Translating Javanese Culture Expressions in a Novel:
Techniques and Quality

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Abstract
Translating cultural terms from Javanese is an area of interest because this language has numerous various cultural fixed expressions that challenge the translator in conveying the intended message to target readers. This study investigates the Javanese fixed expressions, as well as the translation techniques employed to translate them, for three novels: Burung-Burung Manyar (The Weaverbirds), Pengakuan Pariyem (Pariyem’s Confession), and Para Priyayi (Javanese Gentry). Relying on content analysis design and a qualitative approach, this study analyzed 32 Javanese expressions obtained from the above three novels. The data was analyzed using domain, taxonomy, componential, and thematic analysis, as well as through an evaluation by experts in a focus group discussion. The results reveal that seven types of Javanese fixed expressions are used in the studied novels. When translating these expressions, translators tend to employ the description and deletion techniques, while the use of modulation, adaptation, established equivalent, and explicitation techniques tend to produce the best translations.

Keywords: translation techniques; fixed expressions; Burung-Burung Manyar; Pengakuan Pariyem; Para Priyayi

Introduction
This paper looks at how translation techniques are used to transfer the nuances of cultural Javanese novels into English and evaluate how this cultural transfer is appropriately defined in the target language (TL). Three novels—namely Burung-Burung Manyar (The Weaverbirds), Pengakuan Pariyem (Pariyem’s Confession), and Para Priyayi (Javanese Gentry)—are examined for their translation quality to demonstrate the problems that exist in translating certain Javanese Source Language (SL) contexts of the original novels into the TL (English) versions of the novels. The three novels studied here date back to when Dutch colonial activities shaped Javanese culture, and literature was the dominant media for figuring out community portraits throughout Indonesia. Three famous novelists—namely Umar Kayam (author of Javanese Gentry), Y. B. Mangunwijaya (The Weaverbirds), and Linus Suryadi (Pariyem’s Confession)—successfully translated the

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Javanese culture into their novels. Each novel describes up to approximately 10% of the Javanese culture, so the novels have been considered largely successful at representing Javanese culture and its social interactions, and translations of the novels from the SL of bahasa Indonesia into English as the TL have been popular.

A problem has emerged, however, from the perspective of translation studies, namely the translation of culture-specific elements in literary works. The problem of culturally specific text in a translation is known to be challenging for a translator, because they need to transfer the true intention contained in the SL into the TL. Nababan (2008) states that a translator’s cultural knowledge plays an important role in producing an appropriate translation text. The translator can transfer the original message from the SL into the TL and represent the culture of the source text. This can be problematic, however, because cultural terms do not always have a direct equivalent in other cultures, so translators sometimes fail to formulate corresponding cultural terms in the target language.

In one novel being investigated, for instance, the Javanese-specific expression of “*tanpa tedeng aling-aling (open fully and frankly)*” was translated into “outside the shelter of the garden wall,” which refers to a place outside of the wall, a completely different meaning from the message in the source text. Due to this cultural handicap, the translation is misleading, because the nuance of the expression refers to an extroverted expression or a willingness to say anything without fear.

Similarly, the phrase “*mbok-mboken (mother-sickness)*” is translated as “*suckling at their mother’s breasts*” (Mangunwijaya, 2014), which again is not accurate. In reality, this term refers to a spoiled person who cannot live away from home and needs to be close to his or her relatives, while “suckling at their mother’s breasts” refers to the physical act of breastfeeding.

From this initial observation, it seems it would be significant and interesting to identify various types of Javanese fixed expressions in the three novels and see which techniques were used by the translators to convey the meaning of those expressions in the target language. A culture-dependent translation needs the translator to understand the culture of the text being translated, and some techniques may not be viable if the nuances of the text are not well understood.

Studies into translating cultural terms have been carried out by several researchers. Wilson-Broyles (2013) studied the translation of Swedish cultural terms into English. He focused on comparing the use of an internet-based translation tool and a conventional tool. Li, Zhang, and Liu (2011), meanwhile, studied the implementation of a translation strategy to solve the English-Chinese
untranslatability problem. In the local language of Indonesia, Lubis (2013) tried to find English equivalents to the cultural terms found in the Mangupa text in the Mandailing language. The terms related to local cultural ceremonies, such as birthdays, weddings, and moving to a new home. The accuracy of meaning becomes important when translating the cultural context. If the translators are not able to find an accurate translation, they will fail to produce good target text. Furthermore, there will be a shift in meaning, and this is a very significant problem (Durdureanu, 2011; Hibaturrahmah, 2012). The translation of Javanese cultural terms has not yet been explored in any previous studies.

