CHAPTER III

COMIC STRIP AS CULTURAL PRODUCT FACILITATES/ RESISTS TRANSLATION
IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION WHILE DISSEMINATING CULTURE.

The focus of this chapter is to place comic strip translation in the broader context of translation as a complex process of intercultural communication. As comic strip involves 'semiotic environments' the translations of comic strips from the perspective of inter-linguistic translation is analysed here highlighting the image-text relation of comic strips and how it facilitates as well as resists translation. Translation process always runs the risk of losing the self/source culture by a transformation through translation into the target text. As translation is often prompted by demands of the reader's space and market forces, attempt is also made to see the language hierarchy, hegemony and cultural dominance of both the source and target text. Sarnath Banerjee, the graphic novelist of India describes reading comics as a 'coded affair' (Daniel 1). It is a semiotic system that works through the relation between written text and pictures which are easy to be encoded. The process of translation presents itself as an interesting paradigm when the praxis is translation of comic strips. The concept of language codification and pictorial codification in comic strips-in the form of illustration and familiar comic strip iconography such as stars for pain, speech bubbles, thought balloons, sawing logs for snoring etc. have evolved a new pictorial language that remain valid and meaningful across cultures and languages in the form of modern and archetypal constructs. Hence translating a comic strip would require translation of the language part only, leaving the rest consisting of illustration and familiar comic strip iconography such as stars for pain etc as it is. This leads to a part of the hypothesis that illustration facilitates translation in comic strips. It can counter the irreducible differences in language and culture, the inherent indeterminacy of language. Venutti sees the foreign text itself as the site of "many different semantic possibilities" (qtd in Rubel 10) which anyone translation only fixes in a provisional sense. Meaning itself is seen as a plural and contingent relation, not an unchanging unified essence. When a text is retranslated at a latter period in time it frequently differs from the first translation because of changes in historical and cultural context.(ibid) But illustration in a comic strip help in grounding the text in a specific socio-cultural milieu. Comic strip as a text offers a cultural representation of the world, both through language and the image. The translator mediates between two linguistic and cultural systems and should posses not only bi-lingual ability but also a bi-cultural understanding. Translator mediates between cultures including ideologies, moral system, etc. The comic strips as a cultural text is composed of signs such as verbal/
non-verbal, linguistic/pictorial, implicit/explicit, etc. They together form a network of codes and convey the message. The message is received by the viewer/reader of the target text. The image can show that which the words can not express and also support the verbal message thus facilitating translation process, but at the same time resists a cultural text to be translated into another culture. This could be read as a strategy of resistance that ensures safeguarding its original cultural identity since trans-culturation is denied. The result is a paradox—a binary of help and hindrance.

Joel Simundich in "Surrounded by Stillness and Quiet: Translation, Transparency and Genre in Jason's Jernvognen" states about words and images in comic strips and how does it work in translation. He talks about Jason's wordless comics. As he shows in the interview of Jason with L J Douresseau of the comic book Bin;

[Translation] was one of the things I had in mind when I started doing wordless comics, Norwegian not being a major language. The reason I still like working in that style is that those comics leave more for the readers, they have to go into the story and do their own interpretation, much more than comics with dialogue, I think. Besides, the dialogue has for me always been the hard part.

I think more in images than in words. Just skipping the words has made it easier to tell stories. (qtd in Simundich, par. 4).

In The Iron Wagon Jason pairs wordlessness with words; accordingly, most of the novel is driven not by character-to-character conversation, but instead by the spaces left in between. It is a transition from one medium to another. For The Iron Wagon to work not merely as illustrations to the text but as a translation of the text itself, the atmosphere, the magical quality that makes the reader participate in the story to a greater degree, needs to be "translated" through the appropriate format. To open up his work to larger audience Jason "pares down his illustration to their essential visual elements, effective stripping them down and leaving the rarefied pieces of the narrative itself" (ibid). This points out the restraints in respect to linguistic part. The illustrations, on the other hand have global characteristics and can be more or less decoded by people of other cultures. Therefore, it is apparent that illustration facilitates the translation process and also can resist the translation of the total text by retaining the authorial intention. It at the same time allows scope for readers to do their interpretation. However, in case of comics with linguistic and visual elements sometimes reading and seeing can be taken as oppositional mode of reading. Charles Hatfield writes in An Art of Tension, "reading and seeing are commonly discussed as oppositional modes of"reading" comics. Page by page and panel by panel, the
reader is divided between seeing a sequence of successive events (each panel a 'moment' in an imagined sequence of events) and apprehending each panel as discrete image." a graphic element in an atemporal design" (qtd in Simundich par 4).

Simundich refers to Federico Zanettin's view while analysing the concept of comics in translation. In describing the history of translation in Manga and comics, Federico Zanettin argues that digital transcription technologies have changed the meaning of translation in graphic mediums: while erasing, retelling and retouching were once performed on the source text itself (as Zanettin notes, erasing "the source text with a shaving blade" and manually rewriting the translated target text) digital editing has enabled translation without physical alteration. Borrowing the phrase "constrained translation" from Christopher Titford's 1982 article “Subtitling, Constrained Translation”, Zanettin suggests that translation in comics further separates textual/written meaning from visual meaning. Although constrained translation approaches and stresses the semiotic dimension and the interdependence of words and images in comics, they remain primarily concerned with the translation of verbal material. Words are seen as subordinated to images and non-verbal components of the comics are discussed only so far as they represent visual constraints for the translator of the verbal components. This approach assumes that picture in translated comics is not modified and thus often restricts the scope of investigation to linguistic analysis. However, comics are primarily visual texts and meaning derives from the interaction between images and written language, both within and across panels and pages. (Qtd in Simundich par 5). As Zanettin writes, while translation principally concerns language, the images are just as important; "comics are", after all, "primarily visual texts" and the independence of the two forms means distancing the reader from their interplay. Accordingly Zanettin notes that the paratext of international comics has changed as a result of new transcription methods; for Zanettin artists looking to adapt their works for an international audience structure their texts on familiar "translatable" visual resources.

The present chapter focuses on the translation of a pure Bengali vernacular strip *Nante Fante* in English. Attempt has also been made to locate how market forces and the demand of English readership of the target culture influence the translated product/text. This aspect of translation process is connected to and can be analysed according to the concept of "textual grid" that seems to exist in all cultures in ways that pre-exist language. The grids are constructs, they reflect "patterns of expectations" that have been interiorised by members of a given culture, (Bassnett 17). The idea of textual grid is helpful in analysing translation. In an essay that developed his thinking around the idea of textual and conceptual grids, Andrew Lefevere asserted that problems in translation are caused "at least as much by discrepancies in conceptual and textual grids as by discrepancies in languages" (qtd in Bassnett 20). The problems become particularly apparent when translation takes between Western and non-Western cultures. This brings us, of course, straight to the most important problem in all translation and in all attempts at cross-cultural understanding. Can any culture ever really understand other culture on that
culture's own terms? Or do the grids always define the ways in which cultures will be able to understand each other. Are the grids, to put in terms that may well be too strong, the prerequisite for all understanding or not? (qtd in Bassnett 20). Bassnett cites another concept that is 'cultural capital' (Bassnett 19) which can be loosely defined as that which is necessary for an individual to belong to the 'right circle' in the society. Translation helps a culture to come closer to the 'cultural capital' of another. The concept of cultural capital is most pertinent to the power relation, negotiation and hierarchy concept in translation as there is the question of whether the source culture or the target culture is in need of coming close to the cultural capital of other. In case of translation of Bengali Nante Fante to English it is the source culture that attempts to come close to the target culture as it is necessary for a global readership. The enlargement of panel which is less a textual necessity than a marketing strategy, is an attempt to compete with the international market of comics. The ISBN1 in the translated text is also indicative of the process. Cultural capital here is not the source text but the Western canon of English language and English readership. As far as textual grids are concerned, the translation of Nante Fante in English attempts to conform to the patterns of expectation of a global readership by a thorough modification in the quality of the product. Here the vernacular text/product is being 'translated' into text/ cultural product of target culture. This chapter also investigates the different concepts of inter semiotic translation in comic strips and how it becomes a mode of cultural production and cultural dissemination. A translation process is sometimes necessitated by the prospect of ability of the translated 'form' to generate meaning in a culture and its dissemination. As the term 'text' is now used in the post modern sense, translation is not also limited in language-to-language translation, it can be from one genre/medium to another i.e from 'text' to 'text'.

It is pertinent here to relate the translation of comic strips in particular to the broader perspective of the problematic involved in translation. It is argued whether total translation is possible or it becomes only an approximation (when attempt is undertaken with a favorable purpose) or distortion of the image of source text (when there is a lack of understanding or lack of intention of understanding of the source culture). Translation is not merely an academic agenda, it takes some 'extra textual' factors in consideration even more prominently than the text itself. Such extra textual factors involves cultural dissemination and thereby 'acceptance' of the source text and source culture. Historical evidence shows that translation process was necessitated by an urge from political and cultural sphere either to understand other cultures or to be understood by other cultures. The very fact that translated text should be accepted positively in other cultures makes it a cultural process and the translated text a cultural product. Translation plays a major role in shaping literary systems. Translation does not take place in horizontal axis. The translator is involved in complex power negotiation mediating between cultures. The superiority of any language can undergo a thorough shift as there is a need of acceptance by that culture and language to which it is being translated. For example if any text in English is translated
into Bengali, then it is the Bengali language and culture that have to be understood first. Here the English-Bengali language/culture hierarchy shall thus undergo a shift. However, any translation involves or takes into consideration the following:

1. Popularity of the text,
2. Value as a cultural product,
3. Market relation in the target culture,
4. The prospect of acceptability in the alien culture,
5. The translated text as a tool for political expansion or imparting ideological indoctrination.

In case of the last stated reason there is the possibility of distortion, misrepresentation or displacement of some of the elements of the source text in the target culture. The source text with illustration (such as geography and history book) can create a complication if the translator's intention is to distort some of the facts. Illustrations can be misplaced and also the caption with it can be mistranslated thereby totally misrepresenting the fact in the source text. Illustration plays a pivotal role as it has a penetrating effect on the mind of the reader. The analysis of Fukuzawa Yukichi's² translated book Sekai Kunizukushi (Nations around the World) by Akiku Uchiyama in his "Translation as representation: Fukuzawa's representation of the "others" is a case in point. Uchiyama says that Yukuchi's representation of non-western cultures had significant bearing on Japanese reader's perception of these cultures. His writings have been under scrutiny as evidences for his being a nationalistic expansionist who contributed to instigating Japan's aggression towards Asia (Uchiyama 63). After opening up to the world the 'pre-modern' Japan endeavoured to catch up with the 'modern' West. In this sense modernisation in Japan was virtually westernisation. One way to impart this knowledge was through translation and many translated works were translated for this purpose (65). Uchiyama closely examines Sekai Kunizukushi. This book involves representation of the civilised west and uncivilised others, presenting western civilisation as Japan's goal. This book contains illustrations (which Fukuzawa misplaced in some cases). Minamato argues that the illustrations in the book influenced the creation of the stereotype image of foreign places which Japanese people have held in their mind from the meiji period onward (qtd in Uchiyama 67).

The source book of Sekai Kunizukishi is A System Of Modern Geography (Mitchell's New School Geography) by an American. S. Augustus Mitchell represents the world in the form of question and answers. Fukuzawa omits the question part and retains the answer only. Uchiyama's essay about the representation of Fukuzawa along with the back translation done by the author is being cited here:

What is meant by savage life?

Savage life is the lowest stage of existence among wandering tribes. It is but little removed from the life of brutes. Such is the condition of the some of the natives of central Africa, New Guinea, and Australlia. Fukuzawa renders it as follows.
The first (stage) is called chaos. The people are in the lowest stage among savages and not far from the state of birds and beasts. This is the state of the natives of inland Africa, New Guinea and Australia. (69)

Uchiyama points out that Fukuzawa made an even more interesting change in his translation. Mitchell inserted four illustrations to depict each state of civilization. Fukuzawa moved these illustrations to the section of the Europe in Sekai Kunizukishi and introduced an explanation of the illustration as follows:

Although Europe is now without doubt the most civilised and enlightened continent in the world, it was in a chaotic and ignorant state in old days (70)

Uchiyama concludes:

It appears that Fukuzawa transforms the illustration not only to show the stages of civilization but also to emphasize that Europe has been through these stages to achieve its level of civilization…Because Europe is presented as civilized and enlightened and consequently as the goal for Japan to reach, the notion of Europe once at the chaotic stage is encouraging for the country which Fukuzawa thinks will advance toward civilisation (71).

There are twelve illustrations in the section on Africa, and ten of them are copied from Modern Geography. One of the ten illustrations depict a lion standing over a man lying on the ground. The text explains the illustration as follows:

There are many lions around here, and they sometimes harm people; it is horrifying (Fukuzawa 1869/1959:605). And the caption says: a lion eats a man. This illustration must have made a strong impression on the reader, branding the image of Africa as a place of wilderness with fierce animals (72). The African illustrations starkly contrast with the illustrations in the section of Europe, which depict grand cities and monarchs in sumptuous attires. The contrast also highlights the dichotomy of the civilised and the uncivilised.

The problem of translation is cultural not individual. The individual mind operates in a cultural context. Therefore when we translate it is not the propositional knowledge ascribed to the individual mind which is involved, but translation is the communication of cultural knowledge. Every act of translation is a social act, involving social relationship; transforming as well as crossing boundaries. Translation, therefore, in its broadest term can refer to across-cultural understanding. But translation always involves an ideology. The ideological implications of translation is noted by Bassnett when she says that “all rewriting, whatever their intention reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such
manipulate literature to function in a society in a given way. Rewriting is the manipulation, undertaken in the service of power and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of literature and a society” (qtd in Rubel 6).

Cronin notes that translation relationship between minority and majority languages are rarely divorced from the issues of power and identity that in turn destabilise universal theoretical perception on the translation process (ibid). The values of the source language may be different from those of the target language and this difference must be dealt with in any kind translation. Here lies the concept of resisting translations. It would be pertinent here to relate what German theorist Schleiermacher wrote "On the Different Methods of Translation" in 1813. A translation could move in either two directions, either the author is brought to the language of the reader or the reader is carried to the language of the author. Venutti says that in the latter case when the reader is forced from his linguistic habits and obligations to move within those of the author, there is actual translation (60). Venutti in "The Translator's Invisibility" says that foreignizing a text means one must disrupt the cultural codes of the target language in the course of translation. This method seeks to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation and is an intervention pitted against hegemonic English language, nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in which they engage their global others (qtd in Rubel 15). Nante Fante comic strip translation is an attempt to gain larger readership- a move from 'local' to 'global'. But illustrations resist a total submission to global language and its imperialistic tendency with its static and unchanging characteristics.

Moving in the direction of the reader is referred to as the domestication of translation. Such a translation process has served global purposes of the Western modernised industrial nations, at the expense of the minor cultures, nations and people around the world. Foreignising translation is a way of rectifying the imbalance and it allows the voice of these latter nations to be heard in their own terms. If the problem of translation is to be countered then cultural context of the translation must always be presented. The comic strips translations provide this context through illustration and iconography. Rubel and Roseman in the introduction to their book *Translating Culture. Perspective on Translation and Anthropology* refers to what Jakobson has said. Jakobson points out that the meaning of a linguistic sign is in its translation into some further alternative sign, especially one which is more fully developed (16). He refers to inter-semiotic translation -the interpretation of verbal sign by signs of non-verbal sign system. He recognises that the grammatical patterns of a language determines those aspects of experience which must be expressed and that translation often require supplementary information since languages are different in what they must convey and what they may convey.

