The Translation of Racism in Literary Works: A Comparison Between Two Dutch Translations of To Kill a Mockingbird

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Abstract

After the Black Lives Matter movement started, racism has become strictly taboo in the United States. This increased political correctness has also spread to the Netherlands, whose government has only recently apologised for its contribution to slavery. As a result of this increased political correctness, taboo and offensive language has been a frequently studied topic in Translation Studies for the past few decades. While the translation of racial slurs has been studied frequently in subtitling, there has not been as much research into the translation of racist discourse in literary works. Moreover, publications that studied racism in literary translations have mostly focused on the translation of racial slurs or Black Vernacular, rather than analysing racist language in general. In this thesis, a comparative analysis is conducted in the form of a close reading of a selection of phrases that contain racist and racial discourse in *To Kill a Mockingbird* and its two Dutch translations. The first Dutch translation appeared in 1961 and the retranslation was published in 2010. The aim of this case study is to analyse how the translator of the Dutch retranslation was affected by changing social norms regarding racism in his translation choices. The results show that the 2010 retranslation generally contained fewer offensive terms compared to the first Dutch translation. While it is not always clear what motivated this translation strategy, the analysis shows that in some cases it is definitely the result of changing social norms regarding racism. It can therefore be argued that the 2010 retranslation is more politically correct than the 1961 translation. Furthermore, it can be concluded that while the retranslation hypothesis has been debunked, the 2010 translation does appear to be a more literal rendering of the source text than the 1961 translation.

Keywords: *Racist discourse, To Kill a Mockingbird, Literary Translation, Retranslation, Political Correctness, Changing Social Norms*

Contents

1 Introduction

Global society in the 21st century is characterised by an increase in political correctness. The Trayvon Martin shooting, and its aftermath served as a catalyst for this development. On 26 February 2012, Trayvon Martin, a seventeen-year-old Black man, was shot and killed by George Zimmerman in Florida. Zimmerman remained uncharged for weeks, which led to demonstrations that demanded for his prosecution. A year later, Zimmerman's trial finally began, but the jury found him not guilty (Munro, 2023). This signalled the beginning of the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States, which quickly gained international support. The movement is dedicated to the fight against racism and anti-Black violence (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica 2023a). From this moment onwards, racism has become strictly taboo. There is also a greater Black awareness, even in the Netherlands. Just recently, on 19 December 2022, nearly 150 years after the abolishment of slavery, the Dutch prime minister apologised for the country's contribution to slavery (Rijksoverheid 2022).

This increased political correctness has resulted in greater attention to slavery and race in literature in both the Netherlands and the United States (Deul 2023; Adjei-Brenyah 2018). In addition, more and more research into the racial issue has been conducted, such as the historic linguistic changes of racial slurs (Fogle 2013; Sanders 2023). Furthermore, taboo and offensive language has become a frequently studied topic in Translation Studies in the past few decades. This is in particular the case for research on subtitling, as more and more taboo and offensive language in films is translated into its subtitles, which was previously left untranslated. This is the result of changes in translation norms, which now state that it is important to subtitle taboo and offensive language if it contributes to characterization or fulfils a thematic function in a film (Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2007, 196-7). While the translation of racial slurs has been studied frequently in subtitling, there has not been as much research into the translation of racist discourse in literary works. Moreover, publications that studied racism in literary translations have mostly focused on the translation of racial slurs or Black Vernacular, rather than analysing racist language in general (Hanes 2018; Wekker and Wekker 1991). To fill the research gap, this thesis will study the translation of racist discourse, in which a broader perspective of racist discourse is adopted to include racial discourse. In addition, it will explore a different motivation for the production of

retranslations, namely changing social norms regarding racism that call for a less offensive retranslation that is considered appropriate in Dutch society.

To contribute to the research on the translation of racism in literary translations as well as the motivations behind retranslations, the analysis of this thesis will consist of a case study in which a close reading of *To Kill a Mockingbird* and its two Dutch translations is performed. This novel was chosen because of its immense popularity and controversy and because it contains a large amount of racist and raicial discourse. At the time of its publication, *To Kill a Mockingbird* was already controversial in the United States because of its discussion of rape, but in the past decades, it has been increasingly challenged for its racist discourse and "white saviour" character (Selk 2017; American Library Association n.d.). Furthermore, as the first Dutch translation was published in 1961 and the retranslation appeared in 2010, there is a substantial time gap between the two Dutch translations. As social norms regarding racism have changed during this time, it should provide some insight into the manner in which translators are affected by these norms in the translation of literary works. This thesis will therefore answer the following research question: How is translator of the 2010 Dutch retranslation of *To Kill a Mockingbird* affected by changing social norms regarding racism in his translation choices compared to the Dutch translation from 1961?

In order to answer the research question, Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* and its two Dutch translations will be analysed. The differences in the translation of racist and racial discourse in the two Dutch translations will be compared. From this comparison of differences, it will be assessed which translation is less offensive and what the translator's motivations could have been. This will be done to explore whether the more politically correct translations are the result of the urge to adhere to changing social norms regarding racism. The findings of this thesis will provide insight into the manner in which social norms regarding racism impact the translation of racist discourse in literary works. It will contribute to research on racism in literary translations and retranslation studies.

The following sub-questions can be formulated to aid with answering the research question of this study:

1. Is the translator of the 2010 retranslation affected by changing social norms regarding racism, which state that racist discourse has become taboo?
2. Can the manner in which the retranslation was affected by these social norms be illustrated by the differences in the translation of racist and racial discourse between the first Dutch translation and the retranslation?

3. Do the differences in the translation of racist and racial discourse consist of the use of less offensive discourse in the 2010 translation compared to the 1961 translation?

This thesis consists of 5 chapters, including this introduction. Chapter 2 is divided into 4 sections and provides an overview of relevant background information. The first section defines racist discourse and analyses how the perception of racial slurs has changed over time. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 discuss relevant research within Translation Studies, namely the study of racism in literary translations and retranslation and the retranslation hypothesis, respectively. The last section examines translation culture in the Netherlands in the 1960s as opposed to that of the present day. Chapter 3 outlines the materials and methods used for the analysis of this thesis. The results of the analysis are presented in chapter 4, followed by a conclusion in chapter 5.

2 Literature Review

This chapter provides a discussion of the relevant literature and theoretical background. Section 2.1 defines racist discourse and analyses how the meaning of racial slurs has changed over time from a sociolinguistic perspective. Section 2.2 provides an overview of research into racism in literary translations. Section 2.3 discusses retranslation and the retranslation hypothesis. Finally, section 2.4 explores translation culture in the Netherlands in the 1960s as opposed to that of the present day.

2.1 Racist Discourse and Sociolinguistics

2.1.1 Definition of Racist Discourse

Since the Black Lives Matter movement started, racism has become strictly taboo in the United States and the Netherlands. The Oxford English Dictionary defines racism as follows:

> "Prejudice, antagonism, or discrimination by an individual, institution, or society, against a person or people on the basis of their nationality or (now usually) their membership of a particular racial or ethnic group, typically one that is a minority or marginalized.
> Also: beliefs that members of a particular racial or ethnic group possess innate characteristics or qualities, or that some racial or ethnic groups are superior to others; an ideology based on such beliefs." (Oxford English Dictionary 2022a)

As illustrated in the definition above, racism is not limited to the use of racial slurs, but also includes the discrimination against Black people as well as the belief that white people are superior to Black people. Even though this is the case, most research on racism in Translation Studies focuses exclusively on the translation of racial slurs and Black Vernacular, rather than analysing racist discourse in general. To fill this research gap, this thesis will adopt a broader perspective of racist discourse to include racial discourse. This means that the analysis will not only focus on racial slurs and Black Vernacular, but also includes other racial terms used

to refer to Black people, as well as the way Black people are described, treated, and interacted with by white people. It also means that this study will treat words and phrases that are not necessarily considered racist in both the English source text and the Dutch target texts, but whose translations can nevertheless give insight into the manner in which translators are affected by changing social norms regarding racism in their translation choices. Furthermore, due to changed social norms regarding racism, some of the words and phrases that are treated in this thesis were not regarded as offensive at the time of writing/translating but are considered racist at present.

2.1.2 Racist Discourse in Sociolinguistics

In this subsection, the changes in meaning of racist discourse over time in Dutch and the English-speaking world are explored. It is important to outline these changes to gain a better understanding of words and phrases that are now considered racist discourse and whether they were already considered racist at the time it was written and/or translated. The focus will be on the two most well-known racial slurs in English, 'negro' and 'nigger', and Dutch, '*neger*' and '*nikker*'. These slurs were chosen because their connotations and usage have changed due to shifts in social norms in both languages and this may affect the manner in which they are translated. Furthermore, 'negro' and 'nigger' and their Dutch translations are relevant for the analysis conducted for this thesis as they are the most prominent slurs in *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

2.1.2.1 'Negro' and 'Nigger'

Both 'negro' and 'nigger' derive from '*niger*', the Latin word for black. However, there is some discussion as to how 'nigger' came to be used in English. According to Fogle, 'nigger' was a mispronunciation of 'negro' which Black enslaved people initially used to refer to themselves. This suggests that 'nigger' was at first a descriptive term, rather than pejorative (Fogle 2013, 2). However, Hughes argues that this is a common misconception, and 'nigger' is actually a direct derivative from the Latin '*niger*' (Hughes 2006, 328). Whatever the case may be, both terms were used to refer to enslaved people in the 18th and 19th centuries. Even though both 'negro' and 'nigger' denoted Black enslaved people in America, a difference in their usage can be discerned. The term 'negro' was merely used as a fairly neutral term to describe enslaved people, especially in commercial practices, such as advertisements for

‘slave auctions’. On the other hand, negative connotations were attributed to the term ‘nigger’. It was, for example, used to identify Black enslaved people as inferior to white people, as objects instead of human beings. At that time, ‘nigger’ was already used as a racial slur to humiliate enslaved people (Fogle 2013, 3).

After the abolishment of slavery and up until the Civil Rights Era, the racial slur ‘nigger’ was still often used by white people to harass Black people and remind them that they were considered to be inferior to them. Additionally, Black people used ‘negro’, often written ‘Negro’, more and more often to identify themselves. However, from the 1970s onwards, derivatives of the racial slur ‘nigger’, such as ‘nigga’, were increasingly used by Black people as an insult of endearment to signify racial pride. Moreover, the term ‘negro’ also started being replaced by other terms, such as ‘Black’ and ‘African American’ (Fogle 2013, 4-6).

2.1.2.2 ‘Neger’ and ‘Nikker’

Just like in English, the Dutch language also has two similar racial slurs that were used to refer to Black people, namely ‘*neger*’ and ‘*nikker*’. However, as opposed to the English ‘negro’ and ‘nigger’, these two racial slurs do not have a shared etymology. According to *Slavernij en Jij*, just like the two English slurs, ‘*neger*’ came to us via the Spanish and Portuguese word ‘*negro*’. In turn, this word originated from the Latin word ‘*niger*’, meaning black. From the 17th century onwards, it was used to refer to Black people originating from Africa as well as enslaved people (Slavernij en Jij 2013). After the abolishment of slavery in the Netherlands and its colonies in 1863, ‘*neger*’ came to be used in two different contexts. On the one hand, Black people in Suriname and the Antilles started using the word as a sign of Black awareness. Even now, people from older generations use it as a respectful term to refer to Black people (Slavernij en Jij 2013).

On the other hand, white people in the Netherlands increasingly added ‘*neger*’ as a prefix to words to refer to things that belonged to Black people. Dutch people did this to distinguish them from things that belonged to white people, which never got a prefix. More and more stereotypical and negative characteristics were attributed to ‘*neger*’, for example that they are dumb and primitive. This, in combination with its connection to slavery, is the reason why ‘*neger*’ is now considered offensive by many Black Dutch people (Slavernij en Jij 2013). Consequently, Black Dutch activists urged the *Van Dale*, a Dutch dictionary, to update

its definition of '*neger*'. Since 2005, *Van Dale* has added the following annotation to its definition: "(perceived by some as a term of abuse)"[1] (Hondius 2009, 42).

Whereas '*neger*' used to be a neutral term to refer to Black people, the racial slur '*nikker*' has always been pejorative (Hondius 2009, 42). It was first attested in 1302 and was at that time used to refer to an evil water spirit or the devil. Based on the English word 'nigger', '*nikker*' came into use to refer to Black people since 1828 (Van Dale Online Dictionary 2009e). According to Kuipers, '*nikker*' is more offensive than '*neger*' (Kuipers 2000, 152).

At present, just like in English, it is advised that Dutch white people no longer use '*neger*' and '*nikker*' because these words may be, and often are, perceived as offensive by Black people. Nowadays, if Dutch white people want to refer to Black people, they should use '*Zwart*' with a capital (Nationaal Museum voor Wereldculturen 2018, 94). Based on this information, the present author expects that the 1961 translation will mostly translate the above-mentioned English racial slurs or other references to Black people with either '*nikker*' or '*neger*'. In addition, it is expected that the first translation might use these two slurs interchangeably because the latter is still considered a neutral term at the time and could be used to replace the former, which is considered more offensive. On the other hand, the present author expects the 2010 retranslation to make a clear distinction between '*nikker*' and '*neger*' because both terms are by then no longer considered appropriate. Furthermore, it is expect that the retranslation shows an increased use of the more appropriate translation '*zwarte*', particularly in cases when the English slur is not meant to be offensive but rather to differentiate between Black and white people.

However, the present author does not think that either translation will use a capital with '*Zwart*' as this did not come into use in the United States until 2020 (Associated Press 2020) and is not really a topic of discussion in the Netherlands yet. Instead, the discussion whether Dutch people should use '*blank*' or '*wit*' is still very much alive in the Netherlands (Nduwanje 2021). Dutch anti-racist activists give preference to '*wit*' rather than '*blank*' due to the "positive" connotations, such as unblemished and non-coloured, that are attached to this latter term (Nationaal Museum voor Wereldculturen 2018, 95). For example, the NOS, a

[1] Translation taken from Hondius 2009, page 42. The original states: "(door een groeiend aantal mensen als beledigend ervaren)". Nowadays, the online dictionary uses several variations of this statement.

Dutch broadcasting organisation, reported that they would start using '*wit*' rather than '*blank*' in 2018 (NOS 2018). The present author therefore also expects that any reference to white people is translated with '*blank*' rather than '*wit*' in both Dutch translations of *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

2.2 Racism in Literary Translation

As mentioned in the introduction, the subtitling of racial slurs has increased even though this has become a strict taboo in our society. This is rather surprising considering that previously racial slurs were not subtitled at all (Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2007, 196-7). Can this increase also be seen in literary translation, or is there a trend towards reducing or even omitting racist discourse in literary translation? Can a general claim be made regarding the translation of racist discourse? This section aims to answer these questions by providing a brief overview of research into racism and taboo language in literary translation.

Hanes' study on the retitling of Agatha Christie's *Ten Little Niggers* suggests a trend towards the reduction or even omission of racist discourse in literary translation. Since this well-known crime novel was first published in the United Kingdom in 1939, the epithet 'nigger' has become taboo. This led to the extensive retitling of the novel and its adaptations (Hanes 2018, 185-6). In the United States, two different titles were used for the editions and adaptations of *Ten Little Niggers*. The first edition was published in 1940 and titled *And Then There Were None*. This title was taken from the final verse of the American nursery rhyme on which Christie's namesake novel is based. In this version, the 'little niggers' were replaced with soldiers. The second title, *Ten Little Indians*, was mostly applied for adaptations of the novel and is taken from the original 1868 nursery rhyme 'Ten Little Injuns'. According to Hanes, this title and subsequent changes to the story, including the replacement of 'niggers' with 'Indians', made it "relatable" for the American audience at the time. The first title was taken over in recent UK editions and adaptations and has now uniformly become *And Then There Were None* in Anglophone markets (Hanes 2018, 186-8).

In Brazil, from 1942 onwards, several translations and adaptations were published under the title *O Caso dos Dez Negrinhos*, which translates to 'The Case of the Ten Little Niggers/Negroes'. However, a 2009 translation and 2015 stage adaptation were released under the title *E Não Nenhum*, which roughly translates to 'And None Were Left'. Even though '*negro*' in Portuguese does not have the same negative connotations as the English

'nigger', the latter title is used more and more. Just like in the English editions of *And Then There Were None*, the 'niggers/negroes' have been replaced with soldiers in this adaptation as well. According to Hanes, this shift is the result of present anti-racist movements, either inspired by a national growing Black awareness or influenced by globalization (Hanes 2018, 189-92).

This is also the case in the Netherlands, in which the Dutch title *Tien Kleine Negertjes* is replaced with *En toen waren er nog maar…* (Historiek 2018). Furthermore, the French translation in Belgium, which was formerly titled *Dix petits nègres*, has now been replaced with *Ils étaient dix*, which translates into 'There were ten (of them)', and has removed all instances of the French word for 'negro' throughout the translation (De Standaard 2020). This censuring of racial slurs occurs in translations of other novels as well. Take for example the most recent Dutch translation of *The Fire Next Time* by James Baldwin. While the Dutch translator Damsma wanted to retain the word 'Negro' by translating it with '*neger*', as it was common practice to use this word when the novel first appeared in 1963, publishing company De Geus insisted that Damsma changed this into '*zwart*' (Gasthuis 2018).

When it comes to translating literary works, there are multiple translation procedures translators can apply to deal with racist discourse. In her article, Weissbrod aims to determine which procedures Hebrew translators use to translate racist discourse that occurs in literary works (Weissbrod 2008, 172). In her analysis, she finds that nowadays most translators adopt an invisible approach, to use Venuti's terms. In other words, translators retained the source text's racist discourse in their translations. According to Weissbrod, this can be explained by looking at the current prevalent translation norms in Hebrew literary translation and attitudes towards racism in Israeli culture as opposed to those of the 20th century. During the 20th century, there was a lack of awareness of racism and the dominant translation norm was target culture oriented, meaning translators could adapt the source text to make it appropriate for the target audience. At present, even though there is increased sensitivity to racism in Hebrew society today, the translation norm has shifted towards being source oriented, which prioritises faithfulness to the source text (Weissbrod 2008, 175-7).

Other translation procedures in Hebrew literary translation include the intensification of racist attitudes, repairing or apologising for racist discourse, and adding annotations to the target text. According to the author, accentuating racism is often a by-product of translators' solution to deal with dialects when they were only allowed to use Hebrew elevated language. To render dialects in translation, translators would let Black characters refer to themselves in

the third person, making them sound infantile and incapable (Weissbrod 2008, 177-9). Non-standard language is a common problem in the translation of literary texts and scholars have researched this for numerous language pairs. For instance, Wekker and Wekker addressed this issue for the English to Dutch language pair using Alice Walker's novel *The Color Purple* as a case study. They concluded that Black English Vernacular, which is a dialect of US English spoken by Black people from North America, should be translated into Dutch using Surinamese Dutch, which is a variety of Dutch spoken by people of Afro-Surinamese descent (Wekker & Wekker 1991, 221-39). In the case of retranslations, translators can either repair earlier Hebrew translations that accentuated the author's racist views or apologise for retaining the source text's racist attitudes on the back cover of the target text to achieve political correctness (Weissbrod 2008, 179-81). According to Weissbrod, an annotated translation is the best solution when dealing with racist discourse. This is because it lets the translator retain his visibility without being unfaithful to the source text (Weissbrod 2008, 181-2).

Furthermore, it is suggested that the translation of racist discourse can highly depend on translators' choices and interpretations. Kujawska-Lis' case-study argues that translations are never the same as the original literary work. They are influenced by historical circumstances, the translator's (mis)interpretation and translation strategy, which can be either source text or target text oriented. To study the differences in the translation of racist discourse, the author compares two Polish translations of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, which is a prominent novella in Poland. He analysed the first and last translation because of the time gap between them as well as their contrasting viewpoints on the racial aspects of the novella. The first translation was published in 1930 and was translated by Aniela Zagórska, Conrad's cousin. The most recent translation appeared in 2004 and was translated by Ireneusz Socha (Kujawska-Lis 2008, 166-7).