The translation of cultural terms cannot be separated from the technique used to transfer the message from the source text to target text. The technique chosen will influence the necessary qualities of a good translation text, which are accuracy, acceptability, and readability (Harun, 2017; Honarvar & Rahimi, 2011; Isaksen, Schryver, & Onkelinx, 2010; Khoirunnisa, 2015; Zhou, 2007). In other words, the translation text can be called good if the message is conveyed accurately in the target text, the structure is natural and acceptable in the target language, and target readers can easily understand the translated text. Such qualities cannot be achieved using machine translation (Nitta, 1986).

Drawing on the abovementioned cultural translation problems, this study intends to identify how the translators of three novels solved the problem of translating fixed expressions from Javanese culture into English. This study asks the following research questions to guide the research process:

1) What kinds of Javanese fixed expressions do translators take from the novels Burung-Burung Manyar, Pengakuan Pariyem, and Para Priyayi to perform cultural meaning translation?

2) What techniques are used by the translators of the novels Burung-Burung Manyar, Pengakuan Pariyem, and Para Priyayi to translate Javanese fixed expressions with culture-specific meanings?

**Literature Review**

**Translation Techniques**

Molina and Albir (2002) define a translation technique as a procedure to analyze and classify how translation equivalence works. It refers to the steps taken by the translator when reproducing a text. They also mention that a translation technique actually points to the actual steps taken by
translators in each textual micro-unit. This means that a translation technique is the way in which the message in the source language is transferred to the target language. They propose five characteristics of a technique: 1) it affects the translation text, 2) it is classified by comparing the source and target texts, 3) it influences the micro-unit of a text, 4) it is discursive and contextual, and 5) it is functional. Machali (2009) states that there are two important things when dealing with the term technique: 1) techniques are practical, and 2) they are applied for a particular task. A technique covers all the practical tasks and can be developed through some training. Translation techniques mostly encompass practical steps and problem solving.

Mathieu (2016) differentiates between a translation method and a technique. A translation method is applied to the entire text being translated, while a translation technique can vary within the same text according to the context and depending on the specific verbal elements being translated.

According to Mathieu (2016), the classical taxonomy of translation procedures dates back to 1958 with the work of Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), which comprises seven categories: borrowing, calque, literal translation, transposition, modulation, equivalent or reformulation, and adaptation.

Mathieu (2016) summarizes these definitions as follows. First, borrowing involves using the same word or expression in the original text in the target text, thus reproducing the expression from the original text “as is.” The word or expression being borrowed is usually written in italics. In this sense, this translation technique does not actually translate. Second, when using the calque technique, a translator creates or uses a neologism in the target language by adopting the structure of the source language. Third, a literal translation, or metaphor, is a word-for-word translation, thus achieving text in the target language that is technically correct but may not be idiomatic. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) state that a literal translation is only suitable when the two languages are extremely close in cultural terms. It is acceptable only if the translated text retains the same syntax, the same meaning, and the same style as the original text.

The fourth translation technique is transposition. This technique moves from one grammatical category to another without altering the meaning of the text, and it introduces changes in the grammatical structure. With the modulation technique, the translator changes the form of the text by introducing semantic changes or new perspectives. The next translation technique, according to Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), is equivalent or reformulation. This technique uses a completely different expression to transmit the same underlying reality, thus allowing the names of institutions, interjections, idioms, and proverbs to be translated. The seventh translation technique
is adaptation, cultural substitution, or cultural equivalent. It replaces a cultural element in the original text with one that is better suited to the culture of the target language to achieve a more familiar and comprehensive text. According to Mathiue (2016), adaptation is also referred to as explicitation (introducing specific details in the target language text), collocation (using a sequence of words that usually go together in the target language), and compensation (where an allusion or reference does not appear in the same part of the text as in the source version but rather later on).

**Translation and Culture**

Translation is a form of communication that bridges between cultures. It is done both orally and through writing. This is no easy task, because every nation has its own culture. Venuti (2012) describes how the aims of the translation process is to actually transmit the culture of the source text to the target text. The message must therefore be recognizable and familiar to the target readers. The process always involves risk, so a translator has to find the best solutions to the problems that arise.

