THE FEASIBILITY OF EQUIVALENT RESPONSE:
TRANSLATING A PASHAI FOLKTALE INTO ENGLISH

MEGAN M. DAVIES

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Researcher: Megan M. Davies

Degree: Master of Arts in Linguistics

Advisor: Stephen H. Doty, Ph.D.

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Institution: Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

The members of the thesis examination committee:

1. ________________________________ Committee Chair
   (Adam Baker, Ph.D.)

2. ________________________________ Committee Member
   (Stephen H. Doty, Ph.D.)

3. ________________________________ Committee Member
   (Taeho Jang, Ph.D.)
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ABSTRACT

This paper takes the central goal of translation according to the theory of dynamic equivalence - equivalent response - and tests the feasibility of this goal in a situation of significant cultural differences. A folktale collected in the Southeast Pashai language of Afghanistan is translated into English in three different ways. The first is a normal meaning-based translation typical of dynamic equivalence. The second adjusts the text into a poetic form in an attempt to evoke a more light-hearted reception of the story. The third is an adaptation of the text where objectionable content is removed in order to make the story more acceptable to Westerners. The results of testing the response of the Pashai audience are presented, followed by the results of testing the response of the English-speaking audience for each of the three translations. After an analysis of the results, the paper concludes that none of the three translations achieve a fully equivalent response among English speakers compared to the Pashai response. Each translated version has at least one way in which its measured response is closer to approximating the original response than the other two versions, but none of the three comes close to equivalent response when taking all measures into account. This conclusion indicates that there are some situations in which equivalent response is not a reasonable or realistic goal for translation, although further research is warranted with additional texts and other languages.
ชื่อเรื่อง: ความเป็นไปได้ในการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียมกันของผู้ฟังเมื่อแปลเรื่องเล่าภาษาพาชชี่เป็นภาษาอังกฤษ
ผู้วิจัย: Megan M. Davies
ปริญญา: ศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต (ภาษาศาสตร์)
อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ดร.สตีเว่น โดธี
วันที่อนุมัติผลงาน: 1 พฤศจิกายน 2561
สถาบันการศึกษา: มหาวิทยาลัยพายัพ จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ ประเทศไทย
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บทคัดย่อ
งานวิจัยนี้ใช้วัตถุประสงค์หลักของการแปลตามทฤษฎีที่ตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียมและทดสอบความเป็นไปได้ของวัตถุประสงค์นี้ในสถานการณ์ที่มีความแตกต่างด้านวัฒนธรรมอย่างชัดเจน นิทานพื้นบ้านในภาษาพาชชี่จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ถูกแปลเป็นภาษาอังกฤษในสามรูปแบบที่แตกต่างกัน รูปแบบแรกคือการแปลโดยเน้นความหมายเป็นหลักโดยทั่วไป ซึ่งเป็นแบบฉบับของการเทียบเคียงต่างรูป รูปแบบที่สองคือการปรับข้อความให้อยู่ในรูปแนวคิดเพื่อกระตุ้นให้เกิดความรู้สึกเพลิดเพลินในเรื่องราวมากขึ้น รูปแบบที่สามคือการปรับเปลี่ยนข้อความโดยเน้นที่ไม่เหมาะสมถูกนับได้เพื่อทำให้เรื่องราวเป็นที่ยอมรับมากขึ้นที่ภาษาอังกฤษ รายงานวิจัยฉบับนี้นำเสนอผลของการทดลองการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ในสถานการณ์ที่มีความแตกต่างด้านวัฒนธรรมและวัฒนธรรมที่รุ่นผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่เมื่อเปรียบเทียบกับการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษ เมื่อเปรียบเทียบกับการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ พบว่ามีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมแต่ละรูปแบบมีความแตกต่างกัน แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมและเหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการตอบสนองอย่างเท่าเทียม เมื่อเทียบกับการแปลแบบต่าง ๆ ที่มีในการทดลอง รายงานวิจัยนี้สรุปได้ว่าการแปลที่เหมาะสมที่สุดขึ้นอาจมีการแปลรูปแบบที่เหมาะสมกับสถานการณ์ที่ผู้พูดภาษาอังกฤษใช้ในการตอบสนองจากผู้พูดภาษาพาชชี่ที่เหมาะสมกับการแปลแต่ละรูปแบบ แต่ไม่มีการแปลที่ใดที่มีการ回答
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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Background and Rationale
Southeast Pashai is a variety of the Pashai language spoken primarily in Dara-i Noor district, Nangarhar province in Afghanistan. In this paper, the name “Pashai” is referring specifically to this variety of Pashai, not to the varieties of Pashai found in other provinces of Afghanistan. Southeast Pashai is believed to have around 180,000 speakers, less than 20% of whom are literate in any language (Simons and Fennig, 2018). Given such low literacy rates, oral storytelling is regarded as a highly valued and important part of the culture.

Afghanistan as a country and Nangarhar province in particular have been plagued by ongoing violence and warfare since the Soviet invasion in 1979. Though the actors and dynamics of warfare have changed over the decades, the threat and reality of violence and death has continued through the present time for most residents of Nangarhar province. Warfare is not the only part of life that makes death an ever-present reality for Afghan people – according to the CIA World Factbook (2018), the country has the highest infant mortality rate in the world, which is often attributed to poor health and lack of access to quality medical facilities. Notably, the country is also listed as having one of the lowest life expectancies in the world – an average of 51.7 years according to The World Factbook’s 2017 estimate. Keeping all this in mind, it is perhaps unsurprising that death, forming such a significant part of the lives of Afghan people, would find its way into the stories and folklore passed down over the years.

The author of this study spent more than two years living in Nangarhar province of Afghanistan working with Pashai speakers to develop literacy materials for their language. Part of this work included the collection and transcription of Pashai oral stories. Out of several dozen stories collected from community members, Pashai staff in the literacy project pointed out one as being the best of all of them. One staff member could not type the story without repeated bursts of laughter. The strong positive reactions this story elicited among Pashai led the author to choose it to
work with for an assignment in the class Linguistic Principles of Translation at Payap University in 2017. Testing a draft of the translation with a handful of English speakers made it quickly obvious that the story was considered neither enjoyable nor funny by the readers. Instead, the English audience described feeling “shocked and disturbed” by the elements of violence present in the story. The fact that the story elicited such strong reactions in both audiences, and that the reactions were so contrary to each other, left the author desiring to do further research with this story. It was also concerning to the author that, given a sociopolitical climate in many Western countries where fear of Muslims and violence perpetrated by Muslims is all too common, a translation of the story in question could unintentionally lead to the reinforcement of such negative stereotypes. This initial class project and its results led to the current study and an attempt to better understand the feasibility of “equivalent response.”

Undoubtedly, any translator who has been translating for long at all will encounter texts that elicit notably different responses between the source and receptor audiences. This study takes a text that evokes exceptionally different responses and explores ways that that gap might possibly be bridged. It is the hope of the author that this exploration and its results might provoke further thought, discussion, and ideas for researchers and for translators working with texts and cultural contexts that seem to defy equivalent response.

1.2 Research Questions and Hypotheses
This study seeks to better understand the applicability and limitations of the theory of dynamic equivalence in a situation of extreme cultural divergence between source and receptor audiences, specifically regarding the goal of eliciting an equivalent response in both audiences. It sets out to determine the way that modifications to the form (through poetic rendering) and to the content of the text (through the removal of death and intentional violence) affect receptor response. It also seeks to better understand the extent to which equivalent response can be reasonably expected in the given context.
With these goals in mind, this study addresses the following questions:

1. To what degree will a normal meaning-based translation of a Pashai folktale into English elicit an equivalent response as the original to a Pashai audience?
2. To what degree will a translation of the same text using a poetic form in an effort to soften its presentation and minimize cultural dissonance elicit an equivalent response?
3. To what degree will a translation of the same text in which objectionable elements are adjusted to become more acceptable to the audience elicit an equivalent response?

With regard to these research questions, I propose the following hypotheses:

1. A normal meaning-based translation will elicit a response that is highly dissimilar from the response of the original Pashai audience.
2. A translation of the text using a poetic form will achieve a significantly closer equivalent response than a normal meaning-based translation.
3. A translation that removes objectionable elements to be more acceptable to the audience will achieve a slightly more equivalent response than the normal meaning-based translation, but not as much as the poetic rendering.

1.1 Methodology
The Pashai folktale used in this study was collected in written form through a writing workshop for Pashai teachers in Nangarhar, Afghanistan in 2016. The first English version (the most literal, preserving both form and content) was translated by the author with the help of two Pashai speakers. The second and third versions were later translated by the author alone.

Testing of the Pashai text with Pashai speakers was completed in two stages. The first took place in St. Louis, Missouri, USA using the method of participant observation. The author read the text aloud to groups of women and children and recorded their visible and audible reactions afterwards. The author was reading from the text written in the Pashai orthography, which resulted in a telling that was not highly emotive in nature (largely due to the concentration required to read the text) and prone to some errors of pronunciation. The reactions of nine different participants were evaluated in this way. Each was a native speaker of Pashai, and
only three of the nine spoke any English. Five of the participants had immigrated to the U.S. within the two years prior, which the other four had immigrated around eight years prior. None of the participants had heard this particular story before, but many indicated that it was similar to others they had heard.

The second stage of Pashai testing took place in Nangarhar province, Afghanistan. The author asked a native Pashai speaker to share the story with other native speakers and ask three questions of a qualitative nature. This was done with ten participants. The use of a questionnaire and questions of a quantitative nature was deemed an ineffective and unreliable way of gathering information about the audience’s response due to a lack of formal education among the participant sample. Thus, participant observation and qualitative questions were the primary method of information collection.

Testing of the English translations was completed in Chiang Mai, Thailand. Native speakers of English listened to an audio recording of the English translation while the author discreetly observed their reactions using participant observation and recorded any audible or visible reactions after the testing was completed. Once the audio recording finished playing, the respondents filled out a questionnaire about the story (included in Appendix D). Questions of both qualitative and quantitative nature were included and respondents were asked to provide a rationale for their answers. The qualitative questions were the same as those asked of the Pashai audience in Afghanistan. For each of the three versions, the author tested 12 respondents with equal representation of male and female, old and young. In total, there were 36 participants. The questionnaire responses as well as the author’s observation of the respondent’s reactions while listening to the recording were compiled and analyzed to determine the results of the study.
Chapter 2
Review of Relevant Literature

This chapter gives a brief overview of literature relevant to the topic of the present study. It addresses the translation theory of dynamic equivalence, the debate between domesticating and foreignizing translations, studies of translations from Asian to Western cultures, and translation strategies applied to the specific genres of folklore and humorous texts.

2.1 Dynamic Equivalence

Equivalence has long been held up as the ultimate aim of translation, but the type of equivalence that translators should strive for is an ongoing topic of discussion among scholars. Hong-Tae Jang (2000) describes the variety of notions of equivalence in the following way:

“This goal [of equivalence], however, varies depending on widely differing motivations, such as linguistic, communicative, philosophical, and technological targets. In consequence, the notion of equivalence has been defined in a multitude of ways, in a huge amount of literature. Being aware of this, Baker (1993) declares that the question is no longer how equivalence might be achieved but, increasingly, what kind of equivalence can be achieved, and in what contexts” (p. 15).

One theory of equivalence that has been influential in literature is that of dynamic equivalence, first proposed by Eugene Nida (1964) in his book Towards a Science of Translating. In this work, he introduces dynamic equivalence by placing it in contrast to formal equivalence. Formal equivalence has an orientation towards the source text and seeks to reproduce as much of the form and content of the original as possible (Nida, 1964, p. 165). Among translations of the Bible, the King James Version is an example of the use of formal equivalence. In dynamic equivalence, “the focus of attention is directed, not so much toward the source message, as toward the receptor response” (Nida, 1964, p. 166). Here, the aim is to reproduce the same response in the receptor audience as the source audience would have
towards the original message. Achieving complete naturalness in the receptor language is also a high value in dynamic equivalence (Nida, 1964, p. 159). A translation of the Bible that exemplifies dynamic equivalence is the Good News Bible. Nida expresses a preference for dynamic equivalence over formal equivalence, explicitly recommending that translators prioritize dynamic equivalence in his preface to the book *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Nida and Taber, 1982).

Various scholars have been critical of the theory of dynamic equivalence. It is described as being too dependent on guesswork – in the translation process, the translator imagines what the reader’s response would be and shapes their translation accordingly to produce the desired response (Hu, 1992). Such guesswork is hardly a reliable method of actually producing an equivalent response in the reader. Similarly, dynamic equivalence is limited by its vagueness as to how receptor response is identified and measured (Jang, 2000). Another criticism is that the theory lacks nuance in the wide variety of responses possible by different readers of a single text (Hu, 1992). Other scholars have questioned whether equivalent receptor response is actually possible when translating between contexts that are highly divergent (Evans and Krajewska, 2006), especially given Nida and Taber’s constraint that only linguistic implicatures should be made explicit, not cultural ones (Gutt, 1991). A criticism of dynamic equivalence and the related strategy of domesticating translation on ethical grounds is discussed in the next section.

2.2 Domestication vs. Foreignization

The theory of dynamic equivalence is often connected with the strategy of domestication in literature, though they are not interchangeable. Domestication is a translation strategy which aims to produce a text that is “at home” in the receptor language and culture (Elnaili, 2016, p. 22). The focus on equivalent response among readers is not as prevalent as it is with dynamic equivalence, but a strong value for naturalness and fluency is common to both. Friedrich Schleiermacher reflected on the strategy of domestication and how it contrasts with that of foreignization in the following way: “Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him” (Lefevere, 1977, p. 74). By the nature of the task, a translator is attempting to cross a divide between languages and cultures that are often substantially different from each other, and some flexibility will be necessary on one side or the other. With domestication, as well as the theory
of dynamic equivalence, the burden of flexibility lies more on the side of the source language to best accommodate the target language audience.

A number of scholars have responded with criticism to the strategy of domestication in recent decades. In the seminal work *The Translator’s Invisibility* (1995), Lawrence Venuti both warns against the dangers of domestication and promotes the strategy of foreignization as the ethically responsible approach. According to Venuti, domestication is responsible for committing “ethnocentric violence” against the source text, language, and culture (p. 21). Foreignization, in contrast, places the greater burden of flexibility on the receptor audience. It is the first of the options described by Lefevere above. Venuti pushes translators to consider foreignization over domestication because it is “a strategic cultural intervention in the current state of world affairs... a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism” (p. 20). As an example of foreignization, Venuti cites the following English translations of an Italian poem by Cavalcanti (p. 193):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source (Cavalcanti)</th>
<th>Minimal Archaism</th>
<th>Maximal Archaism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chi è questa che vien, ch’ogni uom la mira,</td>
<td>Who is she coming, whom all gaze upon,</td>
<td>Who is she coming, drawing all men’s gaze,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Che fa di clarità l’aer tremare!</td>
<td>Who makes the air all tremulous with light,</td>
<td>Who makes the air one trembling clarity,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossetti</td>
<td>Pound</td>
<td>Pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pound</td>
<td>Pound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1 Foreignization of an Italian Poem (Venuti, 1995)*

Both of the translators (Rossetti and Pound) employed at least some stylistic archaism to their texts, but Rossetti applied it minimally. The result is a fluent text that approaches domestication. Pound’s translations employ increasing levels of archaism and are thus increasingly foreignized, with the final example employing intentional misspellings to give it the most archaic feel. Archaism is only one example of a wide variety of strategies that can be used to increase foreignization but Venuti views it as being sufficient to resist ethnocentric violence to the text.

