

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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ISLAM AND MODERN SCHOOL EDUCATION  
IN JOURNAL *PENGASUH*:  
REVIEW OF THE *KAUM MUDA - KAUM TUA* DICHOTOMY

Hiroko Kushimoto

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‘TIES THAT WOULD DIVIDE’:  
EXPLAINING THE NU’S EXIT FROM MASYUMI IN 1952

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FROM KITAB MALAY TO LITERARY INDONESIAN:  
A CASE STUDY IN SEMANTIC CHANGE

Peter G. Riddell

# **STUDIA ISLAMIKA**



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Peter G. Riddell

## From Kitab Malay to Literary Indonesian: A Case Study in Semantic Change

**Abstract:** *This paper discusses semantic movement as evidenced in Malay/Indonesian Islamic texts. The primary text in focus provides an example of 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili's Malay commentary on the Quran, Tarjumān al-Mustafid, produced around 1675. The study of the lexical data from this text is informed by comparative reference to three modern Indonesian texts of Sūrah Yūsuf: Mahmood Joenoes' rendering (1954), the official Indonesian government rendering drawn from Al-Quraan dan Terjemahnya (1974), and H.B. Jassin's rendering (1978). The goal of this paper will be to answer two questions. First, the semantic range of certain lexical items used in the 'Abd al-Ra'uf Quran commentary compare with the norms of late 20<sup>th</sup> century literary Indonesian. Second, the semantic change of differences identified in this comparative process.*

**Keywords:** Kitab Malay, semantic change, *Sūrah Yūsuf*, modern Indonesian, lexical items.



**Abstrak:** Artikel ini membahas pergeseran arti semantik sebagaimana terlihat dalam teks-teks Islam Indonesia/Melayu. Teks utama yang menjadi fokus studi ini adalah komentar Quran berbahasa Melayu, *Tarjumān al-Mustafid*, karya 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkili yang ditulis sekitar tahun 1675. Kajian terhadap data kosa kata dari teks ini diperoleh melalui referensi komparatif terhadap tiga teks Indonesia modern atas *Sūrah Yūsuf*: karya Mahmoed Joenoes (1954), tafsir resmi pemerintah Indonesia dalam *Al-Quraan dan Terjemahnya* (1974), dan karya H.B. Jassin (1978). Tujuan artikel ini adalah untuk menjawab dua persoalan. Pertama, ragam semantik dari butir-butir leksikal tertentu yang digunakan dalam komentar Quran 'Abd al-Ra'ūf dibandingkan dengan norma-norma kesusastraan berbahasa Indonesia pada akhir abad ke-20. Kedua, perubahan semantik dalam perbedaan-perbedaan yang teridentifikasi melalui proses perbandingan.

**Kata kunci:** Kitab Melayu, pergeseran semantik, *Sūrah Yūsuf*, Indonesia modern, butir-butir leksikal.

**الخلاصة:** يبحث هذا المقال في تحول المعنى الدلالي كما ظهر في النصوص الإسلامية الاندونيسية/ الملايو، وكانت النصوص الرئيسية التي هي محور هذه الدراسة هي تفسير القرآن باللغة الملايوية بعنوان *ترجمان المستفيد* لعبد الرؤوف السنكلي الذي ألفه حوالي عام ١٦٧٥م، وكانت دراسة المفردات لهذه النصوص من خلال مراجع مقارنة مع ثلاثة نصوص اندونيسية حديثة في تفسير سورة يوسف لمحمود يونس (١٩٥٤م) والتفسير الرسمي للحكومة الاندونيسية ضمن *Al-Quraan dan Terjemahnya* (١٩٧٤م) وكذلك من مؤلفات ه ب ياسين (١٩٧٨م)، يستهدف هذا المقال الاجابة عن سؤالين: اولهما نوعية الدلالات من بنود المعاجم التي كان يستخدمها عبد الرؤوف السنكلي في تفسير القرآن مقارنة مع المعايير الأدبية للغة الاندونيسية في أواخر القرن العشرين الميلادي؛ وثانيهما تبدل الدلالات في الاختلافات المحددة أثناء المقارنة.