Susan Bassnett suggested that translation offers an ideal laboratory situation for the study of cultural interaction, since a comparison of the original and the translated text will not only show strategies employed by translators at certain moments, but will also reveal the different status of the two texts in their several literary systems. More broadly it will expose the relationship between the two cultural systems in which those texts are embedded. (Bassnett 20) A detailed analysis/comparison of
the translated version of *Nante Fante* with that of the source text is attempted here, so as to justify the hypothesis that illustration facilitates as well as resists translation of comic strips. In *Nante Fante Unmatched*, the translated version of *Nante Fante Lajabab* written in Bengali, the comic flavor of the series is retained through the illustrations and compensates the lack or rather impossibility of perfect equivalence as well as impossibility of translation of some of the colloquial and really humorous terms in Bengali. In the second and the third panel of page 3, (the page number of both the versions is same) the illustration of the superintendent lying in bed due to severe stomach ache reveals much more than the linguistic text, communicating to the reader a sense of 'painful intensity'. The linguistic text fails to convey it. The translated text "I have got a stomach ache" is not equivalent to the Bengali "pete bado bedana re Keltu!". (Figure 3.1; and 3.2) It neither conveys the pain nor renders the humour associated with the genre evident. The "ooh! aah!" in the speech bubble, which is specifically an attribution/p art of comic genre and can not properly be called a 'translation' of the Bengali text in the speech bubble of the original is forceful in conveying the sense. It is relevant here to mention the concepts associated with generation of meaning in comic genre through text and image combine. The sound image in the speech bubble is considered as picture/image- a part of the comic strip iconography rather, and not the linguistic text. Jason's (a Norwegian artist) work reflects a visibility in silence. He commented that translation was operational in his mind when he created wordless comics. As said earlier in this chapter in second para, he commented that such comics leave much for the readers, they have to delve into the story and do their own interpretation-a comment that justifies the paradox of illustration as resistance as well as facilitation. It resists translation when the illustration is faithful to the original text, source text or comic. In comic strips image takes precedence over the language text. The intensity of "ooh! Aah!" in the speech bubble looks less like a textual element and registers each sound as a visual element, onomatopoeic in intent with the sound echoing the sense. Interestingly this linguistic text is not a proper linguistic 'translation' of the original Bengali as the sound image remains the same; it works as a comic strip iconography which is valid for all cultures alike. Another instance from the same book can be analysed from this perspective that justifies that illustration facilitates translation. The humorous element of the three panels of page 32 (Figures 3.3; 3.4; 3.5) is brought out by the illustration of characters (Keltu and the other anonymous person) and their facial expressions. The illustration is so expressive that it can convey the sense even if the dialogue is omitted. It comes close to the concept of invisibility of the translator. The invisibility of the translator gives the translated 'text' a sense of transparency -the process which is viewed as an act defending the popular phrase translator as traitor. According to Venuti, the more fluent the translation, the more invisible is the translator (qtd in Rubel 16). The illustration here gives such a kind of fluency to the foreign text that it looks not like a translation but the 'original'. But as comic strips are combinations of words and images there is a constant conflict between these two medium. In the translated text of *Nante Fante*, due to the discrepancies between English language and
the context and culture specific illustrations, the content is rendered only an approximation, and pure essence is missed. In page 19 of *Nante Fante Ki Ananda* (translated as *Nante Fante Hurrah* in page 19) the verbal dialogue "Ekta pudding re mairi " is translated as "It's pudding man!". "Mairi" is a colloquial word peculiar to suburban areas of Bengal, a sort of swearing, while the English translation renders it as 'man'. It is totally Europeanised loosing essence of the original Bengali failing to fit in with the illustration. The cultural codes in the form of dress, mannerism remains same. This can also be analysed as an attempt of coming close to the audience of the target text. In another instance (*Nante Fante Unmathched*, 11), the word 'guy' is used as a translated form of 'ekjan' (meaning one person or boy), thus providing it with a gendered bias. It is also an attempt to render the translation oriented more to the target culture than resisting the transformation of the text. John Milton and Paul Bandia in their introduction to the book entitled *Agents of Translation* refer to Maria Tymoczko' essay in which she makes a forceful argument against foreignising as a form of political engagement (15). It is pertinent here to theorise the act of translation and the objectives involved in it. Translation process can operate from two purposes or perspectives either it is an attempt to bridge the gap between two cultures. In that case it tries to retain the culture specificity of the source culture and source text making the source text closer to the target text reader/audience. When there is untranslatability, the translators in this case use footnotes, etc since to find a perfect equivalence is impossible. Or it is an attempt to gain larger readership as a part of marketing strategies. The translation process in such case disrupts or distorts much of the culture specificity consciously or unconsciously. The text and the target culture are prioritised in this case and not the source culture. Therefore there is an attempt towards making the produced / translated text look more original, thus attempting to erase traces of the source text altogether.

The translation of *Nante Fante* in English, according to the publishers, is an attempt to acquaint the English speaking and English reading Bengali children with their own culture. But the translated linguistic text fails to convey this sense. However, the illustration compensates the lacking. It is interesting to note that the target text *Nante Fante Unmatched* and *Nante Fante Hurrah* are translated by the members of the source culture. But the translation omits some of the culture specific discourse. The translation is from local to global language and the text is focused on target language and culture. It is relevant here to mention a local comic strip of Tripura *Senapati Ray Kachag* (General Ray Kachag, trans. mine). While *Nante Fante* in translation is an inter-linguistic translation, it is a translation of form, or rather trans-genre translation. Ray Kachag's story in the canonical history of Tripura such as *Rajmala* is almost absent. The 'text' therefore is a translation from oral to written form. As far as the cultural sphere of Tripura is concerned, a hierarchy can be located between the ethnic tribal and non-tribal cultures and populace, the later being more dominant. But the creator of the comic strip *Senapati Ray Kachag* by Alak Dasgupta, inspite of being a part of 'mainstream' Bengali non-tribal culture, carefully renders the chivalrous story of this tribal (Reang) general in a written comic strip form. He
retains the culture specificity of the source culture through footnotes where necessary. It is an attempt to reconstruct history in popular literature form - a move from oral folk to comic strip media.

Anand Mahanand in his "Translating and Reviewing Tribal Folktales: Understanding Socio-cultural Proximity" shares his experience in translating tribal folktales from southern Orissa to English. The translation has undergone different stages:

The tales were first in the oral narratives. They were translated into written form. At this stage it is important to note the changes taking place. For instance, when a tale is told in the oral form, it is associated with performance, and this aspect can not be captured in the written form. The gesture of the storyteller, the active participation of the audience in telling them and many such things get omitted in the written form. At the second stage, they were translated from tribal language into Oriya ... The translators have retained the nuances of the tribal language. They have provided footnotes and anecdotes. The third stage is my translation to English. (170-171)

The creation of comic strip Senapati Ray Kachag can be placed in the second stage where a folk narrative in tribal language is translated to a written form of Bengali language. It should be pointed out here that Senapati Ray Kachag is not a tale, therefore imagination and performance associated with oral narrative is less operative here. But the strip, being in a genre that provides scope of performativeness through image and verbal dialogue, is almost successful in its translation. As it has considerable historical verity it can not be called a folktale, it is a re-rendering/ rewriting of historical fact into a fictional narrative. Comic strip media retains the tribal ethnic culture specificity through images and resists the folk and oral narrative to be translated to mainstream Bengali written form. Knowledge on translation studies puts emphasis on target readers believing that translated texts succeed if they produce a strong aesthetic response in the minds of the target readers and provide them with a sense of culture. It is partially acceptable but it should not be the sole criteria as the source culture is also to be valued and preserved. The target culture oriented views also advocate the naturalness of expression in the translated text. But if the naturalness of expression of the translated text is taken as main concern, then the question arises whether the use of footnotes reduces /curbs the naturalness of the source-text. The translation that relates to the culture of the receptor attempts to approximate the original more closely.
Different communities codify the world according to different rules and conventions. Therefore in cases where there is an abundance of socio-cultural references in the source text (ST), trying to achieve the same equivalence in target text (TT) seldom works. The function of a translation is dependent on the knowledge, expectations, values and norms of the target readers, who are again influenced by the situation they are in and by the culture. These factors determine whether the function of the source text can be preserved or has to be modified or even changed. An instance from *Nante Fante Hurrah* can be cited here. In page 18 of the source text there is a dialogue of Nante which says "rannar thakur ar Keltur matha abar ek hoyeche" meaning “the brains/ heads of the cook and Keltu has come together again” (trans. mine). It is actually a reference having double meaning indicating the conspiracy hatched by the cook and Keltu who have done it before. The translated version totally omits the meaning and renders it as "Keltu and cook looks exhausted". (Figures 3.6, and 3.7). This is because of the lack of perfect equivalence in the target language. In Bengali there are many words that can have more than one meaning. 'Matha' or head in Bengali means intellect, and also leader, person occupying high position, etc. Here it is a reference to intellect although ironically. The culture specific pun that creates humour in the source text is totally lost in translation as also the humour associated with it. But the image and the comic strip iconography showing Keltu and the cook hopelessly sitting together with their backs against one another substitutes the lack to some extent as it conforms to the translated linguistic text (modification and enlargement of Barthes' concept of 'anchorage' proposed in this thesis vindicates this). The postulation of skopos theory can be quoted here. According to this theory, translating and interpreting should primarily take into account the function of both the source text and the target text. It is one of the translation theories that best explains the reasons why a translation sometimes has to adapt the source text according to the context and the situation of the target text audience, the addressee being the main factor determining the target text's purpose. Usually a source text is produced for a given situation in order to perform a specific function. In addition, it is usually oriented towards a source culture, because its author has a specific kind of audience in mind when producing it. But a new target audience may lack the awareness of the source culture that is necessary to fully comprehend the target text, and this is why the target text must be oriented towards the assumed knowledge that the target community has. Thus the role of the translator is not only to transpose a text into another text in a different language, but also to act as a mediator in a process of intercultural communication. The image/illustration that remains unchanged in comic strip translation helps in grounding the target text in the source culture. The translation process thus does justice to both the source text and target text.

The very fact that pictures/ illustrations remain unchanged in the translated text leads to the other part of the hypothesis, that illustration resists translation. The character of “Thakur” in the English translated version is referred to as 'cook' which is his original identity in the mainstream Bengali cultural sphere. His illustration, always bearing orders and serving others reinforces his subordinate identity.
While in the Bengali version his language is another attribution of his subordinate and marginalised identity, the translated English version does not show the slightest variation in his speech that can be differentiated from mainstream Bengali. In fact, to render the linguistic equivalence of his speech is almost impossible as he speaks a mixed language with a particular accent. His illustration facilitates the translation process, but at the same time resists the 'cultural 'text' itself to be translated into a text of foreign culture. It retains the authorial intent and the intention of the Bengali culture's dominant power structure and ideology through the illustration of the cook. It is easy to imagine the difference that will be created if the illustration is omitted since the linguistic text (according to the writer-cum-illustrator, in the ST the linguistic text shows an act of imitation by the cook meant for appropriating and assimilating himself in the mainstream culture) in translation in English cannot render and communicate the cook's subordinate position that was intended by the author. It thus resists translation of the ideology of the source text and source culture.

The cultural specificity of Bengal or Bengal as cultural space with its dress, mannerism, behavior, food habits resist translation of itself in an alien culture through the illustration. An instance can be cited from the book where the scenery of rural Bengal with house made of mud, green fields, etc and other details are illustrated. This illustration communicates the real flavor of rural Bengal (panel1, page 21; Figures 3.10) which the translated linguistic text in English version about the detailed description of fresh foods which the superintendent's friend Gobra promises to serve him, fails to render in exact equivalence because of its culture specificity (panel 6, page 19,Figure 3.11). “Garur dudh”, “ghee”, “kheer”, “chana”, “payesh” “pukure dhara jyanta macher jhol”, “Kalita”, “macher muro” is translated inappropriately as 'fresh cow milk', 'curd' and 'cheese' and 'fish from our own pond'. This condensation reduces the sensibility associated with the culture. “ghee”, “kheer”, “chana”, “payesh” are made from milk. Curd is included in the translated version but it is not included in the original Bengali version.

The cultural specificity of Bengal or Bengal as cultural space with its dress, mannerism, behavior, food habits resist translation of itself in an alien culture through the illustration. An instance can be cited from the book where the scenery of rural Bengal with house made of mud, green fields, etc and other details are illustrated. This illustration communicates the real flavor of rural Bengal (panel1, page 21; Figures 3.10) which the translated linguistic text in English version about the detailed description of fresh foods which the superintendent's friend Gobra promises to serve him, fails to render in exact equivalence because of its culture specificity (panel 6, page 19,Figure 3.11). “Garur dudh”, “ghee”, “kheer”, “chana”, “payesh” “pukure dhara jyanta macher jhol”, “Kalita”, “macher muro” is translated inappropriately as 'fresh cow milk', 'curd' and 'cheese' and 'fish from our own pond'. This condensation reduces the sensibility associated with the culture. “ghee”, “kheer”, “chana”, “payesh” are made from milk. Curd is included in the translated version but it is not included in the original Bengali version.

The method of preparing “chana” and “kheer” in Bengali household is very much culture specific and connotes sensibility associated with the culture. “Macher jhol” could be translated as fish curry but 'kalia' needs footnote. It is surprising that the translator did not even attempt to retain the culture specificity of the source text. Another such instance is “Chirata” (Debnath, 11) 'that is translated as 'bitter potion'. “Chirata” is considered good for digestion and is the branch or twig of a particular herb. It is bitter in taste. Considering the purpose of translation that is to make the Bengali children familiar with their own culture, the translators could use footnotes showing more fidelity to the source text wherever possible.

The fun arising from association or rhyming of words is difficult to retain and it is likely to be missed in the translated version. The panel in Nante Fante Lajabab, where superintendent is talking to a hearing impaired person evokes fun and humour in the source text only in the vernacular Bengali version (Debnath 21). The linguistic element of both source text and target text is rendered as
follows:
Superintend: Harchur gram kondike bhai?
Translated version: Do you know Harchur village?
The person: Na go babu amar keo nai.
Translated version: I have none to look after me.

The misunderstanding along with the rhyming of 'bhai' (meaning brother) and 'nai' (meaning no) creates humour in Bengali. But it is missed in the target text because of the difference in linguistic texts and the languages themselves. It is worthy to mention here that the time frame depicted in Nante Fante is that of Bengal in 1960's. According to the writer-cum-illustrator, he depicted Nante, Fante and Handa, Bhonda remembering his days in Shibpur, West Bengal. The illustrations of central characters, their behavior, mannerism, dress and the peculiarities associated with the then boy's hostel have probably remain unchanged through time. It is another authorial intention that can also be termed a stimulator of nostalgia. The illustration of the Superintendent, for instance, offers an interesting study. He is also a kind of popular stereotype found in popular 'texts' such as movies, novels, fiction, etc. The illustration of superintendent with a hefty figure and in dhoti punjabi resists the translation of the 'time' and space of the original text or source text. His designation, when viewed in the present context/time frame will not convey any such cultural specificity. His illustration, thus, places even the translated comic strip version in a specific socio-cultural milieu where boy's hostel was the most common and familiar concept in the educational system. Thus, the illustration resists translation in a two way process- by conveying culture specificity through dress, food habit, etc and by resisting translation of a distinct time frame and the presentation of an intended era from being lost in translation to another. The illustration thus retains the 'locale' of Nante Fante even in a foreign language translation.