This explanation indicates that translators will face problems when transferring a cultural element from a source text to a target text. Bassnett (2002) emphasizes that no language is exactly the same in social reality, so translating cultural terms will always be difficult, because the translator must give an accurate meaning. Nida (1945) states that translators are permanently faced with problems in how to handle the implicit cultural aspects in an SL and find the most appropriate technique for successfully conveying such aspects in the TL. This statement suggests that a translator will frequently, if not always, come across the cultural problem, so appropriate techniques must be developed.

Pedersen (2007) refers to cultural problems as extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs). ECRs are expressions that refer to entities outside a language, such as the names of people, places, institutions, food, customs, and so on. They are references that a non-native person may not understand, even if he or she has learned the language in question. This theory complements what Soemarno (2001) expresses about the cultural problem. He mentions how some cultural terms can present a serious problem to be solved by the translator. The terms can refer to stereotypical expressions, cultural events, traditional buildings, traditional costumes, kinship, the translation of pronouns, speech levels, idioms, and fixed expressions. He stresses that translating idioms and culture-specific expressions is a difficult task. The translators must consider the idioms and
culture-specific expressions in the source text. Baker (2011) clarifies that an idiom is an expression that functions as a single unit, and its meaning cannot be deduced from its component words. The first challenge that a translator faces is being able to recognize when he or she is dealing with an idiomatic expression, because it is not always so obvious.

Next, the translator needs to accurately reflect an idiom’s meaning in the target text. The reader of the target text should feel the “beauty” of the original text. Nida and Taber (1982) define idioms as combinations of words that have both a literal and literal semantic structure, but the connection between the two cannot be described as representing an additive process. Tarjana (2006) affirms that generally speaking, idioms are fixed expressions that belong to a language-specific phenomena. Based on the above explanation, it can be concluded that culture-specific expressions, including idioms, are grouped in a phenomenon that characterizes the culture of a particular society. What is more, there is usually no equivalent term in the target language when translating an idiom. This imposes problems when translating idiomatic expressions from one language to another, particularly because certain idioms are not easily recognizable.

**Javanese Fixed Expressions**

Idioms are treated as figures of speech, which are defined in the Collins COBUILD English Dictionary (1988) as expressions, such as similes, in which words do not represent their literal meaning but are rather categorized as multi-word expressions that act as indivisible units in the text. The Longman Idioms Dictionary (2017) defines them as a sequence of words that take on a different meaning as a group when compared to what someone would understand if he or she read each word separately. They cannot be broken up into their elements, so they are sometimes referred to as fixed expressions (Cowie & Mackin in Shojai, 2012).

Newmark (1988) states that an idiom has two main functions: pragmatic and referential. The pragmatic function is to appeal to the senses, to interest, to surprise, and to delight. He says that the first function is cognitive while the other is aesthetic. The referential function is to describe a mental process or state, a concept, a person, an object, a quality, or an action more comprehensively and concisely than would be possible with literal language. It can be said that an idiom is a series of words that when taken together mean something different from the individual words of the idiom (McMordiew in Shojai, 2012). Moreover, Carter (1998) proposes the idiom
as a type of fixed expression that includes proverbs, stock phrases, catchphrases, allusions, idiomatic similes, and discoursed expressions.

Baker (2011) mentions that idioms and fixed expressions are at the extreme end of the scale from collocations in one or both of these areas: flexibility of patterning and transparency of meaning. They are frozen language patterns that allow little or no variation in form, and in the case of idioms, they often carry a meaning that cannot be deduced from their individual components. She then explains that some idioms do not even allow variation in form under normal circumstances, and a translator cannot do any of the following with an idiom: a) change the order of the words in it; b) delete a word from it; c) add a word to it; d) replace a word with another; ore) change its grammatical structure. Idioms and fixed expressions are an undeniable part of each language, and they are found in large numbers in most languages. Since the meaning of these collocations cannot be understood from an interpretation of the individual words, many people have problems in both understanding and translating them.

There are seven kinds of fixed expressions in Javanese: 1) wangsalan, 2) parikan, 3) sanepa, 4) tembung entar, 5) paribasan, 6) bebasan, and 7) saloka. A wangsalan is a word or expression that is like a quiz where the answers are disguised syllables in the phrase. In the expression *pindhang lulang krecek* (cooked cowhide), *apa aku karo kowe* (*am I with you*), the key to the wangsalan is the syllable *cek* in the word *krecek* (cowhide), which is an alternative name for *pindhang lulang* (cowhide). The sound of syllable then *cek* must then occur in the second phrase as the answer of the quiz, *apa aku karo kowe*. In short, the syllable *we* is meant to be paralleled with *cek*.