While Zagórska's translation opted for less offensive translations of racial and related terms, the newest translation preferred more insulting words. Moreover, Socha's translation added abusive vocabulary when none occur in the original, amplified racist discourse, and changed neutral phrases into negative ones. Furthermore, Socha's translation intensified characters' racist attitudes towards Black people. On the other hand, Zagórska translated more literally and in some cases even attempted to neutralise racist discourse. Whereas Zagórska opted for humanising approach, for example by translating 'savage' with the less offensive Polish term and adding the Polish word for people afterwards, Socha adopted a dehumanising

attitude as he used animalistic vocabulary to describe Black characters. An example of this is Socha's translation of mob, for which he used the Polish word '*sfora*', which means 'a pack of hunting dogs'. While *Heart of Darkness* has been criticised as racist because it treats Black people as inferior to white people (Achebe 1988, 251-62), Polish people were not aware of this because Zagórska had neutralised Conrad's racist discourse in her translation. Kujawska-Lis therefore concluded that the translator of the retranslation, namely Socha, had turned *Heart of Darkness* into a racist text for Poland. (Kujawska-Lis 2008, 168-77).

From this brief overview, it can be deducted that there is no consensus regarding the translation of racist discourse in literary works. This lack of consensus might be the result of a shortage of research on racism in literary translations. In some cases, racist discourse is omitted, in other cases it is retained or even intensified. It can be concluded that there are several approaches to the translation of racist discourse, and it highly depends on the social and translation norms that exist in a particular target culture, as well as the translators themselves. Furthermore, as can be seen above, racist attitudes in literary works may be reflected differently in the first translation as opposed to the retranslation, depending on the translator and the time at which it was translated. The phenomenon of retranslation, the retranslation hypothesis, and potential reasons why retranslations are produced, will be discussed in the next section.

2.3 Retranslation Studies and the Retranslation Hypothesis

To Kill a Mockingbird was retranslated into Dutch in 2010 to celebrate the novel's 50th anniversary. Koskinen and Paloposki define retranslation as "a second or later translation of a single source text into the same target language" (Koskinen & Paloposki 2010, 294). In the past few decades, scholars researched why retranslations are made. Berman, who is considered the founder of retranslation studies, draws on Goethe in his attempt to explain why retranslations have to be made (Widman 2019, 148; Berman 1990, 4-5). Goethe was a German writer and polymath who wrote about translation in the "Notes and Essays" supplement to his *West-East Divan*, which was published in 1819. According to Goethe, there are three phases of translation that may occur simultaneously. The first kind of translation is a simple rendering of the source text to introduce the target culture to the original work. The second mode of translation is target text oriented, or domesticating, because it allows the target culture to understand a text from a source culture by using the translation norms of the

target language. The third phase of translation is faithful to the source text and adopts a foreignizing method, meaning it retains all the cultural and textual aspects of the source culture. This is the highest mode of translation because it aims "to make the translation identical to the original" (Goethe 2010, 279-81). Based on this triadic scheme, Berman claims that every great translation is a retranslation because every translated work passes through this cycle in a linear manner. In other words, he believes that every first translation is clumsy, and that repetition is needed to improve a translation (Berman 1990, 3-5). This reasoning, that first translations are more domesticating and that retranslations are made to be more foreignizing, was later referred to as the Retranslation Hypothesis by Chesterman (Chesterman 2000, 23)

During the first decade of the 21st century, research on retranslation has generated evidence which corroborates and contradicts the Retranslation Hypothesis, respectively. For example, Paloposki and Koskinen's study compares Finnish translations and retranslations of literary works (Paloposki & Koskinen 2004). In the first half of the 19th century, fiction started to be translated into Finnish. A lot of these first translations were to some extent domesticated. While this seems in line with the Retranslation Hypothesis, it may also simply mean that it is only applicable to the first phase in literary development rather than individual first translations (Paloposki & Koskinen 2004, 29). Turning to the second half of the 19th century, the first two Finnish translations of *The Vicar of Wakefield* contradict the Retranslation Hypothesis. After studying the linguistic profiles of the translations, it can be concluded that the first translation is translated more closely to the source text than the retranslation (Paloposki & Koskinen 2004, 29-31). The Finnish translations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* seem to corroborate the Retranslation Hypothesis. The first translation in 1906 is domesticating and the 1995 retranslation is foreignizing. However, another retranslation which was published in 2000 is once again domesticating. According to the authors, these developments cannot be adequately explained by the Retranslation Hypothesis (Paloposki & Koskinen 2004, 33-4). Lastly, Pentti Saarikoski aimed to increase, rather than reduce, the amount of domestication in his 1969 retranslation of the *Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (Paloposki & Koskinen 2004, 35).

Another case study in which the Retranslation Hypothesis is not supported by empirical evidence was conducted by Desmidt in 2009. Her corpus consisted of 52 German and 18 Dutch versions of the Swedish children's story of *Nils Holgersson's Wonderful Journey Through Sweden*, written by Selma Lagerlöf in 1906-1907. The first translation in German was translated by Pauline Klaiber and published in three volumes in 1907-1908 and

the first in Dutch was translated by Margaretha Meyboom and appeared in two volumes in 1911. The other 68 versions were retranslations or rewritings that were published between 1906 and 1999 (Desmidt 2009, 672). In a quantitative analysis, she analysed the number of changes that could be found in the first translation as opposed to the retranslations, which are translated from the Swedish original. It turned out that only the oldest German retranslation was more faithful than Klaiber's translation. The more recent retranslations showed a higher deviation percentage than the first German translation, thus contradicting the Retranslation Hypothesis, which states that the retranslations are more faithful to the source text than the first translation. However, it must be noted that recent rewritings, which are versions that rely on earlier translations, have corrected changes from the earlier translations (Desmidt 2009, 674-6). Nevertheless, target culture norms prevailed in the retranslations of this children's classic and, while some showed consideration for the Swedish original, no source text-oriented translations were produced that were more faithful to the source text than the first translation. Desmidt argues that this may be caused by three factors: 1. children's literature tend to be target text oriented; 2. classic texts are adapted more frequently; and 3. *Nils Holgersson* might not be old enough yet (Desmidt 2009, 678).

As a result of these studies that contradict the Retranslation Hypothesis (Skjønsberg 1982; Collombat 2004; Paloposki & Koskinen 2004; Desmidt 2009; Widman 2019), the hypothesis is now widely accepted as insufficient to explain why retranslations are made. Instead, there are multiple causes for retranslation and several factors determine their textual profiles. These factors include, among other things, the intended target audience, publishers, and the translators themselves. Furthermore, according to Vanderschelden, five main reasons justify the creation of a retranslation. Firstly, in some cases, the first translation has become inadequate because, for example, the translation norms of the target language have changed. This is, for instance, the case in subtitling, in which translation norms used to dictate that racist discourse had to be omitted in subtitles but is now more often retained (Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2007, 196-7). Secondly, a newer edition of the source text has become the standard reference, and therefore the translation needs to be updated. We have already seen this in the previous section, in which translations of Agatha Christie's *Ten Little Niggers* had to be updated after it was changed to *Ten Little Indians*, in which "Indians" replaced "niggers", and *And Then There Were None*, in which the "niggers" were replaced with soldiers (Hanes 2018, 186-8).

Additionally, it is often assumed that translations age and become outdated. A retranslation is then created to modernise the target language used in the target text. Moreover, a retranslation can be made if it is supposed to fulfil a specific function in the target culture. Lastly, the creation of a retranslation is justified if a different interpretation of the source text varies greatly from the interpretation of the first translation (Vanderschelden 2000, 3-6). We have already seen this in the previous section, in which the retranslation of *Heart of Darkness* was more racist than the first translation due to two Polish translators' different interpretations (Kujawska-Lis 2008).

Furthermore, Vanderschelden claims that a translator can benefit from the increased knowledge of the source text and the reception of the first translation when creating a retranslation (Vanderschelden 2000, 8-11). Finally, it should be kept in mind that retranslations are not always made because the first translation is insufficient, but rather that this claim is made as a strategy to promote the value of the retranslation (Koskinen & Paloposki 2010, 296).

2.4 Translation Culture in the Netherlands

As this thesis will analyse two Dutch translations of Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* with a time gap of 49 years, it is important to give an overview of the translation culture that existed in the Netherlands in the 1960s as opposed to the present day and discern the differences between them. The present author defines translation culture as a combination of the different types of source texts that are translated into Dutch, the source languages from which these texts are translated, as well as the educational and professional background of the Dutch translator.

After the Second World War, a few interesting studies on translation appeared in the Netherlands. Among these was the first modern Dutch monograph about translation, *De kunst van het vertalen*, published by A.A. Wijnen in 1946. In it, he writes about the necessity of translations and their importance for international relations. This work signalled the beginning of a new era of research on translation in the Netherlands (Schoenaers et al 2021, 487-8). Furthermore, translation became more central in Europe with the foundation of the European Economic Community in 1957 because every country could communicate with its institutions in their own language and European documents were written in the languages of all its members. Even though some Dutch people believed the focus should be on their own culture,

the translation of fiction greatly expanded between the end of the Second World War and the 1970s (Schoenaers et al 2021, 489-90).

The translation sector became more organised from the 1950s onwards. The Netherlands Association of Interpreters and Translators was founded in 1956 (Schoenaers et al 2021, 499). With the expansion of the book production, literary translation increased, and more translators were needed in the 1960s. Especially popular were translations of British detectives and thrillers, Swedish crime novels, publications about feminism, and works that could change our society. The expansion led to the foundation of translation programmes that not only focused on literary translation, but on that of trade, technology, and law as well (Schoenaers et al 2021, 503-6). From this moment onwards, the translation profession started to consist of trained translators rather than Dutch writers and/or linguists. In the case of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, the translator of the first Dutch translation, Hans Edinga, was a writer who also translated novels, but Ko Kooman, the translator of the retranslation, is a trained Dutch translator.

In the years leading up to the 21st century, translation had become an economic factor of importance in the Netherlands. This resulted in an even more organised and standardised professional sector. Translation agencies united themselves among the Netherlands Association of Interpreting and Translation Companies, which was founded in 1994. From 2015 onwards, translation agencies must meet the "ISO 17100:2015 Translation services – Requirements for translation services" to certify themselves (Schoenaers et al 2021, 549). This standard "provides requirements for the core processes, resources, and other aspects necessary for the delivery of a quality translation service that meets applicable specifications" (ISO 2020).

Even though the translation industry has grown exponentially, it remains a fragile profession. Translators often do not get paid enough for their services and have to continue working at a later age, while starting translators do not get a lot of assignments. This leads to an ageing translation profession, which is the case for literary translation in particular. To battle this ageing industry, new translation programmes have been set up in the Netherlands that offer courses on the translation of several languages and focuses on economic, legal, and technological translation, as well as subtitling (Schoenaers et al 2021, 552-4).

The 21st century is characterised by rapid digitalisation, which has massive consequences for the translation profession. It has led to the increased use of translator's tools, such as machine translation, computer-aided translation software, and subtitling

software, within the translation industry. These tools allow the translator to translate faster to accommodate for the growing demand for translation services. According to Naaijkens, this is perhaps one of the reasons why retranslations of literary classics are becoming increasingly common, alongside the urge to improve earlier translations. This could also explain why *To Kill a Mockingbird* was retranslated in Dutch for the novel's 50th anniversary. Furthermore, due to globalisation, English has become a lingua franca that tends to repress other languages. Within the translation industry, this has resulted in the increased use of pivot translation, in which English is often used as a mediating language in the translation process from a source language that is unfamiliar to the translator of the target text (Schoenaers et al 2021, 556-7).

3 Materials and Method

This chapter discusses the materials and method used to answer the following research question: How is translator of the 2010 Dutch retranslation of *To Kill a Mockingbird* affected by changing social norms regarding racism in his translation choices compared to the Dutch translation from 1961? Section 3.1 provides information on Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* and the two Dutch translations that were used for analysis. Section 3.2 explains the method that was used for the analysis in chapter 4.

3.1 Materials

To investigate the impact of changing social norms regarding racism in the translation of literary works, *To Kill a Mockingbird* and its two Dutch translations were used for the analysis of this thesis. This classic novel was chosen because of its widespread popularity and controversy, as well as racial injustice being one of its main themes. Moreover, the time gap between the two Dutch translations, the first being published in 1961 and the second in 2010, should give insight into the impact of changing social norms regarding racism during the translation process. That these social norms have changed is illustrated in section 2.1.2 of the second chapter. This section stated that racial slurs are no longer accepted in our current politically correct society because they are perceived as offensive by Black people (Nationaal Museum voor Wereldculturen 2018, 94). The following sections provide information on Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* and its two Dutch translations, including the author's and translators' backgrounds, the socio-cultural background in which the novel was written and subsequently translated, and its reception.

3.1.1 Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*

Harper Lee started writing in Manhattan in the mid-1950s, during the American civil rights era. The Civil Rights movement protested against discrimination and racial segregation in the South and resulted in the Civil Rights Act in 1964 (Carson 2023). After a writing process of several years, Lee published *To Kill a Mockingbird* in 1960. Set in the 1930s, at the beginning of the Great Depression, this coming-of-age novel addresses themes such as racial injustice and prejudice in the American South. Historically, the South had been against the

abolishment of slavery because white people there relied on agriculture and enslaved Black people to work on their plantations. Even after the abolishment of slavery and up until the civil rights era, Black people "remained a kind of peasantry" (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica 2023b).

The story is written from the perspective of Jean Louise Finch, a tomboyish girl who goes by the name of Scout. She lives in the fictional southern town of Maycomb with her older brother Jeremy ("Jem") and her widowed father Atticus Finch, who is a lawyer (Fine & Foca 2022). The novel follows two storylines. In the first part of the book, Jem and Scout befriend Dill, a boy who stays in Maycomb each summer. The children become obsessed with Arthur ("Boo") Radley, a reclusive neighbour, and spend their summers trying to make him come out of his house. The second part of the book focuses on a trial in which Atticus is appointed to defend Tom Robinson, a Black man who is falsely accused of raping and physically abusing Mayella Ewell, a white woman. Not being able to convince the jury of his innocence, Tom is sentenced to death. Fearing for his life, Tom attempts to escape from prison and is killed. During the trial, Bob Ewell, Mayella's father, is humiliated and vows revenge. At the end of the book, the two storylines intersect when Boo Radley saves Jem and Scout from being attacked by Bob Ewell.

Although *To Kill a Mockingbird* is not an autobiography, several parallels exist between the author's background and that of her protagonist Scout. Nelle Harper Lee was born in Monroeville, Alabama in 1926. Her childhood neighbour and friend, Truman Capote, who was also her close neighbour during her adult life, was the inspiration for Jem and Scout's friend Dill (Fine 2023). Additionally, according to Capote, Boo was based on their neighbour Son Boulware, who lived just down the road from Capote and Lee. Furthermore, the compassionate lawyer Atticus Finch is based on Lee's father, Amasa Coleman Lee, a newspaper editor and lawyer. During his career, A.C. Lee defended two Black men who were accused of murdering a white storekeeper. Both men, a father and a son, were found guilty and hanged for their crimes (Fine & Foca 2022). However, the criminal case in *To Kill a Mockingbird* is based on a different event. According to the Dutch retranslation, the criminal case is based on the Scottsboro Boys trials from 1931 to 1937. During these trials, nine young Black men were convicted of raping two white girls. However, Shields argues that the scope of these trials was far too broad to reflect a small-town environment and that Lee instead based her plot on a crime that was reported in the *Monroe Journal* in 1933, the newspaper

which her father edited. It stated that Naomi Lowery, a white woman, was raped by Walter Lett, a Black man who lived near Monroeville (Shields 2006, 116-20).

Rather than the "quick and merciful death" Harper Lee hoped her novel would receive, *To Kill a Mockingbird* became immensely popular (WQXR 2016, 1:14). In the first year, some 500,000 copies were sold. However, the initial reception among critics was inconsistent. While many critics applauded the work for its careful treatment of issues such as racism and prejudice, others disliked the novel's preachiness and unconvincing narrator. Nevertheless, in 1961, a year after the novel's publication, Lee won the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction. Since then, *To Kill a Mockingbird* has been translated into over 40 languages and has sold more than 40 million copies worldwide. The novel has several adaptations, among which are the 1962 film with Gregory Peck and a Broadway play in 2018 (Fine & Foca 2022). Furthermore, since its publication, this American modern classic has been taught in American middle and high schools, but also in schools in other English and non-English speaking countries.

On the other hand, the novel has also been challenged and banned from libraries and schools since it became part of the curriculum. The literary work was first banned by the Hanover County School Board in 1966 because it was deemed immoral for its discussion of rape (Selk 2017). Over the past years, the novel has been increasingly challenged and banned for its profanity, racial slurs, and "white saviour" character. According to the American Library Association, *To Kill a Mockingbird* was the 7th most challenged book in America in 2020 (American Library Association n.d.). One of the main arguments against this banning of the novel is that Lee wrote *To Kill a Mockingbird* with the aim to portray life and racism in the average southern town. In doing so, she mostly used racist discourse to show readers how racism worked in these towns, rather than being racist herself (Selk 2017). However, at the time of writing, it was still common practice to use 'negro' to refer to a Black person, a word which is now considered racist. The novel's racist discourse is therefore a combination of a representation of racism in southern towns and a use of racial terms that are no longer considered appropriate due to Lee's outdated attitude towards racism.

3.1.2 Dutch Translations of *To Kill a Mockingbird*

The first Dutch translation of *To Kill a Mockingbird* appeared in 1961. It was translated by Hans Edinga, published by Uitgeverij De Fontein, and given the Dutch title '*Spaar de Spotvogels*'. Hans Edinga is a pseudonym for Hans Heidstra, a Dutch poet and writer. After publishing a few poetry books and novels, Heidstra became committee member

of the Netherlands Association of Translators from 1956-1964. During his career, he translated a large amount of English and German literary works into Dutch. In addition to translating Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Heidstra also translated works written by other famous writers such as Roald Dahl, T.S. Eliot, and Ernest Hemingway (Koopmans 1983). The Dutch retranslation was published by De Bezige Bij in 2010, on the 50th anniversary of Lee's modern classic. It was translated by Ko Kooman, a Dutch translator, and given the Dutch title '*Spaar de Spotvogel*'. Unfortunately, no other information can be found on Kooman. The same is true for the reception of both Dutch translations, except for a few positive book reviews. What is interesting about the retranslation is that it is accompanied by a prologue written by Kristien Hemmerechts, a Flemish author. In it, she briefly brings in perspective the question of race (see Appendix A). The prologue will be further discussed in the next chapter.

While racism has become strictly taboo, the question of race is something that has not been addressed frequently in the Netherlands. According to Hondius, the Netherlands adopted the so-called 'anti-racist norm' after the Holocaust. Since then, race has been ignored and racial difference has been dismissed as something that does not matter. In addition, there has not been a substantial Black presence in the Netherlands until some forty-five years ago. This notwithstanding the fact that, for centuries, the Netherlands had a colonial empire that played a significant role in the slave trade. These two factors led to an uneasiness surrounding racial issues in the Netherlands in present day life. As a consequence, ethnic and racial segregation occurs in many places in the Netherlands. Moreover, the Dutch have only recently begun to acknowledge the part they played in the history of slavery (Hondius 2009, 39-41). In fact, it did not start until after the Dutch retranslation had already been published. For example, on 19 December 2022, a year before the 150th anniversary of the abolishment of slavery, the Dutch government apologised for the part the Netherlands played in the history of slavery (Rijksoverheid 2022).

3.2 Method

This section discusses the method used for the analysis of this thesis. The analysis of this thesis consists of a case study in which the present author performs a close reading to compare phrases containing racist discourse in the source text with the translations in the two Dutch target texts to discern differences between them. The differences in translation that

result from this comparative analysis may shed light on the manner in which translators are affected by the changing norms regarding racism during the translation process. In this thesis, a close reading was performed because it is important to conduct several case studies on a certain topic before general conclusions can be made. The corpus of this case study consists of Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* and its two Dutch translations. This classic novel was chosen because it contains a large amount of racist and racial discourse, including racial slurs and other racial terms used to refer to Black people, Black Vernacular, descriptions of Black people, and interactions with or about Black people, and there is a considerable time gap between the Dutch translations.

From the above-mentioned materials, a dataset was created by manually copying phrases from the source text and the two Dutch translations into a table. To create this dataset, the present author reread the English source text and copied all the potentially interesting sentences that could be analysed in this thesis. Subsequently, the corresponding sentences in the Dutch translations were located and copied into the table as well. The sentences included in the dataset were marked potentially interesting because they contained one or more of the following characteristics: 1. names, racial slurs and other terms referring to Black characters; 2. Black characters in the narrative; and 3. dialogue with/about Black characters. As this dataset was too big for the scope of the current thesis, a selection of phrases was made. The selection contains phrases that have been translated differently into Dutch and that could provide insight into the manner in which translators are affected by the changing social norms regarding racism in the translation of literary works.