Since 1995 and the release of Venuti’s book, ethical concerns have become a central point of consideration in much of the literature on translation studies, particularly in research regarding translation between languages in societies of unequal power...
dynamics. Though the question of domestication versus foreignization in particular has surged as a major debate among translation scholars, the two concepts are not always viewed in a polarized way. In a study of different translations of the tales of Sinbad from *One Thousand and One Nights* (commonly known in English as *The Arabian Nights*) Elnaili (2016) finds that the most successful of four translations (based on positive response from readers and scholars) employed both strategies - the meaning of the story was foreignized, but it was presented in a domesticated form. That is, a foreign concept was worded in a way that was natural in the receptor language. Anthony Pym (1996), questions whether foreignizing translators ever gain a large enough readership to achieve the reduction of ethnocentrism they aim for, but concedes that Venuti himself may be an exception to this and emphasizes the importance of discussing the ethical concerns raised by theorists in support of foreignization.

### 2.3 Translation from Asian to Western cultures

This section discusses literature on the translation of texts from Asian to Western cultures, with particular focus on Islamic cultures and the Indian subcontinent.

The theme that shows up repeatedly in literature on the translation of texts from both Islamic cultures and from the Indian subcontinent is that of a master discourse. A master discourse is essentially a stereotype of a group of people that shapes all dialogue about that group in literature and in other media in a society. It sets a framework for all discussion of a people that are in at least some way foreign and unknown to those discussing them.

Said Faiq (2007) explains that since the 1800s, the West has developed a particular lens through which Islamic societies are viewed – most notably that they are prone to violence – and that texts selected for translation nearly always conform to this view of Islamic cultures. Beyond text selection, the strategies employed during translation also tend to strengthen and reinforce the violence present in the texts. In this way, a master discourse is developed. Faiq says,

> “There have surely been genuine attempts by many Western journalists, critics, and intellectuals to cut through stereotypical portrayals of the Arabs and Islam and to challenge and even disturb the master discourse and its norms for translation from Arabic and writing about the Arabs and Islam, but they are usually overwhelmed by the ubiquity of the dominant discourse that
provides the frames within which representations take place….It seems the West has already decided that Arab and Islamic cultures have nothing of substance to offer modern history. Translation from it, therefore, remains prisoner of nineteenth century images and representations.” (p. 6)

The development and perpetuation of a master discourse through translation is not unique to Arab or Islamic cultures. Mahasweta Sengupta (1996) goes back to the colonial period of the Indian subcontinent to evaluate how the translation of texts into English perpetuated selective images and a master discourse of that region. In this case, the British viewed India as being exotic, other-worldly, spiritual, simple, and uncivilized. This discourse of Indian culture became so strong that even Indian authors and poets modified translations of their own texts into English in order to emphasize elements that conformed to this view.

Both Faiq and Sengupta draw out the unequal power dynamics that are intertwined with the production and reproduction of a master discourse. It is the means by which a politically or economically dominant society attempts to simplify the ‘other’ while at the same time reinforcing and justifying its own supposed superiority.

2.4 The role of genre in translation

This section discusses literature on how the genre of a text impacts the way in which it is translated, specifically focusing on the genres of folklore and humorous texts.

2.4.1 Translation of folklore

It is not unusual for both translators and scholars alike to suggest a connection between the text type and the manner in which it is translated. Fiction, for example, may be viewed as having greater freedom (or at least a different type of freedom) in the translation process than nonfiction as a result of having an inherently different relationship with the truth. The translation of folktales, as a specific genre under the category of fiction, has occasionally been a subject of study for researchers.

In “Crossing Boundaries: The Translation and Cultural Adaptation of Folk Narratives” (1998), Klaus Roth notes that studies of the translation of folklore have been conspicuously lacking from relevant academic fields, including folkloristics, cultural anthropology, and linguistics. In an attempt to begin to fill this gap, Roth offers an overview of different types of folklore translation and important points to
consider regarding folklore translation. He observes that throughout history, domestication and dynamic approaches to translation, often introducing changes extensive enough to be deemed adaptations rather than translations, are the norm for folkloric texts as they cross cultural and linguistic boundaries. He goes so far as to suggest that a literal or foreignized translation goes against the very nature of folklore as a genre (p. 249). Nevertheless, Roth is well aware of the ethical and political dimension of folklore translation, related to the discussion of a master discourse in section 2.3: “Popular translations of myths and tales, of songs and epics have often portrayed other peoples in rather simplified terms and have coined lasting images of them as heroic or primitive, as treacherous or naive, as peaceful or brutal” (p. 248). Folklore translation typically happens between cultures and languages with a history of colonialism or hegemonic relations, and the nature of these power relationships undoubtedly plays a role in the translation process.

Ibrahim Muhawi is among the more prolific researchers of folklore translation. He often stresses the role of orality and the performance of folktales and draws a close connection, perhaps even an equivalence, between the oral performance and the translation of folklore (Muhawi, 2006). He suggests that oral and literate dimensions are best viewed on a continuum rather than as a binary set, and offers the following theory: “a folkloristic theory of equivalence must posit a two-way movement across the phonic/graphic continuum. In translation, the oral becomes literate, while the newly created written version harkens back phonically to its oral double” (p. 3). This essentially suggests that folklore in written form should be an echo of the oral performance. He also encourages the use of “thick translation,” which uses all available means to impart meaning to the audience outside of the text itself. Often this is done through paratext, explanatory material that surrounds the text in the form of footnotes, an introduction, or another similar strategy, but the use of paratext is not as practical for performative texts such as folktales. Other ideas for a thick translation include the use of writing conventions to indicate pauses, intensity, and loudness of speech or using iconography, whereby visual images take on a symbolic nature to impart meaning to the text (p. 6). An example is given of quotations from the Qur’an surrounded by floral patterns and artistic designs that are significant to the interpretation of the religious text. In an earlier article, Muhawi makes the proposition that the very possibility of translating folktales is dependent upon a shared genre between cultures (2000, p. 105). Thus, folktales cannot be translated into a language that has no category for folktales. This may possibly be extended to suggest that a particular folktale cannot be successfully or
adequately translated if it does not match the criteria for folklore in the receptor language.

2.4.2 Translation of humor

The translation of the genre of humorous texts, not unlike folklore, has only recently begun to be addressed by scholars in the literature. Delia Chiaro wrote her article “Verbally Expressed Humor and Translation” (2008) in response to this gap in the literature that she had observed. The term “verbally expressed humor” (VEH) is understood to include both written and spoken texts that are intended to be humorous in nature. Chiaro assumes that when translating VEH, translators have the purpose of retaining the humor present in the source text. To achieve this, she notes that it is almost never possible to translate in a way that is also considered highly accurate or literal. Chiaro encourages an approach to translating VEH that retains the underlying principles and values of the text (along with the humor) but sacrifices the formal equivalence of the text as much as needed to achieve the larger aims. The following British English joke translation and back-translation demonstrate the extent of change VEH might undergo, and yet still maintain an acceptable degree of equivalence by Chiaro’s analysis (p. 583, 584):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Back translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What do they write on the bottom of Guinness bottles in Ireland?</td>
<td><em>Warum ist die österreichische Flagge oben und unten rot?</em></td>
<td>Why is the Austrian flag made up of two red stripes and a white stripe in the middle?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open other end.</td>
<td><em>Damit man sie auf jeden Fall richtig aufhängt.</em></td>
<td>So that the Austrians don’t hang it upside down.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this example, the core elements retained in translation are the potential for confusion regarding the direction of an object, the selection of a country relevant to speakers of the language of the joke, and the supposed tendency for citizens of that country to be easily confused. According to Chiaro, if the translation will be viewed as a joke by the receptor audience and it shares the same underlying principles, the translator is justified in the changes made. Chiaro summarizes her approach to translating humor of any type (whether jokes, satire, parody, riddles, etc.) in the following way: “If a translation of VEH is necessary, it seems only fair that the
means should justify the functional ends of attempts to amuse even if formal equivalence is compromised” (p. 589). Francisco Yus, like Chiaro, shares the view that the preservation of humor is sufficiently important to allow for significant changes to the text. Yus stresses that the pragmatic scenario, specifically the inferential steps used to arrive at the humorous effect, should be preserved while the semantic and cultural elements may be altered if necessary (2012, p. 8).

Jeroen Vandaele describes the unique challenges of translating humor in his article “Humor in translation” (2010). Generally something is found humorous when an expectation or norm is built up and subsequently broken. However, translation of humor becomes problematic given that different cultural and social frameworks operate under different sets of norms and expectations. An implicitly shared set of cultural knowledge forms the foundation for most types of humor, and this type of information cannot be transferred to a new culture and language through a translated text (p. 150). Vandaele suggests these challenges place humorous texts in a category similar to poetry – a category with a relatively low potential for translatability (p. 149).

The genre of humor itself can be categorized in a variety of ways. Buijzen and Valkenburg (2004) identify 41 distinct techniques that can be grouped into seven categories in their typology of humor. Three of the categories (slapstick, satire, and irony) involve a type of humor that is described as “unfriendly and pungent” (p. 162). A variety of the humor techniques used in these categories (irreverent behavior, malicious pleasure, ridicule, sexual allusion, stereotype, etc.) make use of situations and behaviors deemed unacceptable, unpleasant, or taboo by society under normal circumstances. For certain kinds of humor, it is the taboo nature of the subject itself that gives the potential for humor.

The connection between humor and the subject of death is particularly complex in American culture. Researcher Keith Durkin states that America has been described as an increasingly death-denying culture since the end of World War II by many scholars, citing DeSpelder and Strickland, 2002; Leming and Dickinson, 2002; Mannino, 1997; Oaks and Ezell, 1993; Umberson and Henderson, 1992 as examples. It is pointed out that specific isolated locations such as nursing homes and hospitals have been reserved for the dying process to facilitate the ability of the rest of society to deny or ignore death as a subject (Durkin, 2003, p. 43). When death does occur, the arrangements for burial are largely handled by funeral homes rather than by the
immediate family members. Although American society tends to deny the reality of death, the subject does show up in humorous material in America. Durkin (2003) states that “humor is a mechanism that allows for the violation of taboos regarding the discussion of death-related topics” (p. 46). Jokes that revolve around death, particularly violent death or the death of specific groups of people, are offensive to some people. Death humor is sometimes called “sick humor.” Studies carried out to determine a correlation between psychological traits and the appreciation of sick humor found that the people who appreciate sick humor are more “rebellious (Oppliger and Zillmann, 1997), liberal (Herzog and Karafa, 1998), and low in emotional responsiveness” than those who do not appreciate sick humor (Saroglou and Anciaux, 2004, p. 258).
Chapter 3  
“The Bald Boy” – The Pashai Text and Response

The text used for this study is known literally as “The Story of the Baldy” when being referred to by Pashai speakers. It fits into a fairly common genre of stories found across the languages of Afghanistan and the wider region which revolve around a central character who is foolish, lacking in common sense, and yet still employs an unconventional sort of cleverness or wisdom by which he tricks or outwits those around him. This is called the trickster genre of folklore (Karabas, 1990, p. 299). Perhaps the most famous stories of this genre are Mullah Nasruddin Khoja stories, which are found across much of Asia. These stories are described as blending humor and critical thinking (Ozdemir, 2010, p. 27). The critical thinking stimulated by the stories is likely linked to the unconventional cleverness or wisdom displayed by the main character, causing listeners to reconsider the conventional understandings of these concepts that they may hold. The story at the center of this study, for example, could cause listeners to question whether wrong actions necessarily result in bad consequences. During the testing of “The Bald Boy” story in Pashai, one respondent followed up the telling of the story by sharing a Mullah Nasruddin story that had come to her mind. In this story, the Mullah took his old, lazy donkey to the market to sell, sold it for a low price, and then bought it back again for a high price after realizing he had overlooked its fine qualities when the seller gave it such loud, enthusiastic praise.

The complete original text and back translation of the “The Bald Boy” story can be found in Appendices A and B respectively, however one episode of the text is presented here as a sample for the reader. The back translation is a highly literal translation that does not aim for naturalness in English, rather it aims to give the English reader as close as possible to a word-for-word rendering of the source text. Parentheses in the back translation indicate linguistic information implicit in the source text.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Back Translation</th>
<th>Pashai Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baldy said to his mother, “Where do I put the load?” Angry because loads get put at home, his mother said, “Put (it on) my head.” Baldy hung the load (on) his mother's head. Mother got badly hurt and died. After a little bit of thinking, Baldy set his mother upright on a donkey and left the donkey (to be) in a farmer's (ripened) crops. He hid himself in a lower field. The farmer's gaze arrived at the donkey, that a woman is sitting on the donkey and the donkey is hungry (eating) in my (ripened) crops. The farmer yelled, “Hey, woman, move your donkey because it ate my (ripened) crops.” The farmer got angry that this woman does not move her donkey. The farmer yelled again “Hey, woman, I am saying to you to move your donkey from my (ripened) crops. If I came there, I will kill you.” The woman is silent and the donkey continues eating the (ripened) crops. The farmer got even angrier that the woman completely disregards his shouting. He ran and hit the woman on the donkey with a shovel and the woman fell from on top of the donkey to the ground. Baldy got up from the low field and said to the farmer, “Hey you killed my mom. I will also kill you like that.” The farmer said, “It's ok, don't kill me. I will give you a lot of wealth, I will give you my daughter, and I will do (host) the wedding.” Baldy said “Ok.”</td>
<td>لبیا آیستا آنی مبیکن “ویهای چئو جامی؟” آیستا خاریذی کی ویهای لاما جین با مبیکن &quot;شیرام جاینا&quot;. لبیا بار آیستا شیری اوچیکی آی ناکار لاریجا او لیچ لبیا کم کوی بیکر دی باد ناپک آی نهغکا کریا شیرا نیلچیان او کریا ابکی دیئکس پیلسنتا کریج ابیکین او نابلیکی ابکی گمبا کیا کریجا کایک. دیئکس نزوری کریا شیرا پیلسنتا کیا مادا کریا شیرا نیوی آس او کریا پیلسنتا کریج آئو او زیخی اواز کریج &quot;ای مادا ابیمی کریستسی دیئیکا کی پیشلام ابیچان&quot;. دیشان خاریبکی کی یہو مادا کریستسی یی دیئیکی دیئکسی گیری اواز کریج &quot;ای مادا نیبانتی مدی کریستسی پیلسنتی دیئیکا اگا ابکیم ماریکسی&quot;. مادا ذیکآس او کریا خارل پیشینی ابی. دیشان زیی بی خار بیک کی مادا بیلکولی آواز جینی یکی آمبلا نیک او کریا شیرای مادا شیریا پیلسنتی دی آنبچان او مادا کریا شیری سئنگا چئین لیبا گمبا کیا تی آومی بیک او دیشان آئینی مبیکن &quot;اپ تسنیمی آیام مارزیبا&quot;. مم بی مبیخون شیری ماریکسی دیئکسی مبیکن &quot;گیر شی&quot; مم ما مارام بیکا دؤلت بی دمی آی اوپرستم بی ذمی او گؤارلو بیکم کم. لبیا مبیکن &quot;سین شی&quot;.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This episode demonstrates the nature of violence that is present throughout the story, as well as the main character’s typical approach to handling different situations.

