The hybridity of Indies culture in Indonesian novel translation into French

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	Postcolonial novels incorporating hybrid culture elements into the story present new problems for translation. The hybrid elements that appear in the source text can be maintained or removed in the translation process, depending on the strategy adopted by the translator. This research focus on the hybrid elements of an Indonesian postcolonial novel and the strategy for maintaining and eliminating hybridity in its French translation. The data source in this research is the novel *Bumi Manusia* (1980) by Pramoedya Ananta Toer as the source text and its translation in French. Using a qualitative approach with a comparative method, the analysis results show that most of the efforts to maintain hybridity are carried out in translating social life terms and self-names because they are related to the frequency of occurrence, the complexity of meaning, and identity. However, on the whole, the translation is less hybrid as more dehybridization occurs. Moreover, hybridity in *Bumi Manusia* and its French translation, *Le Monde des hommes*, is manifested differently. Although the translation tends to create a homologous space of one culture, it still shows linguistic and cultural hybridity.
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How to cite (APA Style):
Ediani, A., & Sajarwa. (2023). The hybridity of Indies culture in Indonesian novel translation into French. *JOALL (Journal of Applied Linguistics and Literature)*, 8(1), 173-194. **https://doi.org/10.33369/joall.v8i1.24572**

Hybridization and dehybridization of cultural elements can occur in translating an Indonesian novel into French. In general, hybrid texts appear as a translation process (Schäffner & Adab, 2004) since there is a hybrid space or "in-between" between the source language and culture with the target language and culture. It assumes that the source text pertains to a single culture. However, some scholars reject the "pure text" concept because hybridity can refer to cultural and linguistic differences expressed by the same language (Nouss, 2004; Snell-Hornby, 2004). Therefore, the source text can also be considered a hybrid text, and the translation may become a de-

hybridizing agent and produce a monolingual text (Pym, 2001). The translated text becomes "more hybrid" and "less hybrid" depending on the translator's strategy (Schäffner & Adab, 2004).

Regarding postcolonial novels, the writer of the novel uses colonial language to express his thoughts and creates non-Western literature. Therefore, non-Western colonial language varieties emerged (new lexical, foreign dialects, and hybrid languages) that challenged the standard language hegemony. Postcolonial fiction inherently involves polylingualism and heteroglossia phenomena (Bandia, 2012). According to Simon (2011), there are three main characteristics of hybrid objects, namely 1) requiring pure and uncontaminated artifacts, 2) being the product of coercion or voluntary affiliation, and 3) being temporary and appearing for a certain period of time. Since cultural contact in society also gives birth to hybrid languages, it is divided into linguistic hybridity, cultural hybridity, and racial hybridity. Based on language and culture hybridity, Farahzad (2004) offers categories for hybrid elements forms in the text, which can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Hybrid Elements Classification (Farahzad, 2004)

Name	Unusual Syntax
Food	Religious concept
Clothes	Political concept
Social life	Language code-switching
Word borrowing	Foreign spelling
Date/Time	Idiom

Previous research has conducted many studies on hybrid texts translation in novels (Carrasco, 2019; Hu & Roberto, 2019; Iyer, 2019; Lindfors, 2015; Stawecka-Kotuła, 2021), an autobiography (Yaman Topaç, 2021), and audiovisuals (Attig & Derrick, 2021). Several studies have focused on language hybridity, such as Carrasco (1019), which looked at Moroccan community multilingualism in the novel *L'Ultim Patriarca* (2008), translated into English and Spanish. Cultural hybridity was investigated in the cultural elements' translation of an Indian immigrant in New York into Polish (Stawecka-Kotula, 2021). While Indies culture in novels is more likely to be conducted with a postcolonial approach (Hardiningtyas, 2014, 2018; Istiqomah, 2019) and sociology of literature (Hastuti, 2018; Ridwan & Sofianto, 2019). The Indies culture is considered the interaction and power relations result of the colonizer-colonized and indigenous mimicry and is presented mainly as material and social culture. In French-Indonesian translation, the study of the novels focuses on shifting translation (Sajarwa, 2016; Zuhdi & Sunendar, 2022), aspects (Hapsari, 2013; Sajarwa, 2019), and translation techniques or strategies (Arrasyid & Sajarwa, 2022; Fasa & Sajarwa, 2021). Meanwhile, translating Indonesian novels study into French

is still limited to metaphors (Astari et al., 2019; Kuswarini et al., 2018), idioms (Harahap et al., 2017), and interpersonal meanings (Astuti & Tou, 2016). Research on hybridity is not a new topic in translation studies. However, previous research has not touched explicitly on mixed culture terms translation and (de)hybridization that occurs in Indonesian novels translated into French.