The results will be divided into four parts. Before the results of the comparative analysis are given, the first part will discuss the prologue that was added in the 2010 retranslation of *To Kill a Mockingbird*. This prologue, which was written by Kristien Hemmerechts, briefly brings the question of race into perspective. It also sheds light on the present controversy surrounding the novel's white saviour narrative and use of racist discourse. In doing so, it shows that the translator of the retranslation made deliberate choices regarding the translation of racist and racial discourse.

In the second part, racial slurs and other terms that occur in *To Kill a Mockingbird* to refer to Black characters are analysed. Each term is treated in a separate section with a few relevant examples from the selection of phrases, but to be able to draw some general conclusions about the differences in translation of these terms, all the instances of these terms that were copied into the dataset are taken into consideration. As opposed to the second part,

in which racial slurs and other terms have been translated directly into the target texts, the third part discusses racial words and phrases that have been changed in either one or both Dutch translations. The examples that are treated in this part can be grouped under three translation procedures that were applied in the translation of racist and racial discourse. Translation procedures are techniques that are applied by the translator in the translation of a certain phrase (Munday, Pinto, & Blakesley 2022, 75). The translation procedures that are discussed in this section are omissions, intensifications, and explicitations. Omissions are words or phrases in the source text that are left out in the target text, intensifications are in this thesis understood as words or phrases in the target text that intensify the racist attitudes of the source text, and explicitations are words or phrases that are changed or added in the target text to make implicit information explicit (Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2007, 162; Vinay & Darbelnet 1995, 84 & 342). The fourth part analyses words and phrases that do not fit in with the above-mentioned categories, namely racial slurs/terms and certain translation procedures, but can be grouped under the most prominent Black characters in the novel. This includes character descriptions, the way they speak and are spoken about, and the manner in which they are addressed and treated by other characters. The examples treated in this section have been translated differently in the two Dutch target texts and illustrate that these differences in translation can result in different reading experiences.

These three sections are accompanied by examples of the relevant phrases, as well as an explanation of the context of these phrases beforehand. For all these sentences that contain racist and racial discourse, the two Dutch translations are compared to the English source text and each other to discern differences between them. From these differences, it is assessed which of these translations can nowadays be considered more racist and which of these accurately represent the source text. Then, the possible motivations for the translations are discussed to explore whether these differences in translation can be attributed to changing social norms regarding racism. This should provide insight into the impact of social norms regarding racism on the translation process of literary works.

In closing, a discussion of some of the limitations that are apparent in this case study. First of all, as this thesis focuses on a close reading of selected lines from the novel and its two Dutch translations, rather than the entire dataset, it is by no means an exhaustive study. Furthermore, for the creation of the dataset, the present author worked from the source text, rather than from the target texts. As a result of this, it is possible that some additions and/or intensifications that occur in the Dutch target texts have been overlooked and are therefore not

treated in this case study. Finally, as the Dutch retranslation of *To Kill a Mockingbird* was published in 2010, a few years before the beginning of the Black Lives Matter movement, and therefore before the start of the present fight against racism, this case study might not produce as many interesting results as it could have if the retranslation had appeared after the Black Lives Matter movement.

4 Results and Analysis

This chapter presents the results of the case study on the difference in translation of racist discourse in the two Dutch translations of *To Kill a Mockingbird*. It then discusses whether this difference in translation could be caused by changing social norms regarding racism or whether it is the result of different reasons. This analysis aims to answer the following research question: How is translator of the 2010 Dutch retranslation of *To Kill a Mockingbird* affected by changing social norms regarding racism in his translation choices compared to the Dutch translation from 1961?

The chapter is divided into 4 sections. Before the results of the comparative analysis are given, section 4.1 will first discuss the prologue that was added to the 2010 translation. Section 4.2 treats the translation of racial slurs and related terms. Section 4.3 analyses instances in which racist attitudes are intensified, omitted, and explicated. Finally, section 4.4 focuses on the description of Black characters as well as the manner in which they are addressed and spoken about. For the last three sections, the findings are accompanied by relevant examples from the novel and its two Dutch translations. When applicable, specific words or phrases may be written in bold. Furthermore, the relevant context of all the phrases that are analysed is given beforehand.

4.1 Prologue *Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)

Before the results of this case study are presented and analysed, this section briefly discusses the prologue that was added in the Dutch retranslation of *To Kill a Mockingbird*. As mentioned in chapter 3, the prologue was written by Kristien Hemmerechts, who is a Flemish author. The prologue brings in perspective the question of race and Atticus's role in it. The first two paragraphs give an idea of the segregation that exists in the fictive city of Maycomb and is reflected throughout the novel. In it, Hemmerechts uses single quotation marks when she uses the word '*negers*', as has been done throughout this thesis, to show that it is no longer common practice in our current politically correct society to use this word as well as other racial terms. She does, however, use the word '*blank*' rather than '*wit*' to refer to white people throughout the prologue. As mentioned in chapter 2, this is not surprising because the

discussion whether Dutch people should use '*wit*' rather than '*blank*' started only recently, years after this retranslation was published.

Hemmerechts then continues to discuss Atticus's role in the novel. She acknowledges that Atticus's attitude towards racism can be understood as ambiguous to the modern reader. On the one hand, he is repelled by prejudice, but on the other hand, he seems to accept Maycomb's unwritten code that Black and white people should live separately. While Atticus, who she describes as the hero of the story, does his best to defend an innocent Black man, he does not criticise Maycomb's code, he continues to believe in the American judicial system when it fails Tom Robinson, and he believes that Maycomb's mentality towards racism will change slowly and that it should not be forced. Hemmerechts therefore urges the reader not to compare Atticus Finch to Martin Luther King. This is because Atticus is "too old" to start the fight against racism, of which Lee reminds the reader throughout the novel.

It is likely that this prologue was written as a response to recent criticism against *To Kill a Mockingbird*. More and more schools in various countries, such as Scotland, Canada, and the United States, are 'cancelling' or banning the novel because of its "racist white saviour narrative" (Bolt 2021). Hemmerechts therefore reminds the reader that this novel was written in the late 1950s and set even earlier in the 1930s. Consequently, she tells the reader to not project their current viewpoints of racism onto the novel and its characters as Lee tries to show the reader what racism was like at that time.

The fact that this prologue was written tells us that all the agents involved in the production of the 2010 retranslation were aware of the novel's controversy due to its white saviour narrative and racist discourse, which is the result of changing social norms regarding racism. By writing '*negers*' in single quotation marks, it shows that they acknowledge that these words should no longer be used by white people in our current politically correct society. It can therefore be concluded that Kooman made deliberate translation choices regarding the translation of the racist and racial discourse that occurs in *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

4.2 Racial Slurs and Related Terms

The racial slurs that are most prominent in *To Kill a Mockingbird* are 'nigger' and 'Negro'. As discussed in chapter 2, whereas the first has always been pejorative and the latter used to be neutral, both slurs are no longer accepted in our current politically correct society

(Nationaal Museum voor Wereldculturen 2018, 94). Other terms related to race that are prominent in Lee's novel are discussed here as well. These include 'colored', 'black', 'darky', 'mixed', and 'white'. In the sections that follow, some general thoughts about the translations of these terms are discussed and accompanied by a few relevant examples.

4.2.1 'Nigger'

The 1961 translation uses '*nikker*' and '*neger*' interchangeably for the translation of 'nigger'. In doing so, it appears these two slurs have the same meaning, even though '*nikker*' has always had a pejorative connotation and '*neger*' has not (Hondius 2009, 42). Moreover, when choosing to translate 'nigger' with either '*nikker*' or '*neger*', it does not seem to matter who the speaker is. Instances of 'nigger' are translated with '*neger*' when it is spoken by both Black and white characters, the latter of which include both characters who are against racism as well as characters who despise Black people. Edinga could have chosen to make a distinction between white characters who are against racism and characters who despise Black people by translating the instances of the first with the more neutral term '*neger*' and the latter with the more offensive '*nikker*'. In the example below, for the same speaker, the translator first used '*neger*' as a translation for 'nigger', but later on it is translated with '*nikker*'. The speaker is Mayella Ewell, a poor young girl who accused Tom Robinson, a Black man, of raping her. Both sentences occur during the court trial between Tom Robinson and herself when she is questioned by Atticus Finch, the lawyer of the opposing party.

Example 4.1

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
"I mighta," conceded Mayella. "There was several **niggers** around." (p. 209)	'Misschien wel,' gaf Mayella toe, 'maar d'r lopen daar zoveel **negers** rond.' (p. 197)	'Misschien weleens,' gaf Mayella toe. 'Er liepen wel meer **nikkers** rond.' (p. 273)
That **nigger** yonder took advantage of me an' if you fine fancy gentlemen don't wanta do nothin' about it	Die **nikker** daar heb me misbruikt en as jullie fijne meneren d'r geen werk van willen maken, dan zijn jullie	Die **nikker** daar heb me misbruikt en as jullie mooie meneren d'r niks an willen doen dan benne jullie

then you're all yellow stinkin' cowards, stinkin' cowards, the lot of you. (p. 213)	allemaal vuile lafbekken…allemaal! (p. 200)	allemaal vieze vuile lafaards, vuile lafaards, jullie allemaal. (p. 277)

In the novel, the Ewells are known to "despise the colored folks" (Lee 1960, 258). It would therefore make more sense if Mayella Ewell said the more pejorative '*nikker*' in both instances in the 1961 translation, rather than translating it with '*neger*'. However, as Edinga must have been aware that '*nikker*' is more abusive than '*neger*', perhaps he deliberately opted for the latter translation in some instances when 'nigger' occurs in an attempt to make the novel less offensive.

On the other hand, the Dutch retranslation does seem to make a clear distinction between 'nigger', which is mostly translated as '*nikker*', and 'Negro', which is mostly translated as '*neger*'. This could be the result of Kooman's awareness of the pejorative connotation of '*nikker*', in which he did not want to use the two slurs interchangeably so as to not make it seem like they both have the same meaning and offensive connotations. However, it could also be the case that the translator aimed to translate more literally by using '*nikker*', which is a direct derivative of the English 'nigger', rather than being more politically correct.

Finally, it has to be noted that, in most instances when 'nigger' is translated with '*neger*' in the 1960 translation, it is used as a prefix to a word that belongs to Black people. As mentioned in chapter 2, this was a common practice in the Netherlands at the time and could therefore explain why 'nigger' is often translated with '*neger*' instead of '*nikker*' (Slavernij en Jij 2013). However, the Dutch retranslation often retains the more abusive '*nikker*' when it is used as a prefix. This could be because in 2010 it is no longer common practice to use '*neger*' as a prefix to words, or at all for that matter, and the translator therefore chose to translate 'nigger' more literally by using the Dutch word that derived from it, namely '*nikker*'.

In the example below, we find an instance in which 'nigger' is translated as a prefix in both Dutch translations, but while the first used '*neger*' the latter used '*nikker*'. It is accompanied by another instance in which 'nigger' is translated as '*neger*' in the 1960 translation as opposed to '*nikker*' in the 2010 retranslation. The example is set after Tom Robinson was killed trying to escape prison. It describes how the people in Maycomb think about his death.

Example 4.2

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
To Maycomb, Tom's death was Typical. Typical of a **nigger** to cut and run. Typical of a **nigger's mentality** to have no plan, no thought for the future, just run blind first chance he saw. (p. 275)	Voor Maycomb was Toms dood 'typerend'. Typisch iets voor een **neger**, om te ontvluchten. Ja, dat typeerde de **negermentaliteit**: er zomaar, toen hij de kans schoon zag, vandoor te gaan, zonder enig plan de campagne en zonder er zich rekenschap van te geven waarheen hij moest vluchten. (p. 257)	Voor Maycomb was de dood van Tom typisch. Typisch iets voor een **nikker** om ervandoor te gaan. Typisch voor de **nikkermentaliteit** om geen plan te hebben, niet aan de toekomst te denken, om gewoon maar blindelings te gaan rennen zodra hij de kans schoon zag. (p. 352)

4.2.2 'Negro'

In the 1960 translation, all instances of 'Negro' are translated with '*neger*'. In the 2010 translation, when 'Negro' is used as a noun or can be translated as a prefix to a word referring to things that belong to Black people, it is always translated as '*neger*'. This can be seen in Example 4.3 below. The first sentence is spoken by Miss Maudie, one of the adults that gathered on the street after Mr. Radley shot at Jem, Scout, and Dill who were trying to get a look at Boo Radley from their back garden. In the second example, the narrator describes where the Ewells live during the court trial between the Ewells and Tom Robinson to get a better idea of who they are, they are considered trash according to the novel.

Example 4.3

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)

"Mr. Radley shot at a **Negro** in his collard patch." (p. 61)	'Meneer Radley heeft op een **neger** geschoten, die in zijn moestuin zat.' (p. 59)	'Meneer Radley heeft op een **neger** geschoten in zijn koolveldje.' (p. 89)
Maycomb's Ewells lived behind the town garbage dump in what was once a **Negro cabin**. (pp. 193-4)	De Ewells van Maycomb woonden achter de vuilnisbelt van de stad, in wat eens een **negerhut** was. (p. 181)	De Ewells van Maycomb woonden achter de stadsvuilnisbelt in wat ooit een **negerhut** was geweest. (p. 252)

In the 2010 translation, most instances in which 'Negro' is used in a combination with another word to refer to Black people, it is either translated with a form of '*neger*' or with '*neger*' as a prefix as well. This can be seen in Example 4.4 below. The first example is set before the beginning of the court trial between Mayella Ewell and Tom Robinson. Both white people and Black people are sitting outside waiting on the moment they can enter the courthouse. Jem, Scout, and Dill see Mr. Dolphus Raymond, a white man, drinking from a sack while sitting "with the colored folks" (Lee 1960, 183). Jem explains that he has a Black wife and 'mixed' children. When Scout asks what a 'mixed' child is, Jem points one out after explaining. The second example is set a bit earlier in the novel, in which Mrs. Dubose is introduced to the reader. Mrs. Dubose is and old, ill woman who sits on her porch and can be very mean to Jem and Scout when they pass by.

Example 4.4

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
A small boy clutching a **Negro woman's** hand walked toward us. He looked all Negro to me; he was rich chocolate with flaring nostrils and beautiful teeth. Sometimes he would skip happily, and the **Negro**	Er kwam een kleine jongen naar ons toelopen, hij hield de hand van een **negerin** vast. Voor mijn gevoel was hij helemaal: neger. Hij had een chocoladekleurige huid, wijde neusgaten en prachtige witte tanden. Telkens deed	Er naderde een jongetje aan de hand van een **negerin**. Hij zag er volgens mij helemaal als een neger uit: donker chocoladekleurig met wijde neusgaten en een prachtig gebit. Zo nu en dan begon hij vrolijk te

woman tugged his hand to make him stop. (pp. 183-4)	hij een luchtsprong van plezier, maar dan trok de **negerin** hem naar zich toe en verbood het hem. (p. 172)	huppelen, maar dan bracht de **negerin** hem met een ruk aan zijn handje weer in het gareel. (p. 240)
Mrs. Dubose lived alone except for a **Negro girl** in constant attendance, two doors up the street from us in a house with steep front steps and a dog-trot hall. (p. 114)	Mevrouw Dubose woonde alleen (dat wil zeggen, ze had een **negermeisje** bij zich, dat haar op haar wenken bediende) in een huis, twee huizen verder dan het onze. Dat huis had een steile verandatrap en een piepkleine hal. (p. 108)	Mevrouw Dubose woonde alleen, met een **negermeid** voor dag en nacht, twee deuren voorbij de onze in een huis met een steile voortrap en een overdekte passage tussen de twee delen van het huis. (p. 152)

However, in two instances in which 'Negro' is used in combination with another word to refer to Black people, it is translated as '*zwarte*' in the 2010 translation. Both of these could be the result of changing social norms regarding racism, but they could also be part of a translation strategy to translate more literally and/or stylistically than the first Dutch translation. Both cases are discussed below.

The first sentence is set after Jem and Scout joined Calpurnia to the First Purchase African M.E. Church, a church only Black people go to. During the service, Reverend Sykes takes up collection for Helen, Tom Robinson's wife. With Tom imprisoned, she would have to leave her children alone to go to work. Scout asks Reverend Sykes why Helen cannot just take her children with her. The narrator therefore explains that it was normal for Black people to take their children with them when they are working on the field. While the English source text uses the term 'field Negroes' referring to both genders, as can be gathered from the phrase "their parents", the 1961 translation changed it into '*negerinnen*', referring back to Helen Robinson. The Dutch retranslation translated this term more literally, using '*zwarte landarbeiders*'. Perhaps Kooman used this translation because he thought that his target audience would not be aware of the distinction that was made between 'house Negroes' and 'field Negroes' in the United States at the time. However, '*veldneger*' is a similar yet outdated term in Dutch that was used to denote a slave's occupation in the Kingdom of the

Netherlands, so Kooman could have opted for this term as well (Vanenburg 2018). This could suggest that the translator used an alternative translation to make the target text less offensive.

In the second instance, Atticus Finch is holding his closing argument to plead for Tom Robinson's innocence. Mayella Ewell accused Tom Robinson of raping her, but in reality, she kissed him when her father caught her red-handed. At the time, it was considered a disgrace for a white woman to have relations with a Black man. The code that Atticus mentions refers to the belief that white people and Black people should live their lives separated from each other. In this scene, Atticus points out that Mayella, a white woman, kissed Tom, a Black man, in turn breaking Maycomb's code. While it is possible to use '*negerin*' for 'Negro woman' and '*negermeid*' for 'Negro girl', as can be seen above, you cannot translate 'Negro man' with '*negerman*' as you would simply use '*neger*'. This is exactly what the 1960 translation did and what the 2010 retranslation could have done. Instead, Kooman chose to translate it with '*zwarte man*'. It is highly likely that this choice was motivated by the translation strategy to translate more literally and/or stylistically, rather than the urge to be more politically correct.

Example 4.5

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
It was customary for **field Negroes** with tiny children to deposit them in whatever shade there was while their parents worked—usually the babies sat in the shade between two rows of cotton. (p. 140)	Want het was de gewoonte dat de **negerinnen**, die op het veld werkten, daar hun kleine kinderen in de schaduw deponeerden; meestal tussen twee rijen katoenplanten. (p. 131)	**Zwarte landarbeiders** met kleine kinderen stalden die gewoonlijk ergens in de schaduw terwijl ze aan het werk waren – gewoonlijk zaten de kleintjes in de schaduw tussen twee rijen katoenplanten. (p. 184)
"She was white, and she tempted a Negro. She did something that in our society is unspeakable: she kissed a black man. Not an old	'Ja, zij was een blanke, maar zij verleidde een neger. Ze deed iets dat wij in onze gemeenschap als iets ongehoords beschouwen: zij	Ze was blank en ze probeerde een neger te verleiden. Ze deed iets wat in onze maatschappij als iets ongehoords wordt

Uncle, but a strong young **Negro man**. No code mattered to her before she broke it, but it came crashing down on her afterwards. (pp. 231-2)	kuste een neger. Niet een oude man, een oudgediende, die men "oom" noemt – maar een krachtig gebouwde jonge **neger**. Onze code betekende niets voor haar, toen zij deze schond; maar later werd zij er als het ware door verpletterd. (p. 217)	beschouwd: ze kuste een zwarte man. Geen oud mannetje, maar een sterke jonge **zwarte man**. Geen code herinnerde haar voor ze hem schond, maar het gevolg van haar daad was verpletterend. (pp. 300-1)

However, even though it is incorrect to use '*negerman*', the 2010 translation uses its plural '*negermannen*' for 'Negro men' slightly later on in Atticus's closing argument. This suggests that Kooman was in fact motivated by the urge to be more politically correct in his translation of the first instance of 'Negro man'. In Example 4.6 below, Lee uses repetition as a stylistic device to get a point across. First, Atticus explains that the Ewells wanted the jury to believe the evil assumption "that *all* Negroes lie, that *all* Negroes are basically immoral beings, that *all* Negro men are not to be trusted around our women". He then goes on to contradict this assumption by saying the truth is that "some Negroes lie, some Negroes are immoral, some Negro men are not to be trusted around women". As these two phrases are parallelisms, the best possible translation would be to retain the repetitions of identical syntactic elements. Unfortunately, both translations failed to do so. Kooman translated 'Negro men' with '*negers*' in the first phrase, but used, as mentioned above, '*negermannen*' in the second phrase. In this case, Kooman probably did not translate these instances with '*zwarte mannen*' to retain the repetition of 'Negroes/Negro men'. Similarly, Edinga translated 'Negro men' with '*mannelijke neger*' in the first phrase but used '*negers*' in the second. Additionally, Edinga disrupts the polysyndeton of 'all', or '*alle*', in the first phrase by negating it to '*geen enkele*', or 'not a single (Negro)'.