The response of Pashai speakers to this story was determined through two methods: participant observation and collecting responses to qualitative questions. With participant observation, the author read the story aloud to small groups on three occasions and recorded whether people smiled, laughed, and any other comments or verbal reactions expressed by the audience. A total of nine individuals listened to the story. Of these, eight were female and one male. Three were considered older (around 30 years old and above) and five were under 30. Only one of the participants had completed secondary education (this was also the only male participant). Some of the same women were present for multiple tellings of the story. In these cases, the person’s response to their first hearing of the story was recorded. A summary of responses observed is displayed in Figure 4 below.

![Observed Pashai reactions](image)

**Figure 4 Observed Pashai reactions**

All of the respondents smiled and a large majority (89%) laughed. Aside from these two reactions, the most common response among participants was to share another story that came to mind upon listening to “The Bald Boy.” Of all respondents, 44% volunteered a story of their own. Of those that did, half interrupted the telling of “The Bald Boy” story to share their own story, while the other half shared their story after the conclusion of “The Bald Boy.” Even in the case of interruptions, sharing of other stories were deemed to indicate participants’ engagement and connection with the original story.

One participant, the only one who did not laugh, expressed concern that the story gave a poor impression of the people and country of Afghanistan due to the violence and lack of consequences for wrongdoing. This same participant was the only male studied through participant observation and also had the most exposure to and interaction with Westerners. Another participant commented, “You can really tell
that this is one of our stories!” She then explained that certain lexical items used in the telling convinced her of its authenticity.

For the evaluation of the Pashai response through question and answers, respondents were asked by a native speaker to give verbal feedback to the following questions: “How would you describe the bald boy?” “What is the purpose of this story?” “Do you have any other thoughts or opinions about the story?” These questions were asked to 10 native speakers – 6 male and 4 female. All responded to the question about the bald boy. Only one of the ten gave an answer regarding the purpose of the story. Possible explanations for the lack of answers regarding the purpose of the story include the following: The respondents were uncertain of its purpose; the question was not considered important or relevant; the interviewer did not in fact ask this question to some or most of the participants; a combination of the aforementioned reasons. The one respondent who did give an answer about the purpose of the story stated that it was a simple story from a former era, and that at some point someone wrote it down so that people could always remember it. In essence, its purpose is to be learned and shared with others.

In describing the bald boy, the most common word used by respondents would best be translated into English as *tfali* “cunning” or “crafty.” The Pashai word is a derivation of the word *tfal* “ruse” or “trick.” The derivational suffix –*i* turns the word into an adjective, describing a person who will commonly pull a ruse on others. Four of ten respondents described him in this way. The next most common words to describe him were *qismat dar* “lucky” and *sada* “simple-minded/naïve,” each used by two people. Other ways by which the boy was less commonly described were: *larwata* “liar”, *bo ala i plan dʒopegala* “a very good planner”, *hunjiar* “clever”, *fikr kojk ke ja dunia kocha kiula mom baed tam* “he thought that only he should exist in the world” and *tanik andewalinsa fira bakar tam nɔ kagin* “He didn’t treat his friends well.” It is worth noting that the most commonly used words assign minimal (if any) moral responsibility or culpability to the boy for his actions in the story. In fact, a character presented as simple-minded, naïve, and lucky is one on whom blame cannot or should not be placed because he is innocent and simply prone to have things work out in his favor. Being viewed as a trickster does present the boy with a much more agentive role, but it also does not indicate a strong judgement on the morality of the bald boy’s tricks. Some of the less common descriptions (such as “liar” and “he didn’t treat his friends well”) do offer a more critical view of the boy. However, the less common descriptions also affirm the boy’s cleverness and
planning abilities. Thus the Pashai view of the bald boy, while complex, is not primarily one that stands in moral judgment of the boy’s character or actions in the story. It corresponds well with the archetypical central figure of the ‘trickster’ genre described above in seeing the bald boy as somewhat hapless or lacking common sense, yet also possessing cleverness through which he outwits the other characters in the story.

In summary, this study is based on a Pashai text that fits into the trickster genre of folklore. When the text was tested on Pashai speakers, all of them smiled, a large majority laughed, and nearly half shared other stories that came to their mind. When asked questions about the story, respondents focused on the character of the bald boy, describing him primarily as a trickster who is also simple-minded and lucky.
Chapter 4

English Translations and Testing of “The Bald Boy”

This chapter looks at each of the three English versions of “The Bald Boy” text. It first examines the process by which each one was translated and then presents the results of the testing of each version with native English speakers.

4.1 Version 1 – Normal Meaning-Based Translation

Out of the three English versions of “The Bald Boy” tested for this study, the first is the most literal translation of the original Pashai text. It is the result of a prioritization of accuracy in the translation process, while also striving for high levels of naturalness and clarity in English. It is an attempt at a fairly conventional application of the theory of dynamic equivalence.

4.1.1 Translation process

This version was initially drafted as a part of a class assignment for Linguistic Principles of Translation in 2017 at Payap University. The author completed a first draft alone, then asked two native Pashai speakers who are also highly proficient in English to review the translation for accuracy. A number of adjustments were made based on their corrections and recommendations. The full content of Version 1 can be found in Appendix C. In Figure 5 below, a portion of the translation is presented for comparison with the back translation.
The farmer sent the complete deal (agreement) of the baldy to his (Baldy’s) house. The adolescents were surprised and asked Baldy, “Where did you make (get) the new clothes, this wife, and lots of money?” Baldy said to the adolescents, “I killed my mom and sold her in the bazaar. (Then) all these things happened. You kill your mothers also and sell them that you might fix your lives.”

Soon after, the farmer sent everything he had promised to the boy’s house. When the seven boys heard, they were shocked and went to ask him where it had all come from. He explained to them “I killed my mom, took her body to the bazaar and sold it. Then I used that money to buy everything. You know, you guys ought to do the same thing! You could solve a lot of your problems with the amount of money you’d make by selling your moms’ bodies!”

Although Version 1 was translated with the intent of maintaining a high level of accuracy, the reader will notice upon examination of Figure 5 that adjustments were also made to achieve naturalness and clarity in English that would be lost in a more formal translation. For example, participant reference has been adjusted to accommodate standard conventions of English usage. The Pashai text tends to avoid pronouns in participant reference, repeatedly identifying the main character as “Baldy” and his friends as “the adolescents.” While this is natural in Pashai, it is not in English. Thus in Version 1, after establishing the referent, the author chose to make more extensive use of the third person pronouns “he” and “they.” This increases the naturalness of the text without affecting its accuracy.

An example of a change made to increase clarity can also be observed in Figure 5. Note the rationale that the bald boy gives to the others for why they should kill their mothers. In the back translation, the bald boy says, “You kill your mothers also and sell them that you might fix your lives.” Though common in Pashai, the expression of “fixing one’s life” is not one that has makes sense in English in this context, although it is grammatically permissible. To clarify the meaning of this expression, information implicit to the original statement is made explicit, and presented in a way to help an English audience better understand why the bald boy is making such a suggestion. The rationale is adjusted to say, “You could solve a lot of your problems with the money you’d make by selling your moms’ bodies!” As with the previous example, the accuracy of the original text has been preserved, which is the first priority of this translation. However, to the extent that the naturalness and
clarity of the text could be increased without reducing its accuracy, the author implemented such changes.

### 4.1.2 Results of testing

The response of native English speakers to Version 1 of “The Bald Boy” was tested in two ways: through participant observation and through a questionnaire with both qualitative and quantitative questions. The questionnaire can be found in Appendix D. Both methods were used with 12 participants; of the 12, three were men age 40 or older, three were women age 40 or older, three were men under 40 and three were women under 40. The youngest participant was 23 and the oldest was 72. The participant pool is intended to be roughly representative of the adult, English-speaking population found in Chiang Mai, Thailand. A more extended discussion of the limitations related to this sample can be found in section 6.2 “Limitations of the Study.”

Using the method of participant observation, the author discreetly observed participants while they listened to an audio recording of Version 1 of “The Bald Boy” and recorded whether participants laughed and/or smiled. The author also recorded any verbal comments participants made during or immediately after listening to the story. The results of these observations are quantified below in Figure 6.

![Figure 6 Observed Reactions to Version 1](image)

Figure 6 shows the percentage of participants who laughed, smiled, or shared a story of their own when they listened to Version 1 of “The Bald Boy.” 67% of participants audibly laughed and 50% smiled while listening. Given that a significant percentage (44%) of Pashai participants had immediately followed or interrupted a telling of “The Bald Boy” with a related story that came to their mind, the author evaluated whether any English-speaking participants did the same. However, none of these
participants responded by sharing a story that came to their mind. This stands in clear contrast to the response of the Pashai audience. Readers may reasonably wonder how it is possible to have results where the amount of laughter was greater than the amount of smiling; some of the laughter seemed to be connected to an emotion of surprise rather than pure humor, and the corresponding facial expressions observed (big eyes, raised eyebrows) could not be identified as smiles. After listening to the story, four of the participants made exclamations indicating shock or surprise (e.g. “Wow!” or “Oh my gosh!”) while two of the participants commented that it was a funny story.

Answers to the questionnaire offer a fuller picture of participants’ response to the story. When asked in an open-ended question to describe the character of the bald boy, the most common words used were “clever” and some variation of “self-centered,” “selfish,” or “narcissistic,” (all of which were considered to express essentially the same concept). Five different participants described the bald boy as “clever” and the same number described him as “self-centered.” The next most common words used to describe him were “conniving,” “cruel,” and “cunning.” These descriptions were used by two participants each.

In another open-ended question, participants were asked to share which specific parts of the story stood out to them. The bald boy’s treatment of his mother (killing her) was by far the most common response to this question. Seven different people noted it in their answer.

When asked what the main point or purpose of the story was, there was not a clear consensus among participants. Three thought it showed that you should not let yourself be taken advantage of, three others thought it was an example of finding success in difficult circumstances, and two thought that there was no point or purpose to the story.

Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a series of descriptions of the story as a whole. 12 different adjectives were listed and participants circled a number from 1 (strong disagreement) to 5 (strong agreement) for each adjective to show how well it fit the story. The 12 participants’ responses were compiled and averaged for each of the descriptors. Those descriptors that received an average of 4 or above or 2 or below are presented in Figure 7 below.
In Figure 7, it can be observed that participants on average were in agreement that the story was interesting, disturbing, surprising, and violent. At an average of 4.17 out of 5, participants indicated the strongest agreement that the story was disturbing. Participants indicated the strongest disagreement that the story was boring, with an average of 1.5 out of 5. Age and gender did not seem to have a significant effect on the results of this portion of the questionnaire – averages remained relatively consistent across all demographics. It is possible that the nationality of the participants affected the results, although the sample size is too small to draw any generalizations. Of the 12 people, six were from the United States, three from New Zealand, two from the United Kingdom, and one from Canada. The participants from the United Kingdom rated the story much more highly for how funny and entertaining it was (5 and 4.5 respectively) when compared to the participants of other nationalities. Other nationalities rated the story on average 3.2 for being funny and 3.5 for being entertaining. It could be worthwhile to test the story with a larger number of participants from the United Kingdom to see if they do in fact consistently rank the story as more funny than English speakers of other nationalities. A 1989 study of the use and perception of humor in U.K. advertising as compared to U.S. advertising supports the notion of a difference in the humor between the two groups. The study concludes that U.K. participants demonstrate “a more accepting attitude toward the use of humor, and a broader view of the potential uses of humor” than their U.S. counterparts (Weinberger & Spotts, 1989, p. 39). Although the 1989 study only evaluated humor in the context of advertising, it suggests that the distinctive results of U.K. participants in the present research could be attributed to something beyond an arbitrary anomaly in the data. Again, a larger data set would be needed to assert this with any confidence.

Finally, participants were asked to imagine that the story was made into a movie, then choose from a multiple choice list which genre would best describe the movie.
An option was also given to write in a genre of the participant’s choice. The results of this question are displayed in Figure 8.

![Bar chart showing the number of people who selected each movie genre to be the best fit for the story they had heard. Half of the participants selected “Comedy,” while another three wrote in the genre “Dark Comedy” under “Other.” This means that 9 of the 12, or 75%, saw the story as being defined in some sense by its comedic nature. When taking into consideration the participant demographics, all of the participants age 40 or above selected either “Comedy” or “Dark Comedy,” while only half of the younger participants viewed it as a type of comedy. It can be observed that while the majority of participants did not rate the story as being highly funny (the overall average was 3.5 out of 5 for humor), it was still seen by most to fit into the genre of comedy.]

**Figure 8 Best movie genre for Version 1**

4.2 Version 2 – Poetic Rendering
The second translated version of “The Bald Boy” employs a change in genre of the text – it aims to be as faithful as possible to the content of the original text while utilizing a poetic structure for its presentation. The goal of modifying the form used to present the text is to make the overall ‘feel’ of the text less serious without making major changes to the meaning being communicated. This version may not be considered a conventional application of dynamic equivalence, but still fits within the bounds of the theory as the meaning of the text is retained.
4.2.1 Translation process

The author translated this version of the story alone, and started the process by determining the poetic structure to be used for the translation. Stanzas of four lines with each line containing four stressed syllables were selected as the basic structure of the poem. It has a rhyme scheme of AABB (sometimes AAAA) and allows for approximate rhyme. As an example of approximate rhyme, “fool” is accepted to pair with “knew” because of the similarity between the vowels.

As a result of prioritizing meter and rhyme in the translation of this version, some adjustments were made to the text that resulted in the loss of some accuracy. The full text of Version 2 can be found in Appendix C, but Figure 9 compares a selection from Version 2 with the back translation to give an example of how the text was modified to enable the rhyme scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Back Translation</th>
<th>Version 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(he) left the donkey (to be) in a farmer's (ripened) crops. He hid himself in a <strong>lower field</strong>.</td>
<td>He led the donkey to a nearby farmer's crop And hid himself strategically <strong>behind a big rock</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 9** Modified form of entity in Version 2

In the back translation, the boy hides himself from the farmer’s sight in a low field. The author determined that in this situation, the function of the lower field (a place where one can hide) was of main significance rather than its form. In replacing the lower field with a big rock in Version 2, the function was retained and an approximate rhyme with the end of the previous line was enabled (“rock” is a near rhyme with “crop”). However the form was changed and some accuracy was lost.
Figure 10 offers another example of how the text was modified for Version 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Back Translation</th>
<th>Version 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The adolescents from the village took Baldy also with them to the mountain and from the mountain he brought wood. When Baldy entered in the house, he cast his gaze this way and that way in the house. He saw that mother is not at home. He carried the load on him outside. He saw that mother is doing (giving) grass to the livestock in the field. Baldy said to his mother, “Where do I put the load?”</td>
<td>So they went up the mountain and came back with big loads. And when Baldy went inside he started looking to and fro. But he couldn’t find his mom, could she be out with the goats? So he staggered back outside with the firewood in tow. And there was his mom putting out the goats’ food. And seeing her he asked, “What am I supposed to do?”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 10 Generic-specific modification in Version 2**

As can be seen in the back translation of Figure 10, in the source text the mother is not inside the house because she is giving grass to the livestock. This is modified in Version 2 to say that the mother is giving food to the goats. A specific entity is made more generic (grass → food) and a generic entity is made more specific (livestock → goats). Neither the type of food nor the type of animal were determined to be significant in this particular story – it is the only time either one occurs in the text. Thus modifying them in a way that is still semantically closely related through a generic-specific relationship seemed reasonable in order to achieve closer rhymes (“goats” to rhyme with “tow” and “food” to rhyme with “do”).

In comparison with Version 1, Version 2 has more modifications that result in a lower accuracy of the text. However, these were only used when it was determined that they did not impact the core meaning conveyed by the source text. They also served to enhance the poetic nature of the translation, which was a key goal of this version.

### 4.2.2 Results of testing

As with Version 1, Version 2 was tested using both participant observation and through a questionnaire filled out by participants (found in Appendix D). There were 12 total participants that listened to Version 2, three each from the following
demographic groups: men age 40 and above, women age 40 and above, men under 40, and women under 40. The participants ranged in age from 23 to 57. Of the 12, seven came from the United States, three from Australia, one from the United Kingdom and one from New Zealand. The participant pool is meant to be roughly representative of the adult English-speaking population in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

As the participants listened to an audio recording of Version 2 of “The Bald Boy,” the author discreetly observed and later recorded their reactions. Figure 11 shows the results of this observation:

![Figure 11 Observed reactions to Version 2](image)

In Figure 11, observe that more participants smiled than laughed. Out of the 12 participants, 58% smiled and 33% laughed. No participants responded by sharing a related story that came to their mind, as was seen with Pashai participants. One participant commented afterwards that she was bothered by the lack of justice in the story. She also commented that she felt it was an entertaining story but also did not feel comfortable with admitting that. Another participant described feeling discomfort at the light-hearted presentation of such dark content. One participant exclaimed that she liked the story.

The participants who listened to Version 2 filled out the same questionnaire as those who listened to Version 1. When asked to describe the character of the bald boy, the following words were used most commonly: “deceitful” and “clever.” Four different participants used each of these words. The next most common descriptors of the boy were “lucky,” “stupid/foolish,” and “unfeeling/uncaring.” These were each used by three different participants.

When asked to describe what specific part of the story stood out to them, a large majority (9 of the 12) mentioned the deaths and killing that occurred throughout, some noting that the lack of emotion surrounding the deaths was particularly
bothersome. Two participants said that the rhyme and/or rhythm of the text stood out to them.

In answer to a question about the main point or purpose of the story, participants were split between three different responses. Five thought the text warned listeners to be careful who they trust and emulate. Four described the purpose as encouraging listeners to be clever like the bald boy, or to be clever enough to get things to go their way. Three participants thought the story was mainly meant to entertain.

Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a series of descriptions of the story as a whole. 12 different adjectives were listed and participants circled a number from 1 (strong disagreement) to 5 (strong agreement) for each adjective to show how well it fit the story. The 12 participants’ responses were compiled and averaged for each of the descriptors. Those descriptors that received an average of 4 or above or 2 or below are presented in Figure 12 below.

![Figure 12: Highest and lowest scoring descriptors for Version 2](image)

Figure 12 shows that on average, participants were in agreement that the story was interesting, disturbing, surprising, and violent. The participants did not find the story boring. Of all the descriptors, the story rated the highest for being interesting, averaging a score of 4.42 out of 5. The second-highest score was for being violent, at an average of 4.25 out of 5. The lowest average score was given to “boring” – 1.67 out of 5. As with Version 1, age and gender did not seem to have a significant impact on the results. The possible skewing of data due to the nationality of participants was not as prominent in Version 2 as with Version 1, though it was still somewhat noticeable. It was once again the participant from the United Kingdom whose scores were significantly higher than those of other nationalities on certain descriptors. With Version 2, the U.K. participant ranked the story as 5 in both cleverness and entertainment, while the average for participants from other nationalities was 3.8 for both. It should be noted that this corresponds with the
more positive ratings from U.K. participants described above in section 4.1.2 and could reflect an underlying difference between British humor and the humor of other Western English-speaking nations.

When asked to imagine the story being made into a movie, participants were fairly split regarding what genre would best fit the movie. The results of this question are displayed in Figure 13.

![Figure 13 Best movie genre for Version 2](image)

The 12 participants selected seven different possible genres for the imagined movie of Version 2. Three of the participants chose to write in their own genre (indicated by “O:” in the chart, which stands for “Other”), and each wrote in a different genre. In spite of the lack of consensus on genre, however, the genre chosen by the most people was comedy. Four people identified this as the best fit in terms of genre. “Tragedy” and “Drama” were each selected by two people. Unlike with Version 1, the age of the participant did not seem to have any correlation with the genre selected.

The questionnaire gave participants the option of sharing additional comments if they so desired. For this version of the text, half of the participants wrote in feedback about the rhyme and rhythm and/or the manner of presenting the text. Four of the six who gave feedback had a positive view of the poetic presentation. Two of these four stated that it made the story less sad, shocking, disturbing, surprising, violent, and/or serious than it would have been otherwise. The other two simply stated that they liked the presentation. Two participants had a negative impression of the rhyme and rhythm of text, explaining that they found it distracting.
4.3 Version 3 – Nonviolent Adaptation

The third of the English versions of “The Bald Boy” is a significant departure from the original text. It is an adaptation, or an overly free translation, in which all instances of death and killing have been removed from the story. Given that the sequence of events that form the core plot of the source text are highly dependent on the deaths of various participants, removing their deaths necessitated a major rewriting of the story in order to be coherent. This section will describe the process by which this version was translated and the results of its testing.

4.3.1 Translation process

In the preliminary, informal testing of more literal translations of the “The Bald Boy,” the level of violence in the story was one of the most frequent comments. One of the most common words used to describe the story was that it was “disturbing,” and the killing present in the story (especially the killing of one’s own mother) was consistently cited as the reason for why it was so disturbing. One person started to listen to an audio recording of the story, but asked for the recording to be stopped after the first episode where the bald boy kills his mother – after that, she couldn’t stand to listen farther. Though her reaction was stronger than most, it did appear that the majority were disturbed to the point of being unable to enjoy the story.

The author observed these reactions and began reading literature on violence and humor in Western (primarily American) culture. The literature summarized at the end of section 2.4.2 led the author to conclude that the taboo surrounding death in American culture determines how it can be acceptably used in humorous contexts. As with all taboo topics, there are plenty of examples of death-related humor in American society, however, these only occur when the taboo is the source and focal point of the humor. Taboos are not accepted if they play an incidental role to a text that is otherwise humorous. In the Pashai understanding of “The Bald Boy,” the deaths, while prevalent, function mainly to move the story along rather than to be the focal point of the story or humor. They make the humorous aspects possible, but do not seem to play the central role required to allow taboo subjects to be funny or entertaining. This realization led the author to try to create an adaptation of the Pashai text without any killing. She attempted to identify and retain the more core, foundational elements of the story in order to evaluate how English speakers would view the story if it were less violent. This can be understood as an effort to employ domestication to this particular element of the text.
Figure 14 charts the process by which the modifications were made to adapt the original text into Version 3 of this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Episode</th>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Rationale</th>
<th>Output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bald boy goes to the mountain to collect firewood, returns, kills mother with firewood</td>
<td>Mother killed → mother knocked unconscious</td>
<td>Removal of death</td>
<td>Bald boy goes to the mountain to collect firewood, returns, knocks mother unconscious with firewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Boy takes his dead mother on a donkey to a field. Farmer gets angry with her and “kills” her by hitting her with a shovel</td>
<td>Mother dead → mother unconscious, later regains consciousness</td>
<td>Removal of death</td>
<td>Boy takes unconscious mother on a donkey to a field. Farmer gets angry and forcibly moves donkey, mother falls and appears dead, but actually remains unconscious, later wakes up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7 boys kill their mothers upon the recommendation of the bald boy, take the bodies to the bazaar to sell and get rich &amp; get wife like bald boy</td>
<td>7 boys → 3 boys</td>
<td>Facilitation of bazaar scene</td>
<td>3 boys each sell a prized family possession in the bazaar upon recommendation of bald boy, bald boy buys each of their possessions with money borrowed from one of the other friends’ families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mothers to be sold in the bazaar → most valued household possession to be sold in the bazaar</td>
<td>Removal of death/intentional violence, keep selling something of value in bazaar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baldy tricks boys into killing their mom’s → Baldy gets boys’ families to lend/give him lots of money</td>
<td>Removal of death, keep harm to the boys and their families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ø → Baldy gains friends’ possessions</td>
<td>This is a way of preserving Baldy’s gain from his friends’ families, which comes last in the original</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7 boys chase after bald boy to get revenge, think they throw him in the river but actually kill nomad, Baldy</td>
<td>nomad → old man/hermit</td>
<td>Hermit more expected in the woods</td>
<td>The 3 boys take baldy back to collect more firewood but quietly leave him behind, lost in the woods. Baldy finds old hermit that gives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 14 Process of adapting Version 3

The first step in analyzing and adapting the text was dividing the text into episodes. Five distinct episodes were identified, as indicated in Figure 14 above. Starting with the first episode, elements that required change in order to achieve a nonviolent (but still coherent) story were identified and changed. With the progression of the story, more and more changes were enacted. This is largely the result of a snowball effect, where changing one thing requires changing yet another that is connected to the first. As an example of this, in episode 3 the nonviolent constraint does not allow the seven boys to kill their own mothers and sell their bodies in the bazaar. This is replaced by each one selling some non-living object of great value from his own home. However, it was assumed that for each boy this would be a different object. It seemed unreasonable to expect a listener to keep track of different items for each of the seven boys and it would also make the story unnecessarily long to add that much complexity, so the number of boys was reduced to three.

The full text of Version 3, the outcome of all the changes described above, can be found in Appendix C. As a sample, a portion is provided here and placed alongside the corresponding portion of the back translation for comparison.
The adolescents were surprised and asked Baldy, “Where did you make (get) the new clothes, this wife, and lots of money?” Baldy said to the adolescents, “I killed my mom and sold her in the bazaar. (Then) all these things happened. You kill your mothers also and sell them that you might fix your lives.” All the adolescents, in agreement, killed their mothers and took (them) to the bazaar for selling. None of them could figure out how he had found a wife so quickly - and a good wife at that. So they decided to go ask him. The boy gave them this explanation: “I looked through our whole house to find the most valuable item, then I sold it in the market and made a lot of money. Once I was rich, it wasn’t hard to find a good wife. You guys could do the same thing!” When the boys went home, each one started thinking about what he could sell from his own house to make that kind of money. The first boy decided to sell a beautiful painting his family had preserved in perfect condition. The second boy decided to sell fine china from his parents’ wedding. The third boy decided to sell his family’s strongest horse.

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<td>explanation: “I looked through our whole house to find the most valuable</td>
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<tr>
<td>kill your mothers also and sell them that you might fix your lives.” All the</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>adolescents, in agreement, killed their mothers and took (them) to the bazaar</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The second boy decided to sell fine china from his parents’ wedding. The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third boy decided to sell his family’s strongest horse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15 Comparison of back translation with Version 3

The portion of the text in Figure 15 illustrates how Version 3 of “The Bald Boy” maintains underlying concepts key to the story (the bald boy lies to his friends about the source of his success, his friends take his advice, and take something of great value from their own homes/families to sell in the market), yet by removing the death and killing, the content of the story has necessarily changed quite significantly.

The removal of elements of the story that are considered taboo in American culture (and likely in most other Western cultures) is a drastic way of domesticating the text. This adaptation of the story does not fit within the bounds of an acceptable translation according to the principles guiding the theory of dynamic equivalence. Much of the meaning of the original text is lost. However, for the purposes of research, the author determined that it was worthwhile to go to somewhat extreme measures in the translation process to be able to evaluate whether or not they would bring about a more equivalent response in the receptor audience.

4.3.2 Results of testing

The testing of Version 3 was completed in exactly the same way as the testing of the first two versions. The results described in this section are drawn from a
combination of participant observation and completion of the questionnaire in Appendix D. As with the previous versions, 12 participants took part in the testing, three from each of the following demographics: men 40 and over, women 40 and over, men under 40, and women under 40. Participants ranged in age from 23 to 69. Of the 12, 10 were from the United States and two were from Canada. This participant pool is intended to be roughly representative of the English-speaking adult population in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

Participants were asked to listen to an audio recording of Version 3. As they did so, the author discreetly observed their reactions and recorded them afterwards. Figure 16 shows the results of these observations.

![Observed reactions to Version 3](image)

Figure 16 Observed reactions to Version 3

Figure 16 shows that the most common observable reaction to Version 3 was smiling, although only 33% of participants smiled. 25% of participants laughed, and none of them shared a story of their own as was common among Pashai participants. As with the two versions previously discussed, no participants responded by sharing a story that came to mind as was common among Pashai participants. The majority of the participants who listened to Version 3 had no clearly discernible audible or visible reactions. Some did things that seemed to indicate concentration – one stood up and walked around while listening, two others leaned over with their head in their hands.

Results from the questionnaire are helpful in giving a fuller picture of participants’ reactions. When asked in an open-ended question to describe the character of the bald boy, the most common words used in response were “cunning,” “lucky,” and “crafty.” These were each used by three different participants. The next most common descriptions were “trickster,” “wise,” “resourceful,” and “stupid/foolish.”
These were used by two different people. The words used to describe the bald boy of Version 3 were generally not highly critical or negative in connotation. One person even went so far as to describe him as “kind.”

When asked what specific parts of the story stood out to them, participants gave a wide variety of responses. The most common response was some variation of the contrast and irony between the bald boy’s personal qualities (deceitful, lying, not responsible, or stupid) and the positive outcome of his circumstances. Seven of the 12 people mentioned this contrast (58%). Two people commented that the dramatic/intense physical action such as the mother almost dying stood out to them.

In answering an open-ended question about the main point or purpose of the story, participants seemed to settle on one of three responses. Five people saw the bald boy as an example of using situations to your own advantage. Three people saw the story as a warning that a person’s poor character or lack of intelligence is not predictive of their success. Two saw it as essentially a karmic tale – though interestingly one saw it as an example of a person’s good actions coming back to him, and the other thought it showed the consequences of wrong actions. Two others thought that there was no main point, except for entertainment.

Participants were given a list of 12 adjectives and asked to rate the extent to which they agreed that that word described the story they had heard on a scale from 1 (strong disagreement) to 5 (strong agreement). The ratings from all participants were tabulated and averaged for each adjective. As with the previous versions, the descriptors receiving an average rating of either 4 or above or 2 or below have been identified and are presented in Figure 17.

![Figure 17: Highest and lowest scoring descriptors for Version 3](image)

The first thing to note in Figure 17 is that only one descriptor was generally agreed upon by all participants (“interesting”) and only one was generally disagreed with
(“boring”). The averages of all the other descriptors fell between 2 and 4, which is a more neutral zone. Even these two descriptors that came out on the extreme ends of the results do not show strong agreement or disagreement. That would require scores above 4 and below 2, and “interesting” and “boring” ended up averaging exactly 4 and 2 respectively. It is not surprising that these particular adjectives received opposite scores since they antonyms. The main conclusion from the scores on this part of the questionnaire is that Version 3 did not create very strong reactions or impressions of any sort.

The final question asked of participants was to imagine the story as a movie and to select from a multiple choice list which genre would be the best fit for the movie. The results of this are displayed in Figure 18.

![Figure 18 Best movie genre for Version 3](chart)

This question produced interesting results. Participants were evenly split between whether the story would be best described as a comedy or a drama, with five people choosing each. One person was split between the two and chose both. Only one person chose an option other than drama or comedy – this person saw the story working the best as a tragedy film. It is notable that no one chose to write in a genre of their own under the option of “Other”. This suggests that, although it was not clear which genre the story was best labeled as, it was not so atypical of a story as to cause people to go to the extra effort of writing in a genre that was not listed.

This chapter has provided an overview of each of the English versions of “The Bald Boy,” how they were translated, and the results of their testing with native speakers of English. The next chapter offers an analysis of these results in comparison with each other and with the results of the testing of the original Pashai text.
Chapter 5
Analysis of Results

Chapters 3 and 4 have provided an overview of the Pashai text, the English translations of the text, and the results of testing these texts with Pashai and English speakers. In this chapter, these results will be synthesized and analyzed according to each of the research methods used in testing: participant observation, qualitative questions, and quantitative questions.

5.1 Results of Participant Observation

In evaluating the response of participants through participant evaluation, the author focused on evaluating whether or not participants laughed, smiled, and/or shared a story of their own upon listening to the story of “The Bald Boy.” As these were the primary responses observed among Pashai participants, the same responses were evaluated among English-speaking participants in order to allow a direct comparison. Figure 19 displays this comparison.

![Figure 19 Comparison of observed responses](image)

In this chart, observe that Version 1, the most literal and accurate of the three translations, evoked the closest response to the original text in terms of producing audible laughter. 88.9% of Pashai participants laughed, while 67% of English-speaking participants listening to Version 1 laughed. As a caveat, readers should keep in mind that not all participants laughed the same amount or in the same way.
Some laughed a lot, some a little. Some laughter was likely motivated by surprise or shock, and some by humor and enjoyment. However, it was not possible for the author to objectively determine what motivated a given instance of laughter. In order to facilitate the reliable reporting of measurable data, it made the most sense to record laughter in a binary way (present or absent), based whether there was at least one recognizable instance of audible laughter.

With regard to smiling, Version 2, the poetic rendering, evoked the closest response to that of the Pashai text. 100% of Pashai participants smiled, while 50% of English-speaking respondents who listened to the poetic rendering of the text smiled. Given that some instances of laughter may have been motivated by shock or surprise rather than humor or enjoyment, smiling may be a more reliable indicator of participants’ enjoyment of the text. With the Pashai text, more people smiled than laughed, which was also true of Version 2.

None of the English versions of the text led participants to respond by telling a story that came to mind, as was relatively common among Pashai participants. However, two participants, one from Version 1 and the other from Version 2, did reference the biblical parable about the shrewd managed as sharing some similarities with the text. Neither person actually told the story, though, so it was not accounted for in the data above.

Based on participant observation, modifying the content and meaning of the text through a nonviolent adaptation had the most drastic effect on the receptor response – in this case, it significantly reduced instances of both smiling and laughter. Modifying the form and genre of the text through a poetic rendering reduced the amount of laughter but increased the amount of smiling. It can be suggested from these results that lower accuracy of the translated text corresponds with a response that is less similar to the response of the original audience.

5.2 Results of Qualitative Research
The same qualitative questions regarding the character of the bald boy and the main purpose of the story were asked of both Pashai and English-speaking respondents. However, the question about the bald boy was the only one answered by enough Pashai respondents to be able to make a reliable comparison with English-speaking respondents.
Figure 20 displays the most commonly used words participants used to describe the bald boy by the version of the text they listened to.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More common</th>
<th>Pashai</th>
<th>Version 1</th>
<th>Version 2</th>
<th>Version 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tfali “cunning/crafty”</td>
<td>clever self-centered</td>
<td>clever deceitful</td>
<td>cunning lucky crafty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less common</td>
<td>qismatdar “lucky” sada “simple-minded/naïve”</td>
<td>conniving cruel cunning</td>
<td>lucky stupid/foolish unfeeling/uncaring</td>
<td>trickster wise resourceful stupid/foolish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 20 Comparison of descriptions of the bald boy**

In comparing the three English version with the original Pashai text, Version 3 seems to come the closest to eliciting a similar view of the bald boy among respondents. Like the Pashai version, the most commonly used words by Version 3 respondents are not highly critical of the character of the bald boy. Additionally, looking at Version 3, the concepts of being “cunning,” “crafty,” and a “trickster,” are semantically closely linked to each other, and correspond with the most common Pashai descriptor of tfali “cunning/crafty” The bald boy is described as “lucky” by respondents of the Pashai text, Version 2, and Version 3. He is described as “stupid/foolish” by participants of both Version 2 and Version 3, which could be semantically linked to the Pashai description of him as sada “simple-minded/naïve.” These concepts are not identical, but are related. Version 1 carries some similarities to the Pashai descriptions – “clever,” “conniving,” and “cunning,” are related to the view of him as tfali “cunning/crafty.” However, there are no close equivalents for the other terms. Additionally, participants of Version 1 seem to view the boy most critically of any of the versions based on their description of him as “self-centered” and “cruel.” For a more thorough analysis of how these different words compare to each other, a semantic componential analysis of all the terms in Figure 20 is included in Appendix F.

Based on an open-ended question about the character of the bald boy, modifying the form and genre of the text through a poetic rendering results in participants taking a slightly less critical view of the boy and a slightly more similar view to that of the original audience. Modifying the content and meaning of the text through a nonviolent adaptation resulted in a much less critical view of the boy and a more similar view to that of the original Pashai audience.
Though not enough Pashai respondents answered the question regarding the main point or purpose of the story to form a baseline for comparison, the responses of English-speaking participants will briefly be compared to one another. Figure 21 shows this comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More common</th>
<th>Version 1</th>
<th>Version 2</th>
<th>Version 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Don’t let yourself be taken advantage of</td>
<td>- Be careful who you trust and emulate.</td>
<td>- Use situations to your own advantage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Finding success in difficult circumstances</td>
<td>- Be clever like the bald boy</td>
<td>- Poor character or low intelligence is not predictive of success.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Common</td>
<td>No point to the story</td>
<td>The story is meant to entertain</td>
<td>- A karmic tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- No point besides entertainment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 21 Comparison of main points by version

For all three versions, the two most common points taken away by participants were fairly similar to each other. Each included an encouragement to be clever and work situations to your advantage. They also all included a type of warning – either to not trust others or not expect success to be based on merit. Less frequently, participants of versions 2 and 3 saw the story as simply meant to entertain, while participants of Version 1 felt there was no point at all. Version 3 was the only one in which participants saw a karmic moral to the story. When viewed as a whole, the results to this question suggest that the modifications to the text made in versions 2 and 3 resulted in participants drawing fairly similar conclusions about the main point of the story as Version 1, though the responses to the nonviolent adaptation differed from Version 1 more than those of the poetic rendering.

The qualitative question about what parts of the story stood out was asked only of English-speaking participants with the hope that answers to this question could give insight into why differences appeared in other parts of the questionnaire. In fact, the results to this question are illuminating in and of themselves. For Version 1, 58% of respondents answered with the treatment (killing) of the mother(s). For Version 2, 75% responded with the deaths and killings throughout the story. For Version 3, 58% answered with the contrast or irony between the bald boy’s character and the positive outcome of his circumstances. Though it cannot be proven which most closely reflects the Pashai, an extrapolation from the results that have been gathered
from the Pashai suggests that their focus is not primarily on the killings. If the Pashai were to consider the killings alone as what stood out the most to them, it seems reasonable to assume that they would have demonstrated less laughter/smiling than what was recorded and would have described the bald boy in a more critical way than they did. If the assumption that the Pashai participants did not primarily focus on the killings is true, then the responses to Version 3 in English would more closely approximate the Pashai understanding of the text. Indeed, the Pashai view of the bald boy as “simple-minded/naïve” and “lucky” fits closely with what stood out the most to listeners of Version 3 – the contrast between the boy’s personal qualities and the outcome of his circumstances.

5.3 Results of Quantitative Research
Quantitative questions were asked only of English-speaking respondents. A lack of formal education among nearly all of the Pashai respondents led the author to conclude that attempts to ask these types of questions would result in unreliable data. However, comparing only the results of quantitative research among English-speaking participants is still able to offer insight as to how the modifications made to two of the English versions (the poetic rendering and nonviolent adaptation) affect the receptor response when compared to the more typical meaning-based translation.

The question that asked participants to select the movie genre that would be most fitting for the story was presented as a multiple choice question (“Other” was one of the choices and participants were allowed to write in an alternative option). The most common genre selected for each version is displayed in Figure 22, indicating the percentage of the participant pool that selected that genre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Best Movie Genre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Comedy (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Comedy (33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tie: Comedy/Drama (46% each)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 22 Most selected movie genre by version

In the normal meaning-based translation of “The Bald Boy,” 50% of English-speaking respondents said that the story would be a comedy film if made into a movie. When the form of the text was modified and presented in poetic rendering, this was reduced to only 33%. However, “Comedy” was still the response that was
selected by the most people for the version. Modifying the content of the text to allow for a nonviolent adaptation reduced the number of people who selected “Comedy” somewhat (46% of participants, down from 50%) but not nearly as much as the poetic rendering. However, the nonviolent adaptation also resulted in a much higher percentage of people selecting the genre “Drama” – it tied with “Comedy” for the top choice of participants.

Though Version 3 turned out more similar to Version 1 on the question about movie genres, this did not hold true when comparing participants’ ratings of the story for each of 12 different descriptors. The complete results for all 12 descriptors across the three versions are displayed in Figures 23 and 24 (results have been separated into two charts for easier readability).

![Figure 23 Average participant ratings (Part 1)](image)

In this first set of descriptors, the most drastic difference between the modified versions and the one that prioritized accuracy is found under the results for “Disturbing.” Version 1 was rated 4.17 out of 5 for this quality. Version 2 is similar (4.08 out of 5) but Version 3 scored much lower, at 2.79 out of 5. This is not particularly surprising since Version 3 was intentionally made to be less violent than the others. Version 2 scored slightly higher than Version 1 on all of the qualities except for “Disturbing,” but the differences were all a third of a point or less. Version 3 scored half a point higher than Version 1 for “Boring” but scored similarly for “Amusing,” “Clever,” “Entertaining,” and “Funny.” Notably, none of the versions scored highly for “Funny.” This is particularly interesting since participants chose the movie genre “Comedy” for all three.
In this second set of descriptors, Version 3 in particular shows notable variation from Version 1. It scored lower for “Sad” (2.58 compared to 3.92), “Shocking” (3.08 compared to 3.75), “Silly” (2.92 compared to 3.67) and “Violent” (2.5 compared to 4.13). Overall, Version 2 scored more similarly to Version 1, though it scored more than half a point lower for “Silly.” Version 1 was the only English version participants generally agreed was silly. Version 2 was scored nearly half a point higher for “Interesting” than Version 1.

For the purposes of drawing conclusions about the modified texts, the author considered a variation of .5 or more from the score of Version 1 to be notable. Based on this, the modification of the story through a poetic rendering resulted only in a significant reduction of silliness. Other qualities remained consistent with the most accurate version. Modifying the content of the text through a nonviolent adaptation caused the story to be seen as significantly less disturbing, sad, shocking, silly, and violent. It also caused the story to be perceived as more boring. Other qualities remained consistent with the most accurate version of the story.
Chapter 6
Conclusion

In these concluding remarks, the hypotheses put forward in Chapter 1 will be reviewed and evaluated based on the discussion of the previous chapters. The author will then discuss limitations of the research and close by offering suggestions for further research.

6.1 Evaluation of Hypotheses

*Hypothesis 1: A normal meaning-based translation will elicit a response that is highly dissimilar from the response of the original Pashai audience.*

Questionnaire responses mostly supported this hypothesis. Looking at the ways that respondents described the bald boy, the most common Pashai responses were not highly critical or judgmental. He was seen as a trickster that was lucky and simple-minded. In contrast, responses of English speakers were overall much more critical of the bald boy. He was described by them as clever, self-centered, conniving, cruel, and cunning. English speakers focused on the violence of the story (particularly the treatment of the mother(s)) and gave it high ratings for the following qualities: interesting, disturbing, surprising, and violent. However, when asked to choose the most appropriate genre for the story if it were to be made into a movie, 75% of respondents chose either “Comedy,” or “Dark Comedy,” suggesting that the violence of the story did not keep respondents from seeing the humor in it. These results cannot be directly compared to the Pashai response, but it is a reasonable inference that the Pashai would be less focused on the violence of the story and more on the humor.

The observable response of English-speakers who listened to this translation was moderately dissimilar from the Pashai response. While 89% of the Pashai laughed, 67% of those who listened to the normal meaning-based translation laughed. All the Pashai smiled, while only half of the English speakers did. Some of the laughter of English-speaking participants did seem to be of a different nature than that of Pashai
participants, however, inspired perhaps by shock, surprise, or incredulity. It is
difficult to objectively analyze the reason for a person's laughter, but the relative
lack of smiling does indicate that there is something besides humor at play in the
results. In summary, it can be concluded that a normal meaning-based translation of
the folktale does not elicit an equivalent response to that of the Pashai. The degree
to which it differs depends on what aspect of the response is being analyzed, but the
overall response when considering all the results is significantly different. The
hypothesis is most strongly supported by the participants' description of the bald
boy and what they consider to be the most prominent part of the story. It is weakly
supported by the participants' laughter and view of the story as a comedy.

Hypothesis 2: A translation of the text using a poetic form will achieve a
significantly closer equivalent response than a normal meaning-based translation.

This hypothesis was somewhat supported by the results of the testing, but not
strongly so. The questionnaire responses for this translation closely resembled those
of the normal meaning-based translation in terms of the ratings given to the 12
qualities, the parts of the story that stood out (the violence), and the lessons learned
from the story. This version was seen as less silly and more likely to have a main
purpose of entertainment than the meaning-based translation. Much fewer
envisioned this version as a comedy film, however. Participants described the bald
boy using the following words: clever, deceitful, lucky, stupid/foolish,
unfeeling/uncaring. Taken as a whole, these words seem less critical of the bald
boy than the words used by Version 1 participants, although still more critical than what
was seen in the most common Pashai responses.

The observed response of participants was slightly more similar to the Pashai
response based on the percentage who smiled, although fewer participants laughed
compared to the normal meaning-based translation. However, the poetic rendering
did not elicit a more equivalent response equivalent to that of the Pashai when
considering all the test results. In summary, this hypothesis is supported only if it is
based on the participants' smiling and their description of the bald boy. It is not
supported by the participants' laughter and recognition of the story as a comedy.

Hypothesis 3: A translation that removes objectionable elements to be more
acceptable to the audience will achieve a slightly more equivalent response than
the normal meaning-based translation, but not as much as the poetic rendering.
This hypothesis is best evaluated in two parts: first, in its comparison to the normal meaning-based translation, from which this version was expected to produce a more equivalent response. This part of the hypothesis is supported by the participants’ description of the bald boy and what they considered the most prominent part of the story. It was not supported by the participants’ observable reactions. The second part of the hypothesis compares the nonviolent adaptation to the poetic rendering, expecting that it would produce a less equivalent response. This part of the hypothesis is supported by the participants’ observable reactions. It is not supported by the descriptions of the bald boy and the part of the story considered most prominent.

The audience of Version 3 described the bald boy in the following way: cunning, lucky, crafty, trickster, wise, resourceful, stupid/foolish. This description is a close parallel to that offered by Pashai respondents. Similarly, the main thing that stood out to Version 3 respondents was not the violence but rather the contrast between the bald boy’s character or intelligence and the outcome of his circumstances. This seemed to fit more closely with the Pashai view of the story. Version 3 respondents were equally likely to see the story as either a drama or as a comedy, which suggests that it is seen as being less funny than the other two versions.

The emotive response to Version 3 as whole is more muted than that of the first two versions, being rated close to neutral for almost all of the 12 listed qualities. Similarly, participants displayed little in the way of either laughter or smiling. By evoking the least emotional response, this nonviolent adaption actually elicits the least equivalent response of all the translations. However, the audience’s reflective understanding of the story as determined by their answers to open-ended questions on the questionnaire paints a very different picture, suggesting that this version elicits the most equivalent response of them all.

The following summary chart ranks the three versions for the different types of equivalence evaluated in this study, showing which of the three was most equivalent to the Pashai response (or expected Pashai response) for each. A ranking of ‘1’ is given to the version with the most similar response in the given area, with a ‘3’ given the version with the least similar response.
Figure 25 presents a summary of the results of the study, showing the types of equivalence tested that can be compared to the Pashai with at least a reasonable amount of certainty. This means that some elements of the testing have been omitted if they cannot be reliably compared to the Pashai (e.g. participants’ rating of the story for 12 descriptor terms). Looking at the overall total, a lower score indicates a closer equivalence to the Pashai text. Versions 2 and 3 both received 10s, while Version 1 received a 9, indicating that it was slightly more successful in eliciting a similar response. However, the fact that the overall scores of the three texts are so close to each other suggest that one version should not be definitively declared to have elicited a more equivalent response than the others.

It is clear that none of the English translations studied for this project were able to elicit a truly equivalent response to that of the Pashai. Each one came closer to equivalent response in a different way (depending on what aspect of the response was being measured), but full equivalence remained elusive. This is perhaps not surprising, given the wide cultural divergence between the Pashai, from an Afghan context, and English speakers, from different Western nations. The values, worldview, and sense of humor that any given audience member brings to the table will shape their understanding and experience of the story. When considering people that have grown up in societies with widely divergent ways of seeing and making sense of the world, it is difficult to imagine that a story could be viewed in exactly the same way by members of both societies, even when the most strategic, insightful, or creative approaches are used in translating. The results of this study

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1 This chart, in which each version is given a ranking based on its similarity to the Pashai response, is a simplification of the data and does not take into account a variety of factors such as relative differences in scores (Version 1 produced 34% more laughter than Versions 2, but only 8% less smiling). It also does not weight any of the evaluation methods as being more important than the others.
indicate that Nida’s goal of achieving equivalent response in translation is unreasonable in some situations, particularly when attempting to go between very different cultures. Equivalent response would be more feasible if it were limited to one clearly defined type of response (e.g. the same number of smiles or the same understanding of the main point), but if the desire is to achieve equivalent response when ‘response’ is defined broadly, then the outcome of a translation across significantly different cultures is likely to be disappointing.

6.2 Limitations of the Study
This study has limitations that should be noted. All of the English-speaking participants were living in Chiang Mai, Thailand at the time of the study. The author completed the testing in Chiang Mai because that is where she was residing at the time and she chose to use participant observation as a research method. However, it is possible that participants’ exposure to cultures other than their own and to non-Western folktales in particular influenced their responses. Two participants noted on their questionnaires that the story seemed familiar based on their exposure to East/Southeast Asian folk stories. Three other participants verbally voiced their concern to the author that their familiarity with non-Western cultures influenced their responses. These people indicated their belief that the story would be more shocking to native English speakers who had never lived outside of their home culture. There is no way to know exactly how the cross-cultural awareness of the participant pool affected the results without doing the same study with a group of participants who have always lived in the same country.

Additionally, the author did carefully control the participant pool of English speakers for age and gender, but not for nationality. Most of the participants (and most of the native English speakers in Chiang Mai) came from the United States, but the author could not find enough participants from the USA to complete the full pool of 36 participants. Since participants recorded their nationality, the author did evaluate the extent to which nationality affected the results. As described in the paper, it was observed that participants from the United Kingdom rated the story more than a full point higher for qualities such as “Funny,” “Entertaining,” and “Clever” than other participants. These results could be connected to an underlying difference in British humor from other Western English-speaking nations, but the relatively small sample size of U.K. participants makes it impossible to draw any generalizations.
Finally, it was not possible to control the Pashai participant pool in terms of age and gender so that it was statistically representative of the wider population. The author had brief access to a community of Pashai speakers in St. Louis to conduct participant observation, but almost all of the people she had contact with in this setting were women. Qualitative questions were asked of Pashai speakers in Afghanistan by a native speaker with whom the author has contact. This participant pool was closer to being statistically representative (6 men, 4 women with a roughly even mix of older and younger, though most participants did not know their exact age), but it proved difficult to get answers to all the questions, as mentioned earlier in the paper. Better access and more extensive research with Pashai speakers would allow the research questions of this study to be more fully and accurately answered.

6.3 Suggestions for Further Research
There many possible ways which the present research could be expanded for future research. Given the concerns voiced by the participants themselves, it would be worthwhile to repeat a similar study with English-speaking participants who have never lived outside of their own home culture (perhaps all Americans living in the United States) to see how results differed.

During the preliminary, informal testing of the story with English speakers, different modes of communication (written, audio recording, and face-to-face speech) were used in sharing the story. This seemed to have a significant impact on receptor response - readers of the written text exhibited the strongest negative responses to the text, and listeners of a face-to-face telling of the story had the most positive responses. In the formal testing that produced the results presented in the paper, this variable was controlled by using just one mode of communication (audio recording), but it would be worthwhile to do a follow-up study with other modes of communication to better understand how this affects receptor response.

Additionally, during formal testing of the English texts, the author noted the reason for laughter, in at least some instances, seemed to be due to something other than humor and enjoyment (possibly shock, discomfort, or the ridiculousness of the story). It would be helpful to do further research on the reasons why people laugh at a text if that is to be used as a standard for equivalent response.

The purpose of this particular study was to evaluate the primary goal of the theory of dynamic equivalence – equivalent response. Though outside of the bounds of the
present research, the author believes it is worth considering whether using an alternative theory of translation as the framework for a study of equivalent response could have merit. Skopos theory in particular permits a great amount of freedom in translation in order to achieve the translator’s specified goal and could be worth exploring as to how it might apply to the research at hand.

As a final suggestion, since this study dealt with only one Pashai text, valuable results could be collected by doing a similar study of other oral stories found in Pashai (or in any of many other lesser researched languages around the world), either replicating the strategies of modification employed with this text to see whether the impact on receptor response remains consistent across texts and across languages, or trying out other strategies of modification to further test the feasibility of equivalent response.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A
SOURCE TEXT

ای تبای نی تبای،ابکی لامی کوچا مبت جوانان ور ای لیبا تبای می سمت جوانان
آر دیواس داریکا دارباناتی پاینچ ای دیواس لباس آیستا لامای جواننی مبکن „مینا تولستم بی داریکا دارباناتی نادا کی دار آچیی“. لامای جوانان لیبا بی مبنناث داریکا نبکن آر دارای دار اچکین لیبا کی لامبا آیکی لاما ییل آر آلت نر ویچان تاریکین کی آیی لاما نه ای لیبا سردا بار گنایکا نیک. تاریکین کی آیی کرؤندای مالنیگی گانس کی. لیبا آیستا آننی مبکن "ویانا چو جامی؟". آیستا خاربیدی کی ویتای لاما جهن بی مبکن "شورام جایا". لیبا با آیستا شیری اویکین آی ناکار لاویچ آر لیچ. لیبا هم کوچی پیکر دی داد تانیر کی نیگا کروا چیرا نیلچیان آر کروا ابکی دیختنس پینلستنا کوها اویکین آر تانیری ابکی گمبا کیا کوچا کاکی. دیختنس نری کروا شیرو پیلچی کی مادا کروا چیرا نیوی آس آر کروا پینلستی کوچا آننا آس دیختی آؤز کیکن "ای مادا ابیی کرئشتی دیگبا کی پنلام اپچان". دیباخ خاریک کی آلر مادا کرئشتی نی دیگی دیختی گری آؤز کیکن "ای مادا تبائی میم کرئشتی پینلی دیگبا آکا ابکی مارکیکی". مادا دیک آس آر کروا خیال پینلی ابی. دیباخ وی کی خار بیک کی مادا پبلکول آؤز آنی خیل کا کی امیلا نیک آر کروا شیری مادا چیرکا بیلچی چای دی آپچان آر مادا کروا شیری سنگا چنچی لیبا گمبا کیا تی آوتی بیک آر دیباخ آنی مبکن "آ تؤ مبنی آیام مارچیچی". میم بی مبنن ماشکی مارچیکی دیختی مبکن "خبر شی میم ما مارام یؤ کا دؤلت فی دمی آی اوپستیم فی دمی آر اوژروائی بی کم". لیباي
میکین "سی شی". دیبحیثی لباناس جم شتری پورا کو لامبکا گریپکین. جوانان ایران

بنچج او یلا یودای اوکت کچکن "نؤنگی چیلا، آلو چیک، او بوریب چپتهبی
کچبی؟". لبانایی جوانانی میکین "مم یام مارچم او بارازا لیگنچم میب جمکا شی
بنچج". ایمی بی آنسو ماردا او لیگنبدی کی زبندگو جوئیث. می جم جوانان انتیبیخی
dی اوی مارچین او لیگنچکن انتی بارازیکا نچین. بارزیب خلیک میب چیکن پو
خار بنچج او بی اپتی دی پچب لامبکا واتس کچین او مینی میکین زوئنده می
میها بوریدا. می جوانان جمکا لیبا پشکنی چینی او لیبا دبگای ویکن لیبا نیو
میوجیک می جوانان بی پشکنی ایمیلی نیوی ابیج لیبا نئدی لیشینا پولیکن یئدی ابکی
کوچی پیلا مولجیک. کی کوئینی چیلا ویژی شین او پریتی چپرینا. کوچی لیبا
اویداه اوکت کچکن "کوئات ایمیلی نئوا آی؟". لبانای کوچی انتینی میکین "خلیک
پشکنام آین او مینی کی نئ گزورل کرو دبکسی او میم گزورل نئی کینم". اگا نئ
گزورل کاتی ابمی کونی چپینسی میم دیمیم او نئ مینی وپریم نؤنگی چیلا گزور
کی گزورالسنت کندي کوچی خؤشال بیک او زوئنده چپلی بدل کچین او لیبا کن
کوئ دوزار کاییک کوچی پو خؤشال بیک او نئدی کیرانا نیک. تی جوانان کی لیبا
پشکنی ایمیلی نیوی ابیج پولیجکن او میکین "بیت لیبا ییی آس ییی آدمی دربو نئدی
کوچجا وکسین". جوانانی میکین "لیبا خؤ مارکن آبی لامبکا چیمن". ای سات نیو لیبا
گم پریتیک ییبمیلیا یلا لامبکا ابیک جوانانی میکین "أولینی آول لیبا خؤ لیبا نئی آس". خؤ
پو پریتیک ییبآچچین. لبانای جوانانی میکین "کاشکی ندیدی منبجنا چپھوئی نیمبا
لآ یودی بی پو آییج". میب لا تنديد نضیسیتی نیبی آلیجیم میب جوانانی میکین "لیبا
راس میبی آما یی بی نئدی ویکمی او می پریتیک آچچین". ابدا کی ااما بی پریتیک

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آیت مبایل جم جوانان تندری کورنا گچین مبای کوجا یابکی جوانی میکین "لبا گم کؤی لاروا آس اول تندری کا مم جانپستم وامی آگا استیم ونگی چوم ابما بی جانئو والا آگا ای ونگچن لبای ماردا او آغیتش لارشی". تی جوانی جانبی تندری کوجا ویکین میس تستی او دؤری وربک اتیک ساچئی بند بینچ استی او لینگی ونگچن چچن کؤدن یا مبای جواننا لیکین می میکین" ییدی جمئی یو ترپیک آین". جم جواننا روان روان تندری جانبی چچنکن لبنا پچکییتا کا مبای تاریایاک مبا کی جانبی نندیا ویکین لبنا یو خوشاش بیک او زور زوآر آیک لبای مبای سنتی جواننا لامبی او منگبی ریکین.

ای تبینا ای مینینا ویشان گسبیان لاپام وسپیان
APPENDIX B
BACK TRANSLATION

There used to be there used not to be, there used to be seven adolescents and one baldy in a village. These seven adolescents would go to the mountain for wood each day. One day Baldy’s mother said to the adolescents from the village, “Take my son, too, to the mountain for wood so that (he) might bring (back) wood.” The adolescents from the village took Baldy also with them to the mountain and from the mountain he brought wood.