Hybridity in cultural concepts is seen as overlapping and interwoven, resulting from colonialism and/or migration (Said, 2012). Narratives concerning Western and Eastern cultures' interaction appear in the works of Pramoedya Ananta Toer, including the novel *Bumi Manusia* (1980). Cultural interaction gives rise to a hybrid culture, Indies, so *Bumi Manusia* (hereinafter will be shortened to BM) is considered a hybrid text. One of the Indies cultural terms found is *Inlander* which in its French translation is preserved in the same form. The word borrowing strategy maintains the hybridity of ST language and culture. However, the term *kamarbola* translated into *club* shows dehybridization since TT's meaning is more neutral and no longer refers to a particular community of Dutch and indigenous officials. Therefore, this study hypothesizes that BM translation into French provides two possibilities, namely the preservation of the hybrid elements of ST in TT and the removal of the hybrid elements of ST in TT.

Based on previous research, the hybrid signs analysis in Indonesian text (Language source/LS) and its translation into French (Language Target/LT) are rarely conducted. This research fills this gap by limiting the analysis to terms that refer to Indies culture in BM and its translation, *Le Monde des hommes* (hereinafter will be shortened to LMH). With the (de)hybridization possibility, this research's general aim is to identify and analyze hybrid elements in BM and its translation strategy into French, as well as to show the hybridity of Indies culture in its French translation. The research questions can be formulated as (1) how the types of hybrid elements appear in BM and its translation in French, (2) how the strategies for maintaining and eliminating hybrid elements in BM are translated into French, and (3) how the hybridity of Indies culture is shown in its French translation.

METHOD

The data to be analyzed include words, phrases, and sentences that refer to Indies culture in an Indonesian novel and its translation in French. This study use data in Indonesian and other foreign languages, such as Dutch, which is considered to refer to Indies culture. One data example in Dutch is the phrase *Majoor der Chineezen*, a military rank from the colonial government for Chinese community leaders in the Dutch East Indies. In addition to culture-specific terms, data showing language switching that is common in Indies society is

also analyzed, for example, data in the form of mixed Dutch and Malay sentences: "*Verdomme, apa kowé masih tidak mengerti*? (*Verdomme*, do you still not understand?) (BM, p. 393)". Such data demonstrate linguistic hybridity.

The data sources are the 34th edition of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Bumi Manusia* (1980) as ST and its French translation *Le Monde des hommes* (2017) by the translator Dominique Vitalyos as TT. The first book in the Buru Tetralogy, *Bumi Manusia* (BM), follows the life of Minke, a curious native journalist. In this novel, Minke meets a Dutch concubine, Nyai Ontosoroh. Both characters desired freedom against Dutch East Indies colonialists at the turn of the 20th century. This data source was chosen because the first book of *Buru Tetralogy* introduced the characters through socio-cultural depictions of the people in the Dutch East Indies. Although the main characters, Minke and Nyai Ontosoroh, are indigenous, they live in a colonial setting with an Indo group. Therefore, they are closer to the Indies culture than the indigenous or Javanese culture. Another reason for choosing this data source is Pramoedya Ananta Toer's prominence as Indonesia's most influential writer and *Buru Tetralogy*'s worldwide popularity. BM has been reprinted more than 30 times and translated into more than 42 foreign languages.

This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach with comparative analysis. The qualitative method is a method that collects and analyzes data in words and human action forms. The researcher does not try to calculate the qualitative data obtained and therefore does not analyze the numbers (Afrizal, 2016). Therefore, this study collects and analyze specific data on Indies culture and classify them based on the type of hybrid elements. Comparative analysis is comparing to find basic answers concerning cause and effect by analyzing the factors that cause the occurrence or emergence of a certain phenomenon (Nazir, 2005). With comparative analysis, this study compares data from the novel *Bumi Manusia* (BM) as the source text (ST) with its translation in *Le Monde des hommes* (LMH) as the target text (TT).

Data analysis was carried out in four stages: data collection, data analysis, data presentation, and conclusion. First, data collection begins with reading ST and TT as a whole. Next, collect and record words, phrases, or sentences that refer to Indies culture in ST and see their equivalent in TT. The next stage is data analysis with classification based on the hybridity type by Farahzad (2004) (see Table 1) to see the forms of hybrid elements that appear in ST. Later, the identification of ST hybridity maintenance or removal in TT is carried out by semantic analysis, looking at the context for each data, and comparing ST and TT data. Based on the strategy used by the translator, the hybridity maintenance strategy and the hybridity elimination strategy can be seen. At the data presentation stage, we present data examples representing the findings in the table according to the previous categorization. Percentages are also displayed to show translation strategies' tendency to maintain or

eliminate hybridity. The findings interpretation is discussed in the form of a narrative. The last stage is concluding an answer to this research question.

