchman*: *nigger*, *darky*, *Negro*, *colored* and *black*. While the markedness of some of these terms has changed over time in the 20th century, others have had a similar connotative meaning for a long time. The term *nigger* is in the latter category—it has been pejorative for centuries (Kennedy 4–5; Hughes 327; Asim 11; Hill 51), and became even more controversial after the intensification of the African American Civil Rights Movement in the middle of the 20th century (Hughes 329). The term *darky* is somewhat less offensive than the racial slur *nigger*, but it is as derogatory as *coon* or *Jim Crow* (Asim 79). For many years, *Negro* and *colored* were the standard terms for black people (Hughes 327; Hill 51), but in the second part of the 20th century, they gradually became pejorative and were substituted by *black* and *African American* as the most acceptable designations (Rattansi 116).[4]

The term *Nigger* has also been known as a racial slur in German for quite some time; for instance, in the encyclopaedia *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon* (689), published in 1908, it is defined as "a disparaging term for a Negro in America".[5] As Ulrike Kramer (82) notes, it is used as a racial slur in modern

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3   Shifts can be described as "[a]ll that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected" (Popovič; qtd. in Bakker, Koster and van Leuven-Zwart 271) or "changes which occur or may occur in the process of translating" (Bakker, Koster and van Leuven-Zwart 269).

4   Until the mid-1960s, *black* was generally regarded as less acceptable, but then activists began to advocate for its use, and as soon as by the early 1970s it had gained wide acceptance (see Smith 499–503). For instance, in a 1969 documentary by Horace Ové titled *Baldwin's Nigger*, a black student confronts renowned writer and civil rights activist James Baldwin for still referring to himself as a *Negro* instead of *black*. Baldwin responds as follows (qtd. in Trupej, "The Significance" 124): "I cannot change my vocabulary overnight. […] We've been called and call ourselves American Negroes for all nearly 400 years. […] Your generation, not mine, will call itself black. That's good enough for me, that's the whole point. My mother, my mother's mother, called herself a nigger." This issue was such a 'hot topic' that in 1972 even prominent comedian Richard Pryor talked about the transition from *colored* and *Negro* to *black* in his stand-up act, and he also acknowledged that some African Americans were not on board with this development: "In my neighbourhood, there used to be some beautiful black man […] and he'd be: […] 'Black is beautiful.' […] My parents go: 'That nigga crazy!'"

5   Citations not originally in English were translated by the author of the present article.

German also. While for many years, *Neger* was a standard term, generally used to refer to black people with darker skin (Arndt and Hamann 650), it gradually came to be perceived as pejorative (Arndt 654): according to Anke Poenicke (18), this process began in the 1970s in West Germany (BRD) and in the 1980s in East Germany (DDR). In modern times, the term *Neger* even came to be referred to as the German 'N-word' (Arndt 653). Another common term was *Farbiger*, generally used for black people of mixed ancestry (Sow, "Farbig/e" 684), which had its 'heyday' in the 1950s and 1960s (Poenicke 18). It gradually also became pejorative and was replaced with *Schwarzer* as the most acceptable German term for black people (Sow, "Schwarz" 608).

The historical development of the relevant Slovenian terminology was established by means of a corpus analysis and by checking relevant lexemes in dictionaries, while the present attitudes towards different terms for black people were determined via a survey. It was established that while for a long time, *zamorec* was the standard and most widely used term for black people, the frequency of its usage began to decline soon after the establishment of a socialist system in Slovenia (one of the republics of Yugoslavia) after World War II, and at the latest during the 1960s, it came to be stylistically marked. *Črnec* became the standard term and is still widely used in the new millennium,[6] although in recent decades, it has been replaced by *temnopolt* as the most politically correct term for black people. Out of the most offensive Slovenian terms for black people, the term *črnuh* has been used most frequently throughout history (see Trupej, "Zaznamovanost").

ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF *TO KILL A MOCKINGBIRD*

The Slovenian translation (1964) and re-translation (2015)

Lee's debut novel was first translated by Janez Sivec and decades later it was re-translated by Polona Glavan. Both of them used similar strategies for translating the terms *Negro*, *colored*, *black* and *darky*: in the vast majority of instances, these were translated as the noun *črnec* or the adjective *črn*. This was the standard term at the time of the first translation, whereas by the time the second translation was published, *temnopolt* had replaced it as the most politically correct term. Both translators thus neutralized the differences in the connotative meaning between

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6   A survey revealed that Slovenians generally still consider the term *črnec* to be quite acceptable: it received an average rating of 1.87 (with 1 being completely inoffensive and 5 being extremely offensive), while *temnopolt* received an average rating of 1.17 (Trupej, "Zaznamovanost" 639). However, some disagree: for instance, prominent writer Gabriela Babnik (qtd. in Kolednik) mentioned the term *črnec* alongside *nigger* and *črnuhar* as offensive terms that Slovenians use for black people.

the original terms, since at the time of the publication of the source text, the terms *Negro* and *colored* were considered neutral, while the terms *black* and *darky* were stylistically marked. In each translation there are a few omissions; for instance, both translators (Lee - Sivec 203; Lee - Glavan, *Če ubiješ* 187) omitted the term *black* in the following sentence: "I seen that black nigger yonder ruttin' on my Mayella!" (Lee, *To Kill* 190). They seemed to have deemed it unnecessary to emphasize the skin colour of the person referred to, since their translations of the term *nigger* (*zamorec* and *črnuh*, respectively) already conveyed this information. In both target texts, there are a few other deviations from the usual translation strategy. For instance, Sivec used the term *črnopolt* [black-skinned] for *Negro* on one occasion, and he also used the pejorative term *zamorec* once for the negative term *darky* as well as once for the neutral term *colored*. For the latter English term, Glavan used *temnopolt* six times, although it is not apparent why she used this term in a particular instance instead of her usual translation, i.e., *črnec* or *črn*.

There are more significant differences in the translation strategies for the term *nigger*. Sivec mostly translated it as *zamorec*; while Glavan also employed the latter term in one instance, she mostly opted for the more pejorative *črnuh*. However, Sivec and Glavan also used the term *črnec* for *nigger* eight and five times, respectively; in most of these instances, this standard Slovenian term was employed when the racial slur was uttered by a positive Caucasian character in the presence of an African American character or by an African American character. For example, both translators (Lee - Sivec 229; Lee - Glavan, *Če ubiješ* 211) opted for the term *črnec* when translating the following statement by Tom Robinson, the African American character on trial for his life: "Mr. Finch, if you was a nigger like me, you'd be scared, too." (Lee, *To Kill* 215). However, the pejorative terms *zamorec* (Lee - Sivec 91) and *črnuh* (Lee - Glavan, *Če ubiješ* 84) were used in the translations of the following exchange between the protagonist Scout Finch and her father, which illustrates the importance of preserving the negative connotation of the term *nigger*:

> "Do you defend niggers, Atticus?" I asked him that evening.
> "Of course I do. Don't say nigger, Scout. That's common."
> "'s what everybody at school says."
> "From now on it'll be everybody less one—" (Lee, *To Kill* 83)

It can be said that the re-translation preserves the role that racial terminology plays in the original to a great extent, whereas the same claim cannot be made about the first translation: although by the mid-1960s the term *zamorec* was somewhat stylistically marked, it was not (and still is not) one of the most offensive Slovenian terms for black people. Therefore, the intensity of racist discourse in Sivec's translation is significantly lower than in the source text.

