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A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON TRANSLATIONS OF THE NOVEL BASĀIN

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ABSTRACT

Basāin, an iconic novel of Lil Bahadur Chettri, is rich in cultural terms and expressions. It consists of eastern Nepali dialect, which may cause some difficulties even for non-eastern Nepali readers to understand. Such a text has been rendered into English by non-native scholars, Larry Hartsell of America and Michael J. Hutt of Britain. The double translation of culture-laden text by the non-natives motivates everyone, who is in the platform of the burgeoning discipline *Translation Studies*. In this context, this article aims to investigate how the problems of translating culture-laden elements have been solved by the non-natives. For achieving this specific objective, this study has followed a corpus-based research design that compares the translations of the title, proper nouns and culture-specific expressions. By means of qualitative analysis, it has reached a conclusion that the problems of cultural issues in translation can be solved by using domesticating and foreignizing strategies.

Keywords: Chettri, culture-specific expressions, Hartsell, Hutt, proper nouns

Introduction

There is a significant role of Assam in the development of Nepali language and literature. Some notable Assamese figures, who have contributed both quantitatively and qualitatively to develop Nepali novels are: K. B. Nepali, Arjun Niraula, Bikram Bir Thapa, Loknath Upadhyaya Chapagain, Naya Devi, Shanti Thapa, Hari Prasad Sharma, Kashiram Subedi, Chandreshwar Dube, Hari Adhikari, Rup Narayan Pathak, Ratan Kumar Pandey, Jaya Narayan Luitel, Ram Prasad Dahal, Gunu Gharti, Prakash Subedi, Hem Rai and Lil Bahadur Chettri (Luitel, 2013). More than this is that most of them are living ones and so there is strong possibility for more contributions from them.

Out of a long list of contributors, Lil Bahadur Chettri has four novels to his credit: *Basāin* (1957), *Atripta* (1968), *Brahmaputrako Cheuchāu* (1989) and *Partidhwaniharu Bismritikā* (2004). His first novel *Basāin* depicts the social reality that people have to emigrate because of social and economic reasons. Moreover, it also shows the plight of the poor, who have been exploited and crushed by injustice. In this novel, emigration is not because of will but because of obligatory situation, created by social reasons. His second novel, *Atripta* signifies that dissatisfied sexual desires, caused by social obstacles, may result in mental disturbances in a person. Likewise, the third novel, *Brahmaputrako Chechāu* deals with the problems faced by the Nepali people who live near the Brahmaputra, a famous river in Assam. There is a realistic portrait of social, cultural and economic problems the people face there. The last novel, published so far, *Pratidwaniharu Bismritikā*, also lies in the same line. In this



way, the themes of his novels surge into the human sensitivities and pathos. So, he is mainly a social realist as his novels are capable of presenting social realities.

His outstanding novel, *Basāin* is a work of social realism. To put in Pradhan's (1980) words, "The social circumstances of a person's outer life take the foreground, rather than his inner life" (p. 255). He further mentions that the hero's (i.e. Dhané's) dispossession of his property is economic aspect and the elopement of Jhuma with Mote Karki is social aspect of the novel. Similarly, Subedi's (1996) description of the novel as "an example of idealized reality" (p. 91) shows that it is a political story, dealing with exploitation of the poor (like Dhané) and the innocent girl (like Jhuma, Dhané's sister). There is class struggle between haves and have-nots, in which have-nots are defeated. Despite this, the novel presents a vivid image of social realism, an offshoot of realism appeared around the 1950s (Hutt, 2008). Thus, this novel exemplifies the ideal of social realism.

Basāin has remained a popular novel since its first publication in 1957. This can be assessed by its thirty-fourth edition in 2009 in Nepali language. Further, it was prescribed as a textbook for proficiency certificate level (PCL) in the Tribhuvan University and for 10+2 level of Higher Secondary Education Board (HSEB), Nepal till 2010. Besides, "the Board of Secondary Education, Assam has also included the book in the syllabus of Nepali MIL for H.S.L.C. Examination" (Hartsell, 1989, p. v). To show the novel's significance in the film market, Hutt (2008) has conceded, "A Nepali language feature film based on the book and directed by Subash Gajurel opened in 2005 and was Nepal's entry for the 2006 Academy Awards in Los Angeles" (p. vii). It has also received a credit for being the first Nepali original novel, published from North-East India (Ghimire, 2013). Its two English versions have been published: (a) *Towards Unknown Horizon*, and (b) *Mountains Painted with Turmeric*. The first one has been translated by an American scholar Larry Hartsell in 1989 and second one by a British scholar Michael J. Hutt in 2008. Therefore, *Basāin*, now, has entered the world literature. Therefore, I have selected this novel and its two English translations for my study.

