


# Translating Culture-Specific Expression in the Balinese Folktale I *Juragan Anom: An Analysis of Translation Procedures*

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## A B S T R A C T

Translation involves not only transferring linguistic meaning from the source language to the target language but also conveying the cultural values embedded within a text. Translating culture-specific expressions presents a significant challenge because many cultural concepts lack direct equivalents in the target language, particularly in literary works rooted in local traditions. Despite the growing interest in translation studies, research on culture-specific expressions in Balinese folktales remains limited. Therefore, this study aims to identify the culture-specific expressions found in the Balinese folktale I Juragan Anom and analyze the translation procedures used in rendering them into English. This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach. The data were obtained from *Satua Bali: Tales from Bali*, compiled by Sutjaja, and analyzed using Newmark's classification of culture-specific expressions and Vinay and Darbelnet's translation procedures. The findings revealed four categories of culture-specific expressions: religious culture, customs, material culture, and social culture. Borrowing, literal translation, and adaptation were identified as the primary translation procedures, with borrowing being the most frequently applied. These findings indicate that borrowing effectively preserves the cultural identity and authenticity of Balinese expressions while maintaining their comprehensibility for English readers.

**Keywords:** *Culture-Specific Expression, Balinese Folktale, Translation Procedures, Literary Translation*

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## INTRODUCTION

Translation plays an important role in connecting people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. It is not simply a process of changing words from one language into another, but also a process of transferring meaning from the source language to the target language. In literary translation, this process becomes more challenging because literary works contain cultural values, beliefs, traditions, and local wisdom that are closely related to the community where the text originates. Therefore, translators are expected not only to produce an accurate translation but also to preserve the cultural meanings contained in the original text so that they can be understood naturally by target readers.

One of the challenges frequently encountered in literary translation is the translation of culture-specific expressions (CSEs). These expressions refer to words or phrases that represent particular cultural concepts and often have no direct equivalent in another language. According to Newmark (1988), culture-specific expressions may include ecology, material culture, social culture, organizations, customs, and gestures. Because these expressions carry cultural meanings, translators need to consider not only linguistic equivalence but also cultural equivalence. As Baker (2018) points out, equivalence in translation should not be limited to words but should also reflect the intended meaning within its cultural context.

Indonesia is well known for its cultural diversity, making it a valuable source for translation studies involving culture-specific expressions. One example is Balinese culture, which is rich in religious concepts, traditional customs, social systems, and local wisdom. These cultural aspects are widely represented in Balinese folktales that function not only as literary works but also as a medium for preserving cultural heritage. Among these folktales, *I Juragan Anom* contains numerous culture-specific expressions such as *Ida Batara Guru*, *balian*, *bale bengong*, *keris*, *juru tenung*, and *kedis manuk dewata*. These expressions are deeply rooted in Balinese culture and present particular challenges when translated into English because they frequently lack direct lexical equivalents.

To deal with cultural differences between the source and target languages, translators apply various translation procedures. One of the most influential frameworks was proposed by Vinay & Darbelnet (2000), who classify translation procedures into direct translation and oblique translation. Their framework has been widely used to explain how translators solve linguistic and cultural problems in translation. In literary texts, the choice of translation procedures becomes particularly important because different procedures may preserve, modify, or even reduce the cultural meanings represented in the original text.

Several previous studies have examined the translation of culture-specific expressions across different cultural and textual contexts. Ikawati (2022) investigated Culture-Specific Items (CSIs) in the *Wonogiri Guidebook* and found that preservation and addition were the dominant strategies used to maintain the authenticity of local cultural expressions while ensuring comprehensibility for international readers. Similarly, Florensius (2026) analyzed the translation of culture-specific items in the Indonesian film *KKN di Desa Penari* and demonstrated that translation functions not only as a linguistic process but also as a medium for introducing Indonesian cultural values to global audiences. Other studies on literary and audiovisual translation have likewise emphasized the importance of selecting appropriate translation procedures to balance semantic equivalence with cultural representation, particularly when dealing with culturally bound concepts that lack direct equivalents in the target language.

