Cultural Barriers in Translating the Qur'an into Low-Context Culture: The Word of God in Javanese *Banyumasan*

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Abstract

In Indonesia, the text of the Qur'an is available in nine different local languages. One of them is the Javanese dialect of Banyumasan, the oldest and most authentic among the local Javanese dialects. This variant of Javanese has an egalitarian character and is free from social stratification markers. This study aims to resolve the problems encountered by the translation team of Terjemah Al-Qur'an Bahasa Banyumasan who had to overcome substantial translation barriers due to the intercultural context. This study uses a qualitative approach. We found that socio-linguistic adaptation created significant barriers during the translation process. Certain topics require a distinctive vocabulary to reflect the original meaning and context correctly. Also, the use of a special set of words is needed to translate proper nouns. The translator's decision to replace certain non-etiquette words with standard Javanese is to acknowledge the egalitarian character of the Banyumasan dialect in the translation, while yet preserving the original message of the Qur'an and the intricacies of the Arabic language.

Keywords: Qur'an Translation; Culture; Javanese Language; Banyumasan.

Introduction

In 2011, the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) approved a translation project of the Qur'an into local languages in cooperation with local Islamic religious colleges. This project was among the government's efforts to manage the nation's resources, preserve regional culture, and offer more religious services for Muslims. By 2015, the Ministry had supervised nine translation projects of the Qur'an, one of them being the translation into the Javanese dialect of *Banyumasan*, in cooperation with IAIN (State Islamic Institute) Purwokerto.

The decision to choose *Banyumasan* among the many Javanese dialects is justified considering that *Banyumasan* is the oldest and most authentic of the Javanese dialects. *Banyumasan* is older than any other Javanese variant, and only this dialect possesses an egalitarian character, without *tata krama* (polite language) and essentially non-etiquette, and thus free from social stratification markers that characterize the other Javanese dialects.

This study aims to examine the level of collaboration achieved during the translation process between scholars of the Qur'an, academicians, and cultural experts. This study also attempts to evaluate the effort made to overcome the existing intercultural barriers. This is because the *Banyumasan* dialect does not contain *tata krama*, and thus requires some adjustments in the translation, and also because Muslims believe that the Qur'an is a sacred text, the Word of God, whose meaning must not be altered or distorted.

Literature Review

There are prior studies on the subject of translating the Qurʾan into the Javanese language. However, most of those studies only indirectly correlate with translating the Qurʾan into *Banyumasan*. A study of Qurʾan translation into Indonesian, for instance, has been completed by Nasarudin Baidan under the title *Problematika Penerjemahan Al-Qurʾan ke dalam Bahasa Indonesia* (Problems in Translating the Qurʾan into Indonesian) (Baidan, 2017).

This study explored the issues surrounding Qurʾan translation in terms of context, culture, and conditions. Its analysis and critique of the translation were based on the original documents using logical, analytical, and argumentative concepts. After a critical analysis of several translations of the *Basmalah* and the Surahs *al-Ikhlāṣ* and *al-Māʿūn*, the study found that the Indonesian Qurʾan translations do not fully comply with standard translation rules and procedures. The translation process is often too literal and not contextual. Also, the translation reflects subjective rather than rational and argumentative thinking. However, Baidan's focus was not on examining the specific problems encountered in translating the Qurʾan into *Banyumasan*.

Another interesting study is that of Muhammad Yunus Anis, Arifuddin, Eva Farhah, and Abdul Malik's *Empowering Arabic–Javanese Translation to Preserve the Heritage of Asian Languages* (Muhammad Yunus Anis, Arifuddin, Eva Farhah, 2016).

This study examines the ethical considerations in Arabic-Javanese translation. It explains how this model of translation can be used to preserve the Indonesian language as part of the cultural heritage in Southeast Asia. The data for this research are extracted from the Arabic- Javanese translation text and the findings of correlated studies The result shows that it is possible to produce an accurate translation of the Qurʾanic text, while also preserving the unique character of the *Bunyamasan* dialect.

Another relevant study is Abdul Muta'ali's *On the Grammatical and Cultural Aspects of Qurʾan Translation and Religious Harmony in Indonesia* (Muta'ali, 2014). This work focused on evaluating the quality of the translation of Qur'anic verses published by MORA. The author also examined the relationship of Qurʾan translation and religious polarization and radicalism.