FINDINGS
The Hybridization and Dehybridization of Indies Culture in *Bumi Manusia* into *Le Monde des Hommes*

There are 120 hybrid elements of Indies culture in ST, and they can be classified into six hybridity types: social life, political concept, language code-switching, word borrowing, and food. 46 ST data showed their hybridity in TT, while 74 data lost their hybridity. In each category, the Indies culture dehybridization is always more common than hybridization in translating BM into French.

Table 2. Hybridization and Dehybridization Indies Culture Hybrid Elements

No.	Hybridity Type	Hybridization	Dehybridization	Total
1.	Social Life	21	32	53
2.	Name	11	15	26
3.	Political Concept	11	14	25
4.	Language Code Switching	3	4	7
5.	Word Borrowing	-	6	6
6.	Food	-	3	3
Total		**46**	**74**	**120**

Based on Table 2, social life dominates the hybrid element (53 data) and is also the most dehybridized (32 data). This category includes sub-categories of work, leisure activities, transportation, currency, and social class. Some data on social life are "rumahplesir" (brothel) '*maison de la plaisance*', "mindring" '*colporteur*', "juffrouw" (madam) '*mademoiselle*', "karper" '*karper*', and "Sinyo" '*Sinyo*'. The amount of data in names and political concepts is similar, amounting to 26 and 25 data, respectively. Hybrid elements in the name category include the name of the company or institution, the publication title, and the personal name. For example "Boerderij Buitenzorg" 'Boerderij Buitenzorg' and "*Maatschappij Nederland*" '*Compagnie maritime des Pays-Bas*', "Indische Gids" 'Indische Gids' and "*Een Buitengewoon Gewoone Nyai die Ik ken*" '*Rencontre et extraiordinaire ordinaire ordinai ma connaissance*'. Political concepts include the colonial government administrative system, political and legal concepts, for example, "Gubernur Jenderal" (Governor General) '*Gouverneur general*', "*connexiteit*", and "teori asosiasi" (association theory) '*théorie de l'association*'. Code-switching is found in using and mixing Malay, Dutch, and French in speech. Word borrowing and food are the least found data related to Indies culture. The terms "standen" (acrobatics) '*acrobates*' and

"criminil" (criminal) '*scélérats*' are examples of borrowing words from Dutch, and "tarcis" '*une part de gateau*' is a type of food that developed in Indies society.

Strategy for Maintaining or Eliminating Indies Culture Hybrid Elements in *Bumi Manusia*

Table 3 outlines various strategies for maintaining the hybridity of Indies culture in the French translation of *Bumi Manusia*.

Table 3. Strategy for maintaining Indies culture hybridity

Translation strategy	Type of Hybrid Element	%	ST	TT
Word borrowing with explanation	Social life	19.6%	(1) **Sinyo?** (BM, 135)	*Sinyo?* (LMH, 18) Glosarium: ***(du portugais senhor) terme of d'adresse javanais désignant un jeune Européen, métis ou indigène européanise.***
	Name	13%	(2) Seorang siswa **S.I.B.A***., seorang calon ambtenar Hindia Belanda (BM, 137) 'A student of **S.I.B.A.,** a candidate of Dutch East Indies government employee'. *School voor Inlandsche Bestuursambtenaren. School of Indogenous Official Candidate	*C'était un élève de la **SIBA , l'école qui formait les futurs administrateurs des Indes néerlandaises.*** (LMH, 136)
	Political concept	10.9%	(3) Aku punya **Forum Privilegiatum**. (BM, 125) ' I have a **Privilegiatum Forum**'.	*Je bénnficie d'un **forum privilegiatum, j'ai le droit d'être jugé selon les mêmes lois qu'un Neerlandais et devant les mêmes tribunaux**.* (LMH, 124)
Word borrowing	Social life	21.7%	(4) Panggilan **Nyai** akan mengikuti aku	*[...]; on me désignerait toute ma vie par "**Nyai**".* (LMH, 97)