Despite these contributions, several aspects remain insufficiently explored. Most previous studies have focused primarily on identifying translation strategies or evaluating translation equivalence, with limited attention given to how specific translation procedures preserve cultural meanings in traditional literary texts, particularly Balinese folktales. Moreover, few studies have employed the combined framework of Newmark's culture-specific expression categories and Vinay and Darbelnet's translation procedures to examine the relationship between cultural classification and translation choices. Consequently, the translation of culture-specific expressions in the Balinese folktale *I Juragan Anom* remains underexplored. This study addresses this gap by identifying the categories of culture-specific expressions and analyzing how translation procedures contribute to preserving Balinese cultural identity while making the text accessible to English readers.

Based on this background, this study aims to identify the culture-specific expressions found in the Balinese folktale *I Juragan Anom*, analyze the translation procedures used in translating those expressions into English based on Vinay and Darbelnet's framework, and examine how these procedures contribute to preserving the cultural meanings embedded in the source text. The findings are expected to enrich studies on literary translation, culture-specific expressions, and the translation of Indonesian local wisdom into English.

## METHOD

This study used a qualitative descriptive approach to analyze the translation of culture-specific expressions in the Balinese folktale *I Juragan Anom*. A qualitative approach was chosen because the study focused on describing and interpreting language data rather than measuring them statistically. The analysis emphasized the identification of culture-specific expressions in the source text and the translation procedures used in their English translation.

### Data

The data were taken from *Satua Bali: Tales from Bali* (Second Edition) compiled by Sutjaja. The book contains fifteen Balinese folktales written in three languages: Balinese, Indonesian, and English. Among these stories, *I Juragan Anom* was selected because it contains many culture-specific expressions related to Balinese religion, customs, traditional occupations, social life, and local wisdom. Since this study focuses on translation from Balinese into English, only the Balinese text and its English translation were used as the data source.

### Procedures

The data were collected using documentation and note-taking techniques. The documentation technique involved selecting \*I Juragan Anom\* from \*Satua Bali: Tales from Bali\*, compiled by Sutjaja, as the primary data source because it provides both the original Balinese text and its English translation. The researcher first read both versions of the folktale several times to gain a comprehensive understanding of the storyline, cultural context, and linguistic features. During the reading process, all words, phrases, and expressions that potentially represented culture-specific expressions were identified based on Newmark's (1988) classification.

After the identification stage, each culture-specific expression was compared with its corresponding English translation to determine the translation procedure applied according to Vinay and Darbelnet's framework. Relevant data were then highlighted, coded, and recorded using a note-taking technique. Each entry included the source-language expression, the target-language translation, the category of culture-specific expression, and the translation procedure employed.

Finally, all collected data were organized into a structured data sheet to facilitate systematic analysis. The data sheet enabled the researcher to classify the expressions, compare translation procedures across categories, identify recurring translation patterns, and draw conclusions regarding how the translation preserved the cultural meanings embedded in the Balinese folktale.

### Data Analysis

The data were analyzed descriptively in two stages. First, the identified expressions were classified as culture-specific expressions based on Newmark's (1988) cultural categories. Second, the translation procedures used to translate each expression into English were analyzed using the framework proposed by Vinay & Darbelnet (2000). The analysis focused on explaining how each translation procedure was applied and how it contributed to preserving the cultural meanings represented in the source text.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the findings and discussion of the translation of culture-specific expressions in the Balinese folktale \*I Juragan Anom\*. The analysis focuses on identifying culture-specific expressions in the Balinese source text and examining the translation procedures employed in their English equivalents. The translation procedures are analyzed using Vinay & Darbelnet (2000) framework, while the culture-specific expressions are classified according to Newmark's (1988) categories. Beyond identifying the procedures, the discussion explains why particular translation procedures were selected for specific expressions by considering their linguistic characteristics, cultural significance, and the

availability of equivalent concepts in the target language. For example, borrowing is typically employed when a culture-specific expression embodies unique cultural concepts that cannot be accurately translated without losing its local identity, whereas literal translation is used when semantic equivalence can be maintained across languages. Adaptation, on the other hand, is chosen when cultural differences require the translator to replace the source expression with a culturally familiar equivalent to improve comprehensibility for English readers. To provide a systematic analysis, the findings are organized according to the translation procedures identified in the data, followed by a discussion of how each procedure preserves, modifies, or negotiates the cultural meanings embedded in the original Balinese text.