The concept of comic strip translation should be viewed from a different perspective altogether because of the uniqueness of the genre. Will Eisner defines comics as "the arrangement of pictures or images and words to narrate a story and dramatise an idea" and explains that "in its most economical state comics employ a series of repetitive images and recognizable symbols. When these are used again and again to convey similar ideas, they become a language -a literary form, if you will" (qtd in Ting par 4). In fact, the text -picture synergy of comic strips offers a kind of translation that can be defined by the term 'transmediation'. It is a translation/transcreation of ideation effect which does not consist of a single sign system/single creation but a combined form of the two sign systems that produces a greater literary effect. Siegel defined transmediation as "taking understanding from none system and moving them into another sign system"(qtd in Ting par 6). Reading of comic strips involves going back and forth between pictures and we frequently translate our ideas from one sign system to another.
According to Federico Zanettin, comics translation should be seen ultimately as intercultural translation between semiotic environments that are culturally determined along dimensions of space and time. By semiotic environment, he means a multiplicity and heterogeneity of semiotic systems which encompasses texts, media and discourses i.e., the visual systems (such as illustration, caricature, painting, photography and graphics), temporality systems (comprising narratives, poetry and music) and mixed systems of images and temporality i.e., cinema and theatre. McCloud suggests that meaning in comics is to be found in the blank spaces between panels. It is the reader who fills in those intersectices with expectations and world knowledge and makes sense of sometimes seemingly images and words (qtd. in Zanettin, par 3). Zanettin, on the basis of Eco's recent and elaborated model discerns the following types of inter and intra-semiotic comics translation:

a) the change of reading direction often involved in Western translation of Japanese comics, as in Arabic translation of Western comics, the first consequence being the creation of many left handed people;

b) the reproduction in black and white of a comic book in colour or vice versa (par 6).

Zanettin observes two approaches in comics in translation studies. The earlier one is the linguistic oriented approach. It sees comics mostly as a source of example to discuss the translation of puns, proper names, onomatopoeias, citations, allusions and other features of language which are often found in comics, but not specific to them. The semiotic oriented approaches take into account features specific to the semiotic environments. These approaches take into consideration the relationship between symbolic and iconic components i.e., between written text and picture. However, the relationship between visual and written elements can also be seen as that of complementarity, whereas the interplay between "art form specific grammatical devices" such as frame transitions, motion lines, lettering, pictograms and visual metaphors contribute to the meaning and development of narratives. In comic strip translation, visual components may also be changed, not just the dialogue in the speech bubble. Kalindi proposes a translation relevant anatomy of comics, that is, a taxonomy of those aspects of comics that may be modified during the translation process (qtd. in Zanettin). These include typographical signs (font type and size, layout format), pictorial signs (colours, action lines, vignettes, perspectives) and linguistic signs (titles, inscriptions, dialogue, onomatopoeia, narration). The Nante Fante translation in English can be analysed as an instance where both typographical signs and linguistic signs have been translated. The translation of linguistic sign in the speech bubble is a necessity in intercultural communication. Language plays an important part in the communication system of any culture. Therefore the translation of linguistic sign is a primary necessity. The translation of typographical signs especially the font type and size and layout format in the English version is an extra-textual necessity meant not for intercultural communication. It is a marketing strategy aiming to tap larger audience. The changing of font type and layout format gives the target text a look that can compete with comic books such as Tintin and Asterix that dominate
the market. The target text i.e the English versions of the *Nante Fante* have ISBN number which neither the black and white strips nor the colour strips in the Bengali versions possess. This is an effort at standardisation as per international standards of book production and publication. The improved paper quality with larger size gives the text a look that can be compared to the likes of Tintin comics. The back cover featuring other titles in translation lends it a certain elevated status (a style in imitation of *Tintin* strips) and as a product lends it both quality and permanence. The product or production is a cultural phenomenon involving many complex features. The marketing strategy in the form of change in look/appearance can be termed as "preliminary norm" using Toury's terminology (qtd in Zannetin par 6). The cultural, literary and linguistic norms influence the translation process. Toury draws a distinction between "preliminary norms" which have to do with translation policies and decisions about what gets and does not get translated, and "operational norms" which direct actual decisions made during translation process (ibid). Among preliminary norms censorship and self censorship play an important role. This can refer to differences in culture and raise the question as to whether all the references of the source text will positively be accepted in the target culture. Translation involves a deliberate loss/omission on the part of the translator. This happens due to a difference in the perspective, ideology and political indoctrination between the source culture and its language and target culture and its language, between the author and the translator.

Tintin comics in English version often make use of racist terms such as 'niger' etc for an African or an Arab. These terms are racially prejudiced and represent white Eurocentric racist viewpoint. But in Bengali translation such terms are not only avoided but the linguistic text accompanying the pictorial message is also silenced. This could be viewed as a clash of ideologies between the oriental and the occidental. Bengali, being an oriental language and the language of the translator, would sympathise with and relate to an Arab or an African rather than a white European or white American. Therefore, it would only be politically correct to deliberately silence the racist linguistic text accompanying the pictorial text in the original in its Bengali translation. Moreover, this also reverses the author-translator hierarchy by bestowing in the translator the authority to change/modify the original text while translating. In the first panel of the third row in the English version *The Crab with the Golden Claws*, Captain Haddock uses the word 'bunch of savages' in the linguistic text to denote the turbaned and robed oriental others of the original text. This is purely a racist abuse used from the white Eurocentric point of view. The same panel in page 41 of translated Bengali version totally silences the racist abuse and communicates a far safer connotation of just losing Tintin, and Captain Haddock being bewildered. The translated Bengali version translates only the second message of the linguistic text and annihilates the first message (Figure 3.12). It goes against the ethos of Bengali culture which is oriental and non-Eurocentric. Moreover, the racist message would have gone against the sentiments of the Bengali reader. Comic strip in translation, under its apparent simplicity conceals varied cultural, social and political forces at play. It involves
further complications because the illustration and image paradoxically facilitates and resists translation at the same time. Another factor that remains problematic in case of comic strip translation is that of ambiguity of meaning in the target text that can be generated because of inconsistency and lack of collaboration of images (that remains unchanged usually) and the translated linguistic message. It becomes apparent to readers who are acquainted with both the source language and culture and the target language and culture. Here lies the question of association of two different media language and illustration. How far illustration and linguistic message belonging to different cultures complement each other is also pertinent and debatable. When snowy has become 'Kuttush' (an onomatopoeic sound denoting tiny) in the Bengali version it is localisation, but the name of the detective duo Thompson and Thomson that have been changed to Jonson and Ronson is not localised, only altered. In the English version of Nante Fante, such sophisticated utterance as "it is so nice of you" by the cook/"Thakur" may seem awkward to a reader who is acquainted with the source text (ST) and familiar with the mixed and faulty accent of the “Thakur”. It does not go with his illustration and gesture. It is an advantage of comic strip translation that it never allows a distortion of the source culture. It can create ambiguity of meaning but never erase the meaning rooted in the source text because of its illustration. In case of Nante Fante translation thus, the authorial intent to subordinate the character of “Thakur” remains intact because of his illustration. In case of typographical/linguistic text sometimes the source message is erased totally and a new meaning is generated to suit the target culture. Zanettin refers to Jehan Zitawi’s unpublished PhD thesis "The Translation of Disney Comics in the Arab World: A Pragmatic Perspective" (2004) and cites:

Zitawi describes the different policies and norms operating in Egypt and in the Arabic peninsula. Publisher in Quwait and Dubai have adopted a strict set of internal guidelines to prevent censorship from the ministerial body which has to approve all published material. These may result in avoiding the publication of whole stories initially considered, or in marked modifications of both visual and written components. For instance, in a Donald Duck story the content of an entire page is changed, so that instead of reading from love letters Donald Duck reads about an imaginary adventure in Africa. Images can also be retouched or replaced, for instance the top of Santa Claus's hat is removed in a Christmas scene, as is uncle Scrooge's top hat in another (the top hat is
associated in Arab World to the Jewish imagery). A panel showing a kiss between Clarabelle Cow and monkey has been replaced by one created ad hoc by merging images taken from different panels and involving no kiss. Potentially offensive features undergo in other case a process of mitigation. For example semi-naked bodies are coated in black and evil-looking Scheikhs are verbally identified and referred to as Indian Maharajas…(Zanettin 13).

K.M. Sherrif in the article "Toward a theory of Rewriting: Drawing from Indian Practice" draws attention to the domain of rewriting that constitutes an important segment of translational practices (176). He points out that the theory on rewritings such as trans-genre rewritings like the dramatisations of a novel and intersemiotic rewritings like the cinematic version of a literary text can make substantial contribution to culture studies. In fact, in the twentieth century the Rewriting- Culture paradigm in translation study is the most revolutionary advance in both literary theory and culture studies. According to Sherrif, translation theory has effectively offered tools for interrogating asymmetrical relations between hegemonic and marginalised cultures, patriarchal structures embedded in discourses, the marginalisation of subaltern cultures within cultures which are themselves marginalised globally, the appropriation of cultural resistance in translation and the operation of market fundamentalism in translation (Sheriif 178). Sheriif takes instances from remaking of films and observes that popular culture provides more instances of both the rigid enforcement of inter-cultural embargoes on rewriting and on their effortless lifting. Given the cultural matrices from which popular cinema operates certain contexts have to be drastically rewritten. He gives two instances to illustrate the point. In the Malayalam film Ramojirai Speaking, the typical 'Mappila' (Malyali Muslim or Moplah Muslim) humour is utilised very effectively. Majeed (played by Mamukoya) the bosom-friend of the protagonist and his cronies provide explosive humour towards the end of the film. In the Hindi remake Hera pheri, the bosom-friend (played by Om Puri) and his cronies are Sikhs. In the popular imagination, humour is not a strong point of the North Indian Muslim, while it is of the Punjabi Sardar. In Godfather, (directed by Siddique Lal, released on 1991) another commercially successful Malayalam cinema, the patriarch Anjooran (Played by the playwright and actor N.N.Pillai) can not help looking ludicrously funny in a number of scenes, given the history of the anti-feudal struggles in Kerala in the twentieth century. In Hulchul, (directed by Priyadarshan released in 2004) the Hindi remake, Anjooran's counterpart Angarchand (played by Amrish Puri), who does not have the burden of history on his back, looks every bit the terrifying Thakur. (180-181).

However, from different examples it can be deduced that the more political or ideological the implications, the more change or alterations in the translated version. Translation is meant for
intercultural communication. Therefore there is the possibility of a text being localised or globalised or rather internationalised. *Tintin* comics in Bengali is a translation of a translation-from original Belgian to English and then to Bengali. As far as translation is concerned the question relating to a text's culture specificity is very relevant. The translation of comic strips involves such factors as assimilation and resultant dissemination because of its illustrative quality. At this stage the question that automatically arises is how far can a 'text' move beyond its local cultural space? Does the creator succeed in creating the text in such a way that it belongs to no space or to all spaces? This is directly related to the concept of translation since translation as a process primarily includes trans-culturation. The concept of universal and local is functional here. It is important here not to confuse the concept of 'universal' and 'global'. 'Universality' is a matter of perception, and global relates more to a concrete sense of space. How far can a local or global comic strip in its translated version be assimilated in an alien culture? Can the translation of *Tintin* comics in sixteen different languages point out the universality or 'globality' of *Tintin* comics? Is *Nante Fante* in English translation global? Dennis Cooley, the modern Canadian Prairie poet tends to de-centre that which is central by pointing out that "all writing is local", which due to certain "accidents of expansion" has moved out of its local culture into the world. (qtd in Gupta, *Colourscapes: Theorising Colours*, 20). Cooley says in his interview with Daniel S. Lenosky:

> If you look over your shoulder you're probably going to lose the verve, the freshness, the intensity that's available to you. I think there's no such thing as universality. There's no such thing. If you fool yourself into thinking there is, there's a good chance you're going to end up writings things that are so empty, so devoid of all smell and texture, that they're no worth to anyone. I certainly won't buy the notion that a death in London is more universal than a death in Estevan, or that a reference to a bar in San Francisco is somehow cosmopolitan and a reference to a beer parlour in Winnipeg is not. (qtd. in Gupta, *Colourscapes: Theorising Colours*, 21).

Such views resist marginalisation and tend to view the supposed universals as ideological constructs which are originally local in nature and whose values are not inherent, but relative and culturally determined. Thus writing out of one's place and moment is a strategy to counter the authority which makes one global or central and consequently others local and marginal. In his interview with Daniel S. Lenosky, Cooley says:
Is life in Manhattan any less local than life in Winnipeg? I think not. The reason it seems not to be any less local is that, for the time being, it inhabits a world that is exploring itself in movies and television and books and so on. This exports military and economic presence of that nation in various ways. So, the recognition of texts, in places other than where they were written, has really very little to do with how locally located they are, it has a lot to do with how seriously a culture is treated elsewhere and that in turn has very little to with its own merit. (qtd. in Gupta, *Colourscapes: Theorising Colours*, 107)

The reason to cite the concepts of ‘local’ and ‘global’ and ‘universal’ is to relate it with the broader aspect of translation. Translation is a necessity in such cases when the supposed unheard local culture needs to be heard in a ‘global’ space. This very space is an ideological construct and is determined by economic and political factors. However, the anchoring that comic strips facilitate through the illustration resist translation or departure/movement away from the source culture of the source text, while the language part gets translated in a ‘global’ language like English.

According to Ashes Gupta, a translator of modern Kokborok poems in English, Kokborok poems of Tripura “under their apparent simplicity of language, conceal crisscross pattern of emotions, feelings and a way of life thus coming alive to a multidimensional regional reality. Mans relation to nature and its animals and birds, inspite of a gamut of responses, boils down to an essential fraternity which forms the very core of tribal life…” (Gupta, *The Fragrant Joom: A Collection of Kokborok Poetry in English*, 6). Hence the translator of Kokborok poems in English tries to retain the culture specificity of Tribal culture through the use of footnotes. Gupta writes:

The very problematique of translation places both the cultures in the same level and ensures an essential feeling of respect towards the culture of the text being translated, as against the age old prejudice of superiority and privileged sympathy. My attempt in retaining these local words was to ensure this and in turn, absolve myself partly of the guilt of domination and exploitation (7).

Viewed from this perspective, the translation of purely local poetry such as Kokborok poetry in English is an attempt to make hitherto unheard voices audible. It is not an assimilative tendency but an attempt
to voice a distinct identity. But no typographical and linguistic text can retain the local intent and content as an illustration can do. In this regard it is interesting to note that the creation of the comic strip Senapati Ray Kachag marks a transition from oral and folk history of Tripura to the written printed form. It is also an attempt to give voice to an 'almost unheard' history of a tribal general excluded from conventional canonical history. The text succeeds in retaining the tribal cultural specificity through its illustrations. It can be argued that the illustration of tribal women in Senapati Ray Kachag is more cultural specific and realistic than the reference to a tribal woman Balangti Koloi in the English translation of "Maichung" by Sachlang Tripura, "I meet Balangti Koloi on the way,/with the fragrance of wild flowers in her hair/ and a cane basket slung on her back." (6-8). Balangti Koloi serves as a romantic association in the poet's mind here though the limitations of only the language text in the text of the poem does not completely communicate the cultural specificity and unique ethnic identity of the character in question and therefore necessitated footnotes in the English translation. Such ethnic and culture specific words act as codes such words in the text of the English translation of the poems are tongghar10 (48), joom11 (66), langa12 (79), Unakoti13 (27), charkha14 (28), khuturuk15 (74) etc. In the illustration of the 'local' comic strip Senapati Ray Kachag a similar tribal woman is endowed in her complete ethnic tribal identity in her 'risa'16, 'paachhra'17 and 'khutruk' which are culture specific and are communicated completely through the illustration (Figure 3.13). Hence, in the comic strip illustration, of such a figure, the person is presented as a visible part of her culture and disseminates the same. Similarly the translation of Nante Fante in English can retain and effectively disseminate the specificity of culture codes such as Saraswati Puja with the image of the goddess Saraswati through its illustration. Comic strip translation thus retains the specificity local culture and resists translation through illustration. It resists the translation process from becoming a re-writing (not used in the strict theoretical sense of the term) where the possibility of erosion of local culture is higher than translation of merely the language text of source text. The popularity of translation of Tintin comics in Bengali indicates the range of penetrability of the source text and the acceptability of the target text in the target culture. Such generalisation leads to the hypothesis that localisation, internalisation, penetrability and acceptability with respect to the process of translation depends on the category of text to some extent. Translation becomes difficult in such a text (especially texts devoid of visual elements) that are deeply rooted in a specific socio-cultural milieu Tintin comics never depicts a specific space (for instance the very space of Belgium-the space of its origin) on which all the stories are based. The readers are engaged with the adventures of Tintin in various places. Herge, unlike many comic strip artists, succeeds in redefining a local space by circumscribing a globalised locality in his strips and by creating different 'localities' instead of a single one. Although the strip was originally Belgian, Herge was intentionally inconsistent or vague about assigning Tintin a nationality, depicting him instead as broadly European. In some of the early adventures his Belgian identity is fairly explicit such as in Tintin in the Congo and The Black Island. In later
adventures, as with other aspects of his character's history and family, Tintin's nationality is simply avoided and excluded. Perhaps the fact that clicked in case of the popularity of Tintin in translation is the ‘global’ image of a teenager hero and the stories of his adventures with whom the readers can identify across cultural, racial and national boundaries. It is not a coincidence that Sarnath Banerjee has illustrated Tintin and Snowy while describing the category of seafarer's and traveler's story tellers. Herge was well-known for his accuracy in depicting places. Unlike the make-belief world of comic strips, Herge tried to retain the spatial accuracy. That is why perhaps Sarnath Banerjee has depicted a criticism in the speech bubble attributed to the illustration of Tintin "These were usually restless men with fancy headgears, given to telling slightly fabricated stories of their travels; frequently, they produced politically incorrect ethnographic accounts" (Banerjee 80).