Based on this context, the present article aims to introduce and compare the two English versions. To be specific, it aims to investigate how the cultural elements, in the Nepali version of Lil Bahadur Chettri (henceforth, Chettri) have been rendered into English by Michael Hutt (henceforth, Hutt) and by Larry Hartsell (henceforth, Hartsell).

Methodology

To achieve the set objectives, I followed corpus-based study, which includes the original and the translated versions of the selected novel as its universe. In this product-oriented descriptive translation study (Munday, 2008), I have used three texts, Chettri's (2009) Nepali version, *Basāin* and the two translated versions, Hutt (2008) and Hartsell (1989), as the points of departure of this study. I have explored and analyzed how the non-native translators have made the adjustments of the crucial aspects of translation, namely, cultural issues. I have set three parameters for comparing the two translated versions: (a) translation of the title, (b) translation of proper nouns, and (c) translation of the culture-specific expressions. Finally, purposefully selected samples and their translations have been transliterated using Turner and Turner's (2009) phonological symbols; and described, interpreted and analyzed to draw inferences.

Results and Discussion

This section presents, analyzes, and interprets the information collected from the original and the two translated versions of the selected novel.

The Translators and the Translated Texts

The two translations have been published within 19 years' interval. Hartsell's version was published by Ankura Prakashan, Sikkim in 1989 whereas Hutt's version was published by Columbia University Press, New York in 2008.

Larry Hartsell is from Seattle, Washington, U. S. A. He first arrived in Nepal as an American Peace Corps volunteer in the 1960s after achieving a degree in English literature from Harvard University. He has translated five Nepali novels into English: *Khairini Ghat (1984), Towards Unknown Horizon (1989), Blackout (1990),*



Confession (1995), and The Window of the House Opposite (1998). From this list, Towards Unknown Horizon is remarkable because this version has brought the perennial Nepali novel Basāin outside the realm of Nepali literature for the first time. This version does not accompany separate translator's preface. So, its evaluators/critics should depend on their own institution to analyze its contents. Although his objective has not been explicitly mentioned, he might have done this painstaking task first to learn Nepali and then to bring the Nepali text out to the wider readership. He has rendered sixty-two pages of Nepali version (2009) into 105 pages. He has translated proper names by borrowing them (e.g. Dhané, Mainā, Jhumā, etc.). So, is done even for names of officials (e.g. Baidār, Subedār, etc.). Except a few terms such as Phāgun, angeri, Chait, Bhadau, recruit, Māgh, Asār and tulasi, he has borrowed all the cultural terms and expressions. This shows that he has preferred Venuti's (2008) foreignising strategies for translating culture-loaded elements. As a result, the English readers may not be familiar with Nepali culture only by reading this version.

Michael J. Hutt is a professor of Nepali and Himalayan Studies in the department of the languages and cultures of South Asia at the school of African and Oriental Studies in London. He has played an important role to acquaint Nepali literature to the outer world, by authoring *Modern Literary Nepali: An Introductory Reader* and *Unbecoming Citizens: Culture, Nationhood, and the Flight of Refugees from Bhutan*. And to his credit, he has also translated a Nepali heartbeat *Munāmadan* into English. In the list of Hutt's contributions, *Mountains Painted with Turmeric* is a remarkable work in translating novels from Nepali into English. He has rendered sixtytwo pages of *Basāin* (2009) into 104 pages, excluding foreword, afterword and extensive notes. His foreword offers a critique on the novel, in which he has labeled it as, "one of a handful of Nepali novels that almost every Nepali reader knows well" (p. xx). Moreover, it incorporates the authorship and influences, the setting of the novel and his reasons for translating it. He points out the two themes of the novel: (a) the miserable plight of the farmers and an innocent woman who has been raped, and (b) intimacy of the village life from which Dhané is ultimately deprived of. Then, the translator obviously asserts his reasons for selecting *Basāin* for translation. There are only a few books written in English by Nepali writers, and such books have been known only to a few scholars outside Nepal.

To publicize the past and the present of the Nepali psyche of migrating from the hills to the plains of Terai and even abroad, the translation of the novel like this is necessary for the wider readership. In addition to this reason, the foreign reader can find similarity between the works only in English and the translated version from Nepali. Hutt claims himself that this translation, like all translations, is not perfect one. Specifically, he has pointed out his difficulties in translating rustic figures of speech and kinship terms. Swaying between whether to retain the original Nepali words (e.g. $d\bar{a}ju$, $bh\bar{a}i$, $jeth\bar{a}$, $k\bar{a}nchi$, $bh\bar{a}ujyu$, etc.) or to translate them (elder brother, younger brother, first-born son, last-born daughter, sister-in-law, etc.), he chooses the former course of action, i.e. borrowing technique. However, he has presented extensive annotations as endnotes and therefore the foreign readers may understand the Nepali sense easily. In a sense, it offers an academic monograph to the wider readership and it is found to embrace Venutti's (2008) domesticating strategies for translating cultural elements. It is because he has translated for the target readers.

The Two Translated Versions

For the comparison of the two English versions (i.e. Hutt & Hartsell), I have set only three parameters: (a) translation of the title, (b) translation of proper names, and (c) translation of cultural expressions. This article revolves around these three parameters; within which it is delimited.

Translation of the Title. The Nepali version has a simple, too general and straightforward title *Basāin*, meaning 'emigration'. In fact, this does not bear the heavy load, as it should have. It is because the theme of the novel does not present the story of those people who willingly emigrate but present the story of those who emigrate due to mystery and hidden misery. In fact, the novel represents only those emigrants who have become homeless and who are heading towards unknown destination. So, the English versions have captured this sentiment.

The title of Hartsell, *Towards Unknown Horizon* is unlike the straightforward Nepali title. It has right connotation, which the novel signifies. The term 'horizon', here, indicates a mirage, which is inaccessible to the

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people in reality but appears to be close to them. Even more, the term 'unknown' intensifies the uncertainty of reaching the horizon, towards which the poor family is heading. So, the title of this version captures the snapshots of the events, happened in the story.

Likewise, Hutt's title, 'Mountains Painted with Turmeric' connotes the dim yellow sunlight, which has double meaning. It refers to either dawn or evening; Dawn indicates optimism whereas evening pessimism. To put in Hutt's (2008) words, "Perhaps it will be better than their past, or maybe it will be worse" (p. 104). It shows that whether they meet fortune or misfortune, one thing is certain that their new life will begin. From this perspective, Hutt's (2008) and Hartsell's (1989) connotations converge together. Both the translated titles are specific to indicate the true sense of the general Nepali version. Yet, they do not leave enough space for critics to think intensively as Nepali title does.

Translation of Proper Nouns

Proper nouns refer to the names of persons, places, things, animals and so on. They have unique references and therefore they are the distinctive properties of a particular culture, in which they are used. In Newmark's (1988) view, proper nouns include: people's name, name of objects and geographical terms. Extending this view, Särkkä (2007) has categorized them into three categories: (a) central proper nouns, e.g. Mainā, Dhankutā, etc., (b) extended proper nouns, e.g. The Republic of China, the flow of Koshi, etc., and (c) descriptive proper nouns, e.g. Westminister bridge, Hedāhā pond, Sunday market, etc. Based on these classifications, I specify proper names as names of month (e.g. Phagun, Chait, etc.), person's names (e.g. Dhané, Karki, etc.), and types of officials (e.g. Subbā, Mukhiyā, Baidār, etc.).

Such unique referents are one of the areas which create hurdles in translation. To put in Nida's (1964) words, "The most common phonological problems encountered by translators involve transliteration, especially of proper names, such words usually be borrowed" (p. 193). On the other hand, Newmark (1988) has suggested in the use of naturalization technique to translate such nouns. Further, Särkkä's (2007) technique is more applicable, i.e. wholesale transportation of SL into TL. However, Mizani (2008) has mentioned Fernandes' (2006) nine procedures to solve the problem of translating proper nouns: (a) rendition, (b) copy, (c) transcription, (d) substitution, (e) recreation, (f) deletion, (g) addition, (h) transposition, and (i) phonological replacement. Based on this literature, I have observed only *two* techniques: (a) borrowing, and (b) using footnotes and endnotes.

There are some common grounds in Hutt and Hartsell. In translating names of characters (Dhané, Mainā, Moté Kārki, Thuli, Jhumā, Budhe Kāmi, Leute Damāi, Nandé Dhakāl, Dobāṭe Sahîlā, Luîtel, Chimsé, Gomā, Ghartini, Rikuté and Tersé Lāmichhane), both translators have used the SL (Nepali) terms in English orthography, without giving any annotations. So, borrowing is the sole technique. Even in translating names of months, both have borrowed the SL terms. However, difference is obvious in the two versions. Hartsell has only given footnotes whereas Hutt has offered extensive endnotes, which help the foreign readers to understand the references.

For translating types of officials (e.g. Baidār, Subbā, Mukhiyā, etc.) both have used loan words in the target language. However, Hutt has explained their references in some detail. This is because Hutt has translated, perhaps improving the shortcomings of Hartsell. At this juncture, Wang (2010) is worth mentioning, "A re-translation of a classic should surpass the previous translations in comprehending the original work, translating methods and overall translation effect" (p. 225). This implies that translation is always open for further amendments.

Translation of Culture-Specific Expressions

Basāin is a regional novel and so it consists of abundant local and specific expressions, which incorporate culture-loaded elements. In this article, I have selected idioms and proverbs as culture-specific expressions, which are typical and one of the areas that cause problems in translation. On the one hand, they are difficult to translate generally and on the other hand, the non-natives have translated them. Therefore, it is interesting to see how the non-native translators (i.e. British and American scholars) have translated these expressions.



Idioms and proverbs are language and culture specific. They do not have straightforward and predictable meaning. Such expressions are of idiosyncratic nature, to find the match of which is very difficult. However, the translators have made some adjustments. In the Nepali/Chettri version, I have found twenty-seven such expressions, which have been translated both by Hartsell and Hutt in their own ways (Appendix A).

Observing the two English versions, three types of translations are found: same, nearly same and different.

The first set of expressions has same translations in both the versions. For example:

i Risale dāhrā kitnu. (Chettri, p. 34)

Grind his teeth in anger. (Hartsell, p. 59, & Hutt, p. 58)

ii Nic mārnu. (Chettri, p. 38)

Give up. (Hartsell, p. 66, & Hutt, p. 65)

iii Kurāko phūl jodnu. (Chettri, p. 38)

Embroider it with flowers. (Hartsell, 68, & Hutt, p. 66)

iv Cot nai krodhko mūl kāran ho. (Chettri, p. 46)

Injury is/was the root cause of anger. (Hartsell, p. 79, & Hutt, p. 78)

v Mukhmā moso dalnu. (Chettri, p. 46)

Rub soot on all our faces. (Hartsell, 80, & Hutt, 79)

vi Suíkuccā thoknu. (Chettri, p. 51)

To take to her heels. (Hartsell, p. 87, & Hutt, p. 87)

These representative examples indicate that both the translators have used the same strategies, namely, cultural substitution (domestication) and literal translation (foreignization). This shows that they have used the same forms, same meanings and the same words. This is done so because more or less they are similar in both Nepali and English cultures.

The second set of expressions is found in nearly the same translations. For example:

vii Cārkhuṭṭé moro dhan ghandai nagan. (Chettri, p. 1)

Tetrapods are wealth but are like dead body, do not reckon them. (Hartsell, p. 2)

Four-legged is my wealth, do not ever count it. (Hutt, p. 2)

viii Strisulav lājkā rekhā. (Chettri, p. 7)

The lines of natural womanly shyness. (Hartsell, p. 12)

An expression of natural womanly modesty. (Hutt, p. 12)

ix Sok na surtā. (Chettri, p. 16)

Neither pleasure nor worry. (Hartsell, p. 29)

Neither worries nor sorrows. (Hutt, p. 27)

x Khāi lāi raheko po dhan. (Chettri, p. 16)

Money should be saved only after eating and being clothed. (Hartsell, p. 29)

Wealth is what's left over after food and clothes have been bought. (Hutt, p. 28)

xi Kurā capāunu. (Chettri, p. 24)

IJELR WWW Hight In

Chew words around. (Hartsell, p. 42)

Chew it over. (Hutt, p. 40)

xii Orālho lāgeko mirgalāi bācchāle khedcha. (Chettri, p. 24)

A deer in a steep slope in perused by a calf. (Hartsell, p. 43)

When a deer is running downhill, even a calf will chase it. (Hutt, p. 41)

These examples (vii-xii) show that both the translators have translated by using a strategy, namely, same forms and same meanings but different words. However, the sense of both of them represent almost the same Nepali counterpart.