Example 4.6

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)

The witnesses for the state, with the exception of the sheriff of Maycomb County, have presented themselves to you gentlemen, to this court, in the cynical confidence that their testimony would not be doubted, confident that you gentlemen would go along with them on the assumption—the evil assumption—**that *all* Negroes lie, that *all* Negroes are basically immoral beings, that *all* Negro men are not to be trusted around our women**, an assumption one associates with minds of their caliber. (p. 232)	Zij veronderstelden dat u, heren, het wel met hen eens zouden zijn (dat is een zondige veronderstelling) **dat *alle* negers liegen, dat *alle* negers in het diepst van hun wezen immoreel zijn, dat men *geen enkele* mannelijke neger kan vertrouwen als hij alleen is met een van onze vrouwen** – een veronderstelling die men nu eenmaal associëert met de denkbeelden van dit soort mensen. (pp. 217-8)	De getuigen à charge, met uitzondering van de sheriff van Maycomb County, hebben zich aan u, heren, aan dit hof gepresenteerd in de cynische overtuiging dat hun verklaringen niet in twijfel getrokken zouden worden, in het vertrouwen dat u, heren, hen zoudt geloven in de veronderstelling – de misdadige veronderstelling – **dat *alle* negers liegen, dat *alle* negers in diepste wezen immoreel zijn, dat *alle* negers in de buurt van onze vrouwen niet te vertrouwen zijn**, een veronderstelling die men van mensen van hun geestelijke niveau kan verwachten. (p. 301)
You know the truth, and the truth is this: **some Negroes lie, some Negroes are immoral, some Negro men are not to be trusted around women**—black or white. (p. 232)	U kent de waarheid: **sommige negers liegen, sommige negers zijn immoreel, sommige negers zijn niet te vertrouwen in de nabijheid van vrouwen**, of deze nu blank of zwart zijn. (p. 218)	U kent de waarheid, en de waarheid is als volgt: **sommige negers liegen, sommige negers zijn immoreel, sommige negermannen zijn niet te vertrouwen in de buurt van vrouwen**, of die nu

		zwart zijn of blank. (pp. 301-2)

4.2.3 ‘Colored’

Besides ‘nigger’ and ‘Negro’, ‘colored’ is one of the other terms that relate to race in *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Both in the United States and in the Netherlands, ‘colored’, or ‘*kleurling*’ in Dutch, was used to refer to Black people. In our current society, ‘colored’ and related terms are considered derogatory. However, in the United States, ‘people of color’ is an accepted term (Nationaal Museum voor Wereldculturen 2018, 99). According to Hondius, Dutch people use the diminutive form of ‘people of color’, or ‘*kleurtje*’, “to ‘disarm’ colour difference by belittling it” (Hondius 2009, 45).

In the Dutch translations of Lee’s novel, ‘colored’ is translated in various ways. The 1961 translation mostly uses ‘*neger*’, but on some occasions we can find ‘*kleurlingen*’ as well. This shows that, at the time, it was common to refer to Black people as ‘*neger*’ and that it did not always have racist connotations. However, while mostly older generations still use ‘*neger*’ to refer to Black people in a respectful way, it is advised that white people no longer use ‘*neger*’ because it can be regarded as offensive to Black people (Slavernij en Jij 2013). This is reflected in the 2010 translation, which is split between ‘*zwarte*’ and ‘*neger*’ as translations for ‘colored’. Moreover, in most of the instances in which Kooman uses ‘*neger*’ as a translation, it is used as a prefix to a word that refers to things that belong to Black people. This could definitely be the result of changing social norms regarding racism because the term ‘*neger*’ has been replaced with ‘*zwarte*’ as the appropriate term to refer to Black people.

In the examples below, it can be seen that while the 1960 translation opts for ‘*kleurlingen*’ and ‘*neger*’ as a translation for ‘colored’, the 2010 translation prefers ‘*zwarte*’ unless it occurs as a prefix to another word, in which case ‘*neger*’ is used as the prefix. The scene of the first example takes place after Jem and Scout invited Walter to have lunch with them as he does not have enough money to provide for his own. While they are eating, Scout makes a remark to their guest about how he is drowning his food in syrup. Calpurnia then takes Scout into the kitchen to put her in her place. Scout notices that while Calpurnia’s grammar is as good as anybody’s in Maycomb when in tranquillity, it becomes erratic when she is furious. The first example therefore explains that Calpurnia has had more education

than most Black people. The second example is set at the beginning of the court trial between Tom Robinson and Mayella Ewell. Jem, Scout, and Dill cannot find a seat until Reverend Sykes invites them to the balcony where all the Black people had to sit to separate them from white people. The sentence of the second example describes what the so-called "Colored balcony" looks like.

Example 4.7

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
Atticus said Calpurnia had more education than most **colored folks**. (p. 27)	Atticus zei altijd dat ze meer ontwikkeld was dan de meeste **kleurlingen**. (p. 29)	Volgens Atticus had Calpurnia meer ontwikkeling dan de meeste **zwarte mensen**. (p. 46)
The **Colored balcony** ran along three walls of the courtroom like a second-story veranda, and from it we could see everything. (p. 187)	Het **balkon-voor-negers** strekte zich langs drie zijden van de rechtszaal uit, als een soort bovenveranda. Daar konden we alles goed volgen. (p. 175)	De **negergalerij** strekte zich als een bovenveranda langs drie wanden van de rechtszaal uit en vandaaraf konden we alles zien. (p. 244)

4.2.4 'Black'

As mentioned in chapter 2, '*neger*' has increasingly been replaced by '*zwart(e)*' as the appropriate term to refer to Black people (Nationaal Museum voor Wereldculturen 2018, 94). This is reflected in the Dutch translations. Edinga translated almost all instances of 'black' with '*neger*', the only exceptions being the second and third examples below. In contrast, Kooman mostly used '*zwart(e)*' as a translation for 'black'. While one could argue that the 2010 translation simply translated the source text more literally than the 1960 translation, it does demonstrate that it is no longer common practice to use '*neger*' to refer to Black people. It is therefore indeed the result of changing social norms regarding racism that made Kooman decide to translate 'black' with '*zwart(e)*', rather than '*neger*'.

The first example follows the first sentence of Example 4.4, see section 4.2.2. After Jem pointed out a 'mixed' child, Dill asks how Jem can tell that the boy is a 'mixed' child.

The second example takes place during the witness statement of Mr. Ewell, who is accusing Tom Robinson of raping his daughter Mayella Ewell. This is one of the instances in which Edinga translated 'black' as '*zwarte*' instead of '*neger*', but in this case he was forced to do so. This is because it is not possible to say '*neger nikker*' and the translator therefore had to translate 'black nigger' with '*zwarte nikker*'. The third example is set after Tom Robinson has died and Dill is telling Schout how Jem and Dill accompanied Atticus and Calpurnia on their way to Helen Robinson's house to tell her the bad news. This instance is interesting because it is the only sentence in which Edinga deliberately chose to translate 'black' with '*zwarte*', and it concerns children. While this is a literal translation of 'black children', it is out of character for the 1961 translation when considering that all other instances of 'black' have been translated with '*neger*'. Perhaps the translator thought that translating 'black children' with '*negertjes*', for example, was too offensive.

Example 4.8

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
"How can you tell?" asked Dill. "He looked **black** to me." (p. 184)	'Hoe weet je dat?' vroeg Dill. 'Ik vind dat ie er als een volbloed **neger** uitziet.' (p. 172)	'Hoe zie je dat nou?' vroeg Dill. 'Volgens mij was hij **zwart**.' (p. 240)
He stood up and pointed his finger at Tom Robinson. "— I seen that **black nigger** yonder ruttin' on my Mayella!" (p. 196)	Hij stond op en wees met uitgestoken wijsvinger naar Tom Robinson. 'En toen zag ik die **zwarte nikker** daar bronstig z'n gang gaan op me dochter Mayella!' (p. 184)	Hij ging staan en wees naar Tom Robinson. '– toen zag ik die gore **zwarte nikker** daar bezig mijn Mayella een beurt te geven!' (p. 256)
Dill said a crowd of **black children** were playing marbles in Tom's front yard. (p. 274)	Dill zei dat er een heleboel **zwarte kinderen** zaten te knikkeren in Toms voortuintje. (p. 256)	Dill vertelde dat er een hele troep **zwarte kinderen** in Toms voortuin aan het knikkeren was. (p. 351)

4.2.5 ‘Darky’

Another highly pejorative term that occurs in the novel is ‘darky’. There are only two instances in which this term is used, and both are uttered by the same character, Mrs. Merriweather, during the meeting of Aunt Alexandra’s missionary circle. In this scene, Mrs. Merriweather is having a conversation with Mrs. Farrow. They are discussing the fate of Tom Robinson’s wife now that he is in prison as well as the reaction of the other Black people after Tom had been found guilty. In the first example, when Scout asks who they are talking about, Mrs. Merriweather uses the phrase “that darky’s wife” to refer to Helen Robinson, in turn calling Tom Robinson a ‘darky’. In the second example, Mrs. Merriweather tells Mrs. Farrow that she finds it distracting when a Black person in their service is upset, which she describes as “a sulky darky”. The 1961 translations translated both instances with ‘*neger*’, but the 2010 retranslation uses ‘*zwartje*’ as a translation in the first instance and ‘*neger*’ in the second, see Example 4.9 below. In this case, ‘*neger*’ is actually the less pejorative option of the two because it could be used to be a neutral term to refer to Black people (Slavernij en Jij 2013). On the other hand, ‘*zwartje*’ is a very offensive term (Van Dale Online Dictionary 2009e). Consequently, Edinga has translated this term in a more politically correct manner by translating it with what used to be considered a neutral term at the time. It could be said that Kooman tried to translate more literally by first using the term ‘*zwartje*’, a Dutch word that has a similar level of offensiveness as ‘darky’, but that he considered it to be too offensive to repeat it and therefore translated the second instance with ‘*neger*’ instead.

Example 4.9

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
“May—? No, child. That **darky’s wife**. Tom’s wife, Tom—” (p. 264)	‘Mayella Ewell? Welnee, kind. Over **de vrouw van die neger** – over Tom z’n vrouw, Tom… hoe heet ie ook weer?’ (p. 248)	‘May –? Welnee, kind**. De vrouw van dat zwartje**. Van Tom. Tom –‘ (p. 340)
“Gertrude, I tell you there’s nothing more distracting	‘Gertrude, ik kan je zeggen: niets is zo irriterend als	‘Gertrude, laat mij je vertellen, er is niets zo

than a sulky **darky**. (p. 264)	een mokkende **neger**. (p. 248)	irritant als een mokkende **neger**. (p. 341)

4.2.6 ‘Mixed’

There are only four instances in which ‘mixed’ is used to refer to people of mixed descent. The 1961 translation translates all of these with a form of ‘*halfbloed*’. The 2010 translation also translates most of these instances with a form of ‘*halfbloed*’, except when ‘mixed child’ is used as a simile to compare it to Mayella Ewell, a white woman. Even the first Dutch translation does not use the diminutive form ‘*halfbloedjes*’ in this case, but rather ‘*halfbloeden*’. By making this distinction in translation, namely translating ‘mixed’ with the diminutive ‘*halfbloedjes*’ when it refers to children of mixed descent as opposed to using a less offensive term when referring to a white woman, both Dutch translations actually seem to be making the target text more racist than the source text. Moreover, ‘*halfbloed*’ is no longer an appropriate term to refer to people of mixed descent. Instead, ‘*van gemengde afkomst*’, or ‘of mixed descent’, would have been better (Nationaal Museum voor Wereldculturen 2018, 110).

The context of the first example is explained in section 4.2.2 because it is set just before the first sentence of Example 4.4. As mentioned, it is set before the beginning of the court trial and Jem, Scout, and Dill notice Mr. Dolphus Raymond, a white man, sitting with Black people instead of white people. Jem explains that he has a Black wife and ‘mixed’ children. The second example is set during the court trial, when Tom Robinson is giving his testimony. In it, Scout compares Mayella Ewell, the poor woman who accused Tom Robinson of raping her, to a ‘mixed child’.

Example 4.10

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
He’s got a colored woman and all sorts of **mixed chillun**. (p. 183)	Hij heeft een negervrouw bij zich en een hele troep **halfbloedjes**. (p. 171)	Hij heeft een zwarte vrouw en een heel stel **halfbloedjes**. (p. 239)

She was as sad, I thought, as what Jem called a **mixed child**: white people wouldn't have anything to do with her because she lived among pigs; Negroes wouldn't have anything to do with her because she was white. (p. 218)	Haar lot was even treurig, vond ik, als dat van de **halfbloeden**, over wie Jem me had verteld. De blanken wilden niks met haar te maken hebben omdat ze te midden van de varkens leefde. En de negers wilden niets met haar te maken hebben omdat ze een blanke was. (pp. 204-5)	Ze was er even triest aan toe, bedacht ik, als wat Jem een **gemengd kind** noemde: de blanken wilden niets met haar te maken hebben omdat ze tussen de varkens leefde, en de negers moesten niets van haar hebben omdat ze blank was. (p. 283)

4.2.7 'White'

Finally, a brief discussion of the racial term 'white'. In both Dutch translations, almost all instances of 'white' have been translated with a form of '*blank*', the only exception being the 2010 translation that translates 'white nigger' as '*witte neger*', see Example 4.11 below. This does not come as a surprise, since the discussion whether Dutch people should use '*wit*' rather than '*blank*' is fairly recent (Nduwanje 2021). Only in 2018 did the NOS, a Dutch broadcasting organisation, report that they would start using '*wit*' instead of '*blank*', for example (NOS 2018). According to the Dutch National Museum of World Cultures, the discussion surrounding '*wit*' and '*blank*' originates from the connotations of the latter, such as unblemished and non-coloured. As a result of these "positive" connotations, Dutch anti-racist activists are demanding that '*blank*' is replaced with '*wit*' (Nationaal Museum voor Wereldculturen 2018, 95).

The first sentence is set after Mr. Radley senior passed away and is carried out of his house past the house of the family Finch. Calpurnia, their Black cook, makes a remark about how mean that man was, and Jem and Scout are surprised that she did as she never usually speaks negatively about white people. The second example follows after the first sentence of Example 4.3, see section 4.2.2. Mr. Radley thought he shot at a Black man who had been sneaking in his back garden and that he scared him pale in doing so, but in reality, he shot at Jem, Scout, and Dill who were trying to get a look at Boo Radley.

Example 4.11

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
We looked at her in surprise, for Calpurnia rarely commented on the ways of **white people**. (p. 13)	Wij keken haar verbaasd aan, want Calpurnia had zelden commentaar op het gedrag der **blanken**. (p. 15)	We keken haar verbaasd aan, want Calpurnia leverde zelden commentaar op het gedrag van een **blanke**. (p. 28)
Says if anybody sees a **white nigger** around, that's the one. (p. 61)	Meneer Radley zegt: als één van ons een **blanke neger** ziet rondlopen, dan moet die het geweest zijn. (p. 59)	Radley zegt dat als iemand ergens een **witte neger** ziet, dan is het 'm. (p. 89)

4.2.8 Conclusion

Generally, the 2010 retranslation opts for less offensive terms for the translation of racial slurs and other terms that are related to race. While it is not always clear whether these translations are motivated by the changing social norms regarding racism, it can be argued that the Dutch retranslation by Kooman is considered more politically correct in our current society than Edinga's 1961 translation. However, a striking contrast can be found in the translation of 'mixed', in which both Dutch translations seem to be intensifying the source text's racist attitudes. Both the 1961 and the 2010 translations use a less pejorative term when referring to a white woman, namely '*halfbloeden*' and '*gemengd*', as opposed to translating 'mixed' as '*halfbloedjes*' when it is used to refer to children of mixed descent.

4.3 Omissions, Intensifications, and Explicitations

As opposed to the previous section, which discussed racial terms that have been translated directly into the target texts, this section discusses instances in which racial terms and phrases have been changed in either one or both Dutch translations. More specifically, it treats instances in which racist attitudes are omitted, intensified, and explicated. The first subsection focuses on words and phrases conveying racist attitudes and literary strategies

connected to them that have not been translated in either one or both Dutch translations (Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2007, 162). The second subsection treats words and phrases in which racist attitudes are intensified in translation, in turn making the target text more racist than the source text. The third and last subsection analyses phrases containing implicit information referring to Black people in the source text that have been rendered explicit in translation (Vinay & Darbelnet 1995, 84 & 342).

4.3.1 Omissions

Omissions mostly occur in the 1961 translation. Some of these concern phrases that can be considered explicitly racist, as can be seen in Example 4.12 below. The first example tells us what the people in Maycomb thought of Tom Robinson's death. People thought Tom's death was typical for a Black man because even though he seemed like a decent man, he tried to escape prison and got himself killed for it. The source text stereotypes this using the sentence: "Nigger always comes out in 'em". While the 2010 translation translated this sentence fairly literally, the first Dutch translation omitted this sentence. The same is true for the second sentence in Example 4.12. This instance is set during Atticus's closing argument in which he disputes the Ewells' evil assumption "that *all* Negroes lie, that *all* Negroes are basically immoral beings, that *all* Negro men are not to be trusted around our women" (Lee 1960, 232). Again, the 1960 translation omits the phrase that this is a lie "as black as Tom Robinson's skin". It is unclear whether Edinga left out these sentences of his translation because he thought it was too offensive, whether it is the result of what Hondius calls the Dutch anti-racist norm, or whether it is caused by a different reason altogether (Hondius 2009, 41).

Furthermore, the 1961 translation of the third example can be considered racist because it omits 'white-folks' talk' in translation. It is set after Calpurnia took Jem and Scout with her to church for Black people. While they were there, Jem and Scout noticed that Calpurnia talked differently to Black people than how she usually talks to them. Afterwards, Calpurnia tries to explain that it would be inappropriate for her to talk like white people when she is with Black people like herself. Instead of translating 'white folks' talk' with '*blankentaal*' just like the 2010 retranslation, Edinga used '*net als jullie*', which means 'just like you'. While this could not be considered racist on its own, it can be regarded as such when we look at Edinga's translation of 'colored-folks' talk'. The translator could have used a similar strategy by using '*net als ik*', or 'just like me' in English, but instead he used '*net als*

de negers', or 'just like the Negroes'. In doing so, it makes explicit the language Black people use as opposed to the language white people use, which is implicit. It is therefore an example of the outdated Dutch practice in which things that belong to Black people are referred to with a form of '*neger*' to distinguish them from things that belong to white people, which did not usually receive a similar term, such as '*blank*' (Slavernij en Jij 2013).

Example 4.12

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
Just shows you, that Robinson boy was legally married, they say he kept himself clean, went to church and all that, but when it comes down to the line the veneer's mighty thin. **Nigger always comes out in 'em.** A few more details, enabling the listener to repeat his version in turn, then nothing to talk about until *The Maycomb Tribune* appeared the following Thursday. (p. 275)	Nu zie je maar weer eens – die Robinson was wettig getrouwd, ze zeggen dat hij een fatsoenlijk leven leidde, trouw naar de kerk ging en zo, maar als het erop aankomt, is dat beetje beschaving maar een dun vernis… Na nog enkele bijzonderheden, die de ander de gelegenheid gaven *zijn* versie van het gebeurde ten beste te geven, viel er niets meer te kletsen tot … de donderdag daarop *The Maycomb Tribune* verscheen. (p. 257)	Zo zie je maar. Die Robinson was wettig getrouwd, ze zeggen dat hij een fatsoenlijk leven leidde, naar de kerk ging en zo, maar als puntje bij paaltje komt is het laagje vernis maar akelig dun. **De nikker eronder komt er toch altijd doorheen.** Na nog enkele bijzonderheden die de aangesprokene de gelegenheid gaven zijn eigen versie ten beste te geven, was er niets meer om over te praten tot de donderdag erop, toen de *Maycomb Tribune* verscheen. (pp. 352-3)
"Which, gentlemen, we know is in itself a lie **as black as Tom Robinson's**	'En dat, heren, is een leugen – dat weten we – dat hoef ik niet eens nader toe te lichten. (p. 218)	Dat dit, mijne heren, op zichzelf al een leugen is, **even zwart als Tom Robinsons huid** – dat hoef

skin, a lie I do not have to point out to you. (p. 232)		ik u niet uit te leggen. (p. 301)
"Suppose you and Scout **talked colored-folks' talk** at home—it'd be out of place, wouldn't it? Now what if I **talked white-folks' talk** at church, and with my neighbors? They'd think I was puttin' on airs to beat Moses." (p. 143)	'Stel dat jij en Scout thuis **net als de negers praatten** – dat zou toch niet netjes zijn, wel? Nou, en als ik in de kerk en met mijn buren **net als jullie praatte**, dan zouden ze zeggen dat ik me aanstelde en me verbeeldde dat ik nog mooier kon praten dan Mozes!' (p. 133)	'Stel je voor dat jij en Scout thuis **negertaal praatten** – dat zou toch ongepast zijn, of niet? Maar als ik nu eens **blankentaal zou praten** in de kerk, en met mijn buren? Die zouden denken dat ik me aanstel alsof ik nog mooier kan praten dan Mozes.' (p. 188)

Other omissions do not concern explicit racist attitudes, but rather a literary strategy to use words that are related to Black people in terms of colour, as can be seen in Example 4.13 below. Again, both omissions occur in the first Dutch translation. In the first example, Edinga omits 'black' in his translation. This sentence occurs during the court trial that Jem, Scout, and Dill are watching from the balcony where all the Black people sit. Mr. Reverend is worried that it is inappropriate for them to be there because Mr. Ewell just told the jury how he saw Tom Robinson raping his daughter Mayella Ewell. Moreover, the 1961 translation leaves out "in the night" in the second example. This example is set after Jem, Scout, and Dill went into the Radley's backyard in an attempt to get a look at Boo Radley until Mr. Radley shot at them. Because of this, Scout cannot fall asleep and thinks Boo Radley is looking for revenge.