Table 1: Racial terminology in the Slovenian translations of *To Kill a Mockingbird*

Lee [1960] 2010	Lee - Sivec [1964] 1984[7]	Lee - Glavan 2015[8]
nigger (48×)	39×*zamorec* 8×*črnec* 1×omission	42×*črnuh* 5×*črnec* 1×*zamorec*
Negro (54×)	52×*črnec* 1×*črnopolt* 1×omission	52×*črn/-ec* 2×omission
colored (28×)	26×*črnec* 1×*zamorec* 1×omission	22×*črn/-ec* 6×*temnopolt*
black (16×)	15×*črn/-ec* 1×omission	14×*črn/-ec* 2×omission
darky (2×)	1×*črnec* 1×*zamorec*	2×*črni*

The German translation (1962) and its revised version (2015)

To Kill a Mockingbird was first translated into German by Claire Malignon, and her translation was later revised by Nikolaus Stingl. The initial translation and its revised version do not differ as far as the translations of the terms *Negro*, *colored*, *black* and *darky* are concerned. The term *Negro* was consistently translated as *Neger*, the only exception being the statement "Tom was a black-velvet Negro" (Lee, *To Kill* 212), which reads "Tom war tiefschwarz" [Tom was ebony] (Lee - Malignon 234; Lee - Malignon/Stingl 306). The term *colored* was translated either as the noun *Farbiger* or the adjective *farbig*, with the exception of one omission of the term. For the term *black*, either the noun *Schwarzer* or the adjective *schwarz* was used, except in one sentence, where the term *Farbiger* was used in both versions of the translation. The term *Schwarzer* was also used for the two instances of the term *darky*; thereby, the derogatory nature of the English term was not preserved, especially not in the revised translation, since by the time it was published, *Schwarzer* had become the standard term. Retaining the terms *Farbiger* and *Neger* had the opposite effect; while these had been the standard terms when the novel was first translated, by the time the translation was revised, they were considered pejorative.

There are some differences between the two versions with regard to the translation of the racial slur *nigger*. In the majority of cases, Malignon retained the term in the translation; however, after translating the first instance of it in the narrative

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7   See Appendix 1 for the table with references.

8   See Appendix 2 for the table with references.

as *Nigger*, she used *Neger* for the next four instances, and once more later on. These five instances are not uttered by an African American character, but rather by three different Caucasian characters, one of them being Scout Finch. When Stingl revised the translation, he changed these five instances of *Neger* into *Nigger*. In both versions of the translation, there is one omission, which occurs in the following statement by Tom Robinson: "She says what her papa do to her don't count. She says, 'Kiss me back, nigger.'" (Lee, *To Kill* 214). The second sentence is transformed into reported speech in the German version: "Was Pa mit ihr tut, zählt nicht, sagt sie, und sie will, dass ich sie auch küsse." [What her pa does with her doesn't count, she says, and she wants me to kiss her too.] (Lee - Malignon 236; Lee - Malignon/Stingl 309).

The fact that the term *Nigger* was used more often in the revised version of the translation than in the initial translation indicates a tendency for the German version of the novel to be closer to the source text. However, due to the terms *Farbiger* and *Neger* also having become pejorative by the time the revised translation was published, this version contains a considerably larger number of terms that many modern readers might find offensive than was the case for the initially published translation—or for the source text at the time of publication. Since over the decades, the terms *Negro* and *colored* underwent a similar transformation in connotative meaning as the two aforementioned German terms, it can be argued that the effects on the modern readership of *To Kill a Mockingbird* in English and German are comparable.

Table 2: Racial terminology in the German translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird* and its revised version

Lee [1960] 2010	Lee - Malignon [1962] 1964[9]	Lee - Malignon/Stingl 2015[10]
nigger (48×)	42×*Nigger* 5×*Neger* 1×omission	47×*Nigger* 1×omission
Negro (54×)	53×*Neger* 1×*schwarz*	53×*Neger* 1×*schwarz*
colored (28×)	27×*Farbiger/farbig* 1×omission	27×*Farbiger/farbig* 1×omission
black (16×)	15×*Schwarzer/schwarz* 1×*Farbiger*	15×*Schwarzer/schwarz* 1×*Farbiger*
darky (2×)	2×*Schwarzer*	2×*Schwarzer*

9   See Appendix 3 for the table with references.

10   See Appendix 4 for the table with references.

ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF *GO SET A WATCHMAN*

The Slovenian translation (2016)

The year after the publication of Polona Glavan's translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, her translation of *Go Set a Watchman* was published. Unlike in the former translation, where she mostly translated *colored* as *črnec*, in the latter translation she consistently opted for the term *temnopolt*—the most politically correct Slovenian term for black people. For both *Negro* and *black*, she constantly used either *črnec* or *črn*.