### Types of Culture-Specific Expression

Before discussing the translation procedures, it is important to identify the types of culture-specific expressions found in the Balinese folktale *I Juragan Anom*. Based on Newmark's cultural categories, four categories of culture-specific expressions were identified in the data, namely religious culture, material culture, social culture, and customs. The distribution of the data is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Category	Frequency
Religious Culture	12
Material Culture	8
Social Culture	6
Customs	10

As shown in Table 1, religious culture is the most frequently found category with 12 expressions. This finding shows that religious beliefs have an important role in the story of *I Juragan Anom*. Most of these expressions are related to Balinese religious concepts, sacred figures, and traditional beliefs that are still practiced in Balinese society. Since these expressions are closely connected to Balinese culture, they are not always easy to translate into English because some of them do not have direct equivalents in the target language.

The second category is customs, with a total of 10 expressions. These expressions describe the customs, traditions, and daily activities of Balinese people. Their presence shows that the folktale is not only intended to entertain readers but also to introduce and preserve Balinese cultural traditions through the story.

The next category is material culture, which consists of eight expressions. This category includes traditional objects and buildings that are commonly found in Balinese culture. For example, *keris* and *bale bengong* are cultural objects that have their own functions and meanings in Balinese society. Therefore, these expressions need to be translated carefully so that the cultural meaning can still be understood by English readers.

The last category is social culture, with six expressions. Although this category has the smallest number of data, it still represents important aspects of Balinese social life, such as traditional occupations, social relationships, and forms of address used in the community.

The findings indicate that culture-specific expressions in *I Juragan Anom* are dominated by religious culture and customs. This shows that the story strongly reflects the close relationship between religion, tradition, and everyday life in Balinese society. Since many of these expressions are closely related to Balinese culture, the translator needs to choose appropriate translation procedures to transfer both the meaning and the cultural value into English. Therefore, the next section discusses the translation procedures used in translating those culture-specific expressions.

## Category of Religious Culture

Table 2. Examples of Religious Culture Expression Found in I Juragan Anom

No	Culture-Specific Expression	Explanation
1	Ida Batara Guru	One of the manifestations of <i>Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa</i> in Balinese Hindu belief and regarded as a sacred divine figure.
2	Dewa	A divine being worshipped in Balinese Hinduism and closely related to religious beliefs and spiritual life.
3	Bidadari	A heavenly maiden believed to live in heaven according to Hindu belief and often appears in Balinese folktales.
4	Kedis Manuk Dewata	A sacred bird associated with divine beings and considered a symbol of spirituality in Balinese culture.

As shown in Table 2, the expressions classified as religious culture mainly refer to sacred figures, supernatural beings, and religious concepts that are closely related to Balinese Hinduism. Although only four examples are presented in the table, they represent the characteristics of the twelve religious culture expressions identified in the data.

Among these expressions, *Ida Batara Guru* is one of the most important religious terms because it refers to a sacred figure in Balinese Hindu belief. Likewise, *Dewa* represents divine beings who play an important role in Balinese religious traditions. Meanwhile, *Bidadari* and *Kedis Manuk Dewata* represent supernatural beings that frequently appear in Balinese folklore and reflect the strong influence of Hindu mythology in the story.

These expressions are considered culture-specific because they represent concepts that are unique to Balinese culture and are not commonly found in English-speaking communities. Most of them do not have direct lexical equivalents in English, making them difficult to translate. Therefore, the translator needs to select appropriate translation procedures to transfer not only the lexical meaning but also the cultural and religious values contained in each expression.

## Category of Social Culture

Table 3. Example of Social Social Expression Found in I Juragan Anom

No	Social -Specific Expression	Explanation
1	Balian	A traditional healer who performs healing through traditional knowledge, rituals, and spiritual practices in Balinese society.
2	Raden Mantri	A noble title referring to a person of high social status in the royal kingdom.
3	Juragan	A title used to refer to a respected person, merchant, or employer in the community.
4	Paman Punta	A form of address used to show kinship and respect toward an older male family member.
5	Kaulun	A respectful expression used by a person of lower social status when speaking to nobles or members of the royal family.
6	Parekan	A servant or attendant who serves members of the royal family or noble households.

In this study is social culture, consisting of six expressions, as presented in Table 3. Although this category contains fewer data than the other categories, it provides important information about the social system portrayed in *I Juragan Anom*. The expressions found in this category represent social relationships, occupations, forms of address, and social hierarchy that are closely related to Balinese society.