Sarnath Banerjee in his graphic novel The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers refers to three categories of storytellers following Walter Benjamin (79). His descriptions include illustrations conforming to graphic novel genre:

In his celebrated essay on storytellers, Walter Benjamin, the great German theorist and the patron saint of many a budding philosopher, spoke of three categories of storytellers.

The first category comprises seafarers and travelers, mostly explorers or traders by profession. For example, Ibn Battuta, Marco Polo, Hueng Tsang, Jules Verne. These were usually restless men with fancy headgears, given to telling slightly fabricated stories of their travels; frequently, they produced politically incorrect ethnographic accounts.

The second category stays put in one place. Usually farmers and tillers of land, their stories have either a moral or a pearl of wisdom attached at the end. They tell stories of the land. Unlike the first category, whose stories move in space, their's move in time. For them the typical beginning for a story would be …One hundred years ago, not far from here…Often in their stories the local assumes the status of the global in the hierarchy of happenings, making
local stories GLOCAL. Villemessant, the founder of Le Figaro and famous for his one liners said: ‘To my readers an attic fire in the Latin Quarter is more important than a revolution in Madrid.

The third category travels great distances and finally settles down in one place.

In the old world, they were alchemists, masons, builders, architects medicine men and skilled artisans. (Banerjee 79-83).

The concept of 'glocal' can be related to translation of local strips into global languages like English. The translation of Nante Fante in English is an attempt to move beyond the local space and gain global readership. The translated text, therefore is 'glocal', a combination of local and global. The local through the medium of global language like English comes close to the status of global. However, the concept of localisation in re-writing process can be best found in Spider-Man-India. Spider-Man: India is in English and is published in India by Gotham Entertainment Group, retelling the story of Marvel's comic Spider-man in an Indian setting. Therefore, the language is not translated, rather the geographical and cultural space is translated. The concept is borrowed and characters are given new names. Using phonetic distortions of the names of major characters, the creation attempts to bring a feel of familiarity to those, yet creating a local space. The story ends with Spider-man celebrating Deewali, the Indian Festival with his aunt. Spider-man's alter ego is named Pavitr Prabhakar, a phonetic distortion of Peter Parker. There are a number of other parallels with the original comic book character: Meera Jain, analogous to Mary Jane Watson; Aunt Maya, a reference to Aunt May; Uncle Bhim, analogous to Uncle Ben; Nalin Oberoi, analogous to Norman Osborn; Hari Oberoi, analogous to Harry Osborn. The local flavor is given also through the dress of the 'Indian' Spider-Man. The article “Spider-Man Casts his web over India” terms the emergence of Spider-Man in India an instance of "reverse globalisation". Spider-Man is the first Western comic book superhero to be reinvented fully, as opposed to translated, for a local audience. Mr. Sharad Devarajan, head of the Gotham Entertainment Group hoped to publish in as many local languages as possible. The Green Goblin of Western Spider-Man is replaced by “rakhasa”, drawn from Indian mythology. Peter Foster, the author of the article quotes the comment of Gotham Comics, the company that owns the Spider-Man franchise in India which says Indian Spider-Man is not a gimmick to increase sales, but a genuine example of cultural cross-fertilisation. Devarajan, head of the Gotham Entertainment Group comments: "Unlike traditional translations of American comics, Spider-Man India will become the first 'transcreation', where we reinvent a Western property like Spider-Man so that he is an Indian boy dealing with local problems and challenges". (Foster). The article also cites The Hindustan Times that refers to it as a healthy example of 'localisation' saying-
"If McDonald's made good business out of the McAloo Tikki Burger to suit Indian tastes, there's no reason why the Indianised Spider-Man won't be a hit" (ibid).

Another such instance is the retelling of the epic Ramayana in a comic strip *Ramayana 3392 A.D.* (formerly called *Ramayana Reborn*). The adaptation of the ancient epic significantly changes the roles of many pivotal characters. The spiritual themes of the ancient epic are in this case replaced by technological ones, often culminating in the same situation. *Ramayana 3392 A.D.* can be taken as an example of translation from one time frame and space to another time frame and space. The epic has been 'rewritten' coping up with the modern technological advancement. The transition is the result taking into consideration the market forces thus generating positive response. It involves the translation of cultural values, norms of a particular society and culture. It is therefore a trans-culturation. In comparison to *Ramayana 3392 A.D.* *Spider-Man India* shows more 'fidelity' to the source text ST.

The article "Return to Roots" by Debaleena Sengupta in *Business Standard* describes that *Nante Fante* translation in English is an attempt to acquaint Bengali children with the rich cultural heritage of Bengal. In fact an initiative has been taken by a leading publishing company of Bengali literature to translate Bengali classic children's literature into English to familiarise them to their roots and let them know "what their parents grew up reading" (1). The translation, at the same time, is an attempt to compete with the English books dominating the market. As quoted in the article, Arabinda Das Gupta of Dasgupta & Co. says that "… due to poor print and graphic quality because they are cheap, Bengali books suffer when faced with superior quality English comic books like *Tintin*, *Asterix* and *Tinkle*." The translations will help draw children towards Bengali folklore. But ironically the process or the initiation to acquaint children to their own culture and heritage is done through a language which is not their own. The supremacy of English language in the language hierarchy operates here and points out to one of the crucial factor in translation process in its broader perspective. Viewed from this perspective *Nante Fante*’s translation into English is dominated by two extra-textual factors in translation process - language hierarchy and effect of the market forces. The hierarchy of source text and source culture and target text and target culture is subverted as the former dominates because of the prominence of the target language. The importance of retaining the source culture through illustration can be properly comprehended here as comic strip translation does not allow total transformation because of its visual quality. Otherwise *Nante Fante* translation into English suffers if viewed from the point of view of the linguistic text since it often misses the cultural specificity as well as the generic and textual specificity of comic strip in particular and children's literature in general. However, *Nante Fante*’s translation into English is more interlingual than intercultural as the target readers belong to a category of different language habit and not necessarily to different cultural habit. But to generalise in such a manner would be an oversimplification since culture-language parameter is a complex one and the target reader need not also necessarily be a Bengali.
Thus it can be observed that the function of a translation depends upon the knowledge, expectation, values and norms of the target readers, who are again influenced by the situation they are in and by the culture. These factors determine whether the function of the source text can be preserved or has to be preserved or has to be modified or even changed. *Nante Fante* translated into animated form (inter-semiotic translation) goes beyond the textual boundaries of the comic strip genre and what emerges is in fact a rewriting/transcreation and not a translation. The target readers are Bengali children of a certain age group. But the rewriting conforms to popular media form in consonance with the medium it employs. It is, in fact, dominated particularly by the situation in which the target audience is in and the cultural sphere in which the product would function. Actually analysis of a media product should take into account the specifics of the medium in which the text appears. In doing so, it is important to consider the formal aspects of media texts alongside any consideration of their content. The way in which a message is communicated within the media therefore becomes important as the message itself. A product is in fact determined by the codes and conventions of the medium in which it is produced. As such, the animation form of *Nante Fante* as intersemiotic translation or rewriting should focus on the codes and conventions which are again determined by the cultural space. A similar content is presented to the audience differently, depending upon the medium in which it appears. The cultural space is that of popular culture. In an attempt to cater to the demands of the market (the target audience) the strip is lengthened by adding some popular traces that dominate the market as a part of the marketing strategy. By virtue of its sound-speech movements and audio-visual quality it provides an extra dimension to the image -text synergy of comic strip genre and the cultural nuances are realised at a higher level, *Nante Fante* in animated series offers an interesting case study. In comic book format the reader/audience only sees and reads thus attributing meaning to it. The pictorial quality with linguistic message is more effective than the typographic language text alone. But in animated form intonation and accent is endowed along with speech (in dubbing). It retains cultural specificity (of a particular space and timeframe) through the realisation of the particularities and distinctiveness of a culture in its language. But here the author -translator/rewriter hierarchy is subverted as the latter is given the privilege of transforming/transcreating the content or the message. The product itself takes an authoritative stand as there is much less left for the viewer to attribute in the way of filling in the 'gaps' and 'indeterminate elements' to quote Wolfgang Iser. Wolfgang Iser developed the theory that the literary text, as a product of the writer's intentional acts, partly controls the reader's responses, but at the same time contains a number of 'gaps' or 'indeterminate elements'. The reader by way of creative participation must fill in these 'gaps' or 'indeterminate elements' respond in specific anticipated ways to the "response-inviting structures" of the text, here the language-illustration combine of the comic strip in question (Iser 28). It reinforces the negative stereotypes through speech and gestures. The speech of the “Thakur”/cook is audible along with his meek, timid and funny bodily gestures. The transformation of the written dialogues in the
speech bubble to audible form by a voice-over with intonation and accent is itself a transcreation. Any form of transcreation/rewriting/translation is dominated by some extra-textual factors and is culturally determined. Market forces are also operative here. The 'infidelity' to original comic book format allows for a lengthening of the strips and inclusion of some popular cultural traces such as popular movie song, etc. The cook shown as a person on from Orissa, is seen dancing in a comic manner in the tune of a 'Konkoni' pop song (Nante Fantar Nanan Kirti. Cartoon Animation. Capital DVD home). This leads to a certain loss of identity. The mainstream culture's attempt to enforce cultural supremacy finds its expression in the lack of inclusion of any trace of the culture of an alien or outsider whose presence in the society as a marginal is reinforced. He is Oriya in illustration, Bihari in speech, and Konkoni in entertainment. This mixed identity does not only make him comic, but also perpetuates a loss of definite racial identity. The Superintendent calls him "hatachara puchke baoon" thus denying his original Oriya identity and reinforcing his subordinate identity. 'Baoon' is the distorted Bengali colloquial form of 'Brahmin', ironically the highest position in the so called caste hierarchy of the Hindu society. Because of his displacement/dislocation from his place of origin (mainly because of economic reason) he is stereotyped negatively and given a subordinate status.

Analysis of any media product (animation series of Nante Fante for the sake of research) should take into account the specifics of the medium in which the text appears. The segment on inter-semiotic translation views comic strip translation/rewriting to animation as inter-genre transformation. So along with the discussion on specifics of the two different media, the major concerns of translation study viz. shift, source text (ST), target ext (TT), Target reader, market, trans-culturation etal have been explored. In inter-semiotic translation, it is important to consider formal aspects of media texts along with consideration of their content. The way a message is communicated within the media therefore becomes as important as the message itself. A product is in fact determined by the codes and conventions of the medium in which it is produced. As such, in inter-semiotic translation studies focus should be on particular codes and conventions that are genre specific and in the long run culture specific. Comic strip employs a different type of sign system. In reading comic strips the reader/audience moves from panel to panel, filling up the gaps of narrative and generating meaning. In animation the panel moves giving the reader less scope to generate meaning or interpret in their own way. The creator stands as authoritative. A similar content is presented in a different way to the audience, depending upon the medium in which it appears. The emergence of a cultural product in different medium points out many things- the popularity of the product, the profit factor, marketing strategy, attaining larger readership, etc. In fact, the transformation of Nante Fante black and white comic strips to colour strips, to English translation and to animation points out an attempt to attain larger readership. The English translation, in particular, with its different language codification is an attempt to go beyond local space to the global. The transformation
to animation form and genre focuses on different receivers and audience much larger than that of print medium readership.

Lisa Taylor and Andrew Willis in *Media Studies: Texts, Institutions and Audiences* analyses how the dissemination of the popular 'cult' science fiction "X-Files" in different X-Files commodities such as comics, T-Shirts, mugs and posters and interrelated technologies and areas of entertainment have enabled maximum profit on the part of the producers (5). The transformation/translation of a popular cultural product points out to its potentiality to disseminate cultural traces and nuances involved in such a cultural text. The X-Files exists in separate media forms: primarily TV serial, but also comics titled The X-Files and tie in paperbacks such as Whirlwind. "All share the same fictional concept, but they present them using different codes and conventions" (ibid). In fact, the popularity of any cultural text leads to such diversification of medium. *Nante Fante* and *Handa Bhonda's* popularity in Bengal, Tripura and Assam or to a Bengali reader of the Bengali diaspora has necessitated their dissemination through various forms such as translation to English, FM Broadcasting and animation. Taylor and Willis analyses different codes and conventions employed in comic books of X-Files, the television X-Files and investigate how different types of media (inter-semiosis) generate different connotations through reading of the text. According to them as a form, comics encourage an imaginative active reader who must fill the narrative gaps and this reminds of Wolfgang Iser and his theoretical postulations. They analyse *A Little Dream of Me* and commented that specific to comics in general and this one in particular, is the digression away from a strictly realistic mode of presentation (9). At the same time the still graphic images are open to moments of exaggeration which are not usually available or used in television. In just eight graphic frames Mulder's emotional, even manic mind-state is conveyed, as files and photographs. Even pickled aliens tumble out from the shelves amidst fragmented viewpoints of Mulder's body and anguished facial expressions. The larger than life images conveyed within the comic would be unsuitable for television because they fall outside the conventions of realism required for mainstream production (Taylor and Wilis 9-10). But within the comic book pages they are perfectly acceptable, as they exist within the limitations imposed by the codes and conventions of the form.

However, analysis of inter-semiotic translation from comic strips to animation should not take into account the codes and conventions of television as animation is not as realistic as television medium. The still frames of comic strips are seen moving. The illustration itself resists/restricts the realistic mode of representation. But the sequence of moving panels is similar to that of sequence of scenes in television. Elisa Perego in "The Codification of Non-verbal Information in Subtitled Texts" analyses the concepts of diamesic shifts, paralanguage etc that are given with respect to subtitling (58). This thesis has used these concepts for analysing translation from comic strips to animation. But the distinctiveness of both the genres necessitated an analysis with a reversal/shift. In subtitling, the image or moving frame or scenes and the written code in translation appear together, while in animation there
is a shift from pictorial and linguistic code (image and text) to audio-visual media/text. The translation of comic strip to animation reverses a chief channel of communication language. There is a diamesic shift shift from the written code to oral code.

Given the semiotic composition of the comics, the animator has to deal with-

1. A shift from non-phonic, still image to phonic, verbal, movable image.
2. A diamesic shift- shift from written code to oral.
3. A shift from a 'text' composed only of written language (with image) to different sound effects i.e. visual to audio-visual.

The concept of 'paralanguage' is important for analysing codes and conventions of both these genres involved in translation and their role in making a culture-specific text.