For the term *nigger*, Glavan mostly used the pejorative term *črnuh*, although in four instances, she also opted for *črnec*—in three of those cases, the term is used in a context that is negative. One such example can be found in the translation (Lee – Glavan, *Pojdi* 164) of the following sentence: "They want to get the niggers married to that class and keep on until the whole social pattern's done away with." (Lee, *Go Set* 177). The importance of preserving the offensiveness of the term *nigger*—which Glavan did by using *črnuh* in her translation (Lee - Glavan, *Pojdi* 139, 165)—is illustrated by the following sentences: "What turned ordinary men into screaming dirt at the top of their voices, what made her kind of people harden and say 'nigger' when the word had never crossed their lips before? […] You will not believe me, but I will tell you: never in my life until today did I hear the word 'nigger' spoken by a member of my family." (Lee, *Go Set* 150, 178).

It can be said that Glavan mostly preserved the markedness of the racial terminology from the time when the novel was written, since for *nigger* she used the most common severely offensive Slovenian term, whereas for *colored* and *Negro*—which were standard terms in the 1950s—she used the two least stylistically marked Slovenian terms. *Black* was not the standard term for African Americans when the manuscript was written, and for this term, the translator also did not use the most acceptable Slovenian term for black people, i.e., *temnopolt*, but rather a slightly more marked term.

Table 3: Racial terminology in the Slovenian translation of *Go Set a Watchman*[11]

Lee 2015	Lee - Glavan 2016
nigger (27×)	23×*črnuh* 4×*črnec*
Negro (60×)	60×*črn/-ec*
black (15×)	15×*črn/-ec*
colored (4×)	4×*temnopolt/-i*

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11   See Appendix 5 for the table with references.

The German translation (2015)

The strategies that Klaus Timmermann and Ulrike Wasel used for translating the racial terminology in *Go Set a Watchman* were comparable to those used in the revised translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, which was published in the same year. Unlike in any other translation examined in this study, the strategy for translating the term *nigger* was completely consistent: all instances of the English term were retained in the translation. The translators were as consistent as far as the translation of the term *black* is concerned: either *Schwarzer* or *schwarz* was used. All instances of the term *colored* were also constantly translated as *Farbiger* or *farbig*. However, while the original term was not pejorative when Lee wrote the text, the opposite is true for the German term when the translation was done. The situation is similar for *Negro*, which was mostly translated as *Neger*, but on four occasions—all of them in the chapter in which Scout Finch visits her family's former housekeeper Calpurnia—*Farbiger* or *farbig* was used. While the English term was neutral when the novel was written, the German term was pejorative when the translation was published.

In an editorial note (Lee - Timmermann/Wasel 317), the use of the term *Neger* was addressed: "The term 'Negro', which was used by Harper Lee, was faithfully translated as 'Neger' in the novel, since this is in line with the common use at the time that the manuscript was written, even though the term is nowadays regarded as derogatory." The circumstance that the term *Farbiger* underwent a similar change in connotative meaning was not acknowledged. Since both *Negro* and *colored* were considered neutral when the novel was written, but not when it was eventually published, it can be said that by using *Neger* and *Farbiger*, the effect on readers in the target culture is comparable to the effect on readers in the source culture at the time of publication; however, this is not the effect Lee initially intended to achieve when opting to use the terms in question.

Table 4: Racial terminology in the German translation of *Go Set a Watchman*[12]

Lee 2015	Lee - Timmermann/Wasel 2015
nigger (27×)	27×*Nigger*
Negro (60×)	56×*Neger*
	4×*Farbiger/farbig*
black (15×)	15×*Schwarzer/schwarz*
colored (4×)	4×*Farbiger/farbig*

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12   See Appendix 6 for the table with references.