These expressions are considered culture-specific because they represent social concepts that are unique to Balinese culture. Most of them cannot be translated directly into English without losing part of their cultural meaning. For example, the word **balian** is more than simply a healer because it also reflects the traditional knowledge and religious beliefs associated with Balinese healing practices. Likewise, *kaulun* expresses humility and respect

toward people of higher social status, a concept that does not have an exact equivalent in English. These demonstrate how language functions as a marker of social identity, hierarchy, and respect in Balinese society. Therefore, the translator needs to apply appropriate translation procedures to preserve both the social meaning and the cultural values contained in these expressions.

### Category of Material Culture

Table 4. Example of Material Culture Expression Found in *I Juragan Anom*

No	Culture-Specific Expression	Explanation
1	Keris	A traditional Balinese dagger that functions not only as a weapon but also as a sacred object with historical and spiritual value.
2	Bale Bengong	A traditional Balinese pavilion used as a place to rest, relax, or receive guests.
3	Sok	A traditional woven basket commonly used by Balinese people to carry goods or agricultural products.
4	Kampil	A traditional woven container used to keep betel leaves and other traditional necessities.
5	Udeng	A traditional Balinese headcloth worn by men, especially during religious ceremonies and traditional events.
6	Prada	A decorative gold-colored ornament commonly used in traditional Balinese clothing and ceremonial objects.

The analysis identified material culture as the third largest category, consisting of eight expressions, as presented in Table 4. This category includes traditional objects, buildings, clothing, and cultural artifacts that are closely related to the daily life of Balinese people. These expressions represent tangible cultural heritage that reflects the identity and traditions of Balinese society.

Unlike ordinary objects, most material culture expressions contain meanings that go beyond their physical functions. For example, keris symbolize courage, honor, and spiritual protection, while udeng represents respect and is commonly worn during religious ceremonies. Similarly, prada is not merely a decorative ornament but also symbolizes beauty and sacredness in Balinese traditional art. These cultural meanings make material culture expressions difficult to translate directly into English because equivalent terms often describe only the physical object without representing its cultural significance.

Translators need to carefully select appropriate translation procedures when translating material culture expressions. In many cases, preserving the cultural identity of these objects is as important as transferring their lexical meaning. Appropriate translation procedures help target readers understand the general meaning of the expressions while maintaining the cultural values represented in the original Balinese text.

### Category of Custom Culture

Table 5. Example of Customs Expression Found in *I Juragan Anom*

No	Custom Specific Expression	Explanation
1	Matenung	A traditional Balinese practice of fortune telling or divination to seek guidance or predict future events.
2	Ngaturang Banten	The practice of offering ceremonial offerings to God and ancestral spirits as part of Balinese Hindu rituals.
3	Matur Piuning	A ritual performed to ask for permission and blessings before carrying out an important activity or religious ceremony.
4	Ngayah	A voluntary service performed sincerely by members of the community during religious ceremonies and traditional events.

The second largest category identified in this study is customs, consisting of ten expressions, as presented in Table 5. This category refers to traditional activities, ceremonies, and cultural practices that have been preserved by the Balinese community from one

generation to another. These expressions illustrate how religious beliefs are practiced in everyday life and demonstrate the close relationship between culture, tradition, and social values in Balinese society.

Unlike ordinary activities, these customs contain cultural and philosophical values that are closely connected with Balinese beliefs and traditions. They reflect values such as gratitude, harmony, togetherness, devotion, and respect for God, ancestors, and the surrounding community. Therefore, these expressions cannot always be translated literally because many of their meanings are deeply rooted in the cultural context of Balinese society.

For this reason, translators need to apply appropriate translation procedures when translating customs expressions into English. Besides transferring the lexical meaning, translators should also preserve the cultural values represented by these expressions so that the target readers can better understand the traditions and local wisdom reflected in the folktale.

### Translation Procedures

Table 6

Procedure	Frequency
Borrowing	15
Literal	10
Adaptation	8

As shown in Table 2, borrowing is the most frequently used translation procedure with 15 data. This shows that many culture-specific expressions in *I Juragan Anom* were kept in their original form because they are closely related to Balinese culture and do not have direct equivalents in English. By using borrowing, the translator kept the original terms so that the cultural meaning of the source text could still be recognized by the target readers.