Paralanguage is a term for both the auditory, non-verbal elements which make human verbal communication complete, natural and non-artificial. It includes prosody and intonation, as well as kinesics and proxemics, all essential elements in communication, given their pragmatic and emotive functions and their power in conveying the speaker's communicative intentions (Perego 60). The table for analysing paralanguage is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARALANGUAGE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonverbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosody; intonation</td>
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</tbody>
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Table adapted from Elisa Perego 'The Codification of Nonverbal Information in subtitled Texts' p- 60.

Animation involves paralanguage much in the same way as film, while comic strips in book format involves a paralanguage that is non-verbal (image, gestures, etc) and non-phonic. The pause or silence that is apparently non-communicative can be filled up by gestures, frowning etc. in comic strip to a lesser degree and in animation in a more convincing way. The concept of non-phonic, non-verbal that is kinesics and proxemics is important both in comic strip and animation series, as these are also socio-culturally constructed as language itself. Meaning or a social/cultural code is channelised through explicit system of communication which is language, along with other social codes such as gesture, etc. In fact, these non-phonic elements are a kind of prefabricated, pre-learned codes on part of both the creator and the receiver. This necessitates a discussion on shift and also on the technicalities of kinesics and proxemics. Proxemics is the study of measurable distance between people as they interact. Therefore,
it is a study of 'proximities' or nearness. The 'space' in between people implying personal proximities, relation of respect and also power equation is combined with syntagmatic relations of semiotic analysis so as to explore the cultural nuances involved in such socio-cultural habit and how 'other' is viewed in relation to the 'self' culture in both comic strip and its translation to animation. The 'phonic' such as intonation and accent makes the speech audible, and therefore more accessible to target viewer. Intonation is a socio-culturally evolved channel of communication. Translation also reverses the hierarchy of the reader as active interpreter of comic strips with respect to the 'authority' of the author, as he is endowed with the 'power' to invest voice as he prefers it to be. The intonation of the cook (referred as “Thakur”) in the following dialogues of the animated series clearly indicates his identity as an outsider, a person not belonging to mainstream Bengali culture-"Dhud Khalia"; "Ram, Ram hum eisa kam na kare" (Nante Fantar nanan kirti, cartoon animation. Capital DVD home). As far as kinesics is concerned the frowning and expression of negligence on the part of the Superintended in combination with the linguistic message "Hatacchara Puchhe Baoon" is derogatory in nature and points out the subordinate identity of the cook in a more explicit way than the source text of comic strips. The gesture of the “Thakur", on the other hand, shows loyalty in the form of a silent submission to the order of the Superintendent. The study of proxemics in the target text animation reveals how proximities and distances can indicate and provide meaning to a social behavior and reveal the ideological bias underneath. The distance of the “Thakur” from the Superintendent while conversing is noticeable. It points out the different spaces occupied by both of them. Social personality is a tempora-spatial system and behavior done by any such system is a part of the system. Therefore a meaningful body motion pattern should be regarded as socially learned.

The concept of explication of translation studies is relevant here. Explication is a linguistic phenomenon whereby the source text's covert, implicit, unsaid and implied information is expressed overtly and verbally in the translated text without altering the source message, but making it clear and more informative, more complete and unambiguous by enriching, developing and reconstructing it for the sake of the target viewer. The audibility and dynamic images of animation foreground the important pieces of information through voice, sound and intonation. In fact explication is a procedure that consists in introducing the target language information (precisions) that remain implicit in the source language, but that are apparent from the context or the situation. Animation (in the target text) makes the negative codification as well as the culture specificity of the comics (the source text) more explicit. One interesting fact about animation is that it can explicitly state the generic specificity, that is popular cultural traces in comic strips. The inclusion of a popular Konkani song to the tune of which the Thakur is shown dancing (Nante Fantar Nanan Kirti, Cartoon Animation. Capital DVD Home) and the popular Hindi song put to the mouth of Keltu (Nante Fantar Nanan Kirti , Cartoon Animation. Ssoftoons) in the animated series is an attempt to gain more popularity and larger audience. Comic strips are much more 'performative'
than typographical text. So animation from comic strip requires the change or translation of only the form. The language used in comic strips is in dialogue form and suffice the need of language of animation. Comic strip language is a kind of 'written orality'. The language written is transformed to language written to be spoken with the paralinguistic elements such as accent, intonation, voice, etc. The comic strip as a source text itself has the script division and image. The animated series of a typographic text lacks the promptness of dialogue and action. The animation of a classic Bengali story 'Chhuti' written by Rabindranath Tagore is an instance of how the difference of genre between the source and target text fails to convey the essence of the source text although created within same linguistic system. The main reason is that of the difference in written language and oral form. The dramatic element in comic strip gives a free scope of transformation to animation. The two animated series 'Car Race' and 'Gabbu Singh er Grame' (In the village of Gabbu Singh , trans. mine) exemplify that the animated series translated from comic strip lengthens the script and also the dialogue along with other inclusions such as music, popular song etc. Some new conversations are added with the actual dialogue to give it more humor and of course genre specificity. In fact, the addition or elision /omission in any translated text do not refer only to textual factors but to extra textual factors. In 'Car Race' animated series the section where the announcer of the organiser Hodal Enterprise repeatedly says about clapping degrades the humour to farce. It can be analysed as an attempt to make the product more 'acceptable' to the majority audience. As said earlier, any translated text or target text should be analysed keeping in mind the genre in which it is produced. Therefore, Nante Fante's inter-semiotic translation to animated series is a transformation to a much more accessible and popular genre. The animation titled 'Car Race' makes explicit some of the facts that remain implicit in the comic strip. The scene where Keltu offers money to the owner of the launch is not in the comic strip. Some popular songs are put in the mouth of Nante Fante and Keltu to give the product a sense of contemporariness. Keltu is shown enjoying an English song while driving. It is an attempt to move beyond the time frame presented in the strip in order to mould the target text in the context of the present day. Different background soundtracks are introduced such as song of the bird, music connoting joy, promptness, etc. Soundtrack is important for explicitness and at times plays just as much role as other semiotic variables. The animation in fact verbalises the images and illustrations. In the animation titled ‘Gabbu Singh er Grame’ the character of the Superintendent's friend Gobra is introduced while in the comic strip only it is implied that he is talking with the Superintendent. Gobardhan or Gobra is presented as a doctor and he names the superintendent as Hantiram Pati which is never presented in the strips. When Gobra talks about food items that the superintendent would enjoy if he comes to Gobra's village during the Puja vacation, every item is imaged and presented in the animated series. This is the explicitness of animation that conforms to the need of the target readers and the product. Every addition enriches the humour associated with children's product. The humour is more finely brought out in the oral form with specific intonation. It gives 'audibility'
to the source text. The animation as translation, therefore conforms to the 'skopos' based theory of translation. Skopos based framework renders the information contained in the source text in accordance to the requirements of the target audience, instead of merely passing on all the components of the original text to new receivers. Given that the skopos of a translation is what determines the strategies used for reaching the intended goal, translators can move away from the original text. They have more freedom in the design of the new text and can consider how best to convey the deeper meanings of the text and its semiotic significance. They can produce a more idiomatic text adjusted and suited to what they believe are the needs of the target audience.

Senapati Ray Kachag attempts to present a non-conventional and non-canonical history of Tripura. It can be read as a comprehensive document concerning Tripura's history and geographical facts, history of art and culture in a fictionalised attempt. The blending of fact and fiction is given the term 'faction' and it can be satisfactorily associated with Senapati Ray Kachag. Oliver Conolly and Bashar Haydan in their abstract to the paper "The Case Against Faction" talks about the difficulty in communication in such texts:

"Faction" is a hybrid genre, aiming at the factual accuracy of journalism on the one hand and the literary form of the novel on the other. There is a fundamental tension however between two aims, given the constraints which factual accuracy places on the characterization, plot and thematic exploration characteristics of the novel. Further "faction" can not be defended on the grounds that factual accuracy is a literary value in faction. Finally some aspects of faction such as the inability to refer to sources or provide an analytical framework for a narrative, hinder rather than facilitate the communication of facts (Conolly, Oliver and Bashar Haydan. Abstract).

Senapati Ray Kachag, can avoid such problems by first being a comic strip meant for children to let them know about Ray Kachag and second, by being a story based on historical facts. History is always accompanied with some obscurity and half-visibility, and this obscurity in fact, facilitates the canonical history formation that involves the politics of inclusion or exclusion. Thus historical facts or pseudo-historical facts render the comic strip open ended leaving much scope for serious readers. Comic strip in the mould of faction evokes many issues that lead to a non-canonical history formation both in form and content. The imagination associated with fiction cannot be completely expressed in faction because
of constrains of 'reality' since it is an attempt either to 'faction'-alise fiction or fictionalise fact. History is not written, actually it is re-written, and therefore comic strip based on history can be taken as an instance of translation of facts(?) to fiction and can be analysed taking into consideration translational relations. Adapting the comic book medium, the writer -illustrator of *Senapati Ray Kachag* Alak Dasgupta presents a blending of fact and fiction, humour and history. The list of books in acknowledgement section is documented, conventional and canonical history written more or less from the perspective of royalty of Tripura. But 'history of Ray Kachag, the chivalrous hero of fifteenth century Tripura' (Dasgupta, back cover of the book; trans. mine) is non-conventional both in its adaptation of theme and medium and its personages. It is to be remembered here that it is practically impossible ever to reconstruct the 'actuality' of the past as all reconstructions are provisional and depended on multiple interpretations since facts no longer speak for themselves. The epistemological notions of the positivists are being challenged on the ground that history is a literary artefact and that all historical sources are intertextual.

Michell Foucault and Jacques Derrida questioned the links between truth and the power system which shapes and determines it (Foucault 78; Derrida 102). They questioned the indefinite and multiplex relationship between the signifier and the signified, or in other words the nebulous quality of language. Language itself shapes and predetermines reality. Thus everything is a linguistic and textual construction. From this perspective it can be said that the written always enjoys a privilege in the literary and cultural sphere over the oral. Orality needs to be documented and thereby structured to be heard. This construction implies multiple connotation involving politics, dominance and power equation. This debate was taken up by Hayden White who regarded all history as verbal fiction that is partly invented. According to him, history is the persuasive exposition of point of view through the use of language(vi). This makes it possible for us to say that historical truth is not inherent in the evidence of events and that history is a constructed narrative. This construction of 'truth' is so 'real' that foundational status has been conferred upon it. The past comes before us through various stories which we interpret and can never break out of. It can be said that history is nothing but historiography, a matrix of reading practices that engage dialectically with existing texts representing an assortment of culturally constructed forms of knowledge, beliefs, codes and customs. Such writing is coloured by the discourse of somebody else. The following discussion on the comic strip *Senapati Ray Kachag* has been structured based on these theoretical postulations that are interdisciplinary in nature. The story (non-conventional and non canonical history) of Ray Kachag is a statement of neglect and exclusion. The folk life and folk culture of Tripura have not been included in details in any one of the constructs of documented written history:

The books collected so far documents only the story of kings. The discussion on real life patterns of the mass (the subjects who were generally of the ethnic
tribal stock at that time in Tripura) is absent. The lifestyle of different tribes, their economic and cultural problems were not included. It is not possible to decipher clearly the aspects of mass consciousness until the opinion of the then masses is known. Rajmala or books of this type are based on the history and perspective of the royalty. There is mention of devotion to royalty and severe punishment for disobedience. But there is no mention as to why such devotion is not permanent in the mind of the devotee and periodically erupts in the form of revolution (Dey 80-81; trans mine).

The uniqueness of Senapati Ray Kachag lies in the fact that it includes history and culture of Tripura and projects them in a comic mould in such a manner that historical and pseudo-historical facts appear convincing and penetrative. The historical legend of Tripura, Ray Kachag and his story finds an alternative expression using myth, folk-lore, folk life and culture as its ingredients. It is an attempt to reconstruct history from the perspective of folk culture and folk life. To consider Senapati Ray Kachag a conventional history or legend would be erroneous as no attempt has been made to situate him in such way so far. It is a deviation in this respect from dry, historical fact that presents only one facet of an era. The text uses etiologic tales to render a certain uniqueness to the medium it employs. Etiologic tales are close to myths. They are used to refer to the description or assignment of causes. Accordingly, an etiologic tale explains the origin of a custom, stock of affairs, or natural feature in the human or divine world. There is an abundance of such tales in Senapati Ray Kachag - the origin of ‘Garia’ \(^{21}\) dance, the sculpture of “Debatamura” \(^{22}\), the reference to Komodo dragon of Indonesia \(^{23}\) etc. Such tales actually amounts to myth and can be termed also as pseudo-historical. Here it is important to draw a line of demarcation between history and myth as the latter represents alternate ways of looking at the past. History requires the presence of writing in order so that concerning versions of the past may be recorded and evaluated. On the other hand, myth as a space excludes writing and literacy. Myth is cited when a situation in the present needs to be understood as a consequence of the past. Myth constitutes a major part of a culture and historians also rely sometimes on myth. History should be understood as accompanying everything surrounding it and Senapati Ray Kachag attempts to do the same. It is a re-rendering of record and attempts to create a sense of contemporaneity connecting two different time frames past (the era of Ray Kachag i.e. 15th century Tripura) and the present in which the book has been published. The text and the reader belong to present time. In creating the sense of contemporaneity it employs some aspects both in technique and content. Use of ‘diya’or ‘pradip’ \(^{24}\), as comic strip iconography
instead of 'bulb' as a symbolic representation of the origin of idea leads the readers back to the past (Dasgupta 11; 48) [Figure 3.14; and 3.15]. The reference to the victory over Husen Shah and the placement of the Kaman (canon) in today's Kaman Chowmuhani, Agartala (Dasgupta 56) is also such an attempt with respect to the theme and content.

_Jsenapati Ray Kachag_ places a 'peripheral' character (peripheral in viewing history from Royalty perspective) Ray Kachag a centrality of position since it is on him that the fate of the kingdom depends. _Senapati Ray Kachag_ conforms to the children's literature genre in its inclusion of illustrations, as well as the style of illustration etc which lacks seriousness and is populist in appeal. But at the same time it also includes historical documents, geographic diagrams etal in its attempt to authenticate historical fact thus creating an alternate historiography both in content and technique. The illustrations are one-line drawings, humorous and nonserious conformed to children's literature format. But at the same time it reinforces the ethnic tribal culture specific codes through the illustrations. The signs/pictorial codes are used to indicate places even such as “Rangamatia”^25 where it has to be made comprehensive in one single frame as well as the illustration of “Mata Tripureswari” temple (Figure 3.16). The illustrations of musical instruments such as dhol, the dance movement and the circular pattern of dance (Figure 3.17), the 'Vaishnavas’^26 and their 'namgan’^27 (Figure 3.18) effectively visualise and disseminate the local cultural space. The obscurity of folk life due to a lack of attempt to bring them to light is countered in _Senapati Ray Kachag_. Use of culture-specific terms and efforts at retaining their actual meaning by the use of footnotes even in mainstream Bengali language substantiate this. Such examples include (the footnotes are given in bracket in translated form): “selam bari” (special military court, Dasgupta 18), “rengpui” (the 'Kukis' called the king of Tripura 'Rengpui', Dasgupta, 19), “rambu” (present “Kaksbazaar”, Dasgupta 20), “hasam bojan” (the annual feast of the soldiers, Dasgupta 40), “pathian” (the great god whom the Kukis worshipped, Dasgupta 25), “Tilak” (the cover of dry bottle gourd used as waterpot, Dasgupta 44) “chakhui” (a delicious item made with “khar” or cooking soda). In tribal community hierarchy, Tripuri community posits in the centre occupying the throne. The fact that an important figure of history has not yet got much attention calls for investigating the power equation involved in conventional canonical history writing. One major reason for this exclusion may be that canonical history is centered on royalty where the dominant position belonged to members of Tripuri community who are still regarded as kshatriya. The kings of Tripura patronised the Bengali community and Bengali language more than their own tribes. Radhakishore Manikya Bahadur wrote to his minister Rammohan Chattopadhyay. “It is a matter of pride for a Bengali Hindu state that various attempt has been made for the use of Bengali language in royal official activities and for the development of the language. Specially I love Bengali language more than my life and consider it my prime duty to look into the development of the language…” (qtd in Dey 168. trans and italics mine). Ranjit Dey wrote:
Among the tribes of Tripura, Reang is one of the major groups. According to some researchers there is a tone of revolution even in the name Reang. In a well known legend it is said that they lived in the Mayathalang village of Bangladesh and had a different king. Perhaps they were governed by the king of Tripura. King Tripur was oppressive by nature. In Rajmala, it is said that he was more obsessed with his own luxury than his responsibility towards his subject. When king Tripur's attendants came to the leader of the group for collecting Royal Tax, their rebellious attitude was revealed. Perhaps the leader said 'aa ri ang' or 'riya ang' (I' will not give) that is I will not give the royal tax (Dey 80. Trans. mine).