CONCLUSION

The strategies for translating the racial terminology in Harper Lee's novels into Slovenian and German were somewhat different, which potentially influenced how readers in these languages perceived certain aspects of the story of a particular novel.

While in the first Slovenian translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, the severity of racist discourse was significantly softened due to the racial slur *nigger* being most frequently translated as *zamorec*, which was not one of the most offensive Slovenian terms for black people at the time, the re-translation is closer to the original in this respect, since the term *črnuh* was mostly used instead.[13] In both translations, the differences in the connotative meaning of the other terms for African Americans (*Negro*, *colored*, *black*, *darky*) were largely neutralized by the use of *črnec* or *črn*, which was the standard way to refer to black people at the time of the first translation and was not perceived as offensive by the majority of Slovenians by the time that the second translation was published either. It can therefore be concluded that in the first translation, certain characters and southern society in general appear to be less racist than in the original, while for the second translation, this is true to a much lesser extent.

In the first German translation, all but six instances of the term *nigger* from the original were retained, while the revised version was changed so that only one instance of this racial slur was not preserved—this speaks of an effort for the connotative meaning of the target text to be closer to that of the source text. However, since in the revised version of the translation, none of the other terms for black people were changed, this may result in the modern readership perceiving the text differently than readers in the 1960s—characters appear more racist. This is because at the time when the novel was first translated, the terms *Neger* and *Farbiger* were standard terms (as was true for *Negro* and *colored* when the original was published), whereas by the time the revised version was published, these two German terms had become pejorative—as had both English terms. It can therefore be argued that modern readers of the German version of *To Kill a Mockingbird* perceive the racial terminology and its effects on characterization in a similar manner as modern readers in the source culture—but unlike initial readers.

Since *Go Set a Watchman* was translated by the same translator who had also been responsible for the re-translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, it is not surprising that comparable strategies for translating racial terminology were used, the main difference being that the term *colored* was consistently translated as *temnopolt* this

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13   It should be noted that none of the most offensive Slovenian terms for black people carry a connotative meaning as negative as the term *nigger*, which is associated with slavery, segregation, lynchings, etc.

time. Because the markedness of the Slovenian terms is similar to that of the original terms at the time the manuscript was written, it can be concluded that by using them, the translator tried to achieve an effect comparable to the one the novel's author originally intended.

Although the German translation of *Go Set a Watchman* was done by two different translators than the revised version of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, the translation strategies were comparable. Since along with the term *nigger* being constantly retained, the terms *Neger* and *Farbiger* or *farbig* were used for *Negro* and *colored*, it can be said of this translation also that readers perceived the racial terminology similarly to modern readers in the source culture, but not the way that the author originally intended almost six decades before her manuscript was published.

An effort for the translation to be closer to the source text is evident for both the Slovenian re-translation and the revised version of the German translation; therefore, this case study supports the re-translation hypothesis. However, the results of the analysis do not support the theory that in translations into central languages domesticating translation strategies tend to be employed, since in both German translations from this century there are more racial terms that break the conventions of the target culture than is the case for the Slovenian translations.[14] However, it is not completely clear whether this was done intentionally by the German translators or whether it is a consequence of not giving sufficient consideration to how the markedness of certain terms has changed over time.

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14 The comparison of the strategies for translating racial terminology in Sinclair Lewis's novel *Kingsblood Royal* into Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian and German also revealed that the markedness of the terms for black people was preserved to a greater extent in German than in the two Slavic languages (see Trupej, "The Significance").

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Primerjava strategij za prevajanje rasnega izrazoslovja v romanih Harper Lee v slovenščino in nemščino

Članek se ukvarja s strategijami, ki so bile uporabljene za prevajanje poimenovanj za temnopolte v romanih *Če ubiješ oponašalca* in *Pojdi, postavi stražarja* v slovenščino ter nemščino; literarni deli sta bili v posamezen jezik prevedeni v istem obdobju. Analizirano je, v kolikšni meri je bil konotativni pomen določenega poimenovanja iz izvirne kulture ohranjen tudi v posamezni ciljni kulturi. Članek se ukvarja tudi s potencialnim vplivom uporabljenih prevajalskih strategij na dojemanje romanov.