**الكلمات الاسترشادية:** كتاب الملايو، تغير الدلالات، سورة يوسف، اندونيسيا الحديثة، بنود المعاجم.

The topic of semantic change has attracted much attention from language analysts down the centuries. Indeed, the science of word meaning and how meaning can alter over time was considered an important item of discussion among the ancient Greeks, and remained in focus until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Structuralist revolution, which owes so much to Ferdinand de Saussure (d. 1916), led to a decrease in attention to diachronic linguistics in favour of synchronic analysis. Twentieth century linguistics settled on the view that historical evolution in language use was of secondary importance to language function at a particular point in time. As a result, focused studies of semantic change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as those of Meillet,<sup>1</sup> Stern<sup>2</sup> and Ullmann,<sup>3</sup> gradually diminished in number as the winds of linguistic fashion blew in other directions.

The turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has witnessed some resurgence in interest in the study of semantic change,<sup>4</sup> though it is still considered very much to be a secondary sub-discipline within linguistics. Nevertheless, with the wealth of eclecticism in modern linguistics, it is appropriate to pursue such relatively specialised areas in the context of specific regional interests. Our attention in this paper thus falls on semantic movement as evidenced in several Malay/Indonesian Islamic texts.

The analysis which follows is based on renderings into Malay/Indonesian of the *Sūrah Yūsuf* from the Quran. The time parameters for our study span around 300 years.

The primary text in focus provides an example of 17<sup>th</sup> century Kitab Malay (KM). It is 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkili's Malay commentary on the Quran, *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* (TM), produced in Aceh around 1675 and available in both manuscript and published form. For our purposes we will consult a particular manuscript of this work, Jakarta MS ML 322. This is a fragment of the 'Abd al-Ra'ūf commentary, beginning at Sura 6: 124 and ending abruptly at Sura 17: 111. It contains several lacunae. This manuscript was collected in Aceh by a certain Major-General G.C.E. Van Daalen around 1901.<sup>5</sup>

The study of the lexical data from Jakarta MS ML 322 is informed by comparative reference to two sets of control texts. First, reference is made to five literary works in Malay originating from Aceh in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The first four are the following well-known Court Malay texts: <sup>6</sup>

1. *Hikayat Aceh* (HA); <sup>7</sup>
2. *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (BS); <sup>8</sup>
3. *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya* (MH); <sup>9</sup>
4. *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* (TS).<sup>10</sup>

The fifth is ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s *Daqā’iq al-Ḥurūf* (DH),<sup>11</sup> selected to provide us with a point of comparison from the author’s broader corpus of writing.

The second set of control texts is provided by two modern Indonesian renderings of *Sūrah Yūsuf*:

1. the official Indonesian government rendering drawn from *Al-Quraan Dan Terjemahnya*, which was completed in 1974; <sup>12</sup>
2. H.B. Jassin’s Indonesian rendering of the Quran, entitled *Quranu’l-Karim – Bacaan Mulia*, which appeared in 1978.<sup>13</sup>

Gustav Stern defines semantic change in the following terms:

“I define change of meaning as the habitual modification, among a comparatively large number of speakers, of the traditional semantic range of the word, which results from the use of the word to denote one or more referents which it has not previously denoted, or to express a novel manner of apprehending one or more of its referents.”<sup>14</sup>

This definition poses a dilemma. Stern mentions the role of “a comparatively large number of speakers” in bringing about a change of meaning. We should therefore consider whether the language used in the ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf commentary, or indeed in the control texts contemporaneous with ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s commentary, reflects that used by “a comparatively large number of speakers” in seventeenth century Malaya and Sumatra.

The Kitab Malay used in the ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf Quran no doubt differed in many significant respects from the spoken language employed in everyday situations at that time. However, surviving evidence of spoken Malay from the 17<sup>th</sup> century is scarce. One of the few documents surviving from 17<sup>th</sup> century Aceh purporting to contain authentic spoken Malay is the *Spraeck ende Woord-boek* of Frederick de Houtman,<sup>15</sup> though the reliability of this document as a record of the spoken language from the period has been disputed.<sup>16</sup>