Translation strategy	Type of Hybrid Element	%	ST	TT
without explanation			terus, seumur hidup. (BM, 98) '**Nyai**'s call will follow me, for the rest of my life'.	
	Name	10.9%	(5) "Siapa yang membaca **Indische Gids** ini?" (BM, 256) 'Who read this **Indische Gids**?'	*Qui lit le **Indische Gids**?* (LMH,257)
	Language code-switching	2.2%	(6) Ya, harus kulepaskan Annelies. **Adieu, ma belle**! (BM, 210) 'Yes, I must let go Annalies. **Adieu ma belle**!'	*Qui, il fa lla it que je me détache d'Annelies. **Adieu, ma belle**!* (LMH, 209)
Common Equivalent	Political concept	13%	(7) [...] di depan Residen, **Assisten Residen**, [...]. (BM, 136) ' [...] in front of Resident, **Resident assistant**, [...].	*[...] devant le Résident, le **Résident adjoint**, [...].* (LMH, 135)
	Social life	2.2%	(8) [...] sampul itu berisikan uang dua puluh lima **gulden**. (BM, 87) ' [...] that envelope contains twenty five **gulden**'.	*[...] l'enveloppe rendermait ving t-cinq **florins**.* (LMH, 86)
Literal Translation	Language code switching	4.3%	(9) Ia mulai **bercericau dalam Jawa bercampur Belanda, kadang juga Perancis.** (BM, 57) 'She starts **babbling in Javanese mix with Dutch, sometimes also French**'.	*May **babillait en javanais mêlé de néerlandais et parfois en français.*** (LMH, 56)
	Social life	2.2%	(10) [...] menghina semua golongan **Indo Eropa** yang berasal dari pergundikan dan pernyaian. (BM, 324) ' [...] insulting all **Indo-European**	*[...] pour tous les **Indo-Européens** nés d'un concubinage, [...].* (LMH, 325)

Translation strategy	Type of Hybrid Element	%	ST	TT
			groups who came from concubines and mistress'	
Total		100%		

Hybridity maintenance is carried out with four translation strategies, namely word borrowing with explanation (43.50%), word borrowing without explanation (34.80%), common equivalent (15%), and literal translation (6.50%). Word borrowing with explanation is a strategy for translating several hybrid elements of social life, names, and political concepts. Meanwhile, word borrowing without explanation is carried out on hybrid elements of social life categories, names, and language code-switching. In TT, explanations can be placed after the borrowing word (data 2-3) or written in the glossary (data 1). Common equivalence strategies and literal translation can also maintain hybridity in certain elements. For example, *gulden* (data 8) has another name, *florin*, a common equivalent that refers to Dutch East Indies currency. In literal translation, hybridity can be maintained in phrases that indicate the occurrence of language code-switching (data 9) and social class in the Dutch East Indies, namely the Indo-European group (data 10).

Table 4. Strategy for Eliminating Indies Culture Hybridity

Translation Strategy	Type of Hybrid Element	%	ST	TT
	Social life	13.5%	(1) […] membawa persen satu **ketip**. (BM, 379) '[...] brings salary ten cents'.	*[…], enrichi d'un pourboire de **cinq cents**. (LMH, 382)*
	Political concept	9.5%	(2) […] oleh Hukum ditaruh **onder curateele**?* (BM, 78) '[...] by Law put **onder curateele**' ' *Onder curateele* (Dutch): under pardon/forgiveness.	*[…], **reconnu "irresponsable" et placé sous tutelle** par le tribunal? (LMH, 77)*
	Name	4.1%	(3) [...] sejauh yang pernah diajarkan dalam **Nederlandsch-Indische Geschiedenis: Sejarah Hindia Belanda**. (BM, 383)	*[…] du moins est-ce ce que nous ont appris **nos professeurs d'histoire et leurs manuels néerlandais**. (LMH, 386)*

Translation Strategy	Type of Hybrid Element	%	ST	TT
Paraphrase			'[...] as far as ever taught in **Nederlandsch-Indische Geschiedenis: History of Dutch Indies**'	
	Food	2.7%	(4) [...] Nyai pergi juga ke belakang mengambil dua piring **nasi ramas, sendok-garpu** dan minum. (BM, 196) '[...] Nyai went to the back to take two plates of **ramas rice**, **spoon-fork** and drink'.	*Elle avait rapporté peu après deux plats de __riz à la viande et aux légumes, ainsi que des cuillères, des fourchettes__ et à boire.* (LMH, 196)
	Word borrowing	2.7%	(5) Siapa tahu kelak kita bisa jadi **engko***? 'Who knows someday we can be ally' *engko from & Co (Dutch) en compagnie = and company/ally. (BM, 194)	*Qui sait, un jour peut-être pourrions-nous devenir __associés__?* (LMH, 193)
	Name	13.5%	(6) Judulnya: **Uit het schoone Leven van een mooie Boerin*** (BM, 235) 'the title: : **Uit het schoone Leven van een mooie Boerin*** *From beautiful life of a beautiful peasant woman.	*Elle est intitulée **De la belle vie d'une jolie paysanne**.* (LMH, 235)
Literal translation	Political concept	2.7%	(7) Pernah kau dengar tentang **teori assosiasi**? (BM, 159) 'Have you ever heard about association theory?'	*As-tu entendu parler de la __théorie de l'association__?* (LMH, 159)
	Language code switching	2.7%	(8) "**Daag**, Jean, Minke, tumben pada duduk-duduk berdua sepagi ini," **sapa Tuan Telinga dalam Melayu**. (BM, 205) '**Daag**, Jean, Minke, it's surprise to see you're sitting together early	*__Bonjour__, Jean, Minke. Que se passe-t-il? Pourquoi êtes-vous assis là dehors de si bonne heure? nous héla-t-il __en malais__.* (LMH, 204)