Another example is the expression *njanur gunung* (mountainous young coconut leaves), *kadingaren* (coincidentally). It differs slightly from the previous example in that the reader or listener must understand the first phrase if she or she is to guess what the expression means. *Njanur* comes from the Javanese word *janur* (young coconut leaves), and coconut trees are easily found in coastal areas, being a natural habitat for the palm (*aren* in Javanese) tree family. However, it would be strange to find such a tree in an alpine environment. Such unusual behavior is called *kadingaren* in Javanese. Based on this, the Javanese use the specific expression *janur gunung, kadingaren* to refer to an extraordinary event. Table 1 gives some more wangsalan expressions:

**Table 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>WANGSALAN</th>
<th>KEY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jenang gula (sugar porridge), kowe aja lali (pleasedon’t forget)</td>
<td>jenang gula : gulali = lali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A parikan consists of a sampiran and content. A sampiran is made as an introduction proceeding the main intention of the message on the third and fourth line. It is therefore the first half of the parikan. Often, the first and second lines are sentences that provide a certain sound of words, which is then followed by one or two lines with the same sound. There is no relational meaning between the sampiran and the content other than in their sounds. In Javanese, the beauty of sounds is called purwakanthi. One example is iwak bandeng (bandeng fish) karo (together with) yuyu (crab), priya ganteng (handsome man) ning ra payu (not sold). The first phrase is the sampiran, while the second is the content or main message of the parikan. The example below is a parikan with four lines:

*Lunga Bengkulu tuku perkutut (Want to Bengkulu to buy a turtledove.)*

*Sing ngati-ati dalane gawat (Be careful of dangerous roads.)*

*Dhawuhe guru kudu diturut (The teacher’s order must be obeyed.)*

*Supaya ngelmune bisa manfaat (So that knowledge is useful.)*

A sanepa is an expression that is used to describe that someone or something sounds bigger, better, more plentiful, and so on than it actually is. An example of such an expression is the use of arang (sparse) and wulu kucing (cat fur) in the sentence Utange arang wulu kucing (his debt is as sparse as cat fur). Cat fur is generally plentiful, however, so it implies that someone has a lot of debt.

Tembung entar is an expression used to refer to someone’s behavior and character, like a figurative. An example expression is abang kupinge (red ears). Abang is red in English, while kuping is ear. It means to say that someone is very angry. Other expressions appear in Table 2.
Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Tembung entar in Javanese</th>
<th>Meaning in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>adus luh(bathed in sweat) = nemen anggone nangis (burst into tears)</td>
<td>cries hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bening atine (his heart is clean) = sumeh (friendly)</td>
<td>always smiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tipis lambene (thin lips)= criwis (talks too much), seneng nggunem liyan (loves talking about other people)</td>
<td>talks too much</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paribasan is not a figurative, however. Its function is to portray a condition, behavior, and/or someone’s will. The expression *agama (religion) ageming aji (life guide)*, for example, refers to religion as guidance in life and identity. The word *agama* means religion in English, while *ageing* comes from the word *ageman* (literally meaning something to wear), and *aji* means meaningful. Another expression *bibit (ancestry), bebet (treasure), bobot (social status)* comprises three words with different meanings. *Bibit* means ancestry, *babet* means treasure, and *bobot* means of a high class. For Javanese parents, the expression represents the requirements of one who wants to marry a daughter or son. Such a person must have good ancestry, plenty of wealth, and come from a high social class.

A *bebasan* expression focuses on revealing someone’s condition, as well as sometimes his or her behavior. It is figurative and permanent. The Javanese will say *mikul dhuwur (bear highly) mendhem jero (hoard deeply)* to suggest that we have to uphold our parents’ dignity. The last type of expression is *saloka*, and it describes someone’s behavior and condition figuratively. It uses animals and other things to analogize the one being described. When talking about when someone learns from a younger person, the Javanese use the expression *kebo (buffalo) nyusu (suckle) gudel (young buffalo)*. In other words, the older buffalo is said to suckle from the younger one.

The above expressions contain constructive criticisms. They are delivered vaguely in a way that does not offend others. Such expressions are created to establish peace and accord between people and make things seem right or suitable together.