The comic strip on Ray Kachag, therefore is a reconstruction of history concerning oral historical traces in the form of folktales, representation of ethnic life and culture. It is an indirect indictment to the construction of a multilingual, multicultural state hinting the inclusion vis-à-vis exclusion. The linking of documented history in the narrative is a device to create a fictional credibility in the narration. Senapati Ray Kachag is the translation of a folk narrative into mainstream Bengali language, the target language. Two major elements that are being translated are -language and form. It is an attempt to gain a larger space in the literary culture dominated by mainstream Bengali, but the comic genre because of its illustration resists folk or tribal culture to be translated and lost in the translation process. The text both in technique and content provide a certain affinity to historical/ pseudo-historical factuality. The technique used to refer to these historical facts is the pictorial code, thus generating a sense of both the past and at the same time also facilitating historical documentation (Figure 3.19). The noticeable thing is that it is different from a royal decree written for the purpose of communicating a royal message as used in the narrative (in page fourteen). A few of such instances are given below:

1. “Baro Bidrohi Parba”- (The Episode of Twelve Rebels', trans mine): The story of kachag’s victory over the soldiers of Nawaab Allauddin Abul Mozafur Husen Shah. The following texts are inscribed as historical documents:
   Itihas bale ora keo nistar paini, which translated to English would be: history says none of them were spared (Dasgupta 18, trans mine).

2. “Senapati Ray Kachag ebong Gour bahini” (General Ray Kachag and The army of Gour, trans mine.) : an imaginary incident showing two soldiers conversing on the induction of “Aswarohi bahini “Tripuri sena” (cavalry regiment in Tripura army). One humorously concludes that when the other would retire, his post will be replaced by that of aswarohi bahini hinting that it would take a long time (18).

The next panel that includes only an image of a paper resembling historical document writes:

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It will be learned if we read history that the anonymous soldier was a foreseer because, much later after this incident, in 1540 king Bijoy Manikya started “aswarohi bahini” i.e. cavalry regiment in Tripura army (18, trans mine).

3. “Senapati Ray Kachag ebong Gour Bahini” (General Ray Kachag and The army of Gour, trans mine.): humour arises from the un-soldier like attitude of the two soldiers in Husen Shah’s army and their fondness for “namgan”. The background is that of Bhakti Movement. The same pictorial code refers:
   Indeed a few days later, two brothers Dabir Khas and Sakir Mallik resigned their job and adopted Vaishnavism (and soon became the pioneering Vaishnab scholars Pandit Sreesanatan and Srirup Goswami. But it is another story (40, trans. mine).

4. “Senapati Ray Kachag ebong Gour Bahini” (General Ray Kachag and the army of Gour, trans. mine.): referring to the important speech by Dhanyamanikya in the “hasam bhojan”/annual feast on the bank of “Kamalasagar”.(40). The series also includes the story of the placement of Goddess Tripureswari in “Rangamatia”. The goddess appears in the dream of Dhanyamaaniyka and orders him to bring her from ‘Chatatal’ or ‘Chattagram’(35).

5. “Husen Shah er Kaman” (The canon of Husen Shah, trans mine): the construction of Turka Dighi– After the pathetic death of Goursena (army of the kingdom of Gour) by drinking poisonous water of the River Gomati. After this tragic incident a lake was dug under order by Hantian Khan within only six hours. This lake later became famous as “Turka Dighi”.(44, trans mine)

6. “Husen Shah er Kaman” : (The canon of Husen Shah, trans mine): reference to a soldier-artist Chabidas who accompanied Tripuri soldiers in the battle and humour associated with it. The readers have now known why a syncretic mode (“misraritir prabhab” in Bengali) can be observed in the sculpture of the deities of “Debatamura”.(43, trans mine)

7. “Swet Hasti Parba” (The Episode of the white Elephant; transmine : referring to the emergence of Garia dance. It is mentioned in the strip that after defeating the Kukis the soldiers took rest in many places, enjoyed by dancing and singing and the villagers also joined them. The narrative says- It is said that thus the tradition of Garia dance began (26, trans. mine). The writer-illustrator here does not take an authoritative stance as it is not certain. According to the Debbarma community the soldiers set off for the battle on the plain land after worshipping the Garia god. They won the battle although a long period was spent in it. They celebrate a festival after the end of the battle (Dey 97). If viewed from this perspective the narrative in the text coincides with history. The emergence of Bengali as prime language is also associated with the dance. Perhaps the soldiers of Tripuri army stayed for a long
time in touch with the Bengali community while battling. This has influenced the language as well. Almost all the lyrics used in the magan\textsuperscript{31} are in Bengali.

8. “Husen Shah er Kaman” (The canon of Husen Shah, trans mine): reference to Kachag’s reward by the King and the placement of the “Kaman” (meaning canon) in the present Kaman Chowmuhani area of Agartala. As the most chivalrous hero of the battle, Ray Kachag was conferred with the highest honour of the country such as many nontaxable “(niskar)” plots of land, ornaments, dresses, astrastra (“arms and weapons”) and a unique elephant. Then only the king and his very close associates were allowed to use elephants (56: trans mine). And as far as the Kaman (canon) is concerned; friends and readers: The royal Kaman of the king of Gour Husen Shah is carefully preserved in the centre of the present capital of Agartala, Kaman Chowmuhani as a symbol of victory in the memorable battle. (56, trans mine)

The geographical details are given in the form of diagrams that function in the narrative as ’haksa’(meaning design) used in battle. The geographical details give the world of comic a sense of authenticity. It is very much different from the make-belief world of comics. Its aim is to contextualise a ’local’ space in its linguistic and pictorial codes. Such instances are;

A map is included in the first panel of page 43 following the narrative: A terrible (’sanghatik’ in Bengali) battle. Tripura lost many places. The following map will indicate the movement of the battle (43, trans mine)

The comic strip Senapati Ray Kachag consists of five stories nucleating around the chivalry of Ray Kachag as general and his utmost effort to save the kingdom of Tripura- the first is about Kachag’s emergence as the leader of the protectors of his own village and his rise to the post of General in the army of King Dhanyamanikya. The story includes the torture and attacks of Kuki community on the Reangs and the conspiracy riddled kingdom. The background to the story says that it was the period of 1490 when king Dhanyamanikya ascended the throne but the real power was in the hands of arrogant, cunning and conspirating generals. The recovery from such a state was possible only for Ray Kachag, the general whom the king Dhanyamanikya could totally rely upon. The narrative /plot of the comic strip interconnects the vital part of Kachag’s popularity as chivalrous hero of his village and his ascent to the post of general. The linguistic and the cultural code of the comic strip format enable the contextualisation of a local space. The attempt at voicing or lending audibility to the story of a chivalrous hero of the fifteenth century in the history of Tripura which “is still unheard in Bengali literature” (as written in the back cover of the text) finds holistic expression in the comic book format because of its illustrative quality. It restricts a local space and local tribal culture from being lost in the process of registering it in a language which does not belong to that community. The pattern of life of the different tribes is here embedded in the image along with the linguistic message. The topography, dress, custom,
manners etc are registered in the pictorial code. The attempt of the writer-illustrator to retain the culture specific terms and their meaning such as “rengpui”, “parthien”, “riya”, “chakhui” etc by the use of footnotes in the relay text complement the image and make the source culture more comprehensive for the readers. The linguistic and pictorial codes in their combined form create a sense of the 'local' as against the 'national' or 'global' and more importantly against the cultural and linguistic domination of the so called mainstream. The writer here acts actually as a translator (inter-semiotic translation to be precise in the sense that the ST consists of oral traces in the form of folktales, myths, legends, non-conventional and non-canonical history in ethnic languages of Tripura such as Kokborok, Reang et al., whereas the TT is the comic strip in Bengali) in depicting a story of a tribal source culture in the mainstream Bengali language and literature. The comic strip genre and the appreciable attempt of the writer/illustrator to retain tribal culture specificity (instead of being a part of mainstream Bengali) resists the source culture from being translated, transformed and thus lost in the target text (TT).

As pointed out earlier, the comic strip on Ray Kachag is the result of long eight to ten years research on the history of Tripura as claimed by the publishing house Bhasa (Backcover of the book). The incorporation of historical facts in the narrative or the inclusion of narrative fiction in history is an attempt to acquaint the readers with this legend 'excluded' from grand canonical history such as Rajmala. The narrative and history conform to each other in the depiction of the Kuki community as riotous and arrogant (Dey 116). The depiction of the Reangs (Figure 3.20) and the Kukis (Figure 3.21) exemplifies the binary of the domestic and the wild. The dress and behavior project the former as 'barbaric' in comparison to the more 'civilised' Reangs. It has correspondence to documented historical evidence by Ranjit Dey who writes that “except those that cause death or extreme illness, they (the Kukis) ate all kinds of food” (116 trans mine) and that among the tribes of Tripura the Kukis are “the most indomitable and warlike” (‘durdanta o samarpriya’ in Bengali). At the beginning of 16th century, the King Dhanyamanikya gained victory over the Thanangsi castle of Kuki state. From that time onwards the Kukis created constant trouble and remained an indigestable item in the stomach of Tripura kingdom (Dey 82, trans. mine).

The Thanangsi castle of Kuki kingdom finds reference in 'Swet Hasti Parba'(The Episode of White Elephant, trans. mine). It is referred here as Thanasigarh. The living pattern of the Kuki in the highland as shown in the text has historical verity. Their habitat in the highland created much trouble for the army of Tripura. If closely examined the story in the series reflects the domination of royalty over the tribes. But ironically this domination and hierarchy remains hidden under the chivalry of Ray Kachag. There is reference in the story that the Kuki community gave the King elephant tusk, bamboo products and elephants as gift. The narrative runs thus: the soldiers of Kuki kingdom captured a white elephant in their area of Thanasigarh. The king Dhanyamanikya wanted this elephant, ordered the Kuki chieftain to send it to him as is his right. If viewed from the perspective of general ethics, it is an intrusion in the
domain of others. But the objective and the focus stated in the introduction of the book that is to narrate the chivalry of Ray Kachag who fought for the sake of the kingdom of Tripura implicitly legitimises and reinforces this order by the King as lawful and just. It is necessary to note here that the perspective that the writer-illustrator adopts in this case is essentially pro-royalty. The story narrates the efficiency of the Kuki community in battle as the victory on Thanasigarh was not possible for long eight months. At last the victory was possible because of Jamichalang whose idea of binding a rope in the highland with the help of his crocodile friend worked out. In fact the text deviates from the moral vs. immoral factors and introduces in roundabout way the politics, intelligence and principles and ethics of warfare ('rananiti' in Bengali) that are generally associated in royal battles. The concept of 'dharma' is thus problematised and complicated for the target readers of the text, and the text in many respects deviates from this concept by presenting every detail in comical manner usual for comic strip genre. Nothing is explicitly stated, only implied. But comic strip because of its pictorial quality exercises a lasting effect on the mind of the readers especially children. The concept of morality ethics or the judgment of good and evil is not acquired by the children so easily. The readers are mostly children who are not above the first two stages of moral development. In the first stage, a child does not do such things as are considered bad by the society or parents for the fear of hedonistic consequences and in the second, it is limited to loss-profit factor such as if you help me, I shall help you. Therefore comic strip succeeds in its stated aim by concealing any such morality judgment.

The inclusion of Jamichalang is definitely a figment of the writer-illustrator's imagination presented as fictional reality. The gaps and fissures in historical documentation is filled by mythology and folktale. Interestingly it does not hinder the narrative but adjusts itself to the requirements of the comic strip, children literature genre. The character of Jamichalang is clouded by obscurity as he is a character from folktale. He does not conform to any form of tradition, but is a blend of mythology and folktale and is also ahistorical as he denies age and time by resisting the prime determiner of canonical and conventional historical documentation viz. chronology. He had saved Kachag and introduced himself smilingly as "yes I am as apt in telling lie as strong. My name is Jamichalang. hee hee" (22, trans. mine). Kachag finds the name familiar and recollects that he has heard it in a fairytale told by his grandmother in his childhood (ibid). Later when Jamichalang departs, Kachag wonders, "strange person or is he really the superman (atimanab' in Bengali) of the fairytale!" (26). Jamichalang helped Kachag twice-in capturing Thanasigarh in 'Swet Hasti Parba' and in the battle with Husen Shah. It is interesting to note at the same time that the narration shows that Jamichalang captured the Kaman (canon) of Husen Shah and brought it to Kachag. This renders the objective stated in the introduction problematic. It can be interpreted that the fissure and gaps causing obscurity in historical narration is filled by myth and folktale, but at the expense of the importance of the central character. Jamichalang is indeed a strange character. He suddenly appears in the scene. He is a folk-tale element in the story and is a well-known character
in fairy-tales. He does not wear shoes and in fact, is very much reluctant to do so, does not speak about his age or his origin. He remains obscure till the end and his character is a part of non-canonical history writing and new historiography. He refuses to go to "Rangamatia" (now Udaipur and the then capital of Tripura). A quarrel is hinted between him and the writers of Rajmala: "tomader rajmalar - lekhakra amake dekhe felle sarbanash. oder sange amar iye ache, he he "(panel 2, p 26). When Kachag insists on his going, he tells "e khetre kono aaposh noy. Ae:" meaning no compromise here (panel 4, p 26. trans. mine, Figures 3.22; 3.23; 3.24).