Translation Strategy	Type of Hybrid Element	%	ST	TT
			this morning, **greet Mr. Telinga in Malay**'.	
	Food	1.4%	(9) "**Sup makaroni**, Mevrouw." (BM, 200) '**Macaroni soup**, Mevrouw'.	*De la **soupe aux macaronis**, madame.* (LMH, 199)
Translation with more general words	Social life	10.8%	(10) **Babu dan jongos** pun tidak? (BM, 283) 'even **the servants**?'	*Pas de **domestique**?* (LMH, 286)
	Word borrowing	2.7%	(11) […] yang dipelajari orang dari Eropa – sepakbola, **standen**, kasti. (BM, 7) '[...] what people learn from Europe – football, **acrobatics**, baseball.'	*[…] les Européens aimaient à cultiver – football, **acrobaties**, softball.* (LMH, 7)
	Name	1.4%	(12) Atau ia seorang jurubayar pada **Borsumij atau Geowehrij**? (BM, 166) 'Or he's a broker in **Borsumij or Geowehrij**?'	*[...] sinon en tant que caissier dans **une grande maison de commerce néerlandaise**.* (LMH, 165)
Translation with more neutral words	Social life	12.2%	(13) Kalau **mindring** tentu berkuncir. (BM, 295) 'if she's **mindring** surely she has ponytail'.	*Si c'était un **colporteur**, il porterait une natte.* (LMH, 297)
	Political concept	2.7%	(14) […] datang ke Pengadilan untuk **mengakui*** Robert dan kau sebagai anak Tuan Mellema. '[...] arrive to the court to **admit** Robert and you as the child of Mister Mellema'. *to admit (Dutch: *erkennen*), so that those children become "*erkend natuurlijk kind*" sibling.	*[…] s'est rendu avec moi au tribunal pour vous **faire reconnaître**, Robert et toi, comme ses enfants.* (LMH, 96)
Words omission	Language code-switching	2.7%	(15) "**Boven water houden, jangan tenggelam.**" (BM, 311) '**Boven water houden, don't drown**'.	*Ne vous laissez pas couler.* (LMH, 313)

Translation Strategy	Type of Hybrid Element	%	ST	TT
	Social life	1.4%	(16) "Sahaya membeli rujak di sini hampir setiap hari, **Ndoro Tuwan**." (BM, 206) 'I buy rojak here almost everyday, **Sir**.'	*J'achète du* rujak *ici presque tous les jours,* ndoro. (LMH, 205)
	Name	1.4%	(17) Baca syair Roorda van Eysinga, menggunakan nama **Sentot**, Hari Terakhir Ollanda di Jawa itu. (BM, 209) 'Reading Roorda van Eysinga verse, using the name of **Sentot**, The Last Day of Ollanda in that Java'.	*Dans le poème Les Derniers Jours des Neerlandais a Java, chaque mot de Roorda van Eysinga, [...].* (LMH, 208)
	Word borrowing	1.4%	(18) Sekarang aku sudah mulai jengkel dengan *apegieren*, cekikikan, mereka. (BM, 151) 'Now I'm getting annoyed by their *apegieren*, giggle'.	*Et les deux filles se remirent à pouffer de rire. Leur attitude commençait à m'agacer.* (LMH, 151)
Culture substitution	Political concept	4.1%	(19) Satu pasukan **Maresosé*** baru menyelesaikan latihan di Malang, […]. (BM, 388) 'One **Maresosé** troop has just finished their training in Malang, [..]' *Maresosé (Marechaussee): Dutch East Indies Army Strike Troops; was founded near the end of the 19th century to suppress riots, particularly in Aceh.	*Une compagnie de* gendarmerie *tout juste rentrée de manoeuvres à Malang.* (LMH, 391)
	Word borrowing	1.4%	(20) [...] orang-orang gila dan **kriminil*** […]. (BM, 294) ' [...] crazy people and **criminal** [...]'.	*[...] tels les fous et les* scélérats*, [...].* (LMH, 296)