We therefore need to draw on examples of literary Malay and, given our interest in religious texts, we can consider Malay commentary on

the Quran. However, such written works did not have the means of widespread distribution in the seventeenth century that they have today, so the audience was limited. Moreover, the authors, in translating from Arabic source texts, used techniques of formal correspondence which resulted in the language being in many ways Arabic in syntax and Malay in vocabulary.<sup>17</sup> During the course of the analysis which follows, cases will be presented where certain Arabic lexical items, particularly prepositions, were rendered by an “equivalent” word in Kitab Malay at all times, without regard to contextual suitability. Such renderings may well have seemed foreign to the linguistic intuitions of Malay speakers of the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, these various hurdles should not deter us from our task. As such a language variant seems to have been the norm for translations of religious texts at the time, it had a place among the various styles of Malay, and might be regarded as a kind of Malay religious dialect. Its degree of usage in religious texts makes it a valid object of study, especially in connection with a set of control texts dating from around the same period. As our study proceeds, we will need to be sensitive to the extent to which ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s Kitab Malay is idiosyncratic vis-à-vis Malay usage as evidenced by our control texts.

Therefore, our goal in this present research paper will be to answer three specific questions. First, how does the semantic range of certain lexical items used in the ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf Quran commentary compare with the evidence available from the Court Malay control texts? Second, how does the semantic range of these lexical items compare with the norms of late 20<sup>th</sup> century literary Indonesian (BI), based on renderings of the same original Arabic text? Third, can differences identified in these comparative processes be explained in terms of semantic change?

### **Previous Models**

Russell Jones devoted some attention to the matter of semantic change occurring in the process of loan words entering BI from Arabic.<sup>18</sup> His examples fall naturally into two groups: those involving semantic expansion, and those involving semantic narrowing. Jones’ data can be tabulated as follows:

Arabic form	Arabic meaning	Indonesian form	Indonesian meaning	Semantic expansion / narrowing
<i>'aql</i>	intelligent	<i>akal</i>	intelligent + a sly trick	expansion
<i>ghalaṭ</i>	error, mistake	<i>ralat</i>	error + to correct	expansion
<i>kalima</i>	word	<i>kalimat</i>	sentence	expansion
<i>amal</i>	action	<i>amal</i>	a charitable act	narrowing
<i>kitāb</i>	book	<i>kitab</i>	a religious book	narrowing
<i>ṭābīb</i>	physician, doctor	<i>tabib</i>	local physician without formal training in medicine	narrowing
<i>kullīya</i>	faculty, college, institute	<i>kuliah</i>	lecture	narrowing

This analysis provides us with a useful jumping off point in our own research.

### Analytical Frameworks

Two decisions need to be taken at the outset regarding models to be followed in classifying the data. First, how will the different processes of semantic change be explained? Second, how will the lexical data from the Malay-Indonesian be presented?

On the first count, the framework for semantic change analysis used in this paper draws on that developed by Gustav Stern. Certain factors work in favour of the Stern model. It is empirically based, and was developed from a vast collection of linguistic data. Moreover, it pays considerable attention to sub-categorization, an important fact given the complexities of the processes of semantic change. Finally, given our primary interest in the Malay-Indonesian data, it would not have been appropriate to develop a new system of semantic

change analysis, which would be a substantial study in its own right.

The categorisations used by the Stern model will be presented in conjunction with the analysis of examples which follows.

As for method of presenting the lexical data, Stern uses parts of speech categories at various stages to classify subdivisions within sense-change groups. This is convenient, as the data from Malay-Indonesian presented in the discussion which follows lends itself to classification along the lines of parts of speech categories.

We are then faced by the decision as to how to categorise word classes in Malay. Various options present themselves. Older grammars of Malay, such as those by Winstedt<sup>19</sup> and Lewis<sup>20</sup> draw heavily on semantic categories inherited from traditional studies of ancient and modern European languages. This approach has been reflected in many more recent studies of Malay-Indonesian grammar, such as that by Verhaar<sup>21</sup> as well as Indonesian language studies such as that by the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.<sup>22</sup>

Certain other studies of Malay-Indonesian reflect a willingness to allow the linguistic data to speak for itself, rather than shoe-horning Malay-Indonesian into word class typologies which are principally based on Latin. Hence Macdonald<sup>23</sup> considers his Indonesian words according to nominals (pronouns, nouns, numeratives, counter nouns, determiners), predicatives (verbs, adjectives), adjuncts, ordinator, connectives, subordinators, and adverbials. Keraf<sup>24</sup> first presents the traditional typology based on Latin, then his own alternative model, based on Nominals, Verbals, Adjectivals, and Function Words.<sup>25</sup>

The Malaysian linguist Asmah Haji Omar reduces word classes in Malay-Indonesian to a threefold system:

- nominals (nouns, pronouns, numerals)
- verbals (verbs, adjectives, aspect verbs, modal verbs)
- function words (“the absence of any morphological characteristics in these words serves as a criterion in distinguishing them from the other classes.”)<sup>26</sup>

The neatness of Omar’s system, plus its success in rationalising yet still making helpful use of more traditional Latin-based typologies, leads us to select it for the analysis of semantic change in the following pages.