When Baldy entered in the house, he cast his gaze this way and that way in the house. He saw that mother is not at home. He carried the load on him outside. He saw that mother is doing (giving) grass to the livestock in the field.

Baldy said to his mother, “Where do I put the load?” Angry because loads get put at home, his mother said, “Put (it on) my head.” Baldy hung the load (on) his mother’s head. Mother got badly hurt and died.

After a little bit of thinking, Baldy set his mother upright on a donkey and left the donkey (to be) in a farmer’s (ripened) crops. He hid himself in a lower field. The farmer’s gaze arrived at the donkey, that a woman is sitting on the donkey and the donkey is hungry (eating) in my (ripened) crops. The farmer yelled, “Hey, woman, move your donkey because it ate my (ripened) crops.” The farmer got angry that this woman does not move her donkey. The farmer yelled again “Hey, woman, I am saying to you to move your donkey from my (ripened) crops. If I came there, I will kill you.” The woman is silent and the donkey continues eating the (ripened) crops. The farmer got even angrier that the woman completely disregards his shouting. He ran and hit the woman on the donkey with a shovel and the woman fell from on top of the donkey to the ground.

Baldy got up from the low field and said to the farmer, “Hey you killed my mom. I will also kill you like that.” The farmer said, “It’s ok, don’t kill me. I will give you a lot of wealth, I will give you my daughter, and I will do (host) the wedding.” Baldy said “Ok.”
The farmer sent the complete deal (agreement) of the baldy to his (Baldy's) house. The adolescents were surprised and asked Baldy, “Where did you make (get) the new clothes, this wife, and lots of money?” Baldy said to the adolescents, “I killed my mom and sold her in the bazaar. (Then) all these things happened. You kill your mothers also and sell them that you might fix your lives.”

All the adolescents, in agreement, killed their mothers and took (them) to the bazaar for selling. People in the bazaar got very mad at them and drove them home dishonored and said to them “Quickly bury the bodies.”

These adolescents went after Baldy and cast the baldy out. The Baldy then fled and the adolescents were also running after him.

Baldy arrived near a river. Here he encountered [with] a nomad that has old clothes on his body and is grazing sheep. Nomad asked Baldy “How (why) are you running?” Baldy said to Nomad, “People are after me and they say that we will give you in marriage and I am not marrying. If you would marry, give me the old clothes and you take the new clothes on my body so that your wedding might be done.”

Nomad was happy and quickly exchanged clothes. Baldy hid a little bit far away. Nomad was very happy and sat near the river.

Those adolescents that were running after Baldy arrived and said, “the baldy is that one” Grabbing the man, they threw Nomad in the river. The adolescents said, “Well, we killed Baldy, let’s go home.”

One hour later Baldy arrived in the village with a big sheep herd. The adolescents said, “Whoa whoa! Baldy is not dead. And he also brought lots of sheep.”

Baldy said to the adolescents, “If only I had been thrown at the river’s middle, there there were even more. I raised these (sheep) from the edge of that river.” The adolescents said, “Baldy is telling the truth. We threw him in the river and he brought these sheep. Come, let’s also bring sheep.”

All the adolescents went near the river. One adolescent from (among) them said, “Baldy is a little bit (of a) liar. First I should throw myself to the river. If I throw my
hand, all of you throw yourselves (in the river). If I didn’t throw (my hand), kill the baldy. His word is a lie.”

That adolescent threw himself in the river. Water went in his nose and mouth and his throat closed. He flailed his arms and legs. When the adolescents saw, they said this: “There are more sheep here than anywhere else.” All the adolescents threw themselves in the river very quickly.

Baldy was watching them from behind, those that threw themselves in the river. Baldy became very happy and laughed really hard. Baldy seized the seven adolescents’ homes and lands.

The end. (actually this is a string of words that rhyme but have no functional meaning other than to signal the end of the story.)
Appendix C

English Translations

Version 1 – Accuracy Prioritized

Once upon a time in a village there lived eight young men. Seven of them would go up to the mountain every day to collect firewood for their families. The eighth one, a bald boy, never joined them. One day, his mother saw the seven heading off to the mountain and she yelled out to them, “Wait, take my boy with you so that he can gather firewood too!” So they took her son with them to collect firewood.

The bald boy brought back wood, but when he got there, he looked all around and couldn’t find his mother anywhere. He carried the load out to the field near the house, looking for his mom. He found her there feeding their animals. When he saw her, he asked “Where am I supposed to put the wood?” Exasperated that her son didn’t think to leave it at home, she said “You might as well just put it on my head!” So the boy did just that. He hung the firewood on his mom’s head, but in the process he ended up injuring her really bad. She died soon after.

The boy devised a plan. He got a donkey, sat his mother’s body upright on it, and left it in the field of a farmer who would soon be harvesting his crops. Then he hid himself in a lower field to watch what would happen. Before long, the farmer noticed that there was a woman sitting on a donkey and the donkey seemed to be quite hungry. So he yelled out, “Hey lady, move your donkey! He’s eating my crops!” The farmer got upset because the woman didn’t move her donkey. So he yelled out again, “Hey! Get your donkey out of my field! If I come there I’ll kill you!” The woman stayed silent and the donkey went on eating the crops. The farmer got even angrier that the woman wasn’t even listening to him. So he ran to the woman and struck her on the head with a shovel. She dropped from the donkey to the ground. Right at that instant, her son appeared. He shouted at the farmer “You just killed my mom! I’m gonna kill you in the same way!” But the farmer quickly said “No, don’t kill me! I will give you all these things - my money, my daughter as your wife - I will even pay for the wedding!” So the son agreed.

Soon after, the farmer sent everything he had promised to the boy’s house. When the seven boys heard, they were shocked and went to ask him where it had all come from. He explained to them “I killed my mom, took her body to the bazaar and sold
it. Then I used that money to buy everything. You know, you guys ought to do the same thing! You could solve a lot of your problems with the amount of money you’d make by selling your moms’ bodies!” So the seven boys went and did just that. They killed their moms and took their bodies to the bazaar to sell them. But when they got to the bazaar, people were infuriated by the sight of them. They said, “Go and bury the bodies right now!” The boys were kicked out of the bazaar, completely dishonored.

The seven boys then went after the bald boy to throw him out of town. The boy took off running and the seven were on his tail. Soon he came to a river. Right by the river, he noticed that there was a nomadic man wearing tattered clothing and grazing a flock of sheep. As he approached the man, the nomad called out to him, “Hey why are you running like that?” So he gave this explanation: “There are a bunch of people after me. They are trying to force me to marry against my will. But I don’t want to get married. Hey...if you want to get married, then give me your clothes and put on these new ones that I’m wearing! You can get married in my place!” The nomad was excited and quickly agreed. So the two traded clothes, and the boy went and hid a ways away. The nomad sat on the bank of the river, overjoyed. The seven boys soon reached the river and saw what they thought was the bald boy sitting by the river. They ran up to him, grabbed him, and tossed the nomad into the river. The boys went home since the bald boy was dead.

Just an hour after the seven boys had gotten back home, along came the bald boy and with him was a whole flock of sheep! When the seven saw him, they said to themselves, “What!?!? He’s not dead? And where did he get all those sheep!?” The boy came up them and said, “I wish you guys had thrown me in the middle of the river. There were even more sheep there! These sheep here are the ones I was able to bring up from the side of the river where you threw me in.” The boys figured it must be true – they had thrown him in the river and now here he was with a bunch of sheep! So they decided to go back to the river and see if they could get the rest of the sheep. When they got to the river, one of the seven said to the others “Now, that bald boy is known to lie sometimes. So I’m gonna jump in first. If I wave my hand for you to come in, it’s true – there are sheep down there and it’s safe for you to jump in too. But if I don’t give you any signal then it’s a lie. Don’t jump in.” The boys all agreed to the plan and the first one went ahead and jumped in. But as soon as he went underwater, water went up his nose and in his mouth and blocked his throat. He panicked and started flailing his arms and his legs. When the other boys
saw how emphatically he was waving at them, they thought “There must really be a
ton of sheep down there!!” So they flung themselves into the river. The bald boy was
watching from behind the whole time. Once all seven had disappeared into the
river, he had a good, hard laugh. He then went and took possession of each one of
their homes and lands, capitalizing on their stupidity.

The End.

Version 2 – Poetic Rendering

(stressed syllables indicated in bold)

**Long** long ago in a far-away place
There were **eight** young **men**, one **with** a bald **pate**
The **other** seven **boys**, they **went** every **day**
To **gather** firewood, then **back** to their homes they **came**

While the **bald** young **man**, he just **sat** at **home**
But there **came** a **day** that his **mother** made it **known**
To the **other** seven **boys** that **Baldy** too must **go**
To **help** his family **out** and **bring** some wood **home**

So they **went** up the **mountain** and came **back** with big **loads**
And when **Baldy** went **inside** he started **looking** to and **fro**
But he **couldn't** find his **mom**, could she **be** out with the **goats**?
So he **staggered** back **outside** with the **firewood** in **tow**

And **there** was his **mom** putting **out** the goats‘ **food**
And seeing her he **asked**, “What am I supposed to **do**?
Where **do** I put this **load**?” And with **that** his mom **knew**
That her **son** was no **more** than a **good**-for-nothing **fool**

“Just **put** it on my **head**!” his **angry** mother **said**
With **no** attempt to **hide** the fact that **she** was **frustrated**
And **so** he went to **put** the **whole** load on her **head**
But in the **process** she was **wounded** and **keeled** over **dead**
The bald young man spent a bit of time in thought
And then he got a donkey, set his dead mom on top
He led the donkey to a nearby farmer’s crop
And hid himself strategically behind a big rock

Pretty soon the farmer saw there was a donkey in his crops
munching happily away – that needed to stop!
So he called out to the woman “Move your donkey right away!
He’s eating my crops” But right there the woman stayed

She didn’t move the donkey and the farmer’s anger grew
And he shouted to the woman “If I come there, I’ll kill you!”
But the woman, strangely mute, let her donkey eat away
And the farmer just got madder that no attention was being paid

So he ran out to the field with a shovel he had found
And with a blow to the head the woman fell to the ground
Right then the bald boy just happened to appear
And accused the farmer “You just killed my mother here!

I intend to kill you too, in just the same way!”
But the farmer said to Baldy, “There, there, it’s okay.
No need to be so hasty - I have money you can take
You can also wed my daughter, all expenses paid!”

So the bald boy agreed, and the farmer kept his word
He sent everything as promised, even the girl
The news of all this was a surprise to say the least
To Baldy’s seven friends who felt a sting of jealousy

They went to inquire how it all had come about
“I killed my own mother,” Baldy said right out loud
“When then sold her in the market, that’s how I got it all
If you guys did the same you could have your own windfall!”
So the seven young men went and did just that
Each one killed his own mother with hopes of lots of cash
But when they brought their moms to the market to sell
Things did not turn out quite so very well

The people in the market kicked them out in a rage:
“Go bury them now! You must be ashamed!”
The seven young men took off with one goal:
Getting back at Baldy for deceiving them all

They almost caught him once but he just slipped away
But they’d keep up the chase, however long it might take
Baldy ran for a bit, till he reached a riverbank
Where a nomad had let his sheep freely graze

The nomad himself had tatters for clothes
He asked Baldy, curious: “Why are you running so?”
Baldy replied, “There are people chasing me!
They want me to marry, but I won’t, don’t you see

If you want to marry, I know just what to do
Give me your clothes and take mine – they’re all new!
Then you take my place and lay claim to the bride
It’s a chance to start all over with a whole new life!”

The nomad agreed and quickly changed clothes
Then sat by the river feeling happy head to toe
The bald boy hid just a little ways away
And soon the seven came up running towards the bank

When they saw the man who was sitting from behind
They said “There’s Baldy! Now is his time!”
They threw him in the river and, certain he was dead,
They went back on home, feeling all was well again
But just an hour later, the bald boy came back
With a flock of sheep in tow “Where did he get that?”
The seven boys asked, “And how is he alive?”
The bald boy simply said, “Wish you’d thrown me in the other side!

There were more sheep there, but I brought up quite a few”
Said the seven to each other, “It must be true!
We threw him in the river and he’s back with sheep in hand
Let’s go see for ourselves how many we can land!”

So back to the river the seven boys went
And they stood at the edge, about to jump in
When one of the boys pointed out to the rest
That the bald boy wasn’t known for being honest

Said he, “I’ll jump in first and if it is true
I’ll wave my hand, then you guys jump in too
But if there are no sheep then I won’t wave at all
Don’t jump in after me – go kill our friend who’s bald!

They all agreed and the boy jumped in
And as soon as he did the water went inside of him
Up his nose, in his mouth, till his throat closed up tight
And he flailed his arms and legs in a fit of fright

The six on the bank saw him waving so hard
And figured that there must indeed be more sheep there, by far!
So they threw themselves in too, awaiting riches untold
And the bald boy was behind watching everything unfold

When he saw they’d all jumped in, he felt rather pleased
And laughing out loud, he went home and then he seized
All the homes and the lands of the seven boys he’d seen
Drown themselves in the process of trying to get some sheep
Version 3 – Nonviolent Adaptation

Once upon a time, there were four young men that lived in a small village. Three of them would go up to the mountain every day to fetch firewood for their families. The fourth, a bald boy, did nothing but sit around at home.

One day, the bald boy’s mother saw the three heading out on their daily trek. She called out to them: “Wait! Take my son with you so he can fetch firewood, too!” So the bald boy went to gather firewood. After collecting a large load, he returned home. When he went inside he looked everywhere, but couldn’t find his mom. He didn’t know what to do with the wood, so he stumbled back outside, weighed down by the load.

He found his mom out in the fields, feeding their animals, and he asked her, “What am I supposed to do with the wood?”

Exasperated by her son’s lack of common sense (why didn’t he set the wood down somewhere before coming to ask her?!), she quipped, “Well, you might as well just put it on my head!”

Her son, prone to taking things literally, attempted to do just that. He only managed to put one log on her head, but he put it there with just enough force to knock his poor mom out for a bit. She dropped to the ground, unconscious.

The bald boy was terrified that he had in fact killed his own mother. He started thinking of ways to get himself out of this terrible predicament, and went with the first thing that came to his mind. He got the family donkey, managed to hoist his unconscious mother on top of it, and got her sitting more or less upright. He then led the donkey to the field of a farmer whose crops were just ready to be harvested. He hid himself close by.

Just at that moment, the farmer came out and noticed that a very hungry-looking donkey was in the middle of his crops. He called out to the woman, asking her to move her donkey. She didn’t respond. So he called out again, louder this time, explaining that he didn’t want his crops to get eaten, so could she please move her donkey. Again, there was no response.
Finally he shouted, “If you don’t move him, I’ll come there and move him myself!”

The woman remained oblivious, so he ran to the donkey, grabbed its rope and gave it a good hard tug. That jerk was enough to get the donkey to take off – fast enough that he ran out from under the woman. She went tumbling to the ground and the farmer suddenly noticed that she was unconscious.