The final set of expressions are translated differently by the two translators. Some representative examples are presented below:

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xiii
       Kurā ţālnu. (Chettri, p. 10)
Refuse. (Hartsell, p. 17)
Disobey. (Hutt, p. 18)
       Kān khānu. (Chettri, p. 19)
xiv
Hard to heat. (Hartsell, p. 33)
Deafen. (Hutt, p. 33)
       Kurā uţhāunu. (Chettri, p. 20)
Speak again. (Hartsell, p. 35)
Revive. (Hutt, p. 34)
       Mekh mārnu. (Chettri, p. 30)
xvi
To get back at. (Hartsell, p. 52)
To strike a blow. (Hutt, p. 50) Cāl mārnu. (Chettri, p. 31)
Come up noiselessly. (Hartsell, p. 55)
Creep up. (Hutt, p. 53)
xviii Hurmat linu. (Chettri, p. 33)
Insult. (Hartsell, p. 59)
Dishnour. (Hutt, p. 58)
xiv Ched hānnu. (Chettri, p. 55)
Give trouble. (Hartsell, p. 93)
To taunt. (Hutt, p. 93)
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The translations of the expressions (xiii-xiv) demonstrate that the translators have used a strategy, namely, same forms, almost similar meanings but different words. Hartsell is close to the source text (i. e. Nepali) whereas Hutt is close to the target text (i.e. English). It is also explicit that Hartsell has tried to make his translation faithful whereas Hutt has tried to be free. Yet, they have created a third space, which is neither faithful nor free completely.

Conclusion

Basāin, a popular Nepali novel first published in 1959, was rendered in English in 1989 and in 2008 respectively by an American scholar, Larry Hartsell and a British scholar, Michael J. Hutt. The translation of such



a culture-loaded text by the non-native scholars is really interesting to study. The title of the outstanding work of Lil Bahadur Chettri is apparely too simple but illusory as its several potential meanings can be explored. Two of the meanings are migration willingly and unwillingly because of hidden misery. To catch the real sentiment of the novelist, the translators have used specific and connotative titles *Towards Unknown Horizon* and *Mountains Painted with Turmeric* (former by Hartsell and the latter by Hutt). These titles are so specific that the readers and critics have no spaces to think about.

For translating proper nouns, Hartsell (1989) has used borrowing and a few footnotes but Hutt (2008) has used borrowing and extensive endnotes. This shows that both the translators have used foreignising techniques to transport the heavy load of cultural elements. Further, the source text consists of idioms and proverbs, which are considered as difficult areas in translations. However, the non-native translators have attempted to adjust them for transferring their meanings. I have found three techniques in their translations: (a) use of same forms, words and meanings, (b) use of same forms and meanings but different words, and (c) use of same forms, almost similar meanings but different words. I notice that they have created a third space in their translations.

Compared to Hartsell's, Hutt's translation appears to be easier to understand for readers and critics because the latter has presented annotations of the typical terms, a brief synopsis and historical setting of the novel, and some comments offered by the scholars. However, both are equally valuable for us as they have enabled the Nepali novel to enter the realm of world literature.

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Appendix A: Sample Translations of Culture Specific Expressions

- 1 Cārkhuţţe moro dhan gandai nagan. (Chettri, 2009, p. 1)
 - a) Tetrapods are wealth but are like dead body, do not reckon them. (Hartsell, 1989, p. 2)
 - b) Four-legged is my wealth, do not ever count it. (Hutt, 2008, p. 2)