Example 4.13

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
Reverend Sykes's **black eyes** were anxious. (p. 197)	Dominee Sykes' **ogen** hadden een bezorgde uitdrukking. (p. 185)	Dominee Sykes' **zwarte ogen** keken bezorgd. (p. 257)

Every night-sound I heard from my cot on the back porch was magnified three-fold; every scratch of feet on gravel was Boo Radley seeking revenge, every passing Negro laughing **in the night** was Boo Radley loose and after us; insects splashing against the screen were Boo Radley's insane fingers picking the wire to pieces; the chinaberry trees were malignant, hovering, alive. (p. 62)	Elk nachtelijk geluid dat ik, in mijn bed op de achterveranda, hoorde, klonk me driemaal zo luid als anders in de oren; elke keer dat ik iemands voeten op grint hoorde knarsen, was dat Boo Radley die zich ging wreken; elke neger die lachend passeerde, was Boo Radley, die was losgebroken en het nu op ons voorzien had; insekten, die tegen het gaas vlogen, waren de vingers van de krankzinnige Boo Radley, die er een gat in poogden te maken; de vruchtbomen schenen tot leven te komen en bedreigden ons boosaardig. (pp. 60-61)	Elk nachtgeluid dat ik op mijn veldbed op de achterveranda kon horen, werd drievoudig versterkt; elk knerpje van voeten op grind was Boo Radley die zich kwam wreken, elke neger die lachend **in het donker** voorbijkwam was Boo Radley op vrije voeten en op zoek naar ons; insecten die zich tegen de hor te pletter vlogen waren Boo Radleys krankzinnige vingers die het gaas kapotplukten; de paternosterbomen zweefden levend, boosaardig, door de tuin. (pp. 90-91)

However, even the Dutch retranslation omits a phrase that is indirectly related to racist attitudes, namely "as black and white", as can be seen in Example 4.14 below. This sentence occurs at the beginning of Atticus's closing argument to defend Tom Robinson, a Black man, from being found guilty of raping a white woman named Mayella Ewell. At this time, Atticus is reminding the jury that the case is not difficult because there is no proof to find the defendant guilty. This is also the meaning of the sentence below because "a black and white issue or situation is one which involves issues which seem simple and therefore easy to make decisions about" (Collins Online Dictionary n.d.a). However, the phrase has another contextual meaning in that it refers to Maycomb's code which states that white people cannot have relations with Black people. According to Atticus, Mayella Ewell, a white woman, has broken this code when she kissed Tom Robinson, a Black man. This phrase has a far greater

meaning than simply explaining that the case is an easy one because it also refers to Maycomb's code and the segregation of Black and white people. It is therefore a shame that neither translator has retained 'black and white' in their Dutch translation, but it is also understandable as Dutch does not know a similar construction with '*zwart en wit*'.

Example 4.14

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
This case is as simple as **black and white**. (p. 231)	Deze zaak is bijzonder ongecompliceerd. (p. 216)	Het is zo eenvoudig als het maar kan. (p. 299)

4.3.2 Intensifications

In this subsection, translations that intensify racist attitudes, and therefore make the target text more racist than the source text, are discussed. We have already seen an example of intensification in section 4.2.6, in which both Dutch target texts intensify racist attitudes by translating 'mixed' differently when it is used to refer to a white woman rather than people of mixed descent. Other intensifications occur in both the first Dutch translation as well as the retranslation, as can be seen in Example 4.15 below. The first example is set during Christmas dinner at the Finch's Landing, where Jem and Scout's aunt Alexandra and cousin Francis live. The latter keeps calling Atticus a 'nigger-lover' to Scout because he is going to defend a Black man in court. The 1961 translation adds the Dutch word for 'mean' as an adjective in front of 'nigger-lover'. The second example occurs when Jem and Scout walk past Mrs. Dubose's house and she shouts mean things to them. In this sentence, Atticus is compared to the "niggers and trash" he defends as a lawyer. In this case, 'trash' is meant to refer to poor and worthless people (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary n.d.). While Kooman translates this term accordingly with '*gepeupel*', the 1961 translation used '*boeven*', which is defined as someone who does bad things and is guilty of crime (Van Dale Online Dictionary 2009b). In doing so, Black people are equated with criminals rather than poor people.

In the third example, it is actually the 2010 translation that intensifies racist attitudes. It is set during the court trial in which Mr. Ewell is giving his witness statement and is accusing Tom Robinson of raping his daughter Mayella Ewell. The Dutch retranslation added '*gore*', or 'dirty', as an adjective to 'black nigger'. However, it seems to be the case that

Kooman added this to compensate for the loss of the animal-like sexual activity that 'ruttin'' implies in the source text (Oxford English Dictionary 2022b). While it is informal, the Dutch phrase '*een beurt geven*' does not have the same animal-like connotation (Van Dale Online Dictionary 2009a), but the Dutch word '*bronstig*', which means 'rutting/in heat' in English, in the 1961 translation does (Van Dale Online Dictionary 2009d). Kooman could have chosen to use this Dutch term with animal-like connotations, but he instead chose to intensify the negative connotations that are connected to '*nikker*' by adding '*gore*'. As a result of these intensifications of racist attitudes, both translations make the target text more offensive than the source text.

Example 4.15

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
"He's nothin' but a **nigger-lover**!" (p. 94)	'Je pa is een **gemene nikkervriend**!' (p. 90)	'Hij is gewoon een **nikkervriend**!' (p. 130)
"Your father's no better than **the niggers and trash** he works for!" (p. 117)	'Je vader is geen haar beter dan **die nikkers en die boeven**, voor wie hij zich zo uitslooft!' (p. 111)	'Jouw vader is niet beter dan **de nikkers en het gepeupel** waarvoor hij werkt!' (p. 156)
He stood up and pointed his finger at Tom Robinson. "— I seen that **black nigger** yonder ruttin' on my Mayella!" (p. 196)	Hij stond op en wees met uitgestoken wijsvinger naar Tom Robinson. 'En toen zag ik **die zwarte nikker** daar bronstig z'n gang gaan op me dochter Mayella!' (p. 184)	Hij ging staan en wees naar Tom Robinson. '– toen zag ik die **gore zwarte nikker** daar bezig mijn Mayella een beurt te geven!' (p. 256)

4.3.3 Explicitations

While not many omissions and intensifications can be found in the two Dutch translations, explicitations occur frequently. Most of these can be found in the 1961 translation. In these instances, implicit information referring to Black people or things that belong to Black people in the source text is rendered explicit by using a form of '*neger*' or

even '*nikker*' in the Dutch translations. These explicitations can be grouped in three categories: 1. pronouns and nouns referring to Black people are replaced with '*neger*'; 2. locations belonging to Black people are made explicit; and 3. the translation adds phrases to make information explicit. This subsection discusses these types of explicitations in the above-mentioned order.

All of the instances in which pronouns and common nouns that refer to Black people are replaced with '*neger*' occur in the 1961 translation. This reaffirms that it was common practice to refer to Black people as '*negers*' in the Netherlands of the 1960s. The first example in which pronouns are explicated is set after Jem, Scout, and Dill snuck into the back garden of the Radleys to get a look at Boo Radley. Mr. Radley thought he shot at a Black man and tells the neighbours that he scared him pale in doing so. In the source text, the Black man Mr. Radley thought to have shot at is referred to with the pronoun "him", which is translated as '*die neger'*, or 'that Negro', in the first Dutch translation. The second instance occurs when Jem and Scout accompany Calpurnia to Black church where Scout notices that Calpurnia, who talks like a white person around Jem and Scout, starts speaking like the other Black people. In this case, "the rest of them" is translated as '*andere negers'*, or 'other Negroes' in the 1961 translation.

The same is true for the remaining three examples in which Edinga translated the pronoun "them" and its contracted version "'em" with '*negers*'. The third and fourth examples are set before the start of the court trial between Mayella Ewell and Tom Robinson. At this time, everybody is waiting outside the court building until they are allowed to enter, but the white people are sitting separately from all the Black people. In the first of these two examples, Jem, Scout, and Dill notice that Mr. Dolphus is sitting with the other Black people instead of with all the white people. In the latter, it is described that while the white people waiting in front of court include women and children, there are not many women and children among the crowd of Black people. Finally, the fifth and last example is set after Tom Robinson is shot and killed. After Atticus has told the bad news, Aunt Alexandra is convinced that this was the last straw for Black people, but Atticus tells her that this is not the case because it was just one of many.

Example 4.16

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
Scared **him** pale, though. (p. 61)	Maar **die neger** zal wel bleek geworden zijn van schrik. (p. 59)	Maar **hij** werd wel bleek om z'n neus. (p. 89)
Again I thought her voice strange: she was talking like **the rest of them**. (p. 135)	En wéér vond ik dat haar stem vreemd klonk; ze praatte nu net als **andere negers**. (p. 126)	Weer vond ik haar stem vreemd: ze praatte net als **die anderen**. (p. 178)
"Always does. He likes **'em** better'n he likes us, I reckon. (p. 183)	'Dat doet ie altijd. Hij houdt denk ik meer van **negers** dan van ons. (p. 171)	'Dat doet hij altijd. Hij heeft meer met **ze** op dan met ons, denk ik. (p. 239)
There were few women and children among **them**, which seemed to dispel the holiday mood. (p. 184)	De **negers** hadden maar weinig vrouwen en kinderen bij zich – daarom ontbrak in déze groep de vakantiestemming. (p. 173)	**Ze** hadden weinig vrouwen en kinderen bij zich en de stemming onder hen was aanmerkelijk minder feestelijk. (p. 241)
"What was one Negro, more or less, among **two hundred of 'em**? (p. 269)	'Wat betekende één neger meer of minder, **te midden van tweehonderd negers**? (p. 252)	'Wat betekende één neger meer of minder **op tweehonderd**? (p. 346)

Not only pronouns, but some common nouns referring to Black people have been made explicit in the first Dutch translation as well. This first example is set during the court trial between Tom Robinson and Mayella Ewell, when Mr. Ewell is called to the witness stand. In it, the narrator argues that the only reason why Mr. Ewell is better than his nearest neighbours is because he has a white skin underneath a layer of dirt. Just before this sentence occurs, the narrator explains that the Ewells live between the town dump and a settlement for Black people. This, in combination with the content of the sentence, is why the information about Mr. Ewell's "nearest neighbors" in Example 4.17 can be rendered implicit. Edinga, however, chose to translate this phrase with '*zijn negerburen*', or 'his Negro neighbors', in turn making it explicit that his nearest neighbours are Black people.

In the second example, Edinga makes it explicit that the "field hands" mentioned in the source text are '*negerarbeiders*', or 'Negro workers'. This phrase occurs when Aunt Alexandra hosts a meeting for her missionary circle after Tom Robinson was found guilty of rape in court. While the women are enjoying some refreshments, Jean Louise, alias Scout, joins them in the dining room. Mrs. Farrow and Mrs. Merriweather are discussing the dissatisfaction among the Black people of Maycomb as a result of the ruling. In the English source text, it is implied that they are Black by describing them as "the cooks and field hands". While Kooman translated this accordingly by using '*het keukenpersoneel en de landarbeiders*', Edinga translated it as '*de keukenmeiden en negerarbeiders*' and made it explicit that they are Black people, see Example 4.17 below.

Example 4.17

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
All the little man on the witness stand had that made him any better than **his nearest neighbors** was, that if scrubbed with lye soap in very hot water, his skin was white. (p. 195)	Alles wat die kleine man in de getuigenbank op **zijn negerburen** vóór had, was dit: als hij zich waste met in flink heet water opgeloste loog, werd zijn huid blank. (p. 182)	Het enige dat het mannetje in de getuigenbank voorhad op **zijn naaste buren** was dat zijn huid, als je hem met loogzeep en heet water zou schrobben, blank zou blijken te zijn. (p. 254)
"Nothing, Jean Louise," she said, in stately largo, "**the cooks and field hands** are just dissatisfied, but they're settling down now—they grumbled all next day after that trial." (p. 264)	'Niets, Jean Louise,' zei ze, op plechtige terechtwijzende toon, '**de keukenmeiden en negerarbeiders** zijn alleen maar wat ontevreden, maar dat bedaart wel weer… ze hebben de dag na het proces almaar gemurmureerd.' (p. 248)	'Niets, Jean Louise,' zei ze in statig largo, '**het keukenpersoneel en de landarbeiders** zijn een beetje ontevreden, maar dat bedaart nu alweer – ze hebben na dat proces de hele dag lopen morren.' (pp. 340-1)

The second category consists of locations which have been changed in the translations to explicate that these locations belong to Black people. Most of the explicitations in this

category can be found in the 1961 translation, but one instance occurs in the 2010 translation, see Example 4.19. In the first sentence of Example 4.18, Atticus explains that he is defending Tom Robinson, a Black man, who lives beyond the town dump. The source text describes the location where he lives as "that little settlement", which Kooman translates accordingly with '*gehuchtje'*, or 'little settlement'. Edinga, however, makes it explicit that this is a settlement in which only Black people live by translating it with '*negerwijk*', or 'Negro district'. In the second instance, this same settlement is referred to as the "Quarters" in both the source text and the 2010 translation. Again, the 1961 translation renders it explicit that Black people live there by using '*negerkwartier*', or 'Negro Quarters', as a translation. This example is set after Atticus says that Braxton Underwood "despises Negroes" in front of Calpurnia, their Black cook (Lee 1960, 178). According to Aunt Alexandra, Atticus should not be saying these things in front of her because Black people will gossip about it. All of these instances once again reaffirm that it was common practice to refer to Black people with '*neger*' in the Netherlands of the 1960s.

Example 4.18

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
He lives in that **little settlement** beyond the town dump. (p. 86)	Hij woont in de **negerwijk** achter de vuilnishoop van de stad. (p. 82)	Hij woont in dat **gehuchtje** achter de gemeentelijke vuilstortplaats. (p. 119)
Everything that happens in this town's out to **the Quarters** before sundown." (p. 178)	Alles wat er overdag in de stad gebeurt, wordt nog vóór zonsondergang gemeengoed in het **negerkwartier**. (p. 167)	Alles wat er overdag in de stad gebeurt, gaat 's avonds in **de Quarters** over de tong. (p. 234)
Jem, how can you hate Hitler so bad an' then turn around and be ugly about **folks right at home**—" (p. 283)	Jem, hoe kan iemand Hitler zó haten en zulke gemene dingen zeggen over **de negers in Maycomb**?' (p. 264)	Jem, hoe kun je nou Hitler zo haten en tegelijkertijd zo lelijk doen over **mensen hier bij ons** – ?' (p. 362)

However, explicitations of locations belonging to Black people do not only occur in the 1961 translation, but in the 2010 translation as well. In Example 4.19 below, Kooman repeats his translation of "nigger-nest" when it simply occurs as "nest" in the subsequent sentence. It is unclear why Kooman opted for this translation as he could have simply translated it with '*nest*' or even as '*dat zaakje*' like Edinga did. This example is set during Mr. Ewell's witness statement, in which he explains that he ran for the sheriff after he had seen Tom Robinson allegedly raping his daughter, Mayella Ewell.

Example 4.19

"Why, I run for Tate quick as I could. I knowed who it was, all right, lived down yonder in **that nigger-nest**, passed the house every day. Jedge, I've asked this county for fifteen years to clean out **that nest** down yonder, they're dangerous to live around 'sides devaluin' my property—" (p. 199)	'Nou, toen ben ik zo gauw mogelijk naar Tate gelopen. Ik wist wie 'r bij Mayella geweest was, ik kende 'm goed, want ie woonde daar in **dat negernest**, hij kwam elke dag voorbij ons huis. Edelachtbare, ik heb al vijftien jaar lang aan het stadsbestuur gevraagd of ze daar **dat zaakje** wilden opruimen, want 't is een gevaarlijk zootje, en as je d'r vlak bij woont, daalt je eigendom in waarde…' (p. 186)	'Nou, toen ben ik zo snel als ik kon naar Tate gerend. Ik wist wie het was, natuurlijk, die woonde daar in **dat nikkernest**, ik kwam er elke dag langs. Rechter, ik vraag de county nou al vijftien jaar om **dat nikkernest** daar op te ruimen, ze zijn een gevaar voor de buurt en ze maken ook nog m'n bezit minder waard –' (p. 259)

In the third and last category, the 1961 translation adds words and phrases to render implicit information concerning Black people explicit. It is unclear why Edinga chose to add these words and phrases in the target text because he could have left the information implicit, just like Kooman did in the retranslation, see Example 4.20. Perhaps Edinga thought that the target audience would not understand what could be inferred from the implicit information.

The first example is set after Cecil Jacobs bullied Scout because her father Atticus, who is a lawyer, "defended niggers". When Scout asks her father later that evening if it is true

that he “defends niggers”, Atticus tells her that she should not say ‘nigger’ because it is common (Lee 1960, 85). In the sentence below, Scout asks her father if all lawyers defend Black people. In the source text, as well as in the 2010 retranslation, it is implied that Scout nearly says ‘nigger’ again by representing it as follows: “n-Negroes” (and ‘*n-negers*’). Edinga illustrates it by adding an ellipsis before ‘*negers*’, but he also makes it explicit by adding the phrase: ‘*Ik had bijna weer ‘nikkers’ gezegd*’, which translates into ‘I nearly said ‘niggers’ again’. What is interesting about this explicitation is that ‘*nikkers*’ is written in single quotation marks to imply that Scout should not be saying this word.

In the second example, Miss Stephanie’s curiosity is illustrated by the fact that she does not finish her sentences, which is represented with hyphens before the question mark. She wants to know why Jem and Scout were sitting in the ‘Colored balcony’ with all the Black people during the court trial between Tom Robinson and Mayella Ewell. While the Dutch retranslation retains these incomplete sentences and hyphens, the first translation adds the words “propaganda” and “Negroes” to finish the questions. Furthermore, racist attitudes are intensified by translating the second question in a negative way in the first Dutch translation. Miss Stephanie asks if it was not right close up there with all those Black people, which is a question of proximity. Edinga, however, translated it so that the question reads if it did not stink up there.

The final example of this category is set during Aunt Alexandra’s meeting of her missionary circle. While the ladies are enjoying some refreshments, they are discussing what they consider to be the manners of Black people. Mrs. Farrow believes that there is no point in trying to educate Black people because they will still commit crimes such as rape. In the English source text, it is implied that they are talking about Black people, but the 1961 translation makes it explicit by adding the phrase ‘*wat die negers betreft*’, or ‘regarding those Negroes’.

Example 4.20

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
“Do all lawyers defend n-Negroes, Atticus?” (p. 86)	‘Verdedigen álle advocaten … negers, Atticus?’ **Ik had**	‘Verdedigen alle advocaten n-negers, Atticus?’ (p. 119)

	bijna weer 'nikkers' gezegd. (p. 81)	
Did Atticus put us up there as a sort of—? Wasn't it right close up there with all those—? Did Scout understand all the—? (p. 245)	Had Atticus ons daar neergepoot bij wijze van **propaganda**? En stonk het daar niet, met al die **negers**? En had Scout begrepen waar het om ging? (p. 228)	Had Atticus ons daar neergezet als een soort van -? En was het niet erg benauwd daarboven bij al die -? Had Scout het wel begrepen, al die -? (p. 315)
We can educate 'em till we're blue in the face, we can try till we drop to make Christians out of 'em, but there's no lady safe in her bed these nights.' (p. 265)	We kunnen ze les geven tot we geen woord meer kunnen uitbrengen, we kunnen proberen christenen van ze te maken, tot we d'r bij neervallen, maar geen enkele dame kan, **wat die negers betreft**, zich tegenwoordig meer veilig wanen in haar bed." (p. 249)	We kunnen ze onderwijzen tot we een ons wegen, we kunnen ons uit de naad werken om christenen van ze te maken, maar er is geen dame veilig in haar bed, vandaag de dag." (pp. 341-2)

4.3.4 Conclusion

As can be seen above, most omissions occur in the 1961 translation. The only omission that occurs in both the first translation and the retranslation is caused by a lack of similar construction in Dutch. As for the other instances, it is unclear whether Edinga omitted these phrases because he thought they were too offensive to retain, or if it is due to the anti-racist norm that the Dutch adopted after the Second World War. According to Hondius, this norm states that "racial difference does not matter" and should therefore be ignored and go unspoken in public discourse (Hondius 2009, 41). While this could be a reason why Edinga left out certain phrases that refer to Black people, it does not explain the numerous racist phrases that have been retained in translation. Furthermore, as there are only a few instances of omissions of racist attitudes throughout the novel, it is impossible to draw tenable conclusions about this matter. The same is true for the very few instances in which racist attitudes are intensified. All three of these make the target text more offensive than the source

text and two of them occur in the 1961 translation. However, as there are only a few intensifications, no general conclusions can be made that apply to the entire novel.

On the other hand, explicitations occur frequently throughout the 1961 translation. As mentioned above, these instances can be grouped in three categories. The first category consists of pronouns that refer to Black people and have been translated with '*neger*' in the first Dutch translation. The second category mostly includes locations where Black people live that are translated with a form of '*neger*' in the 1961 translation. The third category discusses words and phrases that were added by Edinga to explicate implicit information concerning Black people. The first two categories illustrate that implicit information about Black people is often rendered explicit by using a form of '*neger*' in Edinga's translation. In doing so, these explicitations reaffirm that it was common practice to refer to Black people with '*neger*' in the Netherlands in the 1960s. Additionally, it can be concluded that it is unlikely that Edinga omitted phrases as a result of what Hondius called the anti-racist norm because he often changed or added phrases that explicitly mention race. Finally, it can be concluded that Edinga translated the source text more freely insomuch as that he changed or added information to render implicit information explicit. Kooman, on the other hand, translated the source text more literally because he rarely explicated implicit information.

4.4 Black Characters

This section discusses the three most prominent Black characters in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, namely Calpurnia, Tom Robinson, and his wife Helen Robinson. The subsections treat the way these characters are described, the way they speak and are spoken about, and the manner in which they are addressed and treated by other characters.

4.4.1 Calpurnia

Calpurnia is the cook for the Finch family and raises Jem and Scout when Atticus is at work. In the example below, Calpurnia and Atticus are described by Scout. What is interesting about this is that Atticus is described for his actions, but Calpurnia is described in terms of appearance. Scout says that Atticus is satisfactory, which means that he is an adequate father, and she is content with him (Oxford English Dictionary 2022c). Kooman translated this in a fairly literal way, saying that '*hij ermee door kan*', which means that he is a good enough father to Jem and Scout. However, Edinga interpreted it differently and used

'*heel geslaagd*' in his translation, which leads readers to believe that Jem and Scout think that he is a very successful father. By using this, the translator increases the gap between the description of Atticus and that of Calpurnia, who is described in a negative way. By saying that Atticus is great, Calpurnia becomes even worse in readers' minds. Edinga is therefore creating a more negative picture of Calpurnia by describing Atticus in a more positive way than the source text. In its most extreme form, it could lead readers to believe that the author is a white supremacist and prefers white people over Black people.

Example 4.21

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
We lived on the main residential street in town—Atticus, Jem and I, plus Calpurnia our cook. **Jem and I found our father satisfactory**: he played with us, read to us, and treated us with courteous detachment. **Calpurnia was something else again**. She was all angles and bones; she was nearsighted; she squinted; her hand was wide as a bed slat and twice as hard. (p. 6)	Wij woonden aan de 'netste' straat van de stad – Atticus, Jem en ik, plus Calpurnia, onze keukenmeid. **Jem en ik vonden onze vader heel geslaagd**: hij speelde met ons, las ons voor en bejegende ons met hoffelijke gereserveerdheid. **Calpurnia was een heel ander type**. Zij was erg mager en schonkig, bijziende en scheel; haar hand was zo breed als een beddeplank en dubbel zo hard. (p. 8)	We woonden in de voornaamste woonstraat van het stadje – Atticus, Jem en ik, plus Calpurnia, onze kokkin. **Volgens Jem en mij kon onze vader ermee door**: hij speelde met ons, las ons voor en behandelde ons met hoffelijke afstandelijkheid. **Calpurnia was een heel ander verhaal.** Ze was zo mager als een lat, bijziend en scheel, haar hand was zo breed als een beddenplank en dubbel zo hard. (p. 19)

Another interesting aspect of Calpurnia is how her manner of speaking changes when she is with other Black people, as opposed to being with white people. Jem and Scout notice this when they join Calpurnia to the church for Black people when Atticus is away for work. When they arrive at the church, another Black woman stands in their way and questions Calpurnia why she is bringing white children to their church. When Calpurnia is speaking to

Lula, Jem and Scout notice that she speaks differently from what they are used to. In fact, she talks the same as the other Black people. This is reflected in the novel by a non-standard use of grammar and informal contractions of words, as well as Scout describing that Calpurnia is talking strangely. The 1961 translation has retained this informal language, by using '*wat mot je*', which is an informal way of asking what somebody wants, by contracting '*dat is*', or 'that is', to '*da's*', and by using '*me*' instead of '*mijn*' for 'my'. Unfortunately, this use of informal language to reflect Black speech is lost in the 2010 translation, which uses standardised language and solely relies on Scout's description of Calpurnia's way of speaking. It is unclear whether this is the result of changing social norms regarding racism or whether this is a result of the so-called law of growing standardisation. This law states that translations tend to disrupt source text patterns in translation to accommodate more common linguistic patterns in the target language, which in turn leads to the loss of variation in style in the target text (Munday, Pinto, & Blakesley 2022, 154).

After church, Jem and Scout question Calpurnia on her strange way of speaking. Scout asks why she talks like other Black people when she knows how to talk "better", namely like white people. Calpurnia responds with: "Well, in the first place I'm black-", which can be interpreted in two different ways. The 1961 translation illustrates the first interpretation by translating it with the rhetorical question: '*Ik ben toch zelf ook een neger?*', which means 'I am a Negro myself as well, aren't I?'. By translating it this way, it makes the reader believe that Calpurnia is confirming that she is in fact a 'Negro' and that she therefore has the right to talk like other Black people. This reading is reinforced by the sentence that follows after it, in which Jem says that even though Calpurnia is Black, she should not speak that way when she knows better. What is interesting about this follow-up sentence is that Jem himself does not use correct English, as he says 'hafta' instead of 'have to'. This has not been retained in either Dutch translation. This in turn makes the 1961 translation more racist because it does retain Calpurnia's non-standard English, but it does not retain Jem's informal language.

On the other hand, the second manner in which this sentence could be understood is more politically correct and modern. According to this interpretation, Calpurnia is correcting Scout for using the word 'nigger' in 'nigger-talk' by saying that she is Black. This would mean that Calpurnia is offended by the fact that Scout uses 'nigger' and that she should use Black to refer to her instead. In our current society, it is expected that readers will interpret this sentence in this way because it is no longer accepted for white people to use terms like '*neger*' when referring to Black people. Kooman has translated this sentence more literally

than the 1961 translation, which followed the first interpretation, and therefore leaves its meaning in the middle just like the source text. Consequently, it could be argued that, in this case, the Dutch retranslation is more politically correct when considering our current society than the first translation.

Example 4.22

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
I felt Calpurnia's hand dig into my shoulder. "**What you want**, Lula?" she asked, in tones I had never heard her use. She spoke quietly, contemptuously. "I wants to know why you bringin' white chillun to nigger church." "**They's** my **comp'ny**," said Calpurnia. Again I thought her voice strange: she was talking like the rest of them. (p. 135)	Ik voelde Calpurnia's hand in mijn schouder graven. 'Wat **mot** je, Lula?' vroeg ze op een toon, zoals ik haar nog nooit had horen bezigen. Ze sprak heel rustig, maar minachtend. 'Ik mot weten waarom jij blanke kinderen naar de negerkerk brengt.' '**Da's me** gezelschap,' zei Calpurnia. En wéér vond ik dat haar stem vreemd klonk; ze praatte nu net als andere negers. (p. 126)	Ik voelde Calpurnia's hand in mijn schouder knijpen. 'Wat wil je, Lula?' vroeg ze, op een toon die ik nooit van haar hard gehoord. Ze sprak rustig, minachtend. 'Ik wil weten waarom jij witte kinderen meebrengt naar een nikkerkerk.' 'Ze horen bij mij,' zei Calpurnia. Weer vond ik haar stem vreemd: ze praatte net als die anderen. (p. 178)
"Cal," I asked, "why do you talk **nigger-talk** to the—to your folks when you know it's not right?" "**Well, in the first place I'm black**—" "That doesn't mean you **hafta** talk that way when you know better," said Jem. (p. 143)	'Cal,' vroeg ik, 'waarom spreek je de **negertaal** tegen de… tegen je eigen volk, als je weet dat dat niet hoort?' "**Ik ben toch zelf ook een neger?**' 'Maar dat wil nog niet zeggen dat je net zo moet praten, als je heel ánders kunt praten,' zei Jem. (p. 133)	'Cal,' vroeg ik, 'waarom praat je **negertaal** tegen de – tegen je eigen mensen terwijl je weet dat het niet goed is?' '**Nou, om te beginnen ben ik zwart –**' 'Dat betekent niet dat je zo moet praten, terwijl je beter weet,' zei Jem. (p. 188)

4.4.2 Tom Robinson

In the novel, Tom Robinson is a Black man who is accused of raping Mayella Ewell, a white woman, and who is being defended in court by Atticus Finch. The description of his appearance focuses on the colour of his skin with the purpose to show that he starts sweating during his questioning at court. There is not much of a difference in the two Dutch translations of the description of Tom's appearance, except for the fact that the 1961 translation omits the Dutch word for 'black', namely '*zwart*', in the two instances of "black velvet" that follow after the first. Edinga does, however, compensate this in the second sentence of the first example by adding '*dat zwarte gezicht*', or 'that black face', and by adding '*doffe*', or 'dull', in the second example, as can be seen in Example 4.23 below.

Example 4.23

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
Tom was a **black-velvet** Negro, not shiny, but **soft black velvet**. The whites of his eyes shone in his face, and when he spoke we saw flashes of his teeth. (p. 219)	Tom was een neger met een **fluweelzwarte** huid. Zijn huid glom niet, maar was **dof**. Bij **dat zwarte gezicht** stak het wit der ogen felblinkend af en als hij sprak zagen wij zijn witte tanten flitsen. (p. 205)	Tom was een **fluweelzwarte** neger, niet glanzend van huid, maar **dof zwart fluweel**. Het wit van zijn ogen lichtte op in zijn gezicht en als hij sprak zagen we een glimp van zijn witte tanden. (p. 284)
Tom's **black velvet** skin had begun to shine, and he ran his hand over his face. (p. 219)	Toms **doffe, fluweelkleurige** huid was gaan glimmen en hij wreef met zijn hand over zijn gezicht. (p. 206)	Toms **zwartfluwelen** huid was begonnen te glimmen en hij haalde een hand over zijn gezicht. (p. 285)

What is interesting, however, is the way Mr. Gilmer, the lawyer of Mayella Ewell, addresses Tom Robinson when he is questioning him. As can be seen in Example 4.24 below, Mr. Gilmer keeps addressing Tom Robinson as 'boy' in a very derogatory manner. In both the first translation as well as the retranslation, not all instances of 'boy' have been retained. This is a shame because the constant repetition reinforces Mr. Gilmer's derogative way of

speaking. Furthermore, the 1961 translation used '*jongen*' as a translation, but in the 2010 translation 'boy' is transferred directly into Dutch. While both are an adequate translation of 'boy', the latter is considered more pejorative than the first (Van Dale Online Dictionary 2009c). It can therefore be argued that Kooman did not change his translation as a result of changing social norms regarding racism, but rather he remained faithful to the source text by transferring the intended meaning directly into the target text.

Example 4.24

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
"Had your eye on her a long time, hadn't you, **boy**?" (p. 223)	'Je had al lang een oogje op haar, hè **jongen**?' (p. 209)	'Je had allang een oogje op haar, hè, **boy**?' (p. 290)
"Then you were mighty polite to do all that chopping and hauling for her, weren't you, **boy**?" (p. 223)	'Maar het was toch heel beleefd van je, om dingen voor haar te verslepen en klein te hakken?' (p. 209)	'Dan was dat wel heel mooi van je, al dat hakken en sjouwen dat je voor haar deed, hè, **boy**?' (p. 290)
"With Mr. Ewell and seven children on the place, **boy**?" (p. 224)	'Maar meneer Ewell was er toch? En ze had zeven broertjes en zusjes…' (p. 210)	'Maar meneer Ewell en die zeven kinderen dan, die waren er toch ook?' (p. 290)
"You did all this chopping and work from sheer goodness, **boy**?" (p. 224)	'Dus jij hebt al dat houtjes hakken en andere werk uit pure goedheid voor haar gedaan?' (p. 210)	'Dus al dat hakken en klussen was pure goedheid van jou, **boy**?' (p. 290)
"Then you say she's lying, **boy**?" (p. 224)	'Je wilt dus beweren dat ze loog?' (p. 210)	'Dus jij zegt dat ze liegt, **boy**?' (p. 291)
"Didn't Mr. Ewell run you off the place, **boy**?" (p. 225)	'Heeft meneer Ewell je niet van het erf gejaagd, **jongen**?' (p. 211)	'Heeft meneer Ewell je niet van het erf gejaagd?' (p. 291)
"Are you being impudent to me, **boy**?" (p. 225)	'Tracht je nu brutaal te zijn, **jongen**?' (p. 211)	'Ga je nu brutaal doen, **boy**?' (p. 292)

4.4.3 Helen Robinson

Helen Robinson is Tom Robinson's wife and later widow. What is interesting about her character is that she is never described in terms of her appearance, but always referred to as Tom Robinson's wife. After Tom's death, Mr. Link Deas creates a job for Helen so that she can earn money to provide for herself and her children. However, to take the short route to work, Helen needs to pass the Ewells. As the first sentence in Example 4.25 below states, she started using a different route to avoid the Ewells who "chunked at her" when she walked past them. The verb 'to chunk' is an informal way of saying 'to throw something' in Southern US dialect (Collins Online Dictionary n.d.b). This means that the Ewells threw things at Helen when she was trying to pass them on her way to work. Kooman translated this sentence accordingly, but Edinga must not have known that the verb 'to chunk' means 'to throw' because in his translation the Ewells called Helen names instead. While this has nothing to do a more politically correct translation as a result of changing social norms regarding racism, it does give the reader a wildly different experience of the abuse Helen had to go through.

When Mr. Link Deas finds out that Helen has to take a different route to avoid the Ewells on her way to work, he walks Helen home and confronts Bob Ewell on his way back, see the second sentence in Example 4.25 below. In the source text, Mr. Link Deas refers to Helen Robinson as "my girl Helen". This phrase could have two meanings, the first being he has a very intimate relationship with her and the second being a form of possession as she works for him. Knowing that Helen is a Black woman and that this story is set in the 1930s, the latter interpretation seems more probable than the first. While this would no longer be accepted in our current politically correct society, Kooman still translated it literally, most likely to retain the fact that the novel is a reflection of how white people referred to Black people at that time. On the other hand, the 1961 translation creates more distance between Mr. Link Deas and Helen Robinson by referring to her as such. Moreover, Edinga changes the source text in his translation to accommodate his wrong interpretation of Helen being verbally abused rather than physically abused. Instead of saying that Helen cannot use the public road because the Ewells will throw things at her, he translates it as though the Ewells are calling her names and telling her that she is not allowed to use that road. Again, this downsizes the extent of abuse Helen has experienced from the Ewells and provides the target audience with a different reading experience.

Example 4.25

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
Calpurnia said it was hard on Helen, because she had to walk nearly a mile out of her way to avoid the Ewells, who, according to Helen, **"chunked at her"** the first time she tried to use the public road. (p. 285)	Calpurnia zei dat het niet meeviel voor Helen – ze moest een omweg maken van bijna anderhalve kilometer, om het huis der Ewells niet te hoeven passeren. De Ewells, zei Helen, **hadden haar uitgescholden** toen zij voor het eerst die openbare weg betrad. (p. 267)	Calpurnia zei dat het niet meeviel voor Helen, omdat ze een omweg van anderhalve kilometer moest maken om niet langs de Ewells te hoeven die, zo zei ze, **haar 'met dingen bekogelden'** toen ze voor het eerst van de openbare weg langs het huis gebruik wilde maken. (pp. 365-6)
Now hear me, Bob Ewell: if I hear one more peep outa **my girl Helen** about not bein' able to walk this road I'll have you in jail before sundown!" (p. 286)	Luister naar me, Bob Ewell! Als één van die mormels **Helen Robinson** ooit nog eens **uitscheldt** en zegt dat ze hier niet lopen mag, dan zit jij nog dezelfde dag in de gevangenis!' (p. 267)	Oké, Bob Ewell, luister goed: als ik **m'n meisje Helen** ook nog maar hoor kikken dat ze hier niet veilig langs kan lopen, dan zorg ik dat jij nog voor 't donker achter de tralies zit!' (p. 366)

5 Discussion and Conclusion

To examine how translators are affected by changing social norms regarding racism in their translations of literary works, a selection of the racist discourse in the two Dutch translations of *To Kill a Mockingbird* were analysed and compared. The following research question was formulated for this thesis: How is translator of the 2010 Dutch retranslation of *To Kill a Mockingbird* affected by changing social norms regarding racism in his translation choices compared to the Dutch translation from 1961? The following two sections will discuss the results from the analysis and draw conclusions based on the research question and sub-questions and provide an overview of the limitations and give recommendations for further research, respectively.

5.1 Research Question and Sub-Questions

In order to answer the above-mentioned research question, a comparative analysis of the two Dutch translations of Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* was conducted. This consisted of a close reading of a selection of phrases that showed significant differences between the 1961 translation and the 2010 retranslation. From these differences, it was assessed which translation was less offensive and it was explored whether this was translation choice was motivated by changing social norms regarding racism.

To reiterate, the following sub-questions were formulated at the beginning of this thesis:

1. Is the translator of the 2010 retranslation affected by changing social norms regarding racism, which state that racist discourse has become taboo?
2. Can the manner in which the retranslation was affected by these social norms be illustrated by the differences in the translation of racist discourse between the first Dutch translation and the retranslation?
3. Do the differences in the retranslation of racist discourse consist of the use of less offensive discourse in the 2010 translation compared to the 1961 translation?

Before the results of this case study were analysed, the first section of the results discussed the prologue that was added to the 2010 retranslation. This prologue, which was

written by Kristien Hemmerechts, briefly brings the question of race into perspective. In it, Hemmerechts urges the reader to not project his viewpoints regarding racism onto the novel because these have changed a lot since the publication of *To Kill a Mockingbird*. She also puts '*neger*' in single quotation marks, which shows that it is no longer common practice to use these slurs in Dutch society. This prologue illustrates that the agents who were involved in the production of the Dutch retranslation were aware of the novel's present controversy due to its white saviour narrative and outdated attitude towards racism. It can therefore be concluded that Kooman made deliberate translation choices concerning the translation of the racist discourse that occurs in *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

The second section compared the translations of racial slurs and other terms that are used in the novel to refer to Black people. While the 1961 translation used the more pejorative '*nikker*' and the more neutral '*neger*' interchangeable for the translation of 'nigger', the 2010 retranslation made a clear distinction between these two terms. Kooman used '*nikker*' for 'nigger' and '*neger*' for 'Negro'. The fact that '*neger*' is also no longer accepted in our current politically correct society, is reflected in the 2010 retranslation. While Edinga translated the terms 'colored' and 'black' mostly with '*neger*', Kooman mostly used '*zwart(e)*', which is nowadays considered the appropriate term to use to refer to Black people (Nationaal Museum voor Wereldculturen 2018, 94). A striking contrast can be found in the translation of the two instances of 'darky', in which Kooman translated one of these with a more pejorative term than the 1961 translation. It can be argued, however, that this is the result of a translation strategy to translate the source text more literally. When it comes to the translation of 'mixed', both Dutch translations appear to make the source text more racist by making a distinction in translation depending on whether it is used to refer to a person of mixed descent or a white child. Finally, it is not surprising that both translations used '*blank*' as a translation for 'white', as the discussion surrounding '*wit*' and '*blank*' has only started recently (Nduwanje 2021).