Again in 'Hushen Shah er Kaman', he tactfully avoids meeting King Dhanyamanikya when the king sends Kachag to fetch him (50). He is always with the common folk and never with royalty. He defies, resists and subverts being a part of canonical historiography. Rajmala is the record of royal history and therefore his 'maladjustment' with the writers of the text is hinted at since he defies time, ageing and also established literary and historical tradition of documentation. He is always ready with some pretext for his reluctance to wear shoes. When Kachag orders him to wear shoes as a part of the formality of soldiering (45), he tells "I'll. But in war it is more important to defeat the opposite army than to wear shoes" (46). He thus violates even the established tradition of wearing a soldier's uniform. Rajmala was written by royal historians and hence Jamichalang attempts to elude and delude all such definitive historical traces. He is a part of popular mythology and resists the form of writing that is monolithic, in the process revealing a power equation at play. He is a witness to history, but not a part of it. He denies any form of tradition defined by conventional history. In the target text there is a confusion as well as collaboration of myth and history, where myth tries to validate history, rendering history a problematic entity, like myth itself. It is not easy for the conscious or serious reader to deduce historical truth from other elements of history writing because of the narratology. Moreover, Senapati Ray Kachag as a text is non-canonical history writing aiming at the children as target readers. The comic strip genre with its pictorial and linguistic text clearly communicates the source culture both in time, space and humour as is expected from such type of text. The serious historical facts here do not distort the comic flavor. As a text it is as good a cultural production as a historical one. The inclusion of some comic dialogues or incidents is therefore likely. History and literature in such cases should not be treated as distinctly separate disciplines in order to privilege the former with respect to the latter or vice versa by implying in each a certain authority and absoluteness with respect to the other. Reality is always structured by the text, be it literary or historical, since no such exclusivity and purity of discipline is plausible. Senapati Ray Kachag is shown to be a loyal general of Tripura royalty. It is a blending of fact and fiction. The major question arising in analysing such texts is the extent to which the imaginative fiction writing can go. Whether imagination is curbed by fiction or fiction is coloured by imagination cannot be definitely decided or deciphered from the target text. But some spontaneous queries that arise on such an analysis are- To what extent and how far does ideology of the writer-illustrator get
reflected in writing and recording historical facts? What do distortions in historical facts actually suggest? How does the past get re-presented in the text of the present? What is the difference in this case between visual text and typographical text? And all these issues in question stimulate the process of hierarchy formation, hegemonisation and appropriation inherent in the process of history writing. The text is a cultural product. It is closely linked to the socio-cultural, economical and political background of Tripura. In the comic strip mould the text represents history in the holistic and comprehensive sense of the term. The legend can be divided into two parts - historical legend and mythological legend (Dey, 59). The mythological legend because of unavailability of authentic facts allows much scope for the play of imagination on the part of the writer-illustrator. But historical legend such as Ray Kachag, limits or curbs the imagination to some extent. But as any text is the cultivated outcome of a culture or a cultural product and the writer-illustrator is a part of the same cultural system, dominant ideology reflects itself in both the product and the intent of the producer (here the writer-illustrator). Comic strip medium allows this to a greater extent because of its visual quality. The negative portrayal is neither historical nor a distortion of history, but rather a projection of ideology. It is pertinent here to analyse and refer a strip of *Amar Chitra katha* and relate it to a similar projection in Ray Kachag. In the *Amar Chitra katha series Chattrasal* (series no 41, published on May, 1973,) a panel shows Ruhalla Khan, Aurangzeb's general, being sent to finish off the Bundela hero in his camp. It is the eve of battle and Ruhalla Khan is shown preparing for the night's revelry, pouring wine while his guards usher him to the dance hall. The dancing girl is presented in arched movement so as to reveal a significant portion of her body. Her curves and naval are also considerably exposed. The angle and the foregrounding of the woman are such that it reminds the reader of mujra33 scenes in Hindi films with camera closely following the woman's body part by part. The contrasting frame is one where Chhatrasal, the Bundela hero is shown commemorating his victory over Aurangzeb's army. The dancing girl in this frame is fully dressed. The implied perspective connotes that it is dance that is being enjoyed and not the girl. Thus the Mughal debauchery is contrasted here to the celebratory atmosphere of Chhatrasal court, a case of eroticism versus aesthetics. The pictorial encoding here conforms to the ideology behind *Amar Chitra Katha* that is to create a homogenous Hindu space and reinforce a self-other hierarchy. This is an inclusion in the narrative that cannot be termed distortion, but a means of projecting the ideological bias in the text through pictorial code. Francis W. Pritchett's article "The World of Amar Chitra Katha" identifies *Amar Chitra Katha's* Hindu bias by highlighting the absence of any Muslim in the ‘Makers of Modern India series’ and by decoding *Amar Chitra Katha's* partial treatment of the British colonial officers as compared to the rough-cut villains of the Mughal period. He writes "the readers who happens to be the wrong gender, wrong politics, or the wrong religion will find themselves only scantily represented"(105). *In Senapati Ray Kachag*, the enemies of the king are Allauddin Waddin Mozaffar Husen Shah and his twelve rebellious zamindars ('Baro Bidrohi parba'- 'Episode of the Twelve Rebels', trans. mine), the
King of the Kuki community Lankai ('Swet Hasti Parbo', 'The Episode of the White Elephant', trans. mine), Husen Shah and his general Gour Mallik ('Senapati Ray Kachag o Gouria Bahini', 'General Ray Kachag and the army of Gour' trans mine), Husen Shah and his son Shahjada Chuti Khan ('Husen Shah er Kaman' or The canon of Husen Shah' trans mine). The portrayal of Husen Shah is important as it caters and conforms to the stereotyping of the other (here Muslims) with respect to the self. The culture of Tripura as a whole acts as the self; the other here is not a tribal, but a non-Hindu thus highlighting non-Hinduism. As historical evidences show, Tripura was a Hindu state and it was the main reason for which the commingling of Bengali and the tribal population was possible here. The tribals did not resist the influx and influence of Bengalis patronised by royalty:

…Thus the influx of Bengali was possible in Tripura because of the favor bestowed by the Maharajas. There was no scope for disunity among the masses of Tripura and the Bengali Hindus as the kings of Tripura were believers in Hinduism. It is assumed from the long history of chaos and oppression in Bangladesh by the Muslim forces that the Hindus came to the safe and secluded places of this kingly state of Tripura to find their ultimate shelter. A long history of Bengali intrusion can thus be traced (Dey 165-66).

The depiction of Husen Shah and in general the Muslim community as a whole indulging in merry making and revelry (27) is similar to that of the projection of Ruhalla Khan in *Amar Chitra Katha*. According to ethnic tribal cultural norms, drinking is generally ritualistic and customary in tribal communities of Tripura. The process of distilling liquor is itself ritualistic and it is offered in religious feats and festivals as part of their ethno-religion and culture. But while culture specific food items are included (“godak”, “sukarer bharta”, “chakhui”, etc (53), there is no pictorial or linguistic code/sign in the comic strip target text as reference to this custom. It is perhaps because it is considered to be immoral in the non-ethnic Bengali community which is targeted as readers of the target text. Panel 6 of page 40 showing the annual feast (hasam bhojan) of the soldiers(Figure 3.25) stands in sharp contrast to panel 4 of page 27, where the king Husen Shah is shown hosting a feast for the 'amir amla' i.e. the royal courtiers and nobles (Figure 3.26). The pictorial codes anchor the underlying message and meaning of the text. The goblet of wine (“surapatra”) that is a recurrent feature in illustration and a popular icon for showing the muslim community in films and other media, functions here as a contrast to the feast of the tribal community. The Hindu tribal feast is accompanied by the patriotic speech of the King Dhanyamanikya while the muslim feast is termed as 'bhoj rajneeti' and it is conducted for conspiracy.
However, here Hinduism rather than tribal culture is more contrasted with the Islam. It projects Tripura as a homogenous and syncretic space by presenting both Bengali and tribal ethnic cultures clubbed together as 'self' against the 'other'.

The woman characters or reference to woman in general offers case studies to investigate the ideological apparatus that lie hidden in the text. As said earlier this is a narrative necessity even in a historical text to include some non-historical aspects. As the genre is comic strip, some panels illustrate woman figures only. These figures are not characters in the narrative but reveal the culture and pattern of life. The text as cultural product in the first series depicts a panel showing the calm and peaceful life of the Reang tribe. The woman characters here portrayed reveal all the characteristic of a tribal woman both in dress, manner and their gender specific activities. The culture specific dress codes that otherwise cannot be easily communicated to the (alien) readers are clearly brought out in the illustration in addition to attributing individual characteristics. Curiously the female characters in the strip are free from controversy of distortions of historical truth, but the author's cultural mindset and o be is seen operative fully. There are only three women characters - Mata Tripureswari or Goddess Tripureswari,(Figure 3.27) the Tantric Bagalama (Figure 3.28) and the Begum of Husen Shah (Figure 3.29). The begum of Husen Shah is not attributed a voice. There are two dialogues that speak about women one is by Ray Kachag (21) reflective of a patriarchal bias, and one by Jamichalang (53) that refers to gender stereotyping that is generally attributed to woman domestication, cooking and feeding the family. It also refers to the emotional and affectionate aspects of motherhood. The Begum of Husen Shah is not given any dialogue. She is shown weared about her husband's health and talking (only in expression as depicted in the illustration) with the physician. Kachag's comment on women reflects patriarchal bias. In Shwet Hasti , the soldiers of Tripur army ( Tripur is often used for Tripura interchangeably) indulges in nonsense conversations and drinking having failed to capture Thanasisgarh of the Kukis. It was for them 'the last merrymaking of their lives' (Dasgupta 21, trans mine). Kachag comes to the spot tracking the sound. Seeing the soldiers in such a condition he says," You are having alcohol in such a condition. Don't you have any shame?"(Dasgupta 21, trans.mine). And in the subsequent panel Kachag says- "Fie! I doubt whether you are soldiers or women. I will tell the king to gift you a charkha. Stay at home and spin thread"(ibid). In fact, there is no consistency of thought in these two panels. In the first Kachag is referring to the idiotic behavior of the soldiers. And in the second there is reference to women primarily to demean the soldiers, to refer to their lack of courage and strength (both traditionally considered exclusively masculine). The binary of powerful male and tender female, protector male and meek, domestic female is seen operational here. The comment conforms to popular notions about women and hints at the position of women in the then tribal culture. In fact it is not easy to generalise the culture of Tripura since it is a multi-communal and multicultural space where women could have different position in different communities and also because sociologically ethnic tribal society is matriarchal. The reference
by Jamichalang does not have such degrading implication though the gender codification of women in domestic roles is very much present: "Now its time for my departure. I will go to my house. My mother cooks delicious chakhui" (53, trans. mine. panel 3).

However the three female characters (more presences than characters) in Senapati Ray Kachag can be analysed under three broad categories of women characters- 'archetype', 'stereotype' and 'real'. The first stands for the source image, the ideal original image of woman and corresponds to the archetype. It is a theological construct. It, on one hand, preserves the burning fire of energy and strength and restrains evil, it is shakti incarnate or the feminine principle. The second stands for dumb, silent and suffering woman created under the normative pressure of the traditional patriarchal society. The third stands for the image of woman breaking away from the stereotype being articulate and assertive against exploitation. The presence of Goddess Tripureswari is an archetypal image. She is the embodiment of Shakti and saves King Dhanyamanikya. A mother image is also associated with her as she refers to the king as her son. The projection of the king as seeking forgiveness and crying is a reversal of hierarchy between the protector male and tender protected female. The image of Bagalama conforms to the real image of woman who are articulate and make a presence of their own self. She has a distinct identity of her own. But the writer/illustrator also presents incidents that can be termed as gender specific leading to an almost attempted domestication and humanisation of divinity. She is attributed physical beauty and being attracted by her beauty a Tripuri soldier proposes to her. But she makes him a goat with her supernatural power. This indicates that she denies being part of such domestication and possesses more power than the male. Beauty may have different connotation other than attraction. It is important to note that she and Jamichalang are disciples of the same guru. She is therefore also a part of folk tale, fairy tale and mythology and remains obscure. But her figure is in sharp contrast to traditional fairytale female characters who are portrayed either as shrewd scheming women or tender princesses held captive by an evil giant. The presence of the wife of Husen Shah is also an instance of stereotyping hinting at the status of muslim women in the society (the 'other' society and culture). In the text, however no attempt has been made to homogenise the women characters.

Another instance of understanding cultural production and dissemination and alternate history writing through the image-language text combination as in a comic strip can be found in The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers, a specimen of the graphic novel genre. Sarnath Banerjee's The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers's mode of storytelling through image-text tends to write an alternative and non-conventional, non-canonical history of Calcutta/kolkata with an unfailing sensibility that is Indian. It gives fictional credibility to certain historical facts in an altogether different mode. The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers is written in the style of palimpsest where another text effaces the contents of the original text rendering both the text and the narrator a problematic identity. The nature of palimpsest is two-fold; it preserves the distinctness of individual texts, while exposing the contamination of one by the
other. Therefore, even though the process of layering which creates a palimpsest was born out of a need to erase and destroy previous texts, the re-emergence of those destroyed texts renders a structure that privileges heterogeneity and diversity and also allows the discerning reader to look into the underlying politics of écriture and authorly authority at play.

In fact, to understand culture, documented historical fact is not enough, it has to rely on alternate expression such as fiction, visual art, pictures, etc and the graphic novel does justice to the epigraph that says "The book is inspired by history but not limited by it" (iv). The very notions of rumour, scandal, popular belief structures, gossip, amorous intrigues and stories of sexual promiscuity that populate popular imagination in any age tend to provide alternative modes of history writing that subvert the grand canonical notion of conventional history. *In The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers* time ceases to exist as a static and fixed entity. The present is the shadow of the past. The agency of the spirits and ghosts acts as alternative mode of history reconstructing the untold beyond documented history. The presence of spirits or ghosts gives a sense of real story reenacted and dramatised. In the successful graphic novel, words and images should be on equal planes, one should not be privileged over the other. One cannot ask of a graphic novel as to which is more important, the words or pictures, as both the domains combine to form an inseparable text. Sarnath Banerjee's graphic novel does the same thing. The satiric depiction of the scandalous history of 19th century Calcutta/Kolkata through his images, illustrations and language make a coherent whole.

Graphic narratives are 'performative' in contrast to the typographical text. The text with combination of linguistic/verbal and visual encoding performs for the readers in quite a dramatic mould. *The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers* performs itself in the living ambience of urban life, false vanities of 'the rich colonised and their decadent colonisers' (Banerjee 228). The writer of the book, The Wandering Jew came "here to sell items of whimsy; novelty objects that feed the idle minds of the rich and fuel their active imagination" (Banerjee 229). The pretension of learning and reading was important for keeping one's prestige in the 'elite' society. The humorous and satirical depiction of Joy Mitra's pretended act (pretended as he was illiterate) of reading a newspaper in his newly acquired open-top faeton is an apt example of how graphic narrative performs the contents of the text (Figure 3.30) *The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers* initiates the readers into the days of Babu-culture in British Calcutta. A subversive undercurrent is provided by Babu-Calcutta fringe characters like Gopal Urey and Roopchand Pokkhhi-a device somewhat reminiscent of Nabarun Bhattacharya's Phyataru Novels in Bengali. The illustrations and images also communicate the varied nuances of characterisation. The chapter entitled 'Baghbazaar Bird Club' is full of such illustrative sketches. The Baghbazaar Bird Club whose floors and walls were made of cannabis leaves was famous for the 'smoking ritual'. A panel in this chapter is unique in its presentation of both culture specificity and the satire. The Khemta tradition of the then Bengal was performative in its presentation of the scandals through dancing and singing as was
the 'Jeleparar shong' (analogous to the 'Skimity Ride' in The Mayor of Casterbridge by Thomas Hardy). The panel illustrates the singing tradition and at the same time describes in a satiric manner the obsession for opium in Bengali Society of 19th century (Figure.3.31).

The advantage of graphic novel as a narrative art lies in the fact that it brings out the culture specificity of the text through the anchorage text (using Barthes analogy). The depiction of the Nimtala Cremation Ground in Kolkata and the act of skull cracking in the The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers retain the local culture specific nuances through the juxtaposition of both the real photographic image and illustration so that the act of reading becomes identifying, recognising and living the moment.(Figure.3.32). Another instance of the intersection of the world of the text and the world of the reader is the ‘anchorage’ and ‘relay’ text combination conveying the gastronomy of Hilsa fish and the familiar scene of the fish market alive in its squalor and mire. Here the anchorage and the relay complement each other, both emphasising while facilitating the narrative intention (Figure 3.33). The axiomatic point of Indian English literature is to construct an Indian space in terms of sensibility, ethos, culture specific stances and geographical/physical delineation. This finds remarkable expression in The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers. Adopting the English translation of Kaliprasanna Singha's Hutom Penchar Naksha, Sarnath sketches the eccentricities of 19th century Babu Kolkata. The book The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers that the narrator was searching for is written by the Jew who supplied what-not's to satisfy the whims and fancies of both the British and Bengali elites. The present day Kolkata is depicted in illustrations as the narrator wanders through the city for the book that is his grandfather's legacy. The uniqueness of Sarnath's illustration is the fusion of real life photographic image and sketches in the same frame, thereby blurring the concept of fact and fiction, reality and illusion, conventional history and personal, imaginative history. This could also be read as an attempt to create a sense of the hyper-real - a condition in which the distinction between the real and the imaginary implodes. The photographic image of the Writers Building 'the belly button of West Bengal Bureaucracy', 'one of the last hubs of authentic babus', 'the lasting present from British colonisers' (Banerjee, 186) is an example of conventional documented history both in image and text. But the illustration of a babu sitting and delivering the peculiar verbal discourse of babus is an attempt to register personal imaginative history thus creating a blending of fact and fiction(Figure 3.34). It is a translation of ideation in the form of the blending. The photographic image represents their subjects without coding it, but illustrated image are encoded so as to suit the idea or the intent of the creator. Thus the blending of real life photograph with that of satirical illustration contextualises a local space anchoring the audience to the idea lying beneath i.e.satirising the whims and fancies of the babu-culture.
NOTES

1. International Standard Book Number, a unique numeric commercial book identifier based upon the 9-digit Standard Book Numbering (SBN) code created by Gordon Foster, Emeritus Professor of Statistics at Trinity College, Dublin, for the booksellers and stationers W.H. Smith and others in 1966. A similar numeric identifier, the International Standard Serial Number (ISSN), identifies periodical publications such as magazines.