- 2 Strisulav lājkā rekhā. (Chettri, p. 7)
 - a) The lines of natural womanly shyness. (Hartsell, p. 12)
 - b) An expression of natural womanly modesty. (Hutt, p. 12)
- 3 Kurā ţālnu. (Chettri, p. 10)
 - a) Refuse. (Hartsell, p. 17)
 - b) Disobey. (Hutt, p. 18)
- 4 Śok na surtā. (Chettri, p. 16)
 - a) Neither pleasure nor worry. (Hartsell, p. 29)
 - b) Neither worries nor sorrows. (Hutt, p. 27)
- 5 Khāi lāi raheko po dhan. (Chettri, p. 16)
 - a) Money should be saved only after eating and being clothed. (Hartsell, p. 29)
 - b) Wealth is what's left over after food and clothes have been bought. (Hutt, p. 28)
- 6 Kān khānu. (Chettri, p. 19)
 - a) Hard to hear. (Hartsell, p. 33)
 - b) Deafen. (Hutt, p. 33)
- 7 Kurā uthāunu. (Chettri, p. 20)
 - a) Speak again. (Hartsell, p. 35)
 - b) Revive. (Hutt, p. 34)
- 8 Kurā capāunu. (Chettri, p. 24)
 - a) Chew words around. (Hartsell, p. 42)
 - b) Chew it over. (Hutt, p. 40)
- 9 Orālho lāgeko mirgalāi bācchāle khedcha. (Chettri, p. 24)
 - a) A deer in a steep slope in perused by a calf. (Hartsell, p. 43)
 - b) When a deer is running downhill, even a calf will chase it. (Hutt, p. 41)
- 10 Mekh mārnu. (Chettri, p. 30)
 - a) To get back at. (Hartsell, p. 52)
 - b) To strike a blow. (Hutt, p. 50)
- 11 Cāl mārnu. (Chettri, p. 31)
 - a) Come up noiselessly. (Hartsell, p. 55)
 - b) Creep up. (Hutt, p. 53)
- 12 Hurmat linu. (Chettri, p. 33)
 - a) Insult. (Hartsell, p. 59)
 - b) Dishonour. (Hutt, p. 58)
- 13 Kansiri tātnu. (Chettri, p. 34)
 - a) Be furious. (Hartsell, p. 59)
 - b) Ears burn. (Hutt, p. 58)
- 14 Risale dāhrā kiţnu. (Chettri, p. 34)
 - a) Grind his teeth in anger. (Hartsell, p. 59)
 - b) Grind his teeth angrily. (Hutt, p. 58)
- 15 Surtāera hune hunāmi ţarcha ra? (Chettri, p. 36)
 - a) Worrying about it won't make it better. (Hartsell, p. 62)
 - b) Can worrying put off what must be? (Hutt, p. 61)
- 16 Hātmukh jornu. (Chettri, p. 38)
 - a) To live hand-to-mouth. (Hartsell, p. 65)
 - b) To put hands into their mouths. (Hutt, p. 65)
- 17 Nīc mārnu. (Chettri, p. 38)
 - a) Give up. (Hartsell, p. 66)
 - b) Give up. (Hutt, p. 65, & Hutt, p. 65)
- 18 Kurāko phūl jodnu. (Chettri, p. 38)
 - a) Embroider it with flowers. (Hartsell, p. 68, & Hutt, p. 66)



- 19 Suddhibuddhi harāunu. (Chettri, p. 39)
 - a) Lose her presence of mind. (Hartsell, p. 68)
 - b) Be at her wit's end. (Hutt, p. 67)
- 20 Cot nai krodhko mūl kāran ho. (Chettri, p. 46)
 - a) Injury was the root cause of her anger. (Hartsell, p. 79, & Hutt, p. 78)
- 21 Mukhmā moso dalnu. (Chettri, p. 46)
 - a) Rub soot on all our faces. (Hartsell, p. 80, & Hutt, p. 79)
- 22 Mukh lukāunu. (Chettri, p. 46)
 - a) Hide our heads. (Hartsell, p. 80)
 - b) Hide our faces. (Hutt, p. 79)
- 23 Kehī hāta nalāgnu. (Chettri, p. 48)
 - a) Have no luck. (Hartsell, p. 83)
 - b) See nothing. (Hutt, p. 82)
- 24 Suĩkuccā thoknu. (Chettri, p. 51)
 - a) To take to her heels. (Hartsell, p. 87, & Hutt, p. 87)
- 25 Kiriyā hālnu. (Chettri, p. 51)
 - a) Promise. (Hartsell, p. 87)
 - b) Swear. (Hutt, p. 88)
- 26 Abhar pārnu. (Chettri, p. 54)
 - a) Give trouble. (Hartsell, p. 92)
 - b) Desert. (Hutt, p. 91)
- 27 Ched hannu. (Chettri, p. 55)
 - a) Give trouble. (Hartsell, p. 93)

To taunt. (Hutt, p. 93)

K IJELR