The third section treats several words and phrases which had been changed in either one or both Dutch translations and can be grouped under three translation procedures, namely omissions, intensifications, and explicitations. Omissions of racist attitudes mostly occur in the 1961 translation. It seems unlikely that this is the result of what Hondius called the Dutch anti-racist norm because Edinga also intensifies and explicates racist attitudes in his translation (Hondius 2009, 41). While one omission and intensification can also be found in the 2010 retranslation, the first can be explained because there is not a similar construction

using ‘black and white’ in Dutch and the latter is probably the result of an attempt to compensate for the loss of the animal-like sexual activity that ‘ruttin’’ entails. Explicitations occur rather frequently and most of these can be found in the first Dutch translation. These explicitations can be grouped under three categories: 1. pronouns and nouns referring to Black people are replaced with ‘*neger*’; 2. locations belonging to Black people are made explicit; and 3. the translation adds phrases to make information explicit. All of these explicitations make the target text more racist than the English source text.

Finally, the fourth section discusses the three most prominent Black characters in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, namely Calpurnia, Tom Robinson, and his wife Helen Robinson. While Calpurnia and Tom are both described in terms of appearance, Helen is always referred to as the wife of Tom. Calpurnia’s negative description is made even worse in the 1961 translation, because she is compared to Atticus, whom Edinga described more positively by using more positive words compared to the source text. The representation of Calpurnia’s non-standard English is retained in the first Dutch translation, but not in the retranslation. The derogatory manner in which Tom Robinson is addressed by Mr. Gilmer is more adequately represented in the 2010 retranslation, but both Dutch translations do not retain all of the instances of ‘boy’. Helen Robinson’s abuse by the Ewells is strongly diminished in Edinga’s translation. It is likely that he did not know that ‘to chunk’ means ‘to throw something’ which is why he translated it as ‘calling her names’. This gives the reader a greatly different experience of the kind of abuse Helen had to go through.

From the results it can be concluded that the translator of the retranslation was indeed affected by changing social norms regarding racism in his translation choices. This can be illustrated by the fact that Kooman generally used fewer offensive terms in his retranslation compared to the first Dutch translation. While it is not always clear what motivated his translation choices, the analysis shows that in some cases it is definitely the result of changing social norms regarding racism. It can therefore be argued that the 2010 retranslation is more politically correct than the 1961 translation. It can also be concluded that while the retranslation hypothesis has been debunked, the 2010 translation does appear to be a more literal rendering of the source text than the 1961 translation.

5.2 Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research

As mentioned in chapter 3, this case study has a few limitations. First of all, due to the scope of this thesis, the present author had to create a selection of phrases from the dataset. This thesis is therefore by no means an exhaustive study. If further research is to be conducted on this topic, it is important that the author uses a complete dataset for his analysis in order to be able to draw conclusions from it. Secondly, for the creation of the dataset for this case study, the present author worked from the source text rather than from the target texts. In doing so, it is possible that some additions and/or intensifications that occur in the Dutch target texts have been overlooked and were therefore not treated in this thesis. It would have therefore been better if the present author had read both Dutch translations as well to make sure that all potentially interesting sentences could have been included in the dataset. Time restrictions prevented the present author from doing so, but for further research it is advised that all materials are thoroughly analysed.

Furthermore, the Dutch retranslation, which was published in 2010, appeared a few years before the beginning of the Black Lives Matter movement. In turn, the retranslation was already published before Dutch society's current politically correct standpoints concerning racism. As a result of this, Kooman may not have been as affected by changing social norms regarding racism as he may have been if he started translating after the beginning of the Black Lives Matter movement. This thesis may therefore not have produced as many interesting results. For further research of this kind, it is recommended that one examines a classic literary work that was first published and translated in the 20th century, but that has only been retranslated after the Black Lives Matter movement had started to gain support in the Netherlands. This way, the time gap is large enough that social norms have greatly changed so that it can yield more (interesting) results.

Finally, as it was often unclear what the motivations were behind translation choices, this case study would have benefited from an interview with the translator of the retranslation. This way, the present author would not have to speculate as to whether less offensive translations were the result of changing social norms regarding racism, a strategy to translate more literally and/or stylistically, or whether it was caused by something else altogether. However, in order for this to work, it is important that the case study is conducted only shortly after the retranslation is published so that the translator still has active recollection of the translation choices he made. In case of the current thesis, the retranslation was published 13

years ago, which makes it unlikely that the translator would still remember his motivations behind certain translation choices.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Prologue by Kristien Hemmerechts in *Spaar de Spotvogel* (Lee 2010, 5-7)

Voorwoord

Maycomb, 1935. Het stadje – de fictieve 'hoofdstad' van het fictieve Maycomb County in de echt bestaande zuidelijke staat Alabama – telt nog één veteraan van de verwoestende burgeroorlog (1861-1865). Toch kent elk schoolkind de details van de glorierijke strijd tegen de 'Yankees' in het noorden. Hypocrieten zijn het, die de slavernij hebben afgeschaft maar weigeren met 'negers' aan één tafel te zitten. In Maycomb krijgen de afstammelingen van de slaven een heldere boodschap: 'Jullie mogen leven op jullie manier en wij op de onze.' Blank woont in de stad, zwart voorbij de vuilnisbelt. Blank is boer, arts, advocaat of journalist; zwart werkt als knecht, meid, kok of chauffeur in dienst van blank. In de gevangenis zitten alleen zwarte gedetineerden. Zwart, zo 'weet' iedereen, deugt niet.

Het zelfbeeld van blank Maycomb lijdt niet onder deze segregatie. Met afschuw volgen de burgers de gebeurtenissen in Duitsland, waar Adolf Hitler Joden vervolgt. Gelukkig leven zij in het democratische Amerika: 'Gelijke rechten voor iedereen, privileges voor niemand.' Pientere Scout Finch is zich bewust van de discrepantie tussen theorie en praktijk. 'Volgens mij is er maar één soort mensen,' zegt ze. 'Mensen.' Dat is een behoorlijk subversieve uitspraak voor een negenjarig meisje uit Maycomb met zijn onuitgesproken kastenstelsel. Scouts tante Alexandra kan elke familie feilloos op de sociale ladder plaatsen. De Finches zijn een Oude Familie en dus respectabel. Onzin, vindt haar broer Atticus, de vader van Scout. Alle families zijn even oud, de blanke én de zwarte. Zijn broer Jack houdt rekening met de mogelijkheid dat er zwart bloed in hun aders stroomt. 'Misschien zijn we uit Ethiopië gekomen in de tijd van het Oude Testament.'

De hedendaagse lezer van *To Kill a Mockingbird* stuit op een lastige dubbelzinnigheid in de houding van Atticus Finch, de held van het verhaal. Hij gruwt van vooroordelen en probeert in iedereen het goede te zien. Dat lukt, zegt hij, wanneer je je in iemands standpunt verplaatst. Kruip in zijn huid, stap in zijn schoenen, kijk met zijn ogen. Behandel iedereen als mens.

Tegelijkertijd aanvaardt Atticus Maycombs ongeschreven code: blank en zwart leiden gescheiden levens. Hij lijkt zelfs te suggereren dat die code gerespecteerd moet worden. De

mens is immers een sociaal wezen dat niet buiten de gemeenschap kan bestaan. De blanke Mayella Ewell breekt de code wanneer ze een zwarte man kust. Atticus noemt het een ‘overtreding’. Hij zegt niet: het is tijd dat Maycomb deze code begraaft. Hij zegt niet: de code is achterlijk en beschamend. Atticus is een pragmaticus, geen revolutionair. Maycombs mentaliteit zal langzaam maar zeker evolueren. Je kunt de dingen niet forceren, vindt hij. Heel wat mensen delen nu al zijn visie, al zeggen ze dat niet hardop. Ze zijn zelfs opgelucht dat hij voor een broodnodige tegenstem zorgt. De inwoners van Maycomb zijn niet slecht. Ze zijn hooguit dom. Of laf. Vroeg of laat zullen blanken de prijs betalen, zegt Atticus. Louter uit eigenbelang moeten blanken zwarten gerechtigheid gunnen.

Atticus verzet zich niet tegen zijn zus, de klassenbewuste Alexandra, die Scout verbiedt bij hun zwarte kokkin Calpurnia thuis op bezoek te gaan, hoewel Calpurnia Scout en haar broer grotendeels heeft opgevoed. Hij is het zelfs schoorvoetend met Alexandra eens dat de jongensachtige Scout zich moet leren gedragen als een dame. Zo schrijft de code het immers voor.

Atticus beseft dat het gerecht in de zaak Ewells contra Robinson heeft gefaald, maar zijn geloof in het Amerikaanse juridische systeem blijft onaangetast. De achillespees is de mens, die zetelt als jurylid of als rechter. Maar Atticus gelooft in de mens. En in het menselijke vermogen tot inzicht te komen. Dat geloof is misschien een tikkeltje idealistisch. En naïef. De harde les die Atticus moet leren is dat er wel degelijk slechte mensen bestaan. Mensen als Bob Ewell, bijvoorbeeld.

Droomt Atticus van een tijd waarin blank en zwart in dezelfde straat wonen, naar dezelfde scholen gaan, in dezelfde kantoren werken? Een tijd waarin blank en zwart kunnen huwen en wettelijk erkende kinderen krijgen? Ziet hij een Amerika met zwarte advocaten? Met een zwarte man in het Witte Huis?

To Kill a Mockingbird is geschreven in de late jaren vijftig en werd een jaar voor de geboorte van Barack Obama gepubliceerd. Het zou een vergissing zijn om wat we vandaag weten te projecteren op de roman en zijn personages. We hoeven van Atticus Finch geen blanke Martin Luther King te maken. Daarvoor mist hij het lef en de energie. Harper Lee herinnert ons herhaaldelijk aan zijn ‘hoge’ leeftijd: hij is al vijftig en draagt een bril. Waarmee meteen ook het bewijs is geleverd dat perceptie en mentaliteit inderdaad erg snel kunnen veranderen.

Kristien Hemmerechts

Appendix B: Dataset: Selection of Phrases

To Kill a Mockingbird (1960)	*Spaar de Spotvogels* (1961)	*Spaar de Spotvogel* (2010)
We lived on the main residential street in town—Atticus, Jem and I, plus Calpurnia our cook. **Jem and I found our father satisfactory**: he played with us, read to us, and treated us with courteous detachment. **Calpurnia was something else again**. She was all angles and bones; she was nearsighted; she squinted; her hand was wide as a bed slat and twice as hard. (p. 6)	Wij woonden aan de 'netste' straat van de stad – Atticus, Jem en ik, plus Calpurnia, onze keukenmeid. **Jem en ik vonden onze vader heel geslaagd**: hij speelde met ons, las ons voor en bejegende ons met hoffelijke gereserveerdheid. **Calpurnia was een heel ander type**. Zij was erg mager en schonkig, bijziende en scheel; haar hand was zo breed als een beddeplank en dubbel zo hard. (p. 8)	We woonden in de voornaamste woonstraat van het stadje – Atticus, Jem en ik, plus Calpurnia, onze kokkin. **Volgens Jem en mij kon onze vader ermee door**: hij speelde met ons, las ons voor en behandelde ons met hoffelijke afstandelijkheid. **Calpurnia was een heel ander verhaal.** Ze was zo mager als een lat, bijziend en scheel, haar hand was zo breed als een beddenplank en dubbel zo hard. (p. 19)
We looked at her in surprise, for Calpurnia rarely commented on the ways of **white people**. (p. 13)	Wij keken haar verbaasd aan, want Calpurnia had zelden commentaar op het gedrag der **blanken**. (p. 15)	We keken haar verbaasd aan, want Calpurnia leverde zelden commentaar op het gedrag van een **blanke**. (p. 28)
Atticus said Calpurnia had more education than most **colored folks**. (p. 27)	Atticus zei altijd dat ze meer ontwikkeld was dan de meeste **kleurlingen**. (p. 29)	Volgens Atticus had Calpurnia meer ontwikkeling dan de meeste **zwarte mensen**. (p. 46)
"Mr. Radley shot at a **Negro** in his collard patch." (p. 61)	'Meneer Radley heeft op een **neger** geschoten, die in zijn moestuin zat.' (p. 59)	'Meneer Radley heeft op een **neger** geschoten in zijn koolveldje.' (p. 89)

Scared **him** pale, though. (p. 61)	Maar **die neger** zal wel bleek geworden zijn van schrik. (p. 59)	Maar **hij** werd wel bleek om z'n neus. (p. 89)
Says if anybody sees a **white nigger** around, that's the one. (p. 61)	Meneer Radley zegt: als één van ons een **blanke neger** ziet rondlopen, dan moet die het geweest zijn. (p. 59)	Radley zegt dat als iemand ergens een **witte neger** ziet, dan is het 'm. (p. 89)
Every night-sound I heard from my cot on the back porch was magnified three-fold; every scratch of feet on gravel was Boo Radley seeking revenge, every passing Negro laughing **in the night** was Boo Radley loose and after us; insects splashing against the screen were Boo Radley's insane fingers picking the wire to pieces; the chinaberry trees were malignant, hovering, alive. (p. 62)	Elk nachtelijk geluid dat ik, in mijn bed op de achterveranda, hoorde, klonk me driemaal zo luid als anders in de oren; elke keer dat ik iemands voeten op grint hoorde knarsen, was dat Boo Radley die zich ging wreken; elke neger die lachend passeerde, was Boo Radley, die was losgebroken en het nu op ons voorzien had; insekten, die tegen het gaas vlogen, waren de vingers van de krankzinnige Boo Radley, die er een gat in poogden te maken; de vruchtbomen schenen tot leven te komen en bedreigden ons boosaardig. (pp. 60-61)	Elk nachtgeluid dat ik op mijn veldbed op de achterveranda kon horen, werd drievoudig versterkt; elk knerpje van voeten op grind was Boo Radley die zich kwam wreken, elke neger die lachend **in het donker** voorbijkwam was Boo Radley op vrije voeten en op zoek naar ons; insecten die zich tegen de hor te pletter vlogen waren Boo Radleys krankzinnige vingers die het gaas kapotplukten; de paternosterbomen zweefden levend, boosaardig, door de tuin. (pp. 90-91)
"Do all lawyers defend n-Negroes, Atticus?" (p. 86)	'Verdedigen álle advocaten … negers, Atticus?' **Ik had bijna weer 'nikkers' gezegd.** (p. 81)	'Verdedigen alle advocaten n-negers, Atticus?' (p. 119)

He lives in that **little settlement** beyond the town dump. (p. 86)	Hij woont in de **negerwijk** achter de vuilnishoop van de stad. (p. 82)	Hij woont in dat **gehuchtje** achter de gemeentelijke vuilstortplaats. (p. 119)
"He's nothin' but a **nigger-lover**!" (p. 94)	'Je pa is een **gemene nikkervriend**!' (p. 90)	'Hij is gewoon een **nikkervriend**!' (p. 130)
Mrs. Dubose lived alone except for a **Negro girl** in constant attendance, two doors up the street from us in a house with steep front steps and a dog-trot hall. (p. 114)	Mevrouw Dubose woonde alleen (dat wil zeggen, ze had een **negermeisje** bij zich, dat haar op haar wenken bediende) in een huis, twee huizen verder dan het onze. Dat huis had een steile verandatrap en een piepkleine hal. (p. 108)	Mevrouw Dubose woonde alleen, met een **negermeid** voor dag en nacht, twee deuren voorbij de onze in een huis met een steile voortrap en een overdekte passage tussen de twee delen van het huis. (p. 152)
"Your father's no better than **the niggers and trash** he works for!" (p. 117)	'Je vader is geen haar beter dan **die nikkers en die boeven**, voor wie hij zich zo uitslooft!' (p. 111)	'Jouw vader is niet beter dan **de nikkers en het gepeupel** waarvoor hij werkt!' (p. 156)
I felt Calpurnia's hand dig into my shoulder. "**What you want**, Lula?" she asked, in tones I had never heard her use. She spoke quietly, contemptuously. "I wants to know why you bringin' white chillun to nigger church." "**They's** my **comp'ny**," said Calpurnia. Again I thought her voice strange: she was talking like the rest of them. (p. 135)	Ik voelde Calpurnia's hand in mijn schouder graven. 'Wat **mot** je, Lula?' vroeg ze op een toon, zoals ik haar nog nooit had horen bezigen. Ze sprak heel rustig, maar minachtend. 'Ik mot weten waarom jij blanke kinderen naar de negerkerk brengt.' '**Da's me** gezelschap,' zei Calpurnia. En wéér vond ik dat haar stem vreemd klonk; ze praatte nu net als andere negers. (p. 126)	Ik voelde Calpurnia's hand in mijn schouder knijpen. 'Wat wil je, Lula?' vroeg ze, op een toon die ik nooit van haar hard gehoord. Ze sprak rustig, minachtend. 'Ik wil weten waarom jij witte kinderen meebrengt naar een nikkerkerk.' 'Ze horen bij mij,' zei Calpurnia. Weer vond ik haar stem vreemd: ze praatte net als die anderen. (p. 178)

Again I thought her voice strange: she was talking like **the rest of them**. (p. 135)	En wéér vond ik dat haar stem vreemd klonk; ze praatte nu net als **andere negers**. (p. 126)	Weer vond ik haar stem vreemd: ze praatte net als **die anderen**. (p. 178)
It was customary for **field Negroes** with tiny children to deposit them in whatever shade there was while their parents worked—usually the babies sat in the shade between two rows of cotton. (p. 140)	Want het was de gewoonte dat de **negerinnen**, die op het veld werkten, daar hun kleine kinderen in de schaduw deponeerden; meestal tussen twee rijen katoenplanten. (p. 131)	**Zwarte landarbeiders** met kleine kinderen stalden die gewoonlijk ergens in de schaduw terwijl ze aan het werk waren – gewoonlijk zaten de kleintjes in de schaduw tussen twee rijen katoenplanten. (p. 184)
"Cal," I asked, "why do you talk **nigger-talk** to the—to your folks when you know it's not right?" "**Well, in the first place I'm black**—" "That doesn't mean you hafta talk that way when you know better," said Jem. (p. 143)	'Cal,' vroeg ik, 'waarom spreek je de **negertaal** tegen de… tegen je eigen volk, als je weet dat dat niet hoort?' "**Ik ben toch zelf ook een neger?**' 'Maar dat wil nog niet zeggen dat je net zo moet praten, als je heel ánders kunt praten,' zei Jem. (p. 133)	'Cal,' vroeg ik, 'waarom praat je **negertaal** tegen de – tegen je eigen mensen terwijl je weet dat het niet goed is?' '**Nou, om te beginnen ben ik zwart –**' 'Dat betekent niet dat je zo moet praten, terwijl je beter weet,' zei Jem. (p. 188)
"Suppose you and Scout **talked colored-folks' talk** at home—it'd be out of place, wouldn't it? Now what if I **talked white-folks' talk** at church, and with my neighbors? They'd think I was puttin' on airs to beat Moses." (p. 143)	'Stel dat jij en Scout thuis **net als de negers praatten** – dat zou toch niet netjes zijn, wel? Nou, en als ik in de kerk en met mijn buren **net als jullie praatte**, dan zouden ze zeggen dat ik me aanstelde en me verbeeldde dat ik nog mooier kon praten dan Mozes!' (p. 133)	'Stel je voor dat jij en Scout thuis **negertaal praatten** – dat zou toch ongepast zijn, of niet? Maar als ik nu eens **blankentaal zou praten** in de kerk, en met mijn buren? Die zouden denken dat ik me aanstel alsof ik nog mooier kan praten dan Mozes.' (p. 188)