Ključne besede: *Če ubiješ oponašalca*, *Pojdi, postavi stražarja*, Harper Lee, rasno izrazoslovje, prevajanje

Appendix 1: Racial terminology in the Slovenian translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird*

	Lee [1960] 2010/Lee - Sivec [1964] 1984
nigger (48×)	**39×*zamorec*** (60/68 (2×), 62/70, 82/91, 83/91 (2×), 83/92, 85/94, 92/101 (4×), 93/102, 95/104, 112/122, 113/122, 113/123, 115/124 (2×), 120/129 (2×), 120/130 (2×), 166/177, 184/196, 190/203, 193/205, 196/209, 199/212, 203/216, 207/221, 214/228 (2×), 216/230, 240/255, 265/281 (3×), 275/292) **8×*črnec*** (41/48, 73/82, 131/142 (2×), 139/149, 215/229, 216/230, 218/232) **1×omission** (180/192)
Negro (54×)	**52×*črnec*** (9/16, 12/19, 60/68, 62/70, 83/92 (2×), 88/97, 98/107, 120/130, 130/141, 131/141 (2×), 136/147, 172/184 (2×), 176/189, 178/190 (6×), 180/192, 181/193, 186/199, 187/200, 188/201 (2×), 212/225 (2×), 212/226 (4×), 220/234, 225/239 (6×), 225/240, 226/240 (2×), 231/245, 233/248, 243/259, 249/265, 260/276, 261/277, 264/280, 276/292) **1×*črnopolt*** (110/119) **1×omission** (226/240)
colored (28×)	**26×*črnec*** (27/34, 82/91, 132/142, 138/148, 138/149, 139/150, 151/162, 177/189 (2×), 177/190 (3×), 181/193, 191/203, 208/222, 222/236 (2×), 228/242, 230/244, 237/251, 238/252, 242/257, 249/265, 250/265, 265/281, 297/314) **1×*zamorec*** (50/58) **1×omission** (177/189)
black (16×)	**15×*črn/-ec*** (97/107, 139/149, 140/151, 178/190 (2×), 180/193, 181/193, 225/239, 225/240, 226/240, 243/258 (3×), 264/280, 304/322) **1×omission** (190/203)
darky (2×)	**1×*črnec*** (255/271) **1×*zamorec*** (256/271)

Appendix 2: Racial terminology in the Slovenian re-translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird*

	Lee [1960] 2010/Lee - Glavan 2015
nigger (48×)	**42×*črnuh*** (60/62 (2×), 62/64, 82/84, 83/84 (2×), 83/85, 85/86, 92/92, 92/93 (3×), 93/94, 95/96, 112/112, 113/112, 113/113, 115/114 (2×), 120/119 (4×), 131/131, 166/163, 180/177, 184/181, 190/187, 193/189, 196/192, 199/195, 203/200, 207/204, 214/210 (2×), 216/212, 218/214, 240/236, 265/260 (3×), 275/270) **5×*črnec*** (41/44, 131/131, 139/138, 215/211, 216/212) **1×*zamorec*** (73/75)
Negro (54×)	**52×*črn/-ec*** (9/15, 12/17, 60/62, 62/64, 83/84, 83/85, 88/89, 98/98, 110/110, 120/119, 130/130, 131/130, 131/131, 136/135, 172/169, 172/170, 176/174, 178/175 (5×), 178/176, 180/177, 186/183, 187/184, 188/185 (2×), 212/208 (5×), 220/215, 225/221 (4×), 225/222 (3×), 226/222 (3×), 231/227, 233/229, 243/240, 249/245, 260/255, 261/256, 264/259, 276/270) **2×omission** (181/178, 212/208)