**Methods**

**Design and Setting**

A corpus of Javanese expressions, as obtained from the three novels, was analyzed in this study using a content analysis design and a qualitative approach. The Javanese expressions in the original novels in *bahasa* Indonesia were matched with the equivalent words, phrases, or sentences in the
English translations. Content analysis was used because the object of investigation was a corpus of Javanese expressions taken from novels (Krippendorf, 1985). In addition, this study was qualitative in nature because the data involved words, phrases, and sentences together with identified relationships among them that infer meaning (Spradley, 1980). Specifically, this study examined how a good-quality translation was achieved in terms of conveying the meaning from the original bahasa Indonesia text to the English text where the cultural transfer was the ultimate goal of the equivalence. It focused on the translation of Javanese-specific expressions into English. The entity is holistic, complex, and meaningful. The qualitative research into translation is also product-oriented research, because it considers the final result of translators’ decisions without delving into the translators’ cognitive processes while performing the task.

This study investigated three novels—namely _Burung-Burung Manyar (The Weaverbirds)_ by Y. B. Mangunwijaya (1981), _Pengakuan Pariyem (Pariyem’s Confession)_ by Linus Suryadi (1981), and _Para Priyayi (Javanese Gentry)_ by Umar Kayam (1991)—all of which have been translated into English several times. The degree of Javanese culture defined in each novel ranges from about 10%, and they illustrate the specific Javanese culture. The popularity of the novels makes them attractive for investigating the translation techniques that have been applied to them.

**Data and their Sources**

The primary data for this study comprised a corpus of Javanese-specific expressions taken from three novels written in bahasa Indonesia, as well as the equivalent expressions in the novels’ English translations. The linguistic data of this study therefore came from the Javanese expressions in the original novels written in bahasa Indonesia and the English translations. The data were therefore in the form of words, phrases, and sentences, with the original being dependent on the Javanese culture. The techniques used in the English translations therefore would have relied mostly upon cultural translation. Accordingly, the source of data for this study was three novels written in bahasa Indonesia and the translated novels in English. These were _Burung-Burung Manyar (The Weaverbirds)_ by Y. B. Mangunwijaya (1981), _Pengakuan Pariyem (Pariyem’s Confession)_ by Linus Suryadi (1981), and _Para Priyayi (Javanese Gentry)_ by Umar Kayam (1991). Brief synopses of these novels are given below.

_Burung-Burung Manyar (The Weaverbirds)_ by Y.B. Mangunwijaya is divided over three long chapters: The Late Occupation (1934–1944), The National Revolution (1945–1950), and The
Early New Order Regime (1968–1978). Written in 1981, it went on to become a classic in Indonesian literature. The book uses many Javanese and Dutch terms that are explained in the footnotes. Romo Mangun (the popular name of Y.B. Mangunwijaya) successfully brought the historical settings to life. The story centers around the Keraton Mangkunegaran, which describes feudalistic Javanese royal society’s way of living, where women must show their deep submission to their husbands.

Pengakuan Pariyem (Pariyem’s Confession) by Linus Suryadi is a long poem written in the voice of a woman. It tells the story of a young woman from a rural area who comes to the city of Yogyakarta and works as a maid for an aristocratic family. She becomes pregnant by the family’s son, has his child, and then returns to work for them. Pariyem muses on eroticism, Javanese customs, and social change, revealing a search for contentment in her life journey to learn the secrets to fulfillment.

Para Priyayi (Javanese Gentry) was written by Umar Kayam and first published in 1991. In the novel, Umar Kayam tells the life story of Sastrodarsono, who is a priyayi, a gentry who came from a farming family. Thanks to the help from Assistant Wedana Ndoro Seten, he was able to get an education and even become a teacher, enabling Sastrodarsono to become a priyayi. Sastrodarsono marries Siti Aisyah and has three children and subsequent grandchildren. Sastrodarsono’s family grows up in time to become spoiled bureaucrats rather than the good priyayi expected by Sastrodarsono.

**Participants**

The participants in this study comprised 15 people involved in a focus group discussion (FGD) to analyze the translation quality of the Javanese expressions in the novels. Each novel was evaluated by five members focused on assessing the quality of the English translation of the novels. The participants were selected using purposive sampling techniques (Santosa, 2017), the criteria of which relied on the expertise and authority of the participants. In each group of five members evaluating each novel, three were experts in English translation and two were experts in literature education, having a total of 15 members over the three groups. They were invited to participate in the FGD process in order to derive a consensus for the assessment of the English translations of the corpuses of original expressions. Of the 15 participants, nine held doctorate degrees, while the remaining six had master’s degrees.
Data-Collection Procedures

The data for this research were collected from three novels written in bahasa Indonesia and three English translations of those novels. Javanese expressions containing culture-specific meanings were first identified in the Indonesian novels. The data were recorded in terms of the words, phrases, and sentences in the original bahasa Indonesia versions and their equivalents in the English versions. Having matched the Javanese expressions with the English ones, the teams evaluated the quality of the translations through an FGD. In the FGD, two groups each discussed 10 Javanese expressions containing cultural-specific meanings, while the remaining group discussed 12 such expressions. Each group evaluated the readability, accuracy, and acceptability of each translated expression, allowing the entire data set of 32 Javanese expressions to be judged for their translation quality. The researcher and the members of FGD took up roles as raters evaluating the Javanese-specific expression in the novels and determining the technique that had been used to convey the meaning of the Javanese-specific expression into the English version.

Data Analysis Techniques

As qualitative research, this study used the analysis model of Spradley (1980), who applied domain analysis, taxonomy analysis, componential analysis, and thematic analysis. Prior to the analysis, the Javanese expressions were coded as words, phrases, and sentences in adherence to the title of each novel. In the domain analysis, all data were classified in general categories whose domains were similar. In the taxonomy analysis, each domain was supplied with indicators from which the relevant translation techniques were identified. The componential analysis was used to link and infer each taxonomy in the domain with how a translation technique was applied. Finally, thematic analysis was used to determine each translation technique being analyzed, the sample of evidence of for the corpus the translator used, and the quality of the translation product.

Each corpus of the fixed Javanese expression in this study was first evaluated its equivalence in SL and TL in three levels: word, phrase and sentence. The cultural-specific translation that representing a fixed Javanese expression obtained in the original novels was matched to the fixed Javanese expression in the English translation novels. This way, the meaning equivalence was compared from both novels and the nuance of Javanese expressions. Each feature of the meaning equivalence was identified to see the problems that occurred; e.g. Does the translator transfer the
meaning the full proper expression?, Are the Javanese expression being translated adopted or adapted?; Does the cultural meaning in the SL change its message?

In addition, each corpus was identified the translation technique being used by the translator. This way, each original sentence in bahasa Indonesia was identified and elaboration into words, phrase and sentence level was conducted. In each level of translation, we analyzed what techniques were applied to transfer the meaning. In this section, evaluation of the meaning equivalence was also confirmed with its accuracy, readability and acceptability. The decision to administer the translation techniques was also termed with the quality of the translation. Along with the assessment, results of evaluation from the experts in the FGD were arranged to confirm the results of analysis.

**Findings**

**Javanese Fixed Expressions in the Novels**

This study identified 32 Javanese cultural expressions in three novels: *Burung-Burung Manyar*, *Pengakuan Pariyem*, and *Para Priyayi*. It then classified the expressions into four kinds of Javanese expressions: sanepa, paribasan, bebasan, and saloka.

A sanepa indicates the use of phrases like *arang kranjang* and *rubuh-rubuh gedang*, as exemplified below:

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ST: Dan luka kadhung arang kranjang
TT: Wounded, tattered and mangled
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ST: bercerita pula sudah boleh ikut salat rubuh-rubuh gedang, artinya ikut menirukan gerakan orang besembahyang
TT: how they intended to follow the five daily prays, with their fully comment of bending and bowing
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The paribasan describes the meanings of sangkan paraning dumadi, the start and end of the life, or where and to whom the soul will arrive. The use of sak madya and tanpa tedeng aling-aling are exemplified below:

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ST: Tentang sangkan paraning dumadi, darimana kita datang dan hendak kemana Kita sedang menuju. Apakah dan dimanakah batas-batas keinginan manusia? tidak terbatas, tanpa batas cukup sakmadya, cukup sedang-sedang saja
TT: so we often mulled over various matters at the table, such as the question of the origin and goals of life, the limits, if any, to our human desires, whether we ought to pursue
them to those limits, and beyond, …or restrain ourselves and practice sakmadya: temperance and moderation.

ST: Ia dulu meminta sendiri dari atasannya agar boleh masuk garnisun di Surabaya, karena orang-orang Sungai Brantas sana tidak pernah suka berbahasa kromo; apa adanya tanpa tedeng aling aling

TT: Learning this, I knew why he had once begged his superior to transfer him to the garrison in Surabaya, that city on the banks of the great River Brantas where people never use the deferential form of Javanese, preferring to say whatever they feel, outside the shelter of the garden wall, as the saying goes

The bebasan includes mikul duwur mendhem jero, cilaka segori, sungsang buwana sungsang balik, and empan papan. The following excerpt exemplifies the use of mikul duwur mendhem jero.

ST: Mikul duwur mendhem jero, menjunjung tinggi-tinggi keharuman nama keluarga, menanam dalam-dalam aib keluarga

TT: I would uphold the name of Sastrodarsono and strive to inter any dishonor to it

The expression of saloka covers mbok mboken and mata yuyu. The expression mbok mboken is used below:

ST: Sinyo-sinyo muda yang berkaling saputangan merah dan berbaret coklat, dengan wajah-wajah putih mulus, dengan bahasa Belanda mereka yang totok tanpa ke-indo-indoan sedikit pn (lain dari Verbruggen misalnya, yang sing berlogat “Lho, ya toh?”), makhluk-makhluk priyayi anak saudagar dan petani-petani daar bij dieouwe molen negeri kabu itu sebetulnya masih mbok- mboken menetek, kata orang Jawa

TT : They were nothing but whining kids, still sucking at their mother’s breasts and homesick for Brabant or Gelderland or wherever else they may have come from

The Translation Techniques Used for Javanese Expressions

This study identified 10 different techniques used by the translators. The techniques were description, literal translation, modulation, adaptation, explicit, discursive creation, generalization, deletion, established equivalent, and borrowing. The descriptive technique is used twice to translate two expressions of paribasan. The source text is given below:

Atau lebih tepat, yang dirasakan ialah kemanunggalan dua garwo alias sigaran nyowo, belahan jiwa yang saling menemukan diri sebagai pengejawentahan kemanunggalan para dewata.
The Javanese fixed expression *garwo...sigaran nyowo* is translated as: More precisely, what one experiences is the unification of the two halves of a single soul, a manifestation of the unity of the twin deities.

The other expression occurs in the sentence *Apabila bicara sembrana pari kena, (talking for things with clever allusions)*. The two expressions were given scores of 2.5 for accuracy, 3 for acceptability, and 3 for readability. It can be said that the translations are natural in the target language, and moreover, the reader of the target text will not have any difficulties in understanding the expressions. However, the message is not conveyed entirely accurately. When calculating the accuracy, acceptability, and readability, the assessors adopted the instrument developed by Nababan (2012). The rating ranges from 1 to 3, with 3 being the best score and 1 the worst score. The results of this study are presented in Table 3.

<table>
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<td>Fixed expressions, translation techniques, and translation quality</td>
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*Note: Ac = accuracy, Ap = acceptability, Rd = readability*

From the table above, it can be seen that the highest scores were obtained through the translation of fixed expressions using the modulation, adaptation, and explicitation techniques. In these cases, the message is delivered accurately, and the text is acceptable and readable to the target reader. For example, the modulation technique is used when translating the expression *Ibarat idu geni, kata-kata masah, bagaikan wisa ular weling di sungai*. It is modulated into *His words have weight, his words settle as an eel settles in the depth of the river* (2015). Three Javanese cultural fixed expressions were also adapted for the target culture. The expressions were *celaka segori* (2001); *karsa, kerja, dan karya* (2015); and *titis, tatas, dan tetes* (2015). Their translation were *damn it* (2014); *drive, dred, delivery* (2015); and *astute, resolute, absolute* (2015), respectively.
This study found that the novels’ translators had deleted 11 Javanese cultural fixed expressions, thus affecting the quality of the translated texts, as reflected in the low scores for all aspects. Their accuracy, acceptability, and readability were all assessed as 1.1, which is a very low score indeed. Take the text below for the example,

Mikul duwur mendhem jero, menjunjung tinggi-tinggi keharuman nama keluarga, menanam dalam-dalam aib keluarga...(1992)

The phrase in bold above is omitted from the translated text:

I would uphold the name of Sastrodarsono and strive to inter any dishonor to it (2013)

Discussion

It was mentioned above that the identified Javanese-specific expressions are classified into three forms: the word, clause, and phrase levels. Nida (1949) states that idioms are a combination of words that have both a literal and literal semantic structure, but the connection between the two cannot be described as being representative of an additive process. It can therefore be said that when translating a fixed expression, the translator has to treat the clauses or phrases as a whole, because the true intention of the expression cannot be conveyed by treating words individually. To transmit the meaning accurately, expressions cannot be separated from the context, both situational and cultural. Tarjana (2006) states truthfully that generally speaking, idioms are fixed expressions that belong to language-specific phenomena. A specific expression is an idiom that is grouped into the phenomenon that characterizes the culture of a particular society, and there is usually no equivalent term for an idiom translation. This can cause problems when translating idiomatic expressions from one language to another, particularly because certain idioms are not easily recognizable.

When dealing with the problem of translating the Javanese-specific expressions found in the novels, the translators applied many different techniques. The most commonly applied technique was the deletion of Javanese-specific expressions like gedhong Sasana Hinggil, ongkang-ongkang, criwis cawis, air mata yuyu, empan papan, kencana wingko, rubuh gedhang, mikul dhuwur mendhem jero, and so on. It was likely judged that these expressions would not be recognized by the target reader, with there also being no equivalent for them. Nababan (2008) emphasizes that a
translator must have cultural competence in both the source and target languages, otherwise the translator will not be sensitive to considering cultural fixed expressions. The assumption agrees with what Ali (2016) found in his research in that the problem in understanding and translating culturally bound terms presents a serious challenge for translators. Translators therefore often fail to accurately represent Javanese fixed expressions. Pym (2004) stresses that omission often presents a high-risk of missing the true intension of the source message. Evidence of this failure is represented in the scores for the deletion technique in the translation quality assessment. It scored the lowest for accuracy, acceptability, and readability.

A well-qualified translation contains the whole message from the source text. It should also be acceptable in the target language and be easy for the reader to understand. A maximum score was given for the fixed expressions that were translated using the established equivalent technique. The expression *agama ageming ati*, found in novel *Pengakuan Pariyem*, was translated into *religion clothes the soul*, while *memayu hayuning bawana*, was translated into *spiritual power to do good in this world*. In such cases, the translator can transfer the expression to the target reader. The results of this research resemble those of Yuliasri (2016), who examined the correlation between translation techniques and pragmatic equivalence when translating humorous utterances from English into Indonesian. She found that for pragmatically equivalent translations, 96.87% resulted from the use of firstly, generalization and secondly, established equivalent.

A literal translation was applied to the expression below:

\[
\text{Bukankah hidup di persada bumi ini hanyalah mampir ngombe, singgah sebentar untuk minum seregukan, lalu harus berjalan terus? (2001)}
\]

The translated text is:

\[
\text{and wasn’t one’s life on this earth a little bit like a drop-in at a friend’s house for a quick drink of tea before moving on again? (2014).}
\]

Mangunwijaya used the Javanese-specific expression *mampir ngombe* to illustrate how short our life is in the world. In everyday life, *mampir ngombe* does indeed refer to calling at a friend’s house for a cup of tea, but it becomes a mundane expression that does not reflect the original meaning. As we know, the use of literal translation is generally only appropriate when the two
languages are very close to each other. What Molina and Albir (2002) suggested is shown to be reasonable, because this study found low scores for text translated this way.

The borrowing technique is classified as an “as is” translation. In a particular culture, many words or expressions will present difficulties for the translator. The Javanese expression sakmadya, as found in Para Priyayi, seems to have caused problems for the translator. He could not find an equivalent to the word in the target language, so the word was simply borrowed and presented to target reader. It could be summarized either that the translator did not know the expression well enough or that she/he wanted to introduce the Javanese expression to the target readers, so the message could be conveyed accurately. Haroon and Daud (2017) stress that a translator needs to prioritize faithfulness to the source text.

**Conclusion and Implication**

This study sought to answer two research questions about Javanese fixed expressions, as well as the techniques used to translate them, in three novels: Burung-Burung Manyar, Pengakuan Pariyem, and Para Priyayi. In summary, this study concludes that it is imperative for translators to understand the fixed expressions of a particular culture when translating literary works. Four common types of Javanese fixed expressions are sanepa, paribasan, bebasan, and saloka. More specifically, translators need to apply modulation, adaptation, explicitation, and established equivalent techniques when translating a work with culture-specific meanings. Based on this study, it could be suggested that the established equivalent technique is the best for transferring Javanese cultural fixed expressions. This helps the translator convey the message accurately, compose an acceptable sentence, and create translated text that is readable.

Moreover, borrowing can be an effective technique when the translator wants to promote the Javanese culture to English readers, although they must also make some additions to elaborate on the meaning of the expression. However, we are sorry to say that the borrowing technique has a negative impact on the readability of the translated text. This study also concludes that if the deletion technique is applied, the accuracy will be poor, but target readers will accept the text as a whole as being readable.
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