The Qurʾan interpretations that are available to the wider Indonesian Muslim public are regulated by the Ministry. Thus, the way Indonesian Muslims understand and interpret the Qurʾan is to a large extent determined by the official translations that are made available. These official Qurʾan versions in Indonesian, however, contain several errors, specifically in the use of highly sensitive key terms related to warfare, killing, and non-Muslims.

Method

This qualitative study is based on primary data obtained through document analysis and interview. We conducted interviews with some members of the translation team: two scholars of the Qurʾan, one expert on the language and culture of *Banyumasan*, and eight academics from IAIN Purwokerto. In the content analysis, the chapter of *al-Baqarah* was used as sample text. It is the longest Surah in the Qurʾan and also the most complex, considering the level of stylistic language used and the topics covered therein.

This research is divided into data collection and analysis. The first step was to collect the data by applying the observation method to the text of *Terjemah Al-Qurʾan Bahasa Banyumasan*, a translation from Arabic into the Javanese dialect of *Banyumasan*. The second step involving data analysis entailed the translation team's efforts to identify the

Arabic syntax patterns and compare them with the translation. The analysis focused on investigating the cultural dimension of the translation patterns by acknowledging the linguistic and stylistic characteristics of the source text and preserving the integrity of *Banyumasan*.

Theories of Qurʾan Translation

The Indonesian term for translation, *terjemahan*, is derived from the Arabic verb *tarjamah*. The Arabic word itself is borrowed from the Armenian *turjuman*. The variant terms *turjuman*, *tarjaman*, and *tarjuman* all carry the meaning of moving a phrase from one language to another (Manzhur, 1993, p. 66). Translation can be defined as "explaining the source speech or observing the composition" (Qaththan, 1973). Catford added that "translation is replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another (TL)" (Catford, 1965, p. 20). Nord observed that translation is a purposeful activity, which means that it has a certain (and specifically intended) function. The approach to observe the function and purpose within the text of translation is called Skopos theory (Nord, 2001, p. 1).

Based on the previous views we can identify two primary aims of translation: 1) translating a message from a source language to a target language by seeking type parallels in both languages; 2) replacing source language text with the target language text equivalent. According to this understanding, translation is preferably done at the discourse level, rather than the sentence level.

In his *Manāhil al ʿIrfān* (Stages of Illumination) al-Zarqani argues that there are two different styles of translation: *ḥarfīya* (literal) and *tafsīrīya* (idiomatic). Literal translation concerns the exact likenesses of the translation to the original content, in wording or course of action and request. Such translation is made by using equivalent words

or comparable words from the first language. Idiomatic translation, on the other hand, refers to the translation that that is more concerned with accurately reflecting the meaning and significance of the statements (al-Zarqani, 1990).

In relation to Qurʾan translation, Mansyur and Setiawan note that *ḥarfīya* translation for certain verses is prohibited because it does not take the semantic context of a phrase into account. Thus, the literal translation of phrases can significantly alter the originally intended meaning and create 'false content.' The method of *tafsīrīya* translation is deemed more fitting since it focuses on the transfer of meaning from the source language to the target language. In other words, the translation process is only complete when the original meaning has not been altered (Mansyur & Setiawan, 2002).

Syihabuddin identified four obstacles in Arabic-Indonesian translation which are: 1) lack of knowledge of the source language and incorrect translation; 2) significant disparity between the languages; 3) lack of mastery of the target language and interference; and 4) ignorance of the basics of translation theory (Syihabuddin, 2005, p. 3).

The complete translation process covers different aspects of enquiry that need to be considered. These include the systematic approach to translation, mastery of two or more languages, mastery of the knowledge field of the text to be translated, and other related issues. Ideally, the translators should master both languages: the source language and the target language (bilingualism or two-language communication). In the case of translating the Qurʾan into *Banyumasan*, such bilingualism would mean for the translator the equal mastery of Arabic and the *Banyumasan* dialect.

The translator must understand the meaning of the text as a whole and present it in the target language. However, 'wholeness'

cannot be achieved to an absolute degree because the transfer of meaning from the source text to the target text always leads to 'translation loss':

The transfer of meaning from ST (source text) to TT (target text) is necessarily subject to a certain degree of translation loss; that is, a TT will always lack certain culturally relevant features that are present in the ST (Haywood et al., 2013; Hervey & Higgins, 2003)

The translator will not be able to present the meaning of the text perfectly because of the gap between linguistic and cultural elements in the two languages. Sometimes further adaptation is necessary to acknowledge the linguistic form and style of the source language. This depends on the choices made by the interpreter, and the way in which he deals with those elements and concepts carried in the source language that are unknown in the target language and culture (Hatim & Munday, 2019). The aim is to produce an equivalent text, and this procedure is called a situational equivalence. Another issue is intercultural barrier when the translation proceeds from a high-context culture to a low-context culture. Some studies have examined this issue in detail (Bennett, 2015; Katan, 2013, 2014, 2018; Korac-Kakabadse et al., 2001; Yanmei, 2019; Yanmei & Yuan, 2020).

The Javanese *Banyumasan* Dialect

Standard Javanese has undergone changes in phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicography. Javanese is the main language used in the regional capital of Yogyakarta and influences the surrounding areas. It functions as the center of linguistic dissemination and linguistic innovation, as described in wave theory.

The dissemination of linguistic innovation cannot always reach the entire area of language use. Therefore, Javanese language innovations originating from Yogyakarta as the cultural center do not reach the areas dominated by the *Banyumasan* dialect. The area closest to Yogyakarta is Purworejo. Some elements of the language have changed to standard Javanese, but other elements have been preserved, as in the case of the Javanese dialect of *Banyumasan*.

The geographic area of Banyumas covers the southwestern part of Central Java Province. The four administrative districts are Banyumas, Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Kebumen, and Cilacap. In the past, these areas were part of the kingdom of Java (Majapahit, Demak, Pajang, Mataram, Kartasura, and Kasunanan Surakarta). Kadipaten Banyumas became part of the Dutch colonial territories in 1830, and the former Duchy Banyumas broke into the Banyumas and Ajibarang districts (Herususanto and Budiono, 2008, p. 13).

Among the factors that preserved the original *Banyumasan* dialect and prevented its absorption into standard Javanese is its geographical distance from Yogyakarta and Solo (Katrini, 2014, p. 22). As explained in wave theory, the rate of distribution of language innovation is extremely low. The region where the *Banyumasan* dialect is spoken is considered conservative in the linguistic sense. The spoken dialect maintains the relics of the original linguistic elements of old Javanese in terms of its phonetics, morphology, and lexicography.

The phonological differences can be best observed in the transition area: the people living in the region west of Yogyakarta, in Purworejo and the surrounding areas, speak a type of Javanese that fluctuates between standard Javanese and *Banyumasan*. Some elements of the language are standard Javanese, while others are distinctively *Banyumasan*. It includes words such as *cecek* meaning 'lizard' in English, *kluweg* meaning 'fruit', *dedeg* meaning 'soft rice husk', and *picek* meaning 'blind'. The phonemes follow partly the standard Javanese dialect and partly *Banyumasan*. In addition, the transitional

forms of Javanese also contain words that are phonologically distinct from those two dialects, for example *poteh* means 'white' (Ind.: putih), *pitek* means 'chicken' or 'rooster', *koneng* means 'yellow' (Ind.: kuning), *ngidul* means 'southwards', *tekus* means 'rat', and *lungguh* or *lenggah* means 'sit down' (Katrini, 2014, p. 20).

The vocabulary used in Purworejo and its surroundings is mixture of the *Banyumasan* and standard Javanese. For example, *gering* means 'sickness', *maring* means 'go to,' *arak* means 'will be' or 'would be,' *sira* and *rika* mean 'you' (depending on the person addressed), *inyong* means 'me,' *nini* means 'grandmother,' *kaki* means 'grandfather,' and *umah* means 'home.' All these words are used by the people of Banyumas as well as Purworejo and its surrounding areas. However, in their daily life, the people of Purworejo still use the standard Javanese dialect. This is evident from their use of *lunga* as 'go', *dolan* as 'play,' *udan* as 'rain,' ses'k as 'tomorrow,' and other words of Javanese *krama inggil* (polite language). Among the

three-syllable words used in the *Banyumasan* dialect are: *bekatul* which means 'fine rice husk,' *weringin* means ficus tree (Ind. beringin), *ketumbar* means 'herb,' *lembayung* means 'long bean leaves,' *welahar* means 'volcano,' and *kemiri* means 'spice.' In Purworejo and the surrounding areas, the short words are the same as those used in standard Javanese dialect, for instance *katul* which means 'fine rice husk,' *ringin* means 'banyan tree,' *tumbar* means 'pice,' *mbayung* means 'bean leaf,' *lava* means 'volcano,' and *miri* or *kemiri* means 'kitchen spice.' The people of Purworejo use these words interchangeably (Katrini, 2014, p. 21).

In terms of *Banyumasan* morphology, there are differences in the form of suffixes like *-na* and *-ken* that are also found in the language spoken in Purworejo, although it usually follows the standard Javanese dialect and the typical suffixes *-ke* or *-ake*. Thus, a mixture of both forms can be observed in terms of word usage.

Table 1: Comparison between Standard Javanese and *Banyumasan*

Banyumasan Dialect	Javanese Standard Dialect	English Translation
dilungguhaken/ dilungguhna	*dilungguhake*	to be seated
diateraken	*diterke*	to be delivered
nggawakaken	*Nggawakke*	to bring

The area of Purworejo is a transitional language area between the dialects spoken in Yogyakarta and in Banyumas. This area is still affected by changes due to language innovation and offers more language context opportunities because it is closer to the center of linguistic distribution. Standard Javanese is spoken but not used exclusively; it also contains language elements adopted from the *Banyumasan* dialect. The Javanese language innovations observed in this area includes

changes in phonology, morphology, vocabulary, and syntax.

Cultural Barriers in Translating the Qurʾan into *Banyumasan*

Technical Procedures of the Translation Project

The translation of the Qurʾan into *Banyumasan* was done by a team of Qurʾan scholars, academics, and language and culture

experts. They possessed the necessary qualifications, such as (1) extensive knowledge of Arabic, (2) extensive knowledge of ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān and *Tafsīr*, (Qurʾanic exegesis); and (3) extensive knowledge of the language and culture of *Banyumasan*. The translation team consisted of ten members, namely, one scholar of the Qurʾan (KH. Thoha Al-Hafidz), one expert on the language and culture of *Banyumasan* (Ahmad Tohari), and eight academics from IAIN Purwokerto:Dr. Khariri Shofa, Dr. Lutfi Hamidi, Dr. Suprianto, Dr. Safwan Mabrur, Attabik, Nurma Ali Ridwan, Muhyiddin Dawud, and Ahmad Muttaqin (Committee, 2016).

The technical process of translation was completed in several steps. First, the Ministry provided a manual for translating the Qurʾan into the regional dialect (*Banyumasan*) that contained certain recommendations and limitations. These guidelines concerned (1) the use of the Qurʾan and its translation into Indonesian as published by MORA in 2010 as the main reference, (2) the use of parts of the Qurʾanic text (verses) according to the standard version published in 2009, and (3) the consistent use of a system of transliteration (Committee, 2016).

Second, the translation team organized internal meetings and presented their own work in focus-group discussions as part of the inter-professional cross-checking process. This was done to ensure that the translation project was, once completed, officially validated by the committee members.

The third step of validating the translation result produced by the translation team was completed by reviewing, checking, and scrutinizing the overall translation text. This activity was done to identify any mistakes in the translation. This process was repeated three times. The validation committee comprised experts of the Qurʾan and the language and culture of *Banyumasan*.

The last step entailed the final validation by *Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Quran* (LPMA), MORA, Indonesia. Once approved, the translation was ready for publication.

Alignment Process of the Translation Project

The process of aligning the translation project entailed a strict division of duties; each team member was tasked with specific work, and the projects combined made up the final translation text.

The Qurʾanic scholar was made in charge of determining the correct sequence and writing format (including *shakl, harakat* and *waqf* signs) of the verses to be translated. He was also in charge of the ethical aspects of translation practice in cases where the word choice was of particular significance. He did this together with the experts of culture and language of *Banyumasan*. The task assigned to the academics was to translate the official Indonesian version of the Qur'an into *Banyumasan*. Some of the eight academics involved in this project shared the duties of the Qurʾan experts and the language and cultural experts. The latter focused on correcting certain culture-specific words and phrases and replacing them with more appropriate substitutes.

The language experts were also tasked with translating certain words that had no equivalents in *Banyumasan* by identifying words with similar connotations. For example, *taqwa* (piety) and *kafir* (disbeliever) is described in one sentence rather than translated verbatim; the verb form *tattaqūn* (in Q.2:21) is translated as *semarah maring gusti Allah*, and the verb form *kafarū* (in Q.2:6) is translated as *wong-wong kapir* (the use of the letter 'P' here is instead of 'F' is typical in *Banyumasan*) with the addition of *mbangkang*. Other examples of translated cultural terms carried out on certain verse fragments are *azwāj muṭahhara* (in Q.2:25) rendered as *bojo-bojo sek thing-thing*, *al-ṣalāt*

translated as *sembahyang*, and *khāshiʿūn as wong-wong sing gentur* (in Q.2:45).

In the final stage of the translation process, the work completed by the different teams was combined and finalized, and the result accepted by all members of the translation team. Subsequently, the complete work was submitted to LPMQ for validation.

Translating Non-Etiquette Pronouns

Substantial barriers of translation (grammar, meaning, and cultural context) were addressed by the translation team. This study found that some of the topics of translation required the use of ethically correct vocabulary. For example, the word *sliramu* is used to translate the pronoun 'you' when referring to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as in Q.2:4:

… lan wong-wong sing padha precaya maring (al-Qurʾan) sing wis diturunaken maring sliramu (Muhammad) lan kitab-kitab sing wis diturunaken (maring Nabi) seurunge sliramu (Committee, 2016, p. 1).

This can be translated into English as:

And who believe (in the Qurʾan) which has been sent down (revealed) to you (Muhammad PBUH) and in the books [Torah and Gospel] which were sent down before you and believe with certainty in the Hereafter.

The same applies to the capitalized word *Panjenengan* to translate the pronoun 'you' when referring to God (Allah) as in Q.2:32:

Maha suci Panjenengan, mboten wonten sing kula sami ngertosi sanese perkawis sing empun Panjenengan wucalaken datheng kula sedaya. Estu Panjenengan Ingkang Maha Ngawuningani, Maha Wicaksana (Committee, 2016, p. 6).

In the English translation:

They (the Angels) said: 'Glory be to You, we have no knowledge except what you have taught us. Verily, it is You, the All-Knower, the All-Wise.'

The original word used for 'you' in *Banyumasan* is *ko* or *rika*. Both pronouns are used for all subjects, with no distinction being made in terms of social status. However, both words are only used for same-level subjects or top-to-down level subjects in the social structure; persons with higher social status are addressed using *panjenengan* and *sliramu*. Therefore, *ko* is used to translate 'you' in this translation. This use of *ko* can be found in many verses, including in Q.2:14 and 21, respectively:

Jan-jane inyong kabeh bala karo ko, inyong mau mung api-api"(Committee, 2016, p. 3).

In the English translation:

They say: 'Truly, we are with you; verily, we were but mocking.'

He menungsa! Sembaha Pengeranmu sing wis nyipta ko kabeh (Committee, 2016, p. 4).

 In the English translation:

O mankind! Worship your Lord (Allah) Who created you.

The first-person pronoun 'I' is translated as *Ingsun* (uppercase) only when referring to God. This form is used in several verses, such as in Q.2:23:

Lan angger ko padha mamang maring (Al-Qurʾan) sing Ingsun turunaken maring kawula Ingsun (Muhammad) (Committee, 2016, p. 4).

In the English translation:

And if you are in doubt concerning that which We have sent down (the Qurʾan) to Our slave (Muhammad PBUH), then produce a *Surah* (chapter) of the like thereof, and call your witnesses besides Allah, if you are truthful.

When referring to entities other than God, the first person is rendered as *inyong* (lowercase), especially when addressing the Quraysh

(Mekkan infidels in power) to show the lack of esteem in which they are held. This use can be found in Q. 2: 11 13 and 14. The example below is QS. 2: 11:

Satemene inyong padha malah wong-wong sing gawe bagus (Committee, 2016, p. 3).

In the English translation:

They say: "Why we only want to make peace!"

The third-person pronoun 'he' is also translated differently, depending on whether it is meant for God or others. When it refers to God it is translated as *Panjenengane* (uppercase), as in Q. 2: 22, 28, 29 and Q. 2: 73, 98. The example below is QS.2: 73:

lan Panjenengane meruhna maring ko kabeh tandha-tandha (kuwasa-E) supaya ko padha ngerti (Committee, 2016, p. 13).

In the English translation:

Thus God bringeth the dead to life and showeth you His Signs perchance ye may understand.

Also, an ethical distinction is made between a good and a bad character. The third person pronoun 'he' is translated as *dheweke* when referring to a bad person such as in Q. 2: 9 and14. The example below is QS.2:14: *lan wong-wong mau padha ketemu karo wong-wong sing precaya, dheweke padha ngomong* (Committee, 2016, p. 3) and not for a good person as in Q. 2: 25 and26. The example below is QS. 2: 26: *Anadhene wong-wong sing padha precaya, dheweke padha ngomong* (Committee, 2016, p. 26).

Stylistic Choices in the Use of Non-etiquette and Etiquette Words

Another finding is that some proper words in *Banyumasan* considered less ethical in the current context are not used and instead are replaced with standard Javanese. For example, *sufahā* is translated as *wong-wong sing padha kurang akal,* and *wong-wong sing ora padha waras*, while the actual *Banyumasan* translation should be *wong-wong gemblung*. This stylistic preference is evident in Q. 2: 13:

Lan angger deomongna maring wong-wong mau; padha percaya ko kabeh kayadene wong liya sing wis padha precaya, wong mau padha semaur; apa anggene inyong padha arep precaya koyodene wong-wong sing kurang akal kae padha precaya?Elinga, setemene wong-wong mau sing padha ora waras, ning wong wong mau ora padha ngerteni (Committee, 2016, p. 3).

In the English translation:

And when it is said to them (hypocrites): 'Believe as the people (Muslims) have believed,' they say: 'Shall we believe as the fools have believed?' Verily, they are the fools, but they know not.

Meanwhile, the Arabic phrase *safiha nafsahu* is rendered as *mbodoni awake dewek,* although the proper word in *Banyumasan* is *nglomboni*. This choice appears in Q.2:130:

Lan wong sing wadheh maring agamane Ibrahim, mung wong sing mbodoni awake dhewek (Committee, 2016, p. 23).

In the English translation:

And who turns away from the religion of Ibrahim (Abraham) (monotheism) except him who befools himself? Truly, we chose him in this world and verily, in the Hereafter he will be among the righteous.

Furthermore, the translation also uses a more pronounced etiquette style in certain phrases. The Arabic phrase *samʿahum wa abṣārahum* (in Q.2:7) is translated as *pengrungone lan pendelengane* instead of *kupinge lan mripate,* probably because it relates to the disbelievers and refers to their inability to accept the Truth (listen and see):

Gusti Allah wis ngunci ati lan pengrungone wong-wong mau, pendelengane wong-wong mau wis ditutup, lan wong-wong mau bakal olih siksa sing abot (Committee, 2016, p. 2).

In the English translation:

Allah has set a seal on their hearts and on their <u>hearing</u>, and on their <u>eyes</u> there is a covering. Theirs will be a great torment.

However, this practice of following etiquette style is not applied in all contexts. For example, the Arabic phrase *summun bukmun ʿummyun* (in Q.2:18) which literally means 'deaf, mute, and blind,' is translated using the non-etiquette *Banyumasan* phrase of *wong-wong mau padha budheg, bisu, lan picek* (Committee, 2016, p. 4). The choice of the translators to include non-etiquette words may be due to the specific context, which is to address the obstinate disbelievers.

There are other instances of the intentional use of non-etiquette words in *Banyumasan*, such as the word *mlarat* in Q.2:83. This etiquette word has the same meaning as *wong ora nduwe* ('the poor' in English and *al-masākīn* in Arabic):

Lan elinga rikala Ingsun mundhut janji sekang Bani Israil, Ko aja padha nyembah seliyane Gusti Allah, lan padha temindak becik maring wong tuwa loro, sedulur, bocah-bocah yatim, lan <u>wong-wong mlarat</u> (Committee, 2016, p. 15).

In the English translation:

And (remember) when we took a covenant from the Children of Israel, (saying): 'Worship none but Allah and be dutiful and good to your parents, and to kindred, and to orphans, and to the <u>poor</u>."

The word *pateni* as in Q.2:87 is used in standard Javanese to denote the willful murder and savage killing of a person. Using this word in the translation seems rather harsh; however, it can be used effectively to emphasize the wrongful killing of the

previous prophets sent to the Israelites. The usual—and more polite and respectful—phrase would be *pundhut nyawane* or *sedani* which are two words that fall into the category of Javanese *kromo inggil* (polite language):

Kenangapa saben-saben utusan sing butul maring ko kabeh (nggawa) sedhinah (piwulang) sing ora ko kepingini, ko padha ngedirna awakmu dhewek, banjur sebageane (utusan) ko anggep ngapusi lan sebageani ko <u>pateni</u>? (Committee, 2016, p. 16).

In the English translation:

Is it that whenever there came to you a Messenger with what you yourselves desired not, you grew arrogant? Some you rejected and some <u>you killed</u>.

Another example of preferring *Banyumasan* over Javanese *kromo inggil* is naming the descendants of a saint or a prophet *ngoko* and *anak putune* (in Q.2:136) instead of *putro wayahe*. In general, the translators make good and extensive use of typical *Banyumasan* language which is far more egalitarian in character, unlike the standard Javanese dialect which is characterized by its excessive social deference and politeness.

Ucapna, Inyong kabeh precaya maring Gusti Allah lan maring apa sing deturunaken maring inyong kabeh, lan maring apa sing deturunaken maring Ibrahim, Ismail, Ishak, Yakub lan <u>anak-putune</u> (Committee, 2016, p. 24).

In the English translation:

Say (O Muslims), 'We believe in Allah and that which has been sent down to us and that which has been sent down to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and <u>the progeny of Jacob</u>, and that which has been given to Moses and Jesus, and that which has been given to the Prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between any of them, and to Him we have submitted (in Islam).

Banyumasan and Standard Javanese

When discussing the aspect of etiquette and non-etiquette language choice in the translation, and the various contexts in which these choices are made, we can to identify some of the factors that influenced this translation of the Qurʾan into *Banyumasan*. This section presents an analysis of other factors related to the authenticity of the language idioms used in the translation. Here, we differentiate between the lexicography of *Banyumasan* and other dialects.

In the translation we find a number of typical *Banyumasan* words that are not known in other Javanese dialects. In the second *Surah* of the Qurʾan (*al-Baqarah*) alone we can identify 20 such words that are exclusively used in Banyumasan: (i) *semarah* means 'pious' (Arabic *al-muttaqūn*) as in Q.2:2; (ii) *sembahyang* means performing the prayer (Arabic *yuqīmūna al-ṣalāt*, 3rd person pl) as in Q.2:3; (iii) *nunggang taya* (*ngina*) means 'ridicule' (Arabic *yastahziʾu*, 3rd person sg) as in Q.2:15; (iv) *payon* means 'canopy of the sky' (Arabic *wa-s-samāʾ u bināʾan*) as in Q.2:22; (v) *suluh* means 'firewood' (Arabic *waqūd*) as in Q.2:24; (vi) *butulna* means 'convey' (Arabic *wa bashshir*, imperative) as in Q.2:25; (vii) *jodho-jodho sek thing-thing* means 'holy wives' (Arabic *azwāj muṭahhira* as in Q.2:25; (viii) *kapithunan* means 'losers' (Arabic *khāsirīn*) as in Q.2:27; *ngedirna* means 'brag' (Arabic *istakbara*) as in Q.2:34; (ix) *pengucap* means 'words' (Arabic *kalimāt*) as in Q.2:37; (x) *emut* means 'remember' (Arabic *udhkurū*, imperative pl) as in Q.2:40; (xi) *ndongkoa* means 'subdue' (Arabic *wa irkaʾū*, imperative pl) as in Q.2:43; (xii) *wong gentur* means 'humble, fearful' (Arabic *khāshiʿīn*, pl) as in Q.2:45; (xiii) *bukti-bukti kasunyatan* means 'facts, evidence' (Arabic *bayyināt*) as in Q.2:92; (xiv) *pesuryane* means 'face of God (Arabic *wajh-u'llāh*) as in Q.2:115; (xv) *tulus kamawula* means 'sincere' (Arabic *mukhliṣīn*, pl) as in Q.2:139; (xvi) *kesuwun* means 'grateful' to (Arabic *shākirūn*, pl) as in Q.2:53; (xvii) *lamuk* means 'mosquito' (Arabic *ghumām*) as in Q.2:57; (xviii)

marabaya means 'misfortune' (Arabic *rijzan*) as in Q.2:59; (xix) *janganan* means 'vegetable' (Arabic *baqalihā*) as in Q.2:61; (xx) and *nyupatani* means 'curse' (Arabic *yalʿanuhum*) as in Q.2:88 (Committee, 2016, pp. 2–25).