Translation Strategy	Type of Hybrid Element	%	ST	TT
			*Kriminil (Dutch: krimineel) a criminal, usually in big cases. This word became the preferred designation of the conversation at that time.	
Common equivalent	Social life	2.7%	(21) Ia adalah **Sri Ratu** Wilhelmina. (BM, 7) 'She's **Queen** Wilhelmina'.	*C'etait **Sa Majesté** Wilhelmine.* (LMH, 7)
Wrong translation	Social life	2.7%	(22) Seorang **Belanda hitam**, yang nampaknya menggantikan kedudukannya, [...] (BM, 388) 'A **black Dutch** who seems take his place, shouting orders to dispel louder'.	*Un **Ambonais des Moluques, très noir**, prit la direction des opérations à sa place* [...] (LMH, 391)
Total		100%		

The translation of Indies culture eliminates rather than maintains hybridity in TT. The strategy also used more diverse techniques, including paraphrasing (32.50%), literal translation (20.30%), translation with more general words (14.90%), translation with more neutral words (14.90%), word omission (6.90%), cultural substitution (5.50%), common equivalent (2.70%), and incorrect translation (2.70%). Data analysis results, strategies for maintaining and eliminating hybridity, and the hybridity of Indies culture in the translated text is explained further in the discussion section.

DISCUSSION
Types of Indies Culture Hybrid Elements in *Bumi Manusia*
The novel BM shows cultural and linguistic hybridity. Cultural hybridity is shown, mainly by Minke through European thought mimicry (Maulana, 2019) and Nyai Ontosoroh through European lifestyle mimicry (Wardani & Widyahening, 2020). Language hybridity is shown through code-switching and word borrowing. Most postcolonial novels attempt to change the colonial language by mixing it with the native language and combining written and oral traditions (Cachucho, 2021). Later, hybridity in the Dutch East Indies resulted from the East's mimicry of the West and the West's adaptation to the East (Murwani, 2013). Therefore, Indies culture hybrid elements appear in Indonesian terms, such as *ketip* (11), *babu* and *jongos* (20), and *Belanda hitam*

(black Dutch) (32), and Dutch terms, such as *onder curateele* (12) and *Indische Gids* (5). Since Dutch is considered a "dead language" in Indonesia, its usage evokes memories of the Dutch East Indies (Maier, 2005). *Onder curateele*, for example, is a Dutch legal term and is currently included in the Indonesian legal system (Nursadi, 2015). However, in the context of the Dutch East Indies, the same legal term only applies to European groups in the Netherlands and its colonies, such as the character Herman Mellema in BM (Toer, 2002). By using more than one language, BM presents language hybridity if language is seen at the level of discourse, that is, what is seen by the reader of the text. At the narrative level, language hybridity is shown when language becomes an object in speech, such as data (25) in Dutch and Malay, and language becomes a medium for code-switching (9). Code-switching is found using Malay, Javanese, Dutch, and French. Another example of language hybridity in data (18) is the use of "*Daag*" (good morning in Dutch) as an object and the phrase "*sapa Tuan Telinga dalam Melayu*" (greet Mr Telinga in Malay), which indicates language as a medium, so that Mr Telinga is known to use two languages, namely Dutch and Malay. In comparison, data (6) shows the use of French as an object.

The analysis found two main reasons for Indies culture's dominance in the social life category in BM. First, the story focuses on describing the Dutch East Indies community's life, especially the life of indigenous figures (Minke) in the midst of European and Indo-European groups who received education and experienced Western civilization (Hastuti, 2018; Murwani, 2013). Educated natives such as Minke are among the prominent supporters of Indies culture (Soekiman, 2011). Second, colonialism impacts social and cultural life, with a new social order emerging in the colonized area (Rustamaji, 2020). The new order will be followed by new terms creation (data 1 and 15) and a shift in meaning to old words (data 14 and 4). For example, *sinyo* (1) comes from the Portuguese *senhor* (a formal address for men) and is a nickname for European and Indo-European boys, and *engko* (15) comes from the Dutch phrase *en compagnie'* dan sekutu' (and ally). Next, the verb *mengakui* (admit) (14) experienced a shift in meaning to be more specifically related to the status of a child in a European or Indo-European family, and *nyai* (4), which was initially a respectful call, became a negative connotation in colonial times.

Furthermore, the term "Indies culture" is also found in the names and political concepts. As Harris, (2008) stated, cultural encounters during the colonial period also changed the political policies of the colonized areas. The Dutch arrival changed the government system and policies in various fields such as land, education, and maritime (Mulya, 2018; Stroomberg, 2018; Sumakto, 2013; Winarni et al., 2021). In the name category, most use Dutch, for example, *Uit het schoone Leven van een mooie Boerin* (6) and S.I.B.A. (24), and

the Indonesian translation is usually given in the footnote. The Dutch language appears as a sign of linguistic hegemony, and the depiction of Minke as a Native who has European insight (Ardianto, 2014). In addition, this novel is told like Minke's memoirs of her actions in the colonial press world, so the publications that appear are in Dutch and are aimed at European groups (Murwani, 2013). The hybrid elements related to food appear the least, although it is known that *rijsttafel*, as an Indies eating culture, is a popular cultural heritage (Rahman, 2016). In the Javanese elite, *rijsttafel* was more considered a search for political opportunities and social status in the Dutch East Indies (Windyastika & Priyatmoko, 2020). While the main characters in BM do not adopt the Javanese elite lifestyle, the text finds few elements of Indies-specific food. Haq & Hardjanto's research supports this finding since this novel does not contain many words about culture in the food category (Haq & Hardjanto, 2019).

Strategy for Maintaining and Eliminating Indies Culture Hybrid Elements in *Bumi Manusia*

Most of the hybrid elements retained are Indonesian/Malay (1,4, 7-10), some from Dutch (2-3, 5) and other foreign languages (6). Word borrowing is carried out mainly on terms with a high frequency of occurrence, social life category, or names, such as *Sinyo* (1), S.I.B.A (2) and *nyai* (4). This strategy dominance also occurs in greeting in BM into English (Tumbole & Cholsy, 2022). The theme concerning *nyai* often appears in colonial and postcolonial novels (Jatmiko, 2020); therefore, the term *nyai* colors the novels in the Buru Tetralogy, including BM. The untranslatable term *nyai* indicates a traumatic social experience in the Indies (GoGwilt, 2007). In addition, *nyai* has a complex meaning in ST, seen from various social and linguistic perspectives. It was originally a respectful greeting for Javanese women and later changed to the status of an Indigenous concubine in a colonial household (GoGwilt, 2007). Later, there is a tendency to maintain the acronym form of the institution name, for example, S.I.B.A. (2). This is also the same as what has been done in English journalistic texts into Persian translation (Zandrahimi & Afzoon, 2017). The hybrid elements of social life and names do not change their form and meaning since they are related to the characters' identities and are considered to represent Indies cultural identity by translators. This reinforces the idea that identities within a language framework are not easily changed to other languages (Talukder, 2019). Later, the common equivalence strategy and literal translation can maintain cultural hybridity when TL readers know the concepts in SL terms. For instance, in the example data (8), the translator chose to use the currency symbol of gulden, *florin*, since it is more commonly known in Europe.

Based on the analysis, dehybridization or removal of ST hybrid elements in TT is more common than its maintenance. Therefore, TT becomes "less hybrid" than ST. Dehybridization trends are also found in translating West African texts into Finnish (Lindfors, 2015). The strategy for eliminating hybrid elements in BM translation is oriented towards TT (domestication). Not only hybrid elements but the translation of idioms into French is also more often domesticated by paraphrasing (Floranti & Mubarok, 2020; Harahap et al., 2017). According to Oloruntoba, domestication in a French translation is carried out when the translator thinks the TT reader understands ST culture well (Oloruntoba, 2021). In general, cultural dehybridization is characterized by the loss of specific Indies cultural meanings in TT, such as *teori asosiasi* (association theory) (17), which refers to the politics of association in the Dutch East Indies, becoming *théorie de l'association* and *mengakui* (admitting) (24) as *faire reconnaître*. Although equivalent, the word "admitting" in the ST has a more specific meaning related to European or Indo-European family policies in the Dutch East Indies. French culture does not recognize the concept of "mengakui" (admitting). Therefore, the translation omitted this specific meaning. In contrast to the previous data, *maresosé* (29) and Sri Ratu (31) tend to adopt TT culture and lose their specific meaning in the context of the Dutch East Indies. *Maresosé* is a military unit formed by the Dutch colonial government to fight the guerrilla forces in Aceh and consists of Europeans and Indigenous people (Ambon, Javanese, Minahasa). Meanwhile, *the gendarmerie* concept in Europe, including France and the Netherlands, is a military force for public security. In the Netherlands, *gendarmerie* troops are known as *Royal Marechaussee*, which is different from the maresosé of the Dutch East Indies. In addition, incorrect translations, such as sample data (32), eliminate the general and specific meaning of the ST. *Belanda hitam* (Black Dutch) (32) or *Zwarte Hollanders* (Netherlands) or *londo ireng* (Javanese) refers to enslaved people from Africa who were brought to the Dutch East Indies to serve as the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army or KNIL (*Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger*). When translated into *ambonais des moluques'* orang Ambon dari Maluku' (the Ambonese from Maluku), the reference is different and disguises the existence of the black Dutch.