colored (28×)	22×*črn/-ec* (50/53, 82/83, 139/138, 177/174 (2×), 177/175 (4×), 181/178, 191/187, 208/204, 222/218 (2×), 228/224, 230/226, 237/233, 238/234, 242/238, 249/245, 250/246, 265/260) 6×*temnopolt* (27/32, 132/131, 138/137, 138/138, 151/149, 297/291)
black (16×)	14×*črn/-ec* (97/98, 139/138, 140/139, 178/175 (2×), 180/177, 181/178, 225/221, 225/222, 226/222, 243/239, 243/240 (2×), 304/299) 2×omission (190/187, 264/259)
darky (2×)	2×*črni* (255/251, 256/251)

Appendix 3: Racial terminology in the German translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird*

	Lee [1960] 2010/Lee - Malignon [1962] 1964
nigger (48×)	42×*Nigger* (41/48, 82/93, 83/93 (2×), 83/94, 85/96, 92/103 (2×), 92/104 (2×), 93/105, 95/107, 112/126, 113/126, 113/127, 115/129 (2×), 120/134 (3×), 120/135, 131/145 (2×), 139/153, 166/183, 184/202, 190/210, 193/213, 196/216, 199/219, 203/224, 207/229, 214/236, 215/237, 216/238 (2×), 218/241, 240/264, 265/292 (2×), 265/293, 275/304) 5×*Neger* (60/69 (2×), 62/71, 73/83, 180/199) 1×omission (214/236)
Negro (54×)	53×*Neger* (9/14, 12/17, 60/69, 62/71, 83/94 (2×), 88/99, 98/111, 110/123, 120/134, 130/144, 131/144 (2×), 136/150, 172/189, 172/190, 176/195, 178/196 (4×), 178/197 (2×), 180/199, 181/199, 186/205, 187/206, 188/208 (2×), 212/233 (2×), 212/234 (3×), 220/242, 225/248 (4×), 225/249 (3×), 226/249 (3×), 231/255, 233/257, 243/269, 249/275, 260/287, 261/288, 264/291, 276/304) 1×*schwarz* (212/234)
colored (28×)	27×*Farbiger/farbig* (27/33, 50/58, 82/92, 138/152, 138/153, 139/153, 151/166, 177/195 (3×), 177/196 (3×), 181/200, 191/210, 208/230, 222/245 (2×), 228/251, 230/254, 237/261, 238/262, 242/267, 249/276, 250/276, 265/293, 297/327) 1×omission (132/145)
black (16×)	15×*Schwarzer/schwarz* (97/110, 139/153, 140/154, 178/196, 178/197, 181/199, 190/210, 225/248, 225/249, 226/249, 243/268 (3×), 264/291, 304/335) 1×*Farbiger* (180/199)
darky (2×)	2×*Schwarzer* (255/282, 256/282)

Appendix 4: Racial terminology in the revised version of the German translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird*

	Lee [1960] 2010/Lee - Malignon/Stingl 2015
nigger **(48×)**	**47×*Nigger*** (41/64, 60/91 (2×), 62/94, 73/110, 82/123, 83/123 (2×), 83/124, 85/126, 92/136 (4×), 93/138, 95/141, 112/165, 113/165, 113/166, 115/168 (2×), 120/174, 120/175 (3×), 131/191 (2×), 139/201, 166/240, 180/260, 184/266, 190/275, 193/279, 196/283, 199/287, 203/294, 207/299, 214/309, 215/311, 216/311–12, 216/312, 218/315, 240/346, 265/383 (3×), 275/397) **1×omission** (214/309)
Negro **(54×)**	**53×*Neger*** (9/20, 12/24, 60/91, 62/93, 83/124 (2×), 88/131, 98/145, 110/161, 120/175, 130/190, 131/190, 131/191, 136/197, 172/249 (2×), 176/255, 178/257 (4×), 178/258 (2×), 180/261, 181/261, 186/269, 187/271, 188/272, 188/273, 212/305, 212/306 (4×), 220/316, 225/324 (4×), 225/325 (3×), 226/325 (3×), 231/333, 233/336, 243/352, 249/360, 260/375, 261/376, 264/381, 276/397) **1×*schwarz*** (212/306)
colored **(28×)**	**27×*Farbiger/farbig*** (27/45, 50/77, 82/121, 138/199, 138/200, 139/201, 151/219, 177/256 (3×), 177/257 (3×), 181/261, 191/276, 208/301, 222/320 (2×), 228/328, 230/332, 237/341, 238/342, 242/349, 249/360, 250/361, 265/383, 297/426) **1×omission** (132/191)
black **(16×)**	**15×*Schwarzer/schwarz*** (97/144, 139/201, 140/203, 178/257, 178/258, 181/261, 190/275, 225/324, 225/325, 226/325, 243/351 (3×), 264/381, 304/437) **1×*Farbiger*** (180/261)
darky **(2×)**	**2×*Schwarzer*** (255/369, 256/369)