In the same second chapter of the Qurʾan we find a few words in the translation that are not originally *Banyumasan*. They are either Arabic loan words or adopted standard Javanese words that do not have their equivalents in *Banyumasan*. Among the Arabic loan words are (*mbangkang*) *kapir* derived from *kāfir* (disbeliever) as in Q.2:6, 19, 24; *pasek* derived from *fāsiq* (sinner) in Q.2:26; *musrik* derived from *mushrik* (idol worshipper) as in Q.2:105 *sujuda*derived from *sujūd* (prostration) as in Q.2:34, and *khalifah* derived from *khalīfah* (caliph) as in Q.2:30. Among those words that are adopted from Javanese because they have no equivalents are possessive pronouns such as *pengeran-mu* which means 'your God' as in Q.2:30; *anak-anak-mu* meaning 'your children' as in Q.2:49; *wutho aksoro* (Arabic *ummiyyūn*, pl) meaning 'illiterate' as in Q.2:78; and *srakah* meaning 'most strongly desire' (Arabic *aḥraṣa*) as in Q.2:96.

Cultural Factors Influencing Translation into *Banyumasan*

The translation team of *Terjamah Al-Qur'an Bahasa Banyumasan* experienced certain cultural barriers when translating the vocabulary of the Qur'an. The dialect does not always have etiquette equivalents and does not fit into the social stratification context, which is a process known as low-context culture communication. To overcome this problem, the translators replaced certain words in *Banyumasan* with standard Javanese words. They were able to overcome this linguistic challenge by borrowing the vocabulary of *kromo inggil* (high-context culture) to express certain meanings that cannot be expressed in *Banyumasan* (low-context culture).

Based on our analysis of the explanations offered by members of the translation team in the interview, we were able to identity several cultural factors and considerations that influenced the translation. Dr. Khariri, H. Ahmad Thohari, and Dr. A Luthfi Hamidi were interviewed in May–August 2018. These three factors are as follows:

First, the translation team considered that the readers of translated works in this category are mostly *kiai-santri* (Javanese Muslim scholars) and academics living in Banyumas, and not lay Muslims. They considered the fact that ordinary Muslims do not have the education level or interest to access this *Terjamah Al-Qurʾan Bahasa Banyumasan*. In practice, lay Muslims will go and ask their local *kiai* or *imam* when they want to know something related to the Qurʾan and Islam.

Second, the translation team was aware that daily communications between *kiai-santri* and academics in Banyumas are dominantly in standard Javanese dialect (high context) than in *Banyumasan* (low context). Also common is a mix of standard Javanese and *Banyumasan*. For instance, the word *kamu* is *sliramu, panjenengan,* or *koe* in standard Javanese, depending on the social standing of the person that is being addressed. Also, certain Islamic terms have become part of the language and normative culture. The structure of society is based on social stratification, and certain behaviors (including the use of language) is expected, form example in communication between students and teachers, children and parents, the young and the older. Naturally, the *Banyumasan* dialect has been replaced by standard Javanese in the daily language used among *kiai-santri* and academics in Banyumas.

Third, the translation team considered the Muslim community in Banyumas today. In the translators' view the local Muslim community has experienced significant changes that have resulted in the marginalization of *Banyumasan* which is becoming increasingly irrelevant in public life. The majority of the people prefer to use standard Javanese language rather than the local dialect in formal communication. Thus, the egalitarian style of *Banyumasan* has been replaced by the seemingly more sophisticated standard Javanese. The locals still use *Banyumasan* in private conversations between two or more people who have equal social status, in other words their friends and family. Even so, those who live in the more remote areas of Banyumas speak only *Banyumasan*, without exception.

It is in consideration of this socio-cultural change factors that the translation team decided to replace some parts of the *Banyumasan* vocabulary with words and phrases taken from standard Javanese and *kromo inggil*. However, their translation project of the *Qurʾan* is a priceless treasury of the *Banyumasan* dialect, and this was the translation team's first and foremost aim namely to preserve this unique dialect.

Concluding Remarks

The translation has adopted the etiquette style of standard Javanese only where appropriate and strictly necessary to accurately represent the Arabic source text. However, the main body of the translation reflects the authentic style of *Banyumasan.* The motive for replacing non-etiquette words with etiquette words in some verses is only done to preserve the stylistic nuances of the Qurʾan and not to degrade its original message.

There are only very few instances where the translation team has failed to correctly translate the text into *Banyumasan,* such as their use of *ngapusi* (as in Q.2:9) instead of *nglombo*. The former is rarely used in spoken *Banyumasan* to denote the act of 'lying.'
It is, however, safe to conclude that this translation would more accurately labeled as the translation of the Qurʾan into a hybrid form of 'etiquette' *Banyumasan*.

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