Later, language dehybridization occurred due to paraphrasing and literal translation, mainly for names for scientific publications or Indies literary works (13, 16). The omission of words/phrases in Dutch (25, 27-28) also eliminates the language hybridity. Cachucho (2021) sees that language hybrid elements domestication in postcolonial novels can be caused by the current translation policy. Therefore, in some cases, the translation even becomes a stump cultural reproduction of a hybrid text (Martín Ruano, 2021).

Hybridity of Indies Culture in the Translated Text *Le Monde des Hommes*
The previous discussion found that most of the Indies culture items in BM were de-hybridized in LMH, and the rest of the hybrid elements were maintained. It suggests that BM and LMH, considered hybrid texts, manifest the hybridity of Indies culture differently.

Cultural references to the characters' hybrid identities and the multilingual Indo society demonstrate ST's hybridity. In contrast to ST, the hybridity of TT does not show in the portrayal of the multilingual society, as the majority of the Dutch names of organizations, Dutch titles of Indo authors' literary works, and colonial political concepts have been translated into French. There is a tendency to create a homologous space that emphasizes the contradictions of two cultures—indigenous culture (mainly Javanese) and European culture (primarily Dutch)—and obscures the existence of a hybrid Indies culture. A similar trend is observed in the word borrowing from French in English novels and their translations into French (Wolf, 2017).

However, *Le Monde des hommes* highlights the hybridity of Indies culture by retaining its cultural terms that describe the hybrid character, such as Minke. Moreover, it also keeps the cultural references with complex meanings and terms that are part of the major themes of the narrative. The Slovak translator also maintained the hybridity of the characters and idiolects in the Hungarian texts in his translation as they are fundamental to the story (Huťková, 2019). Maintaining the Indies culture through word borrowings leads to code-switching in LMH. Since the mingling of two languages leads to the mingling of two cultures in the same text (TawfiqHamamra & Qararia, 2018), it can be concluded that TT also demonstrates ST's linguistic and cultural hybridity.

CONCLUSION
The most maintained hybrid elements appear in the social life category and the self-name category. The high frequency of use, complex meaning, and function as identity reinforcement of hybrid terms make translation problematic. However, dehybridization also occurs most frequently in the social life category. In a multicultural society, cultures that are no longer developing, such as Indies culture, make it difficult to identify or distinguish these cultures from other cultures. Eventually, the tendency to minimize cultural and linguistic hybridity will make the translation less hybrid, hide cultural colors, and further accentuate the conflicts between the two cultures that comprise the hybrid culture.

This study explores the implications of the Indies' cultural translation strategy on the translated text's hybridity. It attempts to escape Eastern and Western cultural opposition discussions in postcolonial Indonesian novel discourse. Bumi Manusia, a postcolonial novel, contrasts Javanese and Dutch

cultures and values (Hastuti, 2018; Nasution et al., 2020). However, this article found that Bumi Manusia depicts the other culture, Indies/Indische culture, between the two cultures. Indies culture as a no-longer developing culture makes it difficult to identify or distinguish in multicultural settings. The unfamiliarity of Indies culture and the expectation of the concept of Self and Others in postcolonial literature may have influenced the translator's approach to translating the cultural terms in Bumi Manusia into French. However, the findings support Bandia's (2012) argument that contemporary African postcolonial novels show how languages—indigenous, colonial, and hybrid—interact in society; hence homogenizing translation should be avoided. Today, source literature may not be monolingual or monocultural; therefore, translators must be aware of this and comprehensively understand source culture to see "hidden cultures" such as Indies culture. This study found that French translations of Indonesian novels disregard the 'between' or 'in-between' culture in the original text, so it tends to de-hybridize the target text.

Since the analysis is limited to Indies culture hybrid elements in a single postcolonial novel, future research on society and culture in the Dutch East Indies can use better and more diverse data resources. Hybridity can also be explored and compared in the translation of postcolonial novels, immigrant novels, and travel literature, as well as their implications for the text's hybridity.

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