Appendix 5: Racial terminology in the Slovenian translation of *Go Set a Watchman*

	Lee 2015/Lee - Glavan 2016
black **(15×)**	**15×*črn/-ec*** (49/48, 88/83, 103/96, 109/102, 110/103, 156/144, 175/161, 178/165, 179/165, 197/181, 236/217, 246/226 (2×), 248/227, 249/229)
colored **(4×)**	**4×*temnopolt/-i*** (105/98, 109/102, 149/138, 177/163)
Negro **(60×)**	**60×*črn/-ec*** (3/7, 27/29, 72/69, 73/70, 74/70 (2×), 80/76, 101/95, 102/96, 115/108, 143/133, 149/138 (2×), 155/144 (2×), 156/144 (2×), 158/146, 161/149, 166/154 (2×), 168/155 (2×), 176/162, 176/163, 177/163, 178/165 (2×), 179/165 (4×), 181/167 (2×), 189/174, 196/181, 199/184, 229/210, 241/222, 242/222 (3×), 243/223 (6×), 245/225 (2×), 246/225, 246/226 (3×), 247/226, 247/227, 251/230, 270/246 (2×), 270/247)
nigger **(27×)**	**23×*črnuh*** (108/101 (2×), 110/103 (2×), 150/139, 172/159, 174/161, 175/161, 175/162, 178/165 (2×), 188/173, 229/210, 245/225, 248/227, 248/228, 251/230) **4×*črnec*** (162/150, 167/154, 177/164, 252/231)

Appendix 6: Racial terminology in the German translation of *Go Set a Watchman*

	Lee 2015/Lee – Timmermann/Wasel 2015
black (15×)	**15×*Schwarzer/schwarz*** (49/59, 88/102, 103/118, 109/125, 110/127, 156/177, 175/198, 178/202, 179/203,197/223, 236/268, 246/280 (2×), 248/282, 249/284)
colored (4×)	**4×*Farbiger/farbig*** (105/120, 109/125, 149/169, 177/201)
Negro (60×)	**56×*Neger*** (3/9, 27/36, 72/86, 73/87, 74/87, 74/88, 80/95, 101/116, 102/117, 115/132, 143/163, 149/169, 149/170, 155/177, 161/183, 166/188, 166/189, 168/190 (2×), 176/199, 176/200, 177/201, 178/202 (2×), 179/203 (4×), 181/205, 181/206, 189/214, 196/223, 199/226, 229/260, 241/274, 242/274, 242/275 (2×), 243/276 (3×), 243/277 (3×), 245/278, 245/279, 246/279, 246/280 (3×), 247/281 (2×), 251/286, 270/306 (3×)) **4×*Farbiger/farbig*** (155/177, 156/177, 156/178, 158/179)
nigger (27×)	**27×*Nigger*** (108/124, 108/125, 110/126 (6×), 110/127 (2×), 150/171, 162/184, 167/189, 172/195, 174/197, 175/198 (2×), 177/201, 178/202 (2×), 188/213, 229/260, 245/279, 248/282 (2×), 251/286, 252/287)