Right then, the bald boy appeared out of nowhere crying out, “My mom, my mom! What happened?!?” He sat next to his mom’s side, held her in his arms, and wailed “She’s deeeaaad!”

The farmer, in spite of some confusion at how fatal damage could be caused by such a short fall, felt terribly guilty and sincerely apologetic. He made a heartfelt promise to the boy, “I cannot undo what I have done, and I cannot give you back your mother, but I can take you as my own son and love you as a parent would – in fact, I will give you my daughter in marriage! Don’t worry about a thing, I will take care of all the arrangements!”

The boy was surprised by the farmer’s offer, but he suspected it might be the best marriage opportunity a bald boy like himself was likely to find, so he agreed.

As he carried his mother home, she began coming to.

“Where am I? Why are you carrying me?!”

The boy was both shocked and delighted to discover that his mom was alive after all! He carried her the rest of the way home, laid her in bed, and sheepishly told her of all that had happened while she was unconscious. His mother decided that it must be an act of God for her son to have found a wife so, the lump on her head aside, she was pleased with the turn of events.

Some time later, the three young men were talking amongst themselves when the subject of the bald boy came up. None of them could figure out how he had found a wife so quickly - and a good wife at that. So they decided to go ask him. The boy gave them this explanation: “I looked through our whole house to find the most valuable item, then I sold it in the market and made a lot of money. Once I was rich, it wasn’t hard to find a good wife. You guys could do the same thing!”
When the boys went home, each one started thinking about what he could sell from his own house to make that kind of money.

The first boy decided to sell a beautiful painting his family had preserved in perfect condition.
The second boy decided to sell fine china from his parents’ wedding.
The third boy decided to sell his family’s strongest horse.

On the day that the first boy went to sell his painting in the market, the bald boy was also there. When he saw the painting, he thought it was the most beautiful thing he had ever seen. Many people were asking about it, and he knew that it would sell for a high price. He didn’t have enough money himself, but he wanted the painting so badly he went to the family of a friend who lived nearby – the boy who planned to sell the fine china - and asked if he could borrow the sum from them. Though not rich, they were generous and agreed to loan him the money. The bald boy went back to the market and purchased the painting.

As he was about to go home, he noticed the second boy selling a set of beautiful dishes. Being newly married, the bald boy felt this would be a wonderful addition to his household, if only he had the money for it. So he went to the nearby home of another friend - the boy planning to sell the horse - to ask that family if he could borrow the sum from them. They too were generous people and loaned him the money. He went back and bought the fine china from the second boy.

As he was about to head home with his china and the painting, he noticed the third boy selling a fine specimen of a horse. The bald boy thought of how much easier his trip home would be if he could ride and set his things on the horse instead of walking and carrying them all. He also considered that a horse might be useful for many other things as well – as a married man, he needed to start making money and a horse would be a good investment (if only he had the money to buy it). He remembered that the home of his friend from whom he’d bought the painting was close by, so he went there and asked if he could borrow the sum. Being generous people, they agreed. He went back to the market, proudly bought the horse, and rode home with his painting and fine china.

When the three boys went back to their homes at the end of the day, each realized that he had been tricked and was furious with the bald boy. The next morning, they
set out to get back at him. As the three headed out on their daily trek to collect firewood, they stopped by the boy’s house and asked his mom if she’d like for him to join them. She agreed and sent the boy with them. Up on the side of the mountain in a wooded area, the three quietly wandered off as the bald boy was picking up sticks from the ground. By the time he realized he was all alone, his three friends were nowhere to be found. He soon became quite nervous and realized he didn’t know his way home. After wandering around for a bit, he came upon a small, run-down house that seemed to be vacant. He knocked on the door anyway, and an old, disheveled man soon appeared. After learning that the boy was lost, he invited him in for a cup of tea. The old man listened to the boy’s story of how he had been abandoned by his friends and felt sorry for him. He quietly went to a trunk in the corner and pulled out a small object wrapped up in a handkerchief. He placed it in the boy’s palm and said, “Now you will always be able to find your way home.” Inside, the boy found a compass made of pure gold.

With the compass in hand, the boy did find his way back home. He immediately went into town, and the three friends were shocked to see him back so soon. He went right up to them and thanked them for their help in leading him to the greatest treasure he had ever found. He said, “Not far from where you left me, there is a rich old man with a trunk full of gold, jewels, and other priceless things. And he gives them away so freely!” So the next morning, the three went to find this old man themselves. But when they arrived at his doorstep, the old man knew that they were the three from the bald boy’s story. He opened the door of his house, walking stick in hand, and started swinging it at them. After a few well-placed whacks, the boys turned around and ran the whole way home, scared to death of the cane-swinging old man. The bald boy had been watching from behind a tree the whole time, and once the three were gone, he came out of hiding, went inside the house, and had a cup of tea with his new friend.
APPENDIX D
QUESTIONNAIRE

Participant #:

1. What specific parts of the story stand out to you? Why?

2. How would you describe the character of the bald boy?

3. What would you consider to be the main point or main purpose of this story? Explain.

4. If this story were made into a movie, which would best describe the genre of the movie? (Circle one)

   Tragedy  Drama  Comedy  Musical  Action  Other: _______

5. Indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements:

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   OTHER: (OPTIONAL) 1 2 3 4 5

6. Any additional comments/thoughts:
APPENDIX E
INTERLINEAR TEXT

The Bald Boy

1.1 Ay niyai, lama, lami, le lama mekina d3uanan, sat kotja lemi riki tiai na tiai i
baldy one CON adolescent.pl seven in village.OBJ one BE neg BE one

i paeintrj dairanti dareka dewas ar d3uanan sat me tiai

1s.POSS said adolescents.to village.from mother.3poss baldy.POSS day

atji dar ke nada dairanti dareka be poštism

bring wood that take.IMP wood.for mountain.to also son.POSS.1s

Once there was, once there wasn't, in a village there were seven adolescents and one baldy. These seven adolescents went to the mountain each day for wood. One day, Baldy's mother said to the adolescents from the village, "Take my son to the mountain too so that he might bring back wood."

1.2 Lamai jotana bilayi minga darika niyai or
ao nekina dareka mentana be lena d3uanana lamai

CON took mountain.to along with also baldy adolescents village.from

Dalayi dar anichin lema baku lamika anik lamai
jebol lama æetik læemek ke lena æetekin dar darai

dal day dar anichin lema baku anik lamai

towards here house.in entered house.to that baldy brought wood mountain.from
The village adolescents took along Baldy also and they brought wood from the mountain. When Baldy entered the house, he looked here and there but his mother was not at hom. Baldy carried the load outside.

1.3 تارېکېن کي ابی کورنداي مالسي گانس کغا .
kaya gans malani karwandai ai ke tarekn
کي ابی کورنداي مال ني گانس کغا

does grass animals.to    field mother that saw
He saw that mother is giving grass to animals in the field.

1.4 لبای ایستا بنا میکین " وینای چو جامی؟ "
dzami tʃu weŋai mekın anti aista lenai
لبا ی آي سنا آنا میکین وینای چو جامی

put.1s.MOOD where bundle    said to mother.3poss baldy.ERG
The bald boy said to his mother, "Where do I put the bundle?"

1.5 ایستا خاروئی کي وینای لاما جین با میکین "
mekın ba dʒen lama weŋai ke xaride aista
ای سنا خاروئی کي وینای لاما جین با میکین

said become    put house.in bundle that anger.with mother.3poss

Sheiram جايا "

dʒaiaʃiram

put.IMP head.1sPOSS
His mother, angry because the bundle gets put at home, said, "Put it on my head."
The baldy hung the load on his mother's head. Mother was hurt badly and died.

After a little thought, Baldy took his mother, set her on top of a donkey and left

CON injured nakar mother hung head.OBJ mother.3poss load baldy.ERG


The baldy hung the load on his mother's head. Mother was hurt badly and died.

After a little thought, Baldy took his mother, set her on top of a donkey and left

CON injured nakar mother hung head.OBJ mother.3poss load baldy.ERG


The baldy hung the load on his mother's head. Mother was hurt badly and died.

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CON injured nakar mother hung head.OBJ mother.3poss load baldy.ERG
آس دیخنی، اویار کلیک ای مادا ابیم کرتشتی
karţaste emi mada ei kakim awaz daxan as
آس دیخنی ی اویار کلیک ای مادا ابیم کرتشتی

donkey.2 POSS this woman Hey did sound farmer.ERG is (femenine)

dیگیا کی پاسلام کی بدیا
etjan pasalam ke dגישا
dیگیا کی تغلام کی بدیا

eating ripened crop.1 POSS that kick out.IMP

The farmer's sight fell on the woman sitting on the donkey and (he thought) the donkey is hungry in my crops. The farmer called out "Hey woman, move your donkey because he's eating my crops."

dیخنی خار بیک کی اویار مادا کرتشتی
kí دیگی ناکارتشتا mada alo ke bik xar daxan
dیخنی خار بیک کی اویار مادا کرتشتی

kick out NEG donkey.POSS woman this that become anger farmer

دیخنی گیری اویار کلیک ای مادا نیامدی میم کرتشتی
karţaste mem tenanti mada ei kakim awaz gerai daxan

دیخنی گیری اویار کلیک ای مادا نیامدی میم کرتشتی

donkey.2 POSS say.1s 2 POSS.to woman Hey did sound again farmer.ERG

پنیلنی دیگیا آگا ابیم مارکیمی.
marekme ekim aga dgiei pasalei

پنیلنی دیگیا آگا ابیم مارکیمی

kill.1s.2s. came if kick out.IMP ripened crop.from

The farmer got angry that this woman is not moving the donkey. The farmer calls out again, "Hey woman, I'm telling you to get your donkey out of the crops. If I come there I will kill you"

1.10 مادا ذیک اس او گتیا خارال پنشی ابی.
jei pasali xaral karta ao as dek mada

مادا ذیک اس او گتیا خارال پنشی ابی

eat crop.OBJ just donkey CON is (femenine) quiet woman

The woman is quiet and the donkey just keeps eating the crops.
The farmer got even angrier that the women is not even paying attention to his calls. He ran and hit the woman on the donkey on the head with a shovel and the woman fell from the donkey to the ground. Baldy came up from the low field and said to the farmer, "Hey! You killed my mother."
promised the baldy to the house.
The farmer sent the entire agreement with the baldy (i.e. everything he had promised the baldy) to the house.

The farmer sent the entire agreement with the baldy (i.e. everything he had promised the baldy) to the house.
The adolescents were surprised and asked Baldy, "Where did you get the new clothes, new wife, and all the money from?"

Baldy told the adolescents, "I killed my mother and sold her in the bazaar and all these things happened.

You also kill your mothers and sell them that your lives would be fixed."
The nomad is wearing old clothes and grazing sheep.

with honor without CON become anger a lot behind 3p people bazaar.in

The people in the bazaar got really angry at them and send them back home dishonored and said to them "Quickly bury these bodies."

The adolescents this quickly said 3p.to CON did back village.to back.

The people in the bazaar got really angry at them and send them back home dishonored and said to them "Quickly bury these bodies."

The people in the bazaar got really angry at them and send them back home dishonored and said to them "Quickly bury these bodies."

All the adolescents were running behind him. Baldy reached close to the river and came face to face with a Kuchi (nomad).

grazes sheep CON are, inanimate body clothes old that (The nomad) is wearing old clothes and grazing sheep.
The Kuchi (nomad) asked Baldy, "Why are you running?"

"People are after me and they say that we will give you in marriage but I will not marry."

Baldy said to the Kuchi, "You are behind. People are saying that we will give you in marriage but I will not marry."

CON give.IMP.1s 1ps clothes.2s old these do.MOOD wedding 2ps if

do.1s NEG wedding 1ps CON give.1p.2s do wedding Baldy said to the Kuchi, "People are after me and they say that we will give you in marriage but I will not marry.

CON give.IMP.1s 1ps clothes.2s old these do.MOOD wedding 2ps if

CON did change clothes quickly CON become happy Kuchi do.MOOD
one there is the Baldy! grabbed the man they threw him in the river.

The adolescents that were running after Baldy arrived at the river and said, "That one there is the Baldy!" and grabbing the man they threw him in the river.

If you would marry, give me your old clothes and take the new clothes on my body so that you can marry." The Kuchi was happy and quickly changed clothes and Baldy hid a little ways away. The Kuchi was really happy and sat near the river.

The adolescents that were running after Baldy arrived at the river and said, "That one there is the Baldy!" and grabbing the man they threw him in the river.

If you would marry, give me your old clothes and take the new clothes on my body so that you can marry." The Kuchi was happy and quickly changed clothes and Baldy hid a little ways away. The Kuchi was really happy and sat near the river.

1.25 mekən a pošləntı aınতত niwı ambala poškın lena ke d3uunan te

1.26 pəmən ləmekə abət marakım xo lena mekən d3uunanana

The adolescents said, "We've killed the baldy, now let's go home,"

"One day you must give me the new clothes that you will wear."

The adolescents came village to with herd sheep. Big baldy later hour one

is (masculine) NEG dead but baldy wah wah said
One hour later, Baldy came back to the village with a big herd of sheep. The adolescents said, "What? Baldy isn't dead!

And he has brought a lot of sheep."

Baldy said to the adolescent, "If only I had been thrown in the middle of the river - there were a lot more there"
Come, so that we can bring up sheep also." All the adolescents went to the side of the river. One from among them said, 'Baldy is a little bit of a liar. First I would throw myself into the river. If I wave my hand then you all throw yourselves in also. If I don't wave it, then kill the baldy, what he says is a lie.

The adolescents all these bring.MOOD sheep also we that come.IMP

if throw.MOOD body.1sPOSS 1ps to river first is (masculine) lie.NOM

 legis نگیچه اما ی جانئ وادا آناا نی وئیچ
 wәñәtʃәm na aga wada dзәnә be ima wәñәtʃәm astem

Las ین نگیچه اما ی جانئ وادا آناا نی وئیچ

threw.1s NEG if throw.IMP body.2p also 2pl threw 1s hand.1sPOSS

لیئا مادا او یغم لار شی "
 ji laŋ ayati ao marada lenәi

لیئا مادا او یغم لار شی is (inani) lie speech.3s CON kill.IMP baldy.ERG

CON nose.3s 3s.POSS threw in river body.3s adolescent.ERG that

wәŋәkә leŋә ao asti bintʃ band saei æтіk warәk dorәi

دئی ی دئیک شی ی نی بینج اسئی او لیگی نئیگا

throwing leg.3s CON hand.3s became closed breath.3s entered water mouth.3s

83
That adolescent threw himself in the river. Water went into his nose and mouth and his breath was blocked. He flailed his hands and legs. When the adolescents saw this, they said there are the most sheep of all!

All the adolescents quickly threw themselves into the river and Baldy was behind them watching. Once they had thrown themselves into the river, Baldy was very happy and laughed really hard. Bald took possession of the seven adolescents' houses and lands.
APPENDIX F
SEMANTIC COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

Semantic Componential Analysis of Terms Describing the Bald Boy

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