2. Fukuzawa was born in 1835 in a lower Samurai family in the strictly hierarchical feudal society. He played a key role in introducing Western civilization to Japan. He was a renowned educator and intellectual of the 19th century. His translations form a major part of the work that contributed to Japan's social transition from feudal domain to a modern nation.

3. Also known as the Meiji era, is a Japanese era which extended from September 1868 through July 1912. This period represents the first half of the Empire of Japan. Like other subjugated Asian nations, the Japanese were forced to sign unequal treaties with Western powers. These treaties granted the Westerners one-sided economical and legal advantages in Japan. In order to regain independence from the Europeans and Americans and establish herself as a respected nation in the world, Meiji Japan was determined to close the gap to the Western powers economically and militarily. Drastic reforms were carried out in practically all areas. The education system was reformed after the French and later after the German system. Among those reforms was the introduction of compulsory education.

4. The International Journal for Translation & Interpreting Research describes domesticating and foreignising as follows: The concept of domesticating translation and foreignising translation presents two opposite orientations. The concept comes out of the German Romantic tradition from the Schlegel brothers, Goethe, Schleiermacher and Humboldt to Benjamin (Robinson, 1997, p.108), and has been refined by Venutti (1995). Schleiermacher argued that there are only two paths open to the true translator: either the translator leaves the writer alone as much as possible and moves the reader toward the writer; or he leaves the reader alone as much as possible (Translation & Interpreting Vol 2, No 1 (2010) 25) and moves the writer toward the reader. He added that whatever has been said about translations that follow the letter and translations that follow the meaning, about faithful and free translations, must always be reduced to those two (Schulte and Biguenet, 1992, p.41-43). Schleiermacher made clear that his choice was to foreignise translations, i.e. to move the reader toward the writer. The American scholar Lawrence Venutti calls Schleiermacher's two paths the domesticating method and the foreignising method, the former being an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home and the latter an ethno-deviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad (1995, p.21). Following Schleiermacher, Venutti advocates foreignising translations and has developed a theory
that resists dominant TL cultural values and signifies the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text.

5. John Arne Sæteroy (born May 16, 1965 in Molde), better known by the pen name Jason, is a Norwegian cartoonist, known for his sparse drawing style and silent, anthropomorphic animal characters. He has been nominated for two Ignatz Awards (2000: Outstanding Story and Outstanding Series, 2001: Outstanding Story and Outstanding Series), has received praise in Time, and won the Harvey Award for best new talent in 2002, and several Eisner Awards. Jason's work is usually drawn in a minimalist, clean style, influenced by Hergé's ligne claire. Ligne claire [French for "clear line"] is a style of drawing pioneered by Hergé, the Belgian creator of The Adventures of Tintin. It uses clear strong lines of uniform importance. Artists working in it do not use hatching, while contrast is downplayed as well. Cast shadows are often illuminated while a uniformity of line is used throughout, paying equal attention to every element depicted. Additionally, the style often features strong colours and a combination of cartoonish characters against a realistic background. All these elements together can result in giving strips drawn this way a flat aspect. The name was coined by Joost Swarte in 1977). His protagonists are usually anthropomorphic animals and/or B-movie monsters. There is little or no talking, and very rarely any captions; unlike most comic books, the reader is forced to rely on the pictures to understand the comics. The net effect is that the comics become reminiscent of silent films and Ernest Hemingway's short stories, where an important part is what is left out. Jason's comics frequently refer to other works. For example, Tell Me Something is inspired by Buster Keaton's movies and fictionalised versions of Ernest Hemingway and other writers are the protagonists of The Left Bank Gang.

6. The ancient royal chronicle of the Kings of Tripura. It has been written in Bengali since the 14th century AD. Initially, but unrecorded, it was in circulation in Kokborok language, the language of the Tripura kings before it was translated to Bengali in the 14th century. Rajmala or annals of Tripura were compiled by Brahmins or the Pradhan mantris of the court of Tripura. Rajmala presents us with the oldest specimen of Bengali composition extant, the first part of it having been compiled in the beginning of the 15th century. The subsequent parties were composed at a more recent date. Rajmala, was written by Kailash Chandra Singh and published in 1896. “The author whose paternal grandfather and father were officials (mukhtar and seristadar respectively) of the ruling house, wrote this after having served for twenty years in the Archaeological Survey of India.” (Arjan Ghosh, History and the Present. Orient Blackswan. P-115).

7. The theory was first proposed by German Linguist Hans Vermeer in the late 1970s and further explained in a book co-written with Reiss (1984). Skopos theory accounts for the departure from the Source Text by accepting that a translation need not necessarily be retrospectively equivalent to a Source Text interpretation, but should be prospectively 'adequate' to a Target Text skopos.
8. Usually the white piece of loin cloth forming the lower part of the traditional Bengali dress worn in a specific style with the upper shirt or kurta which is known as Punjabi in Bengali.
9. A bamboo hut on poles.
10. Tract of land on hill slopes used for shifting cultivation.
11. Cane or bamboo basket hung from the back.
12. A place in North Tripura historically famous for engravings on hill slopes.
13. The thread spinning wheel.
14. Bamboo basket for storage, used among the ethnic tribes of Tripura.
15. Bustier worn by the tribal women in Tripura.
17. A science fiction-thriller franchise, initially conceived by Chris Carter. The franchise generally focused on paranormal or unexplained happenings. The first franchise release, simply titled *The X-Files*, was first aired in September 1993 and ended in May 2002. In the series, FBI agents Fox Mulder (David Duchovny) and Dana Scully (Gillian Anderson) are the investigators of X-Files: marginalised, unsolved cases involving paranormal phenomena. Mulder is a believer in the existence of aliens and the paranormal while Scully, a skeptic, is assigned to make scientific analyses of Mulder's discoveries which could ultimately be used to debunk Mulder's work. The show was a hit for the Fox network, and its characters and slogans (e.g., "The Truth Is Out There", "Trust No One", "I Want to Believe") became pop culture touchstones in the 1990s. 1996 saw the release of the franchise's first television spin off, entitled *Millennium*. In 1998, the first *X-Files* feature film was released. There are three series of novels based on The X-Files franchise, one based on each of the three shows. During the run of the television series The X-Files, many books based on it were written and released, including novels based on episodes, a series of comic books from Topps Comics, and many "official" and "unauthorised" non-fiction books. In 2004, The US-based Topps Comics and most recently, DC Comics imprint Wildstorm launched a new series of licensed tie-in comics based on *The X-Files*. The Fox Broadcasting Network publishes the official *The X-Files Magazine*. In total, five novels have been based on *Millennium*, the first being a novelisation of the pilot episode. Some novels were also released as audiobooks read by actor Bill Smitrovitch. The X-Files spawned a large number of spin-off products. The X-Files Collectible Card Game was released in 1996, and an expansion pack was released in 1997.
18. First used by Ray Birowhistell, an anthropologist. Drawing heavily on descriptive linguistics he argued that all movements of the body have meaning and that these non-verbal forms of language (or paralanguage) have a grammar that can be analysed in similar terms to spoken language.
19. The term is coined by Professor Edward T. Hall, author of such well known works as *The Silent Language* (1959), *The Hidden Dimension* (1969), and *Beyond Culture* (1977). Since
proxemics is part of culture and is guided and influenced by culture transmission, anthropologists like Hall have investigated occupation, cultivation, preservation and utilisation of space by humans from the anthropological viewpoints and linked the same with art, literature, architecture, etc. Hall suggests that proxemics is the hidden dimension of human culture which we practice unconsciously all the time. He argues that it is impossible for man to divest himself of his own culture. Culture has penetrated to the roots of man's nervous system and it determines how he perceives the world. Hall argues that by examining proxemic patterns we will be able to reveal hidden cultural frames that determine the structure of a given people's perceptual world. Proxemic research looks for patterned distinctions while studying individual differences; it aims to identify the role of proxemic behaviour in an unconscious behaviour, it resembles the phenomena akin to tone of voice, or even stress and pitch in a human language. Take, for instance, the use of curtain in a Tamil street play or in kathakali in Kerala. It creates distance between the actors and the audience, where there is practically no distance involved. It creates distance between actors on the 'stage' when different actors are involved in different functions within the same scene. Its removal suddenly closes the gap between the two and serves the function of uniting the characters to bring a unity of purpose to the scene. In *The Hidden Dimension* (1966), Hall developed his theory of proxemics, arguing that human perceptions of space, although derived from sensory apparatus that all humans share, are moulded and patterned by culture. He argued that differing cultural frameworks for defining and organising space, which are internalised in all people at an unconscious level, can lead to serious failures of communication and understanding in cross-cultural settings. This book analysed both the personal spaces that people form around their bodies as well as the macro-level sensibilities that shape cultural expectations about how streets, neighborhoods and cities should be properly organised. Edward Hall's theory of proxemics shows how strangers waiting for a train in Oklahoma try to maintain at least 18” of personal space and suggests that people will maintain differing degrees of personal distance depending on the social setting and their cultural backgrounds.

20. A Bengali short story about a very mischievous and spontaneous teenage boy named Fatik, who, after spending all his childhood among the beautiful surroundings of rural Bengal was taken to the city by his uncle to study. The congested city, the unsympathetic atmosphere in his aunt's house and the school had a deep and harmful impact on his mind; consequently leading to a tragic end.

21. An important festival of the tribals of Tripura state, it is held in the month of April viz. "Baisakh" and is called "Garia-puja". Two deities "Kaliga" and "Garia" are worshipped. The apex of a bamboo is bent in a particular fashion to assume the image of the deity. The image is then framed into a bamboo barrel and enthroned on a platform. It is believed that the propitiation of the deity would make the people happy and prosperous. The Garia is a communal festival; sacrifice of cocks is done to mark the occasion. Dancing and rejoicing after performing puja is very essential. The "Garia" dance is therefore very popular among the Tripuris and the Reangs. Both men and women dressed in their best...
outfits sing and dance to the mellifluous tune of their exotic tribal music, which renders the whole atmosphere sublime and delightful.

22. Approximately 75 km from Agartala, the capital city of Tripura. It is famous for its rock carvings on the steep mountain wall on the bank of river Gomati. There are beautiful huge carved images of Lord Shiva, Vishnu, Kartika, Mahishasur Mardini, Durga and other gods and goddesses. These images belong to 15th -16th centuries.

23. The slow lumbering giant lizards that most people go there to see. These endangered animals live on a small group of islands between Sumbawa and Flores in the Indonesian archipelago. The two biggest islands in the National Park are Komodo and Rinca. The nearest island on the regular tourist route is Bali and the nearest airport is on Flores. The Komodo Dragons live on Flores too. It is referred in the strip while linking the dragon brought by Jamichalang. It can be taken as an attempt to blend fact and fiction, fact and mythology.

24. Also known as pradip in Bengali means a lamp. It works as comic strip iconography bulb on the ground of its illuminating feature.

25. Present Udaipur, the northernmost village of Rangamatia is mentioned three times as an ancient kingdom in the Rajmala (a history of Tripura) by Kailash Chandra Singha. While the precise location was not described, the historical document notes it as situated east of the Kamalanka or Patikara kingdom. Rangamatia might have been the centre of this ancient kingdom. Rangamatia has been identified by some with Rohitagiri, the early kingdom and home of the Chandras of Bengal.

26. The followers of Vaishnavism are referred to as Vaishnava(s) or Vaishnavism is a tradition of Hinduism, distinguished from other schools by its worship of Vishnu, or his associated Avatars such as Rama and Krishna, as the original and supreme God. Its beliefs and practices, especially the concepts of Bhakti and Bhakti Yoga, are based largely on the Upanishads, and associated with the Vedas and Puranic texts such as the Bhagavad Gita, and the Padma, Vishnu and Bhagavata Puranas.

27. The choric song sung by the Vaishnavas of Bengal. It is usually the chanting of the name of Lord Krishna accompanied by traditional musical instruments.

28. Chattagram- Chitagong in Bangladesh

29. There is a reference in the text that it was created by the order of Hatian Khan when his soldiers were attacked or even killed by drinking the poisonous water poured on the river Gomati. But the text does not provide any authentic data as to where this historical lake is located at present in Tripura. But as per the narrative, it can be said that it was probably somewhere between Rangamatia (Udaipur) and Amarpur.

30. An ethnic group that spread throughout the Northeastern region of India, Northwest Burma and Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. In Northeast India they are present in all the states except Arunachal Pradesh. This dispersal across international borders is mainly attributed to the British
colonial policy. It is said that Kukis had lived in Tripura even before the Tripuris came in to conquer the land. Those of the Kukis who had submitted to the Tripura 'Raja' came to be known as Halams.

31. Associated with Garia Festival of Tripura. The dancers sing a particular kind of song referred as magan and go on gathering offering from house to house in the locality. These songs are often accompanied by blessings ('bar' in Kokborok). The use of Bengali language in such magan can be traced and it is said that it must have influenced the mingling and emergence of Bengali and Kokborok language in Tripura.

32. The concept conforms to the theory propounded by Lawrence Kohlberg in his "The Claim to Moral Adequacy of a Highest Stage of Moral Judgment"(1973) in. *Journal of Philosophy*. He devised moral development in three levels - pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional. The following description will show that the target reader of comic strip falls under the following stages of level 1.

Level 1. Pre-conventional Morality

Stage 1- Obedience and Punishment. The earliest stage of moral development is especially common in young children, but adults are also capable of expressing this type of reasoning. At this stage, children see rules as fixed and absolute. Obeying the rules is important because it is a means to avoid punishment.

Stage 2- Individualism and Exchange. At this stage of moral development, children account for individual points of view and judge actions based on how they serve individual needs. Reciprocity is possible at this point in moral development, but only if it serves one's own interests.

33. A form of dance originated by the tawaifs (courtesans) during the Mughal era. Gashtian and Kanjaries are two names for Waqar Ahmed and Shahid Abbasi, and incorporated elements of the native classical Kathak dance onto music such as thumris and ghazals or poems composed by other composers such as Bahadur Shah Zafar. Mujra was traditionally performed at mehflis and in special houses called kothas. During Mughal rule in the Indian subcontinent, in places such as Jaipur, the tradition of performing mujra was a family art and often passed down from mother to daughter amongst Muslim practitioners. The profession was a cross between art and exotic dance, with the performers often serving as courtesans amongst Mughal royalty or wealthy patrons.

34. The early 19th-century term for a sporty open carriage drawn by a single horse or a pair, typically with four extravagantly large wheels, very lightly sprung, with a minimal body, fast and dangerous. It usually had no sidepieces in front of the seats. The rather self-consciously classicising name refers to the disastrous ride of mythical Phaëton, son of Helios, who set the earth on fire while attempting to drive the chariot of the sun.

35. A satirical series of fiction by Nabarun Bhattacharjee written in Bengali, acidic in its subversion of modern Kolkata and its culture.
36. A tradition of light song and dance often bordering on the erotic with popular scandals, gossips and rumours as content, performed by nautch girls living on the fringes of society.
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