The second procedure is literal translation, with 10 data. This procedure is used when the source language expression can be translated directly into English without changing its original meaning. In this procedure, the translator translates the expression word by word while keeping the meaning acceptable in the target language.

The last procedure found in this study is adaptation, with eight data. This procedure is used when the source language expression cannot be translated literally because of the differences between Balinese and English culture. In this case, the translator chooses an expression that is more familiar to English readers while still trying to convey the intended meaning of the source text.

The findings show that borrowing is the dominant translation procedure used in translating culture-specific expressions in *I Juragan Anom*. This means that many Balinese cultural expressions are maintained in their original form to preserve their cultural value. The following sections discuss each translation procedure by using examples taken from the data.

### Borrowing

Borrowing is the most frequently used translation procedure in this study, with a total of 15 data. This procedure is used when the translator keeps the original form of a culture-specific expression because there is no appropriate equivalent in the target language or because the original term carries an important cultural meaning.

#### Example 1

SL (Balinese): *Ngiring kone I Juragan Anom*

TL (English): *I Juragan Anom agreed*

In this example, the translator keeps the marker *I* in the character's name by using the borrowing procedure. In Balinese culture, *I* is a marker used for male names and forms part of the traditional Balinese naming system. Since English does not have an equivalent naming marker, the translator keeps the original form instead of replacing or omitting it.

This finding shows that borrowing is used to preserve the cultural identity of the source text. The name *I Juragan Anom* does not only identify the character but also reflects the Balinese naming tradition. If the marker *I* were omitted, an important cultural element of the

original text would be lost. Therefore, borrowing is considered the most appropriate procedure because it allows the translator to maintain the original cultural identity while making the text understandable for English readers.

### Example 2

SL (Balinese): *Sedek ida nangis, lantas teka kone dedarine ajak tetelu kautus antuk Ida Batara Guru.*

TL (English): *When she was crying, three fairies came sent by God Guru.*

In this example, the translator translates *Ida Batara Guru* into *God Guru*. The word *Guru* is kept in its original form, while *Batara* is translated into *God*. This shows that the translator still maintains part of the original expression because *Guru* refers to a specific figure in Balinese Hindu belief and does not have an exact equivalent in English.

In Balinese culture, *Ida Batara Guru* is one of the manifestations of *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* and has an important role in Balinese religious belief. Although the translation *God Guru* helps English readers understand that the expression is related to a divine figure, it does not fully represent the cultural meaning of *Ida Batara Guru*. The omission of the word *Ida*, which is an honorific title, also reduces the cultural value contained in the original expression. However, by keeping the word **Guru**, the translator still preserves an important cultural element of the source text.

### Literal Translation

Literal translation is the second most frequently used translation procedure in this study, with a total of 10 data. This procedure is used when a culture-specific expression can be translated directly into English without changing its original meaning. In most cases, the translator transfers the expression into the target language while keeping both the meaning and the grammatical structure acceptable.

### Example 1

SL (Balinese): *Lantas Ida ngandika teken I Punta, "Paman Punta, Paman Punta, anak uli ija se anake nyuun sok ento?"*

TL (English): *Then he talked to I Punta, "Uncle Punta, Uncle Punta, where does that woman with the basket come from?"*

In this example, the word *Paman* is translated into *Uncle* by using literal translation. The word *Paman* refers to the brother of one's father or mother, or the husband of one's aunt. Since English has the equivalent word *uncle*, the translator can translate the expression directly without changing its meaning.

This example shows that literal translation is appropriate because both Balinese and English share the same concept of family relationship. As a result, the cultural meaning of *Paman* can be transferred clearly to the target language without causing misunderstanding. Therefore, literal translation helps the translator maintain the original meaning while producing a natural expression in English.

### Example 2

SL (Balinese): *Inggih Ratu Raden Mantri. Titian kaulun cokor I dewa saking gunung*

TL (English): *Yes, My King, Raden Mantri. I'm your highness subject from the village.*

In this example, the word *Ratu* is translated into *my king* by using literal translation. In the context of the story, *Ratu* is a form of address used to show respect to a king or a person of high status. Since English has an equivalent expression, the translator translates it directly into *my king* without changing its meaning.

The translator also keeps the name *Raden Mantri* in its original form because it is a proper name. Therefore, the use of literal translation in the word *Ratu* helps transfer the intended meaning clearly while maintaining the original context of the story.

## Adaptation

Adaptation is the third translation procedure found in this study, with a total of eight data. This procedure is used when a culture-specific expression in the source language cannot be translated directly into the target language because there is no equivalent expression. In this situation, the translator chooses a word or expression that is more familiar to the target readers while still conveying the intended meaning of the source text. Although some cultural meanings may not be fully transferred, adaptation helps the target readers understand the message more easily. The following examples show how adaptation is used in translating culture-specific expressions found in *I Juragan Anom*.

### Example 1

SL (Balinese): *Kasuen-suen ia memarekan ditu, kacarita Ida Sang Prabu Koripan sungkan rahat tur kanti telah baliane wawengkon Koripanne ngaturang tamba.*

TL (English): *After having been a courtier for long, the King of Koripan fell seriously sick and all the healers in Koripan area presented medication.*

In this example, the translator translates *balian* into *healer* by using adaptation. The word *balian* refers to a traditional healer in Balinese culture who performs healing through traditional knowledge, rituals, and spiritual practices. In contrast, the word *healer* in English generally refers to a person who cures illness, either through natural or spiritual methods, without referring to a specific cultural tradition.

The translator chooses *healer* because English does not have an equivalent term that fully represents the meaning of *balian*. Although the translation does not cover all the cultural meanings associated with *balian*, it helps English readers understand the general role of the character in the story. Therefore, adaptation is considered an appropriate translation procedure because it transfers the intended meaning into a form that is more familiar to the target readers while still reflecting the main function of the original expression.

### Example 2

SL (Balinese): *Keto kone pengandikan Ida Raden Mantri tur lantas ida nimbus keris.*

TL (English): *That was what Raden Mantri said and took out a dagger.*

In this example, the translator translates *keris* into *dagger* by using adaptation. The word *keris* is a traditional weapon that has an important cultural meaning in Balinese society. Besides being used as a weapon, a *keris* is also considered a sacred object and is closely related to Balinese history, religion, and cultural traditions.

The translator chooses the word *dagger* because there is no equivalent term in English that fully represents the meaning of *keris*. Although *dagger* and *keris* have similar functions as weapons, the cultural and spiritual meanings of *keris* cannot be fully transferred into English. However, the use of *dagger* helps English readers understand the general meaning of the expression. Therefore, adaptation is considered an appropriate translation procedure because it conveys the intended meaning while making the translation easier for the target readers to understand.

### Example 3

SL (Balinese): *Ida Raden Mantri Koripan malinggih di bale bengong kairing baan I Punta.*

TL (English): *Raden Mantri Koripan was sitting in the resting pavilion.*

In this example, the translator translates *bale bengong* into *resting pavilion* by using adaptation. A *bale bengong* is a traditional Balinese pavilion that is commonly used as a place to rest, relax, or receive guests. Since this cultural term does not have a direct equivalent in English, the translator chooses *resting pavilion* to describe its main function.

Although the translation does not fully represent the cultural meaning of *bale bengong*, it helps English readers understand the purpose of the building in the story.

Therefore, adaptation is used to make the translation more understandable while still conveying the main idea of the source text.

## CONCLUSIONS

This study examined the culture-specific expressions found in the Balinese folktale I Juragan Anom and the translation procedures used to render them into English. The findings identified four categories of culture-specific expressions – religious culture, customs, material culture, and social culture – with religious culture occurring most frequently, reflecting the strong influence of Balinese beliefs and traditions. The analysis also revealed that borrowing, literal translation, and adaptation were the primary translation procedures, with borrowing being the most dominant because many Balinese cultural concepts lack direct English equivalents. These findings demonstrate that translating culture-specific expressions requires balancing linguistic accuracy with cultural preservation to maintain the authenticity of the source text while ensuring comprehensibility for target readers. The study contributes to translation studies by providing insights into the relationship between translation procedures and cultural meaning in literary texts. Practically, the findings may assist translators in selecting appropriate procedures for culturally bound expressions, support educators in teaching literary translation and intercultural communication, and provide researchers with a foundation for investigating culture-specific expressions across other Indonesian literary works and regional traditions.

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