Everything that happens in this town's out to **the Quarters** before sundown." (p. 178)	Alles wat er overdag in de stad gebeurt, wordt nog vóór zonsondergang gemeengoed in het **negerkwartier**. (p. 167)	Alles wat er overdag in de stad gebeurt, gaat 's avonds in **de Quarters** over de tong. (p. 234)
"Always does. He likes **'em** better'n he likes us, I reckon. (p. 183)	'Dat doet ie altijd. Hij houdt denk ik meer van **negers** dan van ons. (p. 171)	'Dat doet hij altijd. Hij heeft meer met **ze** op dan met ons, denk ik. (p. 239)
He's got a colored woman and all sorts of **mixed chillun**. (p. 183)	Hij heeft een negervrouw bij zich en een hele troep **halfbloedjes**. (p. 171)	Hij heeft een zwarte vrouw en een heel stel **halfbloedjes**. (p. 239)
A small boy clutching a **Negro woman's** hand walked toward us. He looked all Negro to me; he was rich chocolate with flaring nostrils and beautiful teeth. Sometimes he would skip happily, and the **Negro woman** tugged his hand to make him stop. (pp. 183-4)	Er kwam een kleine jongen naar ons toelopen, hij hield de hand van een **negerin** vast. Voor mijn gevoel was hij helemaal: neger. Hij had een chocoladekleurige huid, wijde neusgaten en prachtige witte tanden. Telkens deed hij een luchtsprong van plezier, maar dan trok de **negerin** hem naar zich toe en verbood het hem. (p. 172)	Er naderde een jongetje aan de hand van een **negerin**. Hij zag er volgens mij helemaal als een neger uit: donker chocoladekleurig met wijde neusgaten en een prachtig gebit. Zo nu en dan begon hij vrolijk te huppelen, maar dan bracht de **negerin** hem met een ruk aan zijn handje weer in het gareel. (p. 240)
"How can you tell?" asked Dill. "He looked **black** to me." (p. 184)	'Hoe weet je dat?' vroeg Dill. 'Ik vind dat ie er als een volbloed **neger** uitziet.' (p. 172)	'Hoe zie je dat nou?' vroeg Dill. 'Volgens mij was hij **zwart**.' (p. 240)
There were few women and children among **them**, which seemed to dispel the holiday mood. (p. 184)	De **negers** hadden maar weinig vrouwen en kinderen bij zich – daarom ontbrak in déze groep de vakantiestemming. (p. 173)	**Ze** hadden weinig vrouwen en kinderen bij zich en de stemming onder hen was aanmerkelijk minder feestelijk. (p. 241)

The **Colored balcony** ran along three walls of the courtroom like a second-story veranda, and from it we could see everything. (p. 187)	Het **balkon-voor-negers** strekte zich langs drie zijden van de rechtszaal uit, als een soort bovenveranda. Daar konden we alles goed volgen. (p. 175)	De **negergalerij** strekte zich als een bovenveranda langs drie wanden van de rechtszaal uit en vandaaraf konden we alles zien. (p. 244)
Maycomb's Ewells lived behind the town garbage dump in what was once a **Negro cabin**. (pp. 193-4)	De Ewells van Maycomb woonden achter de vuilnisbelt van de stad, in wat eens een **negerhut** was. (p. 181)	De Ewells van Maycomb woonden achter de stadsvuilnisbelt in wat ooit een **negerhut** was geweest. (p. 252)
All the little man on the witness stand had that made him any better than **his nearest neighbors** was, that if scrubbed with lye soap in very hot water, his skin was white. (p. 195)	Alles wat die kleine man in de getuigenbank op **zijn negerburen** vóór had, was dit: als hij zich waste met in flink heet water opgeloste loog, werd zijn huid blank. (p. 182)	Het enige dat het mannetje in de getuigenbank voorhad op **zijn naaste buren** was dat zijn huid, als je hem met loogzeep en heet water zou schrobben, blank zou blijken te zijn. (p. 254)
He stood up and pointed his finger at Tom Robinson. "—I seen that **black nigger** yonder ruttin' on my Mayella!" (p. 196)	Hij stond op en wees met uitgestoken wijsvinger naar Tom Robinson. 'En toen zag ik die **zwarte nikker** daar bronstig z'n gang gaan op me dochter Mayella!' (p. 184)	Hij ging staan en wees naar Tom Robinson. '– toen zag ik die gore **zwarte nikker** daar bezig mijn Mayella een beurt te geven!' (p. 256)
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Reverend Sykes's **black eyes** were anxious. (p. 197)	Dominee Sykes' **ogen** hadden een bezorgde uitdrukking. (p. 185)	Dominee Sykes' **zwarte ogen** keken bezorgd. (p. 257)
"Why, I run for Tate quick as I could. I knowed who it was, all right, lived down yonder in **that nigger-nest**, passed the house every day. Jedge, I've asked this county for fifteen years to clean out **that nest** down yonder, they're dangerous to live around 'sides devaluin' my property—" (p. 199)	'Nou, toen ben ik zo gauw mogelijk naar Tate gelopen. Ik wist wie 'r bij Mayella geweest was, ik kende 'm goed, want ie woonde daar in **dat negernest**, hij kwam elke dag voorbij ons huis. Edelachtbare, ik heb al vijftien jaar lang aan het stadsbestuur gevraagd of ze daar **dat zaakje** wilden opruimen, want 't is een gevaarlijk zootje, en as je d'r vlak bij woont, daalt je eigendom in waarde…' (p. 186)	'Nou, toen ben ik zo snel als ik kon naar Tate gerend. Ik wist wie het was, natuurlijk, die woonde daar in **dat nikkernest**, ik kwam er elke dag langs. Rechter, ik vraag de county nou al vijftien jaar om **dat nikkernest** daar op te ruimen, ze zijn een gevaar voor de buurt en ze maken ook nog m'n bezit minder waard –' (p. 259)
"I mighta," conceded Mayella. "There was several **niggers** around." (p. 209)	'Misschien wel,' gaf Mayella toe, 'maar d'r lopen daar zoveel **negers** rond.' (p. 197)	'Misschien weleens,' gaf Mayella toe. 'Er liepen wel meer **nikkers** rond.' (p. 273)
That **nigger** yonder took advantage of me an' if you fine fancy gentlemen don't wanta do nothin' about it then you're all yellow stinkin' cowards, stinkin' cowards, the lot of you. (p. 213)	Die **nikker** daar heb me misbruikt en as jullie fijne meneren d'r geen werk van willen maken, dan zijn jullie allemaal vuile lafbekken…allemaal! (p. 200)	Die **nikker** daar heb me misbruikt en as jullie mooie meneren d'r niks an willen doen dan benne jullie allemaal vieze vuile lafaards, vuile lafaards, jullie allemaal. (p. 277)

She was as sad, I thought, as what Jem called a **mixed child**: white people wouldn't have anything to do with her because she lived among pigs; Negroes wouldn't have anything to do with her because she was white. (p. 218)	Haar lot was even treurig, vond ik, als dat van de **halfbloeden**, over wie Jem me had verteld. De blanken wilden niks met haar te maken hebben omdat ze te midden van de varkens leefde. En de negers wilden niets met haar te maken hebben omdat ze een blanke was. (pp. 204-5)	Ze was er even triest aan toe, bedacht ik, als wat Jem een **gemengd kind** noemde: de blanken wilden niets met haar te maken hebben omdat ze tussen de varkens leefde, en de negers moesten niets van haar hebben omdat ze blank was. (p. 283)
Tom was a black-velvet Negro, not shiny, but soft black velvet. The whites of his eyes shone in his face, and when he spoke we saw flashes of his teeth. (p. 219)	Tom was een neger met een fluweelzwarte huid. Zijn huid glom niet, maar was dof. Bij dat zwarte gezicht stak het wit der ogen felblinkend af en als hij sprak zagen wij zijn witte tanten flitsen. (p. 205)	Tom was een fluweelzwarte neger, niet glanzend van huid, maar dof zwart fluweel. Het wit van zijn ogen lichtte op in zijn gezicht en als hij sprak zagen we een glimp van zijn witte tanden. (p. 284)
Tom's black velvet skin had begun to shine, and he ran his hand over his face. (p. 219)	Toms doffe, fluweelkleurige huid was gaan glimmen en hij wreef met zijn hand over zijn gezicht. (p. 206)	Toms zwartfluwelen huid was begonnen te glimmen en hij haalde een hand over zijn gezicht. (p. 285)
"Had your eye on her a long time, hadn't you, **boy**?" (p. 223)	'Je had al lang een oogje op haar, hè **jongen**?' (p. 209)	'Je had allang een oogje op haar, hè, **boy**?' (p. 290)
"Then you were mighty polite to do all that chopping and hauling for her, weren't you, **boy**?" (p. 223)	'Maar het was toch heel beleefd van je, om dingen voor haar te verslepen en klein te hakken?' (p. 209)	'Dan was dat wel heel mooi van je, al dat hakken en sjouwen dat je voor haar deed, hè, **boy**?' (p. 290)

“With Mr. Ewell and seven children on the place, **boy**?” (p. 224)	‘Maar meneer Ewell was er toch? En ze had zeven broertjes en zusjes…’ (p. 210)	‘Maar meneer Ewell en die zeven kinderen dan, die waren er toch ook?’ (p. 290)
“You did all this chopping and work from sheer goodness, **boy**?” (p. 224)	‘Dus jij hebt al dat houtjes hakken en andere werk uit pure goedheid voor haar gedaan?’ (p. 210)	‘Dus al dat hakken en klussen was pure goedheid van jou, **boy**?’ (p. 290)
“Then you say she’s lying, **boy**?” (p. 224)	‘Je wilt dus beweren dat ze loog?’ (p. 210)	‘Dus jij zegt dat ze liegt, **boy**?’ (p. 291)
“Didn’t Mr. Ewell run you off the place, **boy**?” (p. 225)	‘Heeft meneer Ewell je niet van het erf gejaagd, **jongen**?’ (p. 211)	‘Heeft meneer Ewell je niet van het erf gejaagd?’ (p. 291)
“Are you being impudent to me, **boy**?” (p. 225)	‘Tracht je nu brutaal te zijn, **jongen**?’ (p. 211)	‘Ga je nu brutaal doen, **boy**?’ (p. 292)
This case is as simple as **black and white**. (p. 231)	Deze zaak is bijzonder ongecompliceerd. (p. 216)	Het is zo eenvoudig als het maar kan. (p. 299)
“She was white, and she tempted a Negro. She did something that in our society is unspeakable: she kissed a black man. Not an old Uncle, but a strong young **Negro man**. No code mattered to her before she broke it, but it came crashing down on her afterwards. (pp. 231-2)	‘Ja, zij was een blanke, maar zij verleidde een neger. Ze deed iets dat wij in onze gemeenschap als iets ongehoords beschouwen: zij kuste een neger. Niet een oude man, een oudgediende, die men “oom” noemt – maar een krachtig gebouwde jonge **neger**. Onze code betekende niets voor haar, toen zij deze schond; maar later werd zij er als het ware door verpletterd. (p. 217)	Ze was blank en ze probeerde een neger te verleiden. Ze deed iets wat in onze maatschappij als iets ongehoords wordt beschouwd: ze kuste een zwarte man. Geen oud mannetje, maar een sterke jonge **zwarte man**. Geen code herinnerde haar voor ze hem schond, maar het gevolg van haar daad was verpletterend. (pp. 300-1)

The witnesses for the state, with the exception of the sheriff of Maycomb County, have presented themselves to you gentlemen, to this court, in the cynical confidence that their testimony would not be doubted, confident that you gentlemen would go along with them on the assumption—the evil assumption—**that *all* Negroes lie, that *all* Negroes are basically immoral beings, that *all* Negro men are not to be trusted around our women**, an assumption one associates with minds of their caliber. (p. 232)	Zij veronderstelden dat u, heren, het wel met hen eens zouden zijn (dat is een zondige veronderstelling) **dat *alle* negers liegen, dat *alle* negers in het diepst van hun wezen immoreel zijn, dat men *geen enkele* mannelijke neger kan vertrouwen als hij alleen is met een van onze vrouwen** – een veronderstelling die men nu eenmaal associëert met de denkbeelden van dit soort mensen. (pp. 217-8)	De getuigen à charge, met uitzondering van de sheriff van Maycomb County, hebben zich aan u, heren, aan dit hof gepresenteerd in de cynische overtuiging dat hun verklaringen niet in twijfel getrokken zouden worden, in het vertrouwen dat u, heren, hen zoudt geloven in de veronderstelling – de misdadige veronderstelling – **dat *alle* negers liegen, dat *alle* negers in diepste wezen immoreel zijn, dat *alle* negers in de buurt van onze vrouwen niet te vertrouwen zijn**, een veronderstelling die men van mensen van hun geestelijke niveau kan verwachten. (p. 301)
"Which, gentlemen, we know is in itself a lie **as black as Tom Robinson's skin**, a lie I do not have to point out to you. (p. 232)	'En dat, heren, is een leugen – dat weten we – dat hoef ik niet eens nader toe te lichten. (p. 218)	Dat dit, mijne heren, op zichzelf al een leugen is, **even zwart als Tom Robinsons huid** – dat hoef ik u niet uit te leggen. (p. 301)
You know the truth, and the truth is this: **some Negroes lie, some Negroes are**	U kent de waarheid: **sommige negers liegen, sommige negers zijn**	U kent de waarheid, en de waarheid is als volgt: **sommige negers liegen,**

immoral, some Negro men are not to be trusted around women—black or white. (p. 232)	**immoreel, sommige negers zijn niet te vertrouwen in de nabijheid van vrouwen**, of deze nu blank of zwart zijn. (p. 218)	**sommige negers zijn immoreel, sommige negermannen zijn niet te vertrouwen in de buurt van vrouwen**, of die nu zwart zijn of blank. (pp. 301-2)
Did Atticus put us up there as a sort of—? Wasn't it right close up there with all those—? Did Scout understand all the—? (p. 245)	Had Atticus ons daar neergepoot bij wijze van **propaganda**? En stonk het daar niet, met al die **negers**? En had Scout begrepen waar het om ging? (p. 228)	Had Atticus ons daar neergezet als een soort van -? En was het niet erg benauwd daarboven bij al die -? Had Scout het wel begrepen, al die -? (p. 315)
"May—? No, child. That **darky's wife**. Tom's wife, Tom—" (p. 264)	'Mayella Ewell? Welnee, kind. Over **de vrouw van die neger** – over Tom z'n vrouw, Tom... hoe heet ie ook weer?' (p. 248)	'May –? Welnee, kind**. De vrouw van dat zwartje**. Van Tom. Tom –' (p. 340)
"Nothing, Jean Louise," she said, in stately largo, "**the cooks and field hands** are just dissatisfied, but they're settling down now—they grumbled all next day after that trial." (p. 264)	'Niets, Jean Louise,' zei ze, op plechtige terechtwijzende toon, '**de keukenmeiden en negerarbeiders** zijn alleen maar wat ontevreden, maar dat bedaart wel weer… ze hebben de dag na het proces almaar gemurmureerd.' (p. 248)	'Niets, Jean Louise,' zei ze in statig largo, '**het keukenpersoneel en de landarbeiders** zijn een beetje ontevreden, maar dat bedaart nu alweer – ze hebben na dat proces de hele dag lopen morren.' (pp. 340-1)
"Gertrude, I tell you there's nothing more distracting than a sulky **darky**. (p. 264)	'Gertrude, ik kan je zeggen: niets is zo irriterend als een mokkende **neger**. (p. 248)	'Gertrude, laat mij je vertellen, er is niets zo irritant als een mokkende **neger**. (p. 341)

We can educate 'em till we're blue in the face, we can try till we drop to make Christians out of 'em, but there's no lady safe in her bed these nights.' (p. 265)	We kunnen ze les geven tot we geen woord meer kunnen uitbrengen, we kunnen proberen christenen van ze te maken, tot we d'r bij neervallen, maar geen enkele dame kan, **wat die negers betreft**, zich tegenwoordig meer veilig wanen in haar bed." (p. 249)	We kunnen ze onderwijzen tot we een ons wegen, we kunnen ons uit de naad werken om christenen van ze te maken, maar er is geen dame veilig in haar bed, vandaag de dag." (pp. 341-2)
"What was one Negro, more or less, among **two hundred of 'em**? (p. 269)	'Wat betekende één neger meer of minder, **te midden van tweehonderd negers**? (p. 252)	'Wat betekende één neger meer of minder **op tweehonderd**? (p. 346)
Dill said a crowd of **black children** were playing marbles in Tom's front yard. (p. 274)	Dill zei dat er een heleboel **zwarte kinderen** zaten te knikkeren in Toms voortuintje. (p. 256)	Dill vertelde dat er een hele troep **zwarte kinderen** in Toms voortuin aan het knikkeren was. (p. 351)
To Maycomb, Tom's death was Typical. Typical of a **nigger** to cut and run. Typical of a **nigger's mentality** to have no plan, no thought for the future, just run blind first chance he saw. (p. 275)	Voor Maycomb was Toms dood 'typerend'. Typisch iets voor een **neger**, om te ontvluchten. Ja, dat typeerde de **negermentaliteit**: er zomaar, toen hij de kans schoon zag, vandoor te gaan, zonder enig plan de campagne en zonder er zich rekenschap van te geven waarheen hij moest vluchten. (p. 257)	Voor Maycomb was de dood van Tom typisch. Typisch iets voor een **nikker** om ervandoor te gaan. Typisch voor de **nikkermentaliteit** om geen plan te hebben, niet aan de toekomst te denken, om gewoon maar blindelings te gaan rennen zodra hij de kans schoon zag. (p. 352)
Just shows you, that Robinson boy was legally	Nu zie je maar weer eens – die Robinson was wettig	Zo zie je maar. Die Robinson was wettig

married, they say he kept himself clean, went to church and all that, but when it comes down to the line the veneer's mighty thin. **Nigger always comes out in 'em.** A few more details, enabling the listener to repeat his version in turn, then nothing to talk about until *The Maycomb Tribune* appeared the following Thursday. (p. 275)	getrouwd, ze zeggen dat hij een fatsoenlijk leven leidde, trouw naar de kerk ging en zo, maar als het erop aankomt, is dat beetje beschaving maar een dun vernis… Na nog enkele bijzonderheden, die de ander de gelegenheid gaven *zijn* versie van het gebeurde ten beste te geven, viel er niets meer te kletsen tot … de donderdag daarop *The Maycomb Tribune* verscheen. (p. 257)	getrouwd, ze zeggen dat hij een fatsoenlijk leven leidde, naar de kerk ging en zo, maar als puntje bij paaltje komt is het laagje vernis maar akelig dun. **De nikker eronder komt er toch altijd doorheen.** Na nog enkele bijzonderheden die de aangesprokene de gelegenheid gaven zijn eigen versie ten beste te geven, was er niets meer om over te praten tot de donderdag erop, toen de *Maycomb Tribune* verscheen. (pp. 352-3)
Jem, how can you hate Hitler so bad an' then turn around and be ugly about **folks right at home**—" (p. 283)	Jem, hoe kan iemand Hitler zó haten en zulke gemene dingen zeggen over **de negers in Maycomb**?' (p. 264)	Jem, hoe kun je nou Hitler zo haten en tegelijkertijd zo lelijk doen over **mensen hier bij ons** – ?' (p. 362)
Calpurnia said it was hard on Helen, because she had to walk nearly a mile out of her way to avoid the Ewells, who, according to Helen, **"chunked at her"** the first time she tried to use the public road. (p. 285)	Calpurnia zei dat het niet meeviel voor Helen – ze moest een omweg maken van bijna anderhalve kilometer, om het huis der Ewells niet te hoeven passeren. De Ewells, zei Helen, **hadden haar uitgescholden** toen zij voor het eerst die openbare weg betrad. (p. 267)	Calpurnia zei dat het niet meeviel voor Helen, omdat ze een omweg van anderhalve kilometer moest maken om niet langs de Ewells te hoeven die, zo zei ze, **haar 'met dingen bekogelden'** toen ze voor het eerst van de openbare

		weg langs het huis gebruik wilde maken. (pp. 365-6)
Now hear me, Bob Ewell: if I hear one more peep outa **my girl Helen** about not bein' able to walk this road I'll have you in jail before sundown!" (p. 286)	Luister naar me, Bob Ewell! Als één van die mormels **Helen Robinson** ooit nog eens **uitscheldt** en zegt dat ze hier niet lopen mag, dan zit jij nog dezelfde dag in de gevangenis!' (p. 267)	Oké, Bob Ewell, luister goed: als ik **m'n meisje Helen** ook nog maar hoor kikken dat ze hier niet veilig langs kan lopen, dan zorg ik dat jij nog voor 't donker achter de tralies zit!' (p. 366)