### *A Note on Terminology*

The discussion of semantic change which follows will draw upon three important terms: sign, sense and referent. They are the three points of a triangle of meaning, made famous by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century linguists Ogden & Richards.<sup>27</sup> They argued that meaning is not linear but occurs through an indirect process. Words (or signs) relate to concepts (or senses) which are also related to real world objects and events (or referents). A connection between a sign and its referent is arbitrary, and the linking sense –the apex of the triangle of meaning– may well change over time. Such change is termed semantic change.

As we consider individual examples of semantic change, we will make use of these three terms, seeking to clarify the process through which the sense evoked by particular signs and referents changes over time.<sup>28</sup>

### **Nominals**

While many examples were identified in our study of semantic movement in nouns, none could be found that applied to pronouns or numerals, the other sub-categories of the group of nominals.

#### *Sense Change Influenced by Arabic*

A case of semantic change concerns the word *sakin*, which was borrowed from Arabic and underwent subsequent sense change during the period between the use of *sakin* in TM and *sikin* in BI.

#### **Example 1**

Wa A'tadat Lahunna Muttaka'an ...	Q12: 31 <sup>29</sup>
...disenggerahakannya bagi mereka itu suatu makanan (jenis yang dikerat-kerat dengan sakin) ...	TM12: 31
and she prepared for them food (of the kind which was cut with knives) ...	

Although the general meaning of “knife” has remained constant, sense change resulted from the changing form of knives over the years. Stern refers to this process of semantic change through evolving form of a referent as **substitution**.<sup>30</sup>

The ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf text employs *madinah* in an equivalent sense with BI *kota* at several places.

**Example 2**

Wa Qāla Niswatun Fī Al-Madīnati ...	Q12: 30
<i>Dan telah berkata segala perempuan dalam madinat ...</i>	TM12: 30
And the women in the city said ...	

However, in the four Court Malay control texts consulted, *Madinat* occurs on many occasions, with all referring specifically to the city of the Prophet in Arabia, such as the following:

**Example 3**

<i>... setelah sudah naik haji maka ia datang ke Medinah yang mulia itu. Maka duduk ia dalam mesjid nabi ...</i>	AC 239: 10
... after joining the pilgrimage he arrived in the noble Medina. Then he sat down in the mosque of the Prophet ...	

Similarly in BI the only time *Madinat* is used is to refer to the holy city. Thus the evidence suggests that in the Court Malay period, the term *Madinat* assumed a narrow specific sense, which has carried through to BI. However ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s usage reflects influence on the semantic domain of the word from the original Arabic text, involving a measure of semantic expansion compared with Court Malay norms.

The texts under analysis revealed several examples of loan translations, or calques, in the noun category. Such is the case of *kesudahan keras tubuhnya*, used to mean “adulthood” in the ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf text:

**Example 4**

Wa Lammā Balagha Ashuddahu ...	Q12: 22
<i>Maka tatkala sampailah ia kepada kesudahan keras tubuhnya ...</i>	TM12: 22
When he grew to adulthood ...	

This expression does not appear in either the Court Malay control texts or in BI, with the modern Qurans consulted using *dewasa* in this context.

The Arabic influence in the KM expression is clear, as *kesudahan keras tubuhnya* is a literal translation of *Balagha ashuddahu*, used in the Arabic original. Thus ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf has engaged in creative sense expansion in developing a new term. However, the term did not survive, with total sense loss being the result.



The use of *bumi* provides us with a further example of sense change under the influence of Arabic through a process of correlative analogy.<sup>31</sup> The word *bumi* was originally general, signifying earth, as indicated in the following quotations from classical Malay texts originating from Aceh:

### Example 5

<i>... maka dirasa baginda itu bumi bergerak seperti digerak gempa rasanya ...</i>	HA 211: 3
His Majesty felt the earth move as in an earthquake ...	

### Example 6

<i>... maka sekalian malaikat-malaