TRANSLATOR'S HABITUS AND TRANSLATION IDEOLOGY: TRANSLATING THE CONCEPT OF CAPITALS IN THE NOVEL *BUMI MANUSIA* BY PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER

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Abstract

This study examines the relationship between the translator's habitus and translation ideology in translating the concept of capitals that exists in the two main characters in the novel *Bumi Manusia* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. This research uses a descriptive qualitative method by taking a case study of two chapters in *Bumi Manusia* and its translation in English. The study found 30 expressions containing modals in the two main characters in chapters 5 and 7. The translation procedures carried out by the translator consist of standard translation (one datum), transference (15 data), modulation (four data), literal (six data), addition (one datum), contextual equivalence (two data), and paraphrasing (one datum). From Minke's character, there were 11 translations with the ideology of domestication and seven data of foreignization; and from Nyai Ontosoroh's character, only one expression that was translated domestically, and the other 11 data were foreignized. Therefore, 12 out of 30 data, i.e., 40%, were translated with domestication ideology, while 18 out of 30 data or 60% were translated with foreignization ideology. In conclusion, a translator's habitus influenced his way of translating which automatically directed his translation ideology.

Keywords: *capitals; habitus; translation ideology; translation procedure*

1. Introduction

The idea of habitus is based on the social reality around Bourdieu's life. Habitus can also be said to be part of a theory of practice centered on the grafting between an individual (agent/actor) and the structure of social life around them. In addition, the concept of habitus tends to be used more often in the field of sociology than in other fields of science. However, the concept of habitus itself can also be used in other fields of science, such as history or literature, because these two fields of science are closely related to the social reality of society. In relation to translation studies, habitus analysis can be conducted in the translation of literary works.

Bourdieu (1993) as quoted by Schirone (2023), habitus can be said to be a form of behavioral pattern or action that is routinely carried out by an individual. Habits that are repeatedly carried out will form characteristics in themselves. The habitus that exists within an individual, of course, will not be separated from the social field that develops around him. This means that the social field plays a very important role in shaping a person's habitus. For

example, the habit of coming on time formed since childhood will continue into adulthood. If you are late, then people who are used to being on time will feel nervous or uncomfortable. Habits like this have become repetitive in our environment. Therefore, this will eventually form a habit within ourselves. In the process of forming one's habitus, an individual will achieve four capitals within himself, including economic capital, cultural capital (a field or knowledge that is mastered), social capital (position or form of relationship with those in power), and symbolic capital (as an object of class distinction). Hong and Zao (2015) supports that no one, either in a group or a class can escape this distinction. In achieving a certain capital, Bourdieu (1993) as cited by Haryatmoko (2016) points out that capital can be a foundation or resource that can be converted into other capitals. Thus, one capital supports the formulation of other capitals.

Bourdieu's theory of cultural phenomena is a methodology can be used in Translation Studies to understand translation as a social action. Concerning this phenomenon in viewing translation as an act of social and cultural practice makes it important to acknowledge the role of translators (Alkhawaja, 2019; Dore, 2016). In Bourdieu's view, the concepts among habitus, field, and capital have formed a relationship between the translator's activities and the structures that influence how translator works (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014; Gouanvic, 2014; Eris, 2019). Therefore, there is no doubt of an agency that shapes habitus in translation, be it the habitus in the text being analyzed, the habitus of the author of the source text, or the habitus of the translator. In this article, I would like to show whether the concept of capitals, in relation to habitus, in the two main characters in the source text is conveyed as the author's intention, or whether the translator's habitus influences the choice of ideology in the translation.

2. Literature Review
2.1 Capitals
Bourdieu (1993) as cited by Schirone (2023) classifies capital into three main types; first, economic capital, or assets that are ready to sell; second, social capital, or the intangible assets formed by networks; and third, cultural capital, or assets that can be sold. Bourdieu (1993) in Wacquant (2018) and Kosman (2020) also proposes the theory of symbolic capital, which consists of other intangible assets, such as prestige, authority and status, and this is in line with Max Weber's sociological ideas.

2.2 Habitus and Translators
Bourdieu's (1993) perspective on habitus is that the characteristics associated with a certain class of existence conditions comprise the general meaning of habitus. In other words, one's social position might influence their personality. For example, according to Gouanvic (2014), families of diplomats will most likely become civil servants, while families of diplomats who often serve abroad will tend to become interpreters. This is an easily identifiable social fact because this typical habit seems normal. The capital associated with working as an interpreter or translator is due to a number of things, such as the acquisition of bilingualism and biculturalism through schooling, a bilingual family, and the mixing of cultures and customs. This condition is something that is already available as a basic capital for a translator or interpreter (Vorderobermeier, 2014; Dore, 2016; Almehmadi, 2020). Bourdieu calls it the original habitus or basic habitus. A translator's habitus is formed exclusively when he translates; thus, his habitus is called a special habitus (Pasmatzi, 2012;

Liu, 2012; Gouanvic, 2014; Kun, 2018). This is especially true if the text being translated is a legal text, for example. The translator will treat one text differently from another.

To analyze how the specific habitus of a translator is formed, the habitus of the translator of *Bumi Manusia*, Max Lane, will be reviewed based on information from various online sources. To understand his social capital, we can look at his biography as follows:

1) Max Lane's primary habitus was a student at the University of Sydney in 1969-1972. He took the Indonesian Studies program. He came to Indonesia many times as he was interested in Indonesian politics, democracy, and development. In 1974, he spent a year in Yogyakarta studying Javanese language. He also attended politics and sociology classes at Bengkel Teater led by W.S. Rendra. He worked at Bengkel Teater when W.S. Rendra produced *Kisah Perjuangan Suku Naga.* He said he was interested in studying the connection between literature and politics in Indonesia.

2) Max Lane returned to Australia in 1975 and began translating *Kisah Perjuangan Suku Naga* into English. The book was first published by St. Martin's Press New York and the University of Queensland Press.

3) Max Lane returned to Indonesia in 1978 and worked at the Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1980, he moved and worked at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta and began interacting with Pramoedya. Pramoedya gave him a copy of Bumi Manusia and he offered to translate it after he read the novel.

4) In 1981, Max Lane informed the Australian Embassy that he had finished translating *Bumi Manusia* and hoped to have it published soon by Penguin Books Australia. According to him, the translation of the novel would improve cultural relations between Indonesia and Australia and also promote Indonesian literature. However, the Australian government regarded it differently as a non-diplomatic activity, especially since the Indonesian government during the Soeharto administration banned the circulation of *Bumi Manusia*. The Australian government then repatriated Max Lane as soon as possible before the Indonesian government found out about the translation.

5) Max Lane has also translated several poems by Wiji Thukul, Pramoedya's three post-Human Earth novels, Arok of Java and The Chinese in Indonesia; as well as the book Social Sciences and Power in Indonesia published in 2006.

6) Apart from being a translator, Max Lane has also written books in English and Indonesian such as Unfinished Nation: Indonesia before and after Suharto, Verso in 2008; The Politics of Indonesia's 1965 Catastrophe (Working Title), Seagull Books, in 2010 and distributed by the University of Chicago Press; Unfinished Nation: Indonesia before and after Suharto, Reform Institute, Jakarta, in 2007; Wedastera Suyasa, 1945-72 in Bali: from charismatic politics to socio-cultural movement in 2009.

7) He also gave public lectures at several universities in the United States and also at various universities in Europe.

8) In addition to being a translator and book author, Max Lane has written for the English language newspapers in Indonesia, Green Left Weekly, Direct Action, Nation Review, Canberra Times, and the National Times.

Max Lane's specific habitus as a translator and writer can be seen from his social capital. His habitus began when he became acquainted with Pramoedya and translated the novels written by Pramoedya, W.S. Rendra, and also translated Wiji Thukul's poetry. He even worked at W.S. Rendra's Bengkel Teater. This proves that Max Lane also has social capital. Max Lane's habitus of being involved in politics, socio-culture, and Indonesian literature is

characteristic of his specific habitus. Another habitus owned by Max Lane is cultural capital where he associates himself with Pramoedya and other figures such as W.S. Rendra. His ability to speak Javanese has also made it easier for him to interact with prominent figures in Indonesia. Additionally, Max Lane's position as a mid-level staff at the Australian Embassy supports his symbolic capital (Lane, 2017).

2.3 Translation Procedures

According to Newmark (1988), translation procedures differ from translation methods. Translation procedures are applied to smaller levels other than texts, such as clauses, phrases and words, while translation methods are concerned with the whole text. However, in reality, translation methods are also used at the sentence level. Therefore, Newmark offers approximately sixteen alternative procedures that can be applied in finding equivalents (1988). However, Machali (2009) only sees five leading procedures, namely transposition, shift of meaning or modulation, contextualized conditioning, adaptation, and annotated translation. The following are some translation procedures given by Newmark:

1) Transference or borrowing. The term transference is also referred to by other translation experts with different terms. Baker (2018) uses the term translation using a loan word, while Vinay and Darbelnet as cited by Munday, Pinto, and Blakesley, (2022) use the term borrowing. Some translation scholars consider that transference is not a translation procedure. However, Newmark (1988) states that when a translator is in a situation where he is required to transfer an unfamiliar cultural word in the source language (SL) that has a specific reference in the SL culture into the target language (TL), he will usually supplement it with another procedure.

2) Cultural equivalent translation is also known as translation by cultural substitution introduced by Baker (2018). According to Newmark (1988**),** this procedure is the translation performed when the cultural word in the SL is translated into the cultural word in the TL.

3) Literal translation. Literal translation is a translation procedure which translates words or expressions that are similar to the SL, and adjusts the SL structure to the TL structure.

4) Recognized translation. According to Newmark (1988), accepted standard translation procedure is also known as recognized translation procedure. This procedure is chosen so that the translation conforms to the existing meaning in the TL community. Therefore, translators must pay close attention to the TL culture because if they translate a word in SL that already has an equivalent in the TL with a new word, the new word will disrupt the existing translation in the TL.

5) Paraphrase. One translation theorist names it as paraphrase (Newmark, 1988), while Baker (2018) called it translation by paraphrase.

6) Transposition is a structural shift from SL to the TL. ”*Transposisi ini dapat merupakan suatu keharusan agar terjemahan menjadi wajar atau merupakan pilihan berdasarkan gaya penerjemah*” (Dewi & Wijaya, 2021, p. 46). It means that transposition can be a necessity while translating to make the results natural.

7) Modulation refers to the phenomenon of shifting point of view, focus, or cognitive categories in conveying a message into the TL (Dewi & Wijaya, 2021). According to Dewi and Wijaya (2021, p. 59), "*dalam prosedur modulasi, makna semantis suatu ungkapan BSu dapat berubah saat dialihkan ke dalam BSa, namun tanpa mengubah pesan dari teks sumber (TSu) itu sendiri*." By saying this, they mean that in modulation, the

semantic meaning of a source text (ST) can change when it is transferred into the target text (TT).

8) Addition is a translation procedure that adds one or more words, phrases, clauses, or even sentences to the translation to clarify the message in the TT (Dewi & Wijaya, 2021).

9) Contextual conditioning is an attempt to clarify a product or object so that its meaning can be understood by target language readers. This procedure adds words or phrases from a product or an object that has not been recognized by target language readers.

2.4 Translation Ideology

Ideology has different meanings depending on the scholarly perspective. In general, ideology is a principle that a community in a society believes to be true. Meanwhile, ideology in the context of translation studies is the principle or belief about "right and wrong" in translation **(**Hoed, 2006). Venuti (2008) adds that ideology is a "correct, acceptable and good" translation which meets certain requirements.

Long before Hoed and Venuti state about "right-wrong" and "right, acceptable, and good" ideology, Nida and Taber (1982) and Hatim and Mason (1997) have given an explanation of this "right-wrong" concept. According to them, the "right-wrong" concept in a translated work should be seen from two points, namely the audience design and the purpose of translation. For example, when a translator is faced with a certain term, such as the word *febris*, s/he must be able to determine the right word equivalent for the term. If the target audience is insurance claimants or health workers, then the word *febris* is simply borrowed without translation. However, if the potential readers are general people or patients, then *febris* should be translated into a *fever* so that readers can understand the term. This is the application of the concept as explained by Hoed, Venuti, Nida & Taber, and Hatim & Mason.

Therefore, to make it easier to determine the ideology of translation, **Newmark (1988)** suggests eight translation methods which he further divides into two major groups. These translation methods are commonly known as Newmark's V-Diagram, as shown in the figure below:

Word-for-word translation		Adaptation
Literal translation		Free translation
Faithful translation		Idiomatic translation
Semantic translation		Communicative translation
Foreignization		Domestication

Figure. *Newmark's* Translation Methods

From the figure above, it can be seen that Newmark's translation methods fall into two categories. On the left side, four methods emphasize on the source text (ST), and the other four methods on the right side are emphasized on the target text (TT). The four source text-oriented methods are (1) word-for-word translation, (2) literal translation, (3) faithful translation, (4) semantic translation; while the four target text-oriented methods are (5) adaptation, (6) free translation, (7) idiomatic translation, and (8) communicative translation. If translators emphasize on the ST in their translation work, they are said to apply the ideology of foreignization. Meanwhile, if they are more oriented towards the TT, then the

translators choose domestication. A translation that adheres to the ideology of foreignization is a translation that conforms to the tastes and expectations of readers who want to feel the presence of the source language culture. Here, the target readers are enriched with knowledge by reading something foreign. For example, the greetings of Uncle and Auntie are not translated into *paman* and *bibi*. Meanwhile, translation with domestication ideology is translation that conforms to the tastes and expectations of the reading public who want the translated text to be in line with the target language culture; a translation should not feel like a translation; and it should be part of the writing tradition in the target language (Venuti, 2008).

3. Research Method

The research method used in this research is a descriptive qualitative research method. If knowledge is uncertain and contingent on context, rather than absolute, Nunan (quoted by Hatim, 2012) suggests, practitioners should adopt a research orientation to their own classrooms. It can be said that action research in one's own classroom is research conducted in order to improve or change something in order to obtain a solution. Furthermore, Hatim (2012) also says that a researcher can be seen as someone who can do critical thinking and analytical ability. With their analytical skills, problems can be identified and appropriate solutions can be found and explained. Therefore, it can be concluded that by conducting case studies, lecturers practice what they learn and teach.

The data source in this research is two chapters of the novel *Bumi Manusia* written by Pramoedya Ananta Toer and translated by Max Lane, an Australian citizen who has lived in Indonesia for a long time as a mid-staff level at the Australian Embassy. He is familiar with Pramoedya Ananta Toer and also understands the political conditions of Indonesia at the time, namely during the New Order. Max Lane manages to translate it and it was first printed in 1982 by Penguin Books Australia. According to Max Lane, his translation activity is "Translating more than just the text". He argues that one of the most difficult aspects of Literary Translation is striking a balance between remaining authentic to the original work and attempting to create a new work in the target language that elicits the same emotional response as the original. For example, during a dialogue involving an Indonesian term that includes the word *'buaya'* [English: crocodile] meaning *'mata keranjang'*, Lane translates it literally as 'crocodile'. He does not translate an expression that has the same meaning as the English 'womanizer' or 'wolf in a sheep's clothing'.

The first stage of this research is to determine the formulation of the problem. The next step is to determine the research objectives. The next stage is literature search through journals and books related to the capital, the habitus, and the ideology of translation; next, choosing the data and collecting them by reading the data sources, both the novels *Bumi Manusia* in Indonesian and its translation in English. The next step is selecting the dialogs from two chapters where the capitals of the two main characters are found. The two main characters' capitals were then collected and arranged into a table to see how the translator translates them. After that, analyzing the dialogs by paying attention to the translation procedure and determining the translation ideology.

4. Results and Discussion

Based on the expressions containing the four capitals taken from chapters 5 and 7, 30 data are obtained, containing dialogs and capital expressions of Minke and Nyai Ontosoroh.

Table 1 below shows the capitals and the translation procedures of Nyai Ontosoroh in chapter 5 of *Bumi Manusia*. In the economic capital, there are three expressions translated through recognized and borrowing or transference translation procedures; in the cultural capital, there are six data consisting of four types of translation procedures, namely transference, literal translation, modulation, and addition. For the social capital, there are three data consisting of three different types of procedures, namely literal translation, modulation, and transference. For the symbolic capital, there are six data translated through five procedures, namely transference, modulation, literal translation, contextual conditioning, and paraphrasing.

Capital	Translation Procedures	Amount
1. Economic	recognized (1); borrowing or transference (2)	3
2. Cultural	transference (3); literal translation (1); modulation (1); addition (1)	6
3. Social	literal translation (1); modulation (1); transference (1)	3
4. Symbolic	transference (1); modulation (1); literal translation (2); contextual conditioning (1); paraphrasing (1)	6
	Total	18

Table 1. Capitals and Translation Procedures in Nyai Ontosoroh's expressions

Meanwhile, **Table 2** shows the capitals and translation procedures for the character Minke as taken from chapter 7 of *Bumi Manusia*. There are 12 capitals consisting of four capitals and translated into four types of translation procedures, namely transference, contextual conditioning, modulation, and literal translation.

Capital	Translation procedures	Amount
1. Economic	transference (5); contextual conditioning1)	6
2. Cultural	modulation (1)	1
3. Social	literal translation (2); transference (1)	3
4. Symbolic	transference (2)	2
	Total	12

Table 2. Capitals and Translation Procedures in Minke's expressions

As for the ideology of translation, in the context of Minke, there are 11 translations with the ideology of domestication and seven data of foreignization. Meanwhile, in the context of Nyai Ontosoroh, there is only one expression translated by domestication, and the other 11 data are foreignization. Therefore, in total, 12 out of 30 data, i.e., 40%, are translated with domestication ideology, while 18 out of 30 data or 60% are translated with foreignization ideology.

Lane chooses to foreignize the expressions which contain capitals found in Minke and Nyai Ontosoroh' utterances. Lane claims that he attempts to retain as much "foreignness" as possible, anticipating that the reader would do some work of interpretation and digestion of the language, hoping that not too much labor would be put on the reader to integrate the language into the reader's reading. As far as he can tell, it is a matter of subjective judgment. From his statement, it is clear that Lane is trying to get the target reader to feel the nuances of the source text and he also hopes that the reader will absorb the language used in the target text.

However, what Lane does is not fully approved by the publisher. Lane states that he maintains a number of Indonesian phrases in italics. He notices that the publisher has deleted italics from numerous words in later editions. Thus, an external power exists besides the translator's role. Actually, this is normal because in translation, there are external factors that affect the translation. One of these is the publisher.

The important thing to underline is the link among habitus, the field, and capital with the ideology of translation. The question is whether these concepts of habitus, the field, and capital can also be seen in the translated novel of *Bumi Manusia*. Is the ideology of translation the same or contradictory to Bourdieu's concept on habitus, the field, and capital? Below are some discussions on the findings. From chapters 5 and 7, both Nyai Ontosoroh and Minke's utterances that are formed from their habitus are classified into four capitals.

4.1 Nyai Ontosoroh's capitals

The sentences that contain the four capitals in the expressions uttered by Nyai Ontosoroh are as follows:

a. **Economic capital**

Example 1:

ST1: "*Dalam setahun telah dapat kukumpulkan lebih dari seratus **gulden**.*"

TT1: "Within a year I had saved more than a hundred **guilders**." (p. 88)

Example 2:

ST2: "*Sekarang perusahaan dinamai **Boerderij Buitenzorg**. Karena semua urusan dalam aku yang menangani, orang yang berhubungan denganku memandang aku **Nyai Ontosoroh, Nyai Buitenzorg**.*"

TT2: "By then we had named the business **Boer-derij Buitenzorg**. And because I carried out all its affairs, people who had dealings with me called me **Nyai Ontosoroh, Nyai Buitenzorg**." (p. 92)

In examples 1 and 2 above, the translator applies various translation procedures. For example, the word **gulden: guilder** is translated by using the recognized translation procedure. Meanwhile, **Boerderij Buitenzorg:Boerderij Buitenzorg** is translated by transference procedure; and **Nyai Ontosoroh, Nyai Buitenzorg::Nyai Ontosoroh, Nyai Buitenzorg** is also translated by transference technique.

b. **Cultural capital**

Example 3:

ST3: *Semua pekerjaan di dalam lingkungan perusahaan mulai diserahkan kepadaku oleh **Tuan**. Memang mula-mula aku takut memerintah mereka. **Tuan** membimbing. Katanya: "Majikan mereka adalah penghidupan mereka, majikan penghidupan mereka adalah kau! Aku mulai berani memerintah di bawah pengawasannya.*

TT3: **Tuan** began to hand over all the work within the business to me. At first, I was afraid to give workers orders. **Tuan** guided me. He said: Their em-ployer is their livelihood. You are the master of their livelihood! Then, under his supervision, I began to dare to give orders. (p. 90)

Example 4:
ST4: "*Kau lebih mampu daripada rata-rata **mereka**, apalagi yang **Peranakan**.*"
TT4: "You are far more capable than the average **European woman**, especially t**he Mixed-Bloods.**" (p. 92)

Example 3 also applies the transference procedure for the word **Tuan**, while in example 4, the expressions **mereka:: European woman** and **Peranakan::the Mixed-Bloods** are translated by using the contextual conditioning procedure.

c. **Social capital**
Example 5:
ST5: *Pada waktu itu **Mama** mulai merasa senang, berbahagia. Ia selalu mengindahkan aku, menanyakan pendapatku, mengajak aku memperbincangkan semua hal. Lama-kelamaan aku merasa sederajat dengannya. Aku tak lagi malu bila toh terpaksa bertemu dengan kenalan lama. Segala yang kupelajari dan kukerjakan dalam setahun itu telah mengembalikan harga diriku.*

TT5: At that time, **I** began to feel glad, happy. He always paid attention to me, asked my opinion, and invited me to discuss every-thing with him. Gradually I came to feel I was equal to him. I was no longer ashamed if I had to meet with old acquaintances. Ev-erything that I had learned and done during that year had restored my self-respect to me. (p. 86)

The word **Mama** in the example above is translated literally and is also an adaptation. Instead of translating it as **Mother**, the translator uses **I**.

d. **Symbolic capital**
Examples 6-8:
ST6: "*Kau harus selalu kelihatan cantik, **Nyai**. Muka yang kusut dan pakaian berantakan juga pencerminan perusahaan yang kusut-berantakan, tak dapat dipercaya.*"
TT6: "You must always be beautiful, **Nyai.** A crumpled face and untidy clothes also reflect a crumpled and untidy business. No one will trust you." (p. 91)

ST7: *Tanpa bantuanku **Tuan** takkan mungkin mendirikan rumah kita ini."*
ST7: Without my help **my master** would never have been able to build this house, Ann. (p. 93)

ST8: "*Kau tidak boleh **berkinang, biar gigimu tetap putih gemerlapan**. Aku suka melihatnya, seperti mutiara.*"
TT8: "You are not allowed **to chew betel nut, that way your teeth will be gleaming white.**" (p. 91)

From the expressions above, the word **Nyai:: Nyai** is translated by transference, while the word **Tuan::my master** is translated literally. However, in example 8, the translator uses a different translation procedure from the one he chose before, which is contextual conditioning as seen in the expression **Berkinang: to chew betel nut**.

Another example is the expression ***Aku suka melihatnya, seperti mutiara*:: ..that way your teeth will be gleaming white,** which is translated literally.

4.2 Minke's Capitals

The following are some examples of Minke's expressions that contain the four capitals.

a. Economic capital

Example 9:

ST9: *"Tidak bisa begitu," bantahku, "aku seorang **Raden Mas,** tak bisa diperlakukan asal saja begini," dan aku menunggu jawaban."*

TT9: "I'm **a Raden Mas**, I can't be treated in this way," and I waited for an answer. (p.113)

Example 10:

ST10: *"Beribu ampun, **Ndoro Raden Mas,**" agen itu menyilakan aku keluar dari kantor gelap penuh nyamuk itu."*

TT10: "A thousand pardons, **Ndoro Raden Mas.**" The officer invited me to leave the mosquito-filled, dark office. (p. 117)

The expressions *Raden Mas, Ndoro Raden Mas* are cultural words in the source text. The translator performs the translation technique by borrowing words or expressions in the source text. From the three examples of capital modal above, the translator applies foreignization ideology.

b. Cultural capital

Example 11:

ST11: *Begini jadinya sekarang undangan terhormat yang menggemparkan seluruh kota itu. **Diperkenalkannya aku pada putri-putrinya** kemudian ia pergi**."***

TT11: So this was what the honored invitation was all about. **I'm introduced to his daughters** and then he goes. (p. 138)

The phrase **Diperkenalkannya aku pada putri-putrinya** is translated by modulation into the TT as **I'm introduced to his daughters.** The clause changes the point of view from passive sentence to active sentence. In Indonesian, the passive voice is more commonly used than the active voice. This is inversely proportional in English which prioritizes the use of active sentences.

The clause also shows the cultural capital owned by Minke that he has a prominent family background that can be aligned with the daughters of the Dutch family so that he is introduced to them.

c. Social capital

Example 12:

ST12: *"Maka kau kurang tak suka bergaul dengan sebangsamu, bahkan dengan saudara-saudaramu, dengan **Ayahandamu** pun."*

TT12: So, you don't like to mix with your own people, even your own family, not even **your father.** (p. 130)

The expression **ayahanda,** which is the source language of cultural words, is translated literally. The translator does not provide any additional notes or explanations to the cultural expressions.

    d. Symbolic capital
Example 13:
ST13: "...*Coba: anak **bupati,** dianggap calon **bupati, siswa H.B.S.,** kelas akhir.*"
TT13: "Imagine: the son of **a bupati,** himself considered to be a future **bupati, an H.B.S.** student, final year. ..." (p. 137)

In example 13 above, the transference procedure is applied to the expressions of **H.B.S** and **bupati**. The translator again translated the cultural expressions by applying the ideology of foreignization.

Based on the expressions containing the four capitals taken from chapters 5 and 7, there are 30 data containing expressions of capitals owned by Minke and Nyai Ontosoroh. From the analysis, in the context of Minke, there are 11 expressions with domestication ideology and seven expressions of foreignization. Meanwhile, in Nyai Ontosoroh's utterances, only one expression is translated by domesticating, and the other 11 utterances are foreignized. Therefore, 12 out of 30 data are translated by applying domestication ideology, and 18 out of 30 data are translated by foreignization ideology.

From the findings, it turns out that the ideology of translation is in line with the ideology that the author of the source text wants to convey. The author of the source text, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, wants to convey the message of nationalism in the novel *Bumi Manusia* through utterances made by Minke and Nyai Ontosoroh. Meanwhile, in the target text, the translator also conveys the same ideology desired by the author.

5. Conclusion

From the statements above, it can be concluded that the ideology of translation depends on the purpose of translation and the readership. The translation of cultural words can be used as one of the markers on the type of ideology adopted by the translator. External factors, such as publishers and ST writers, also influence the translation and the ideology of the translation. The concept of habitus, which is basically interrelated with the concept of symbolic violence, can certainly be used as further analysis by linking the concept of symbolic violence in revealing the relationship between power and controlled ones (superiority and inferiority) with examples of cases found in the novel *Bumi Manusia*.

This research certainly has its limitations. Therefore, the suggestion for future research is to analyze all of the chapters in this novel so that researchers can get a complete picture of the translator's ideology in translating modal concepts from the ST to TT. It would be even better if future researchers analyze the entire series of *Bumi Manusia* because Pramudya writes a tetralogy series for this novel. However, more time and in-depth discussion are needed in order to see the influence of the translator's habitus in choosing the ideology while translating.

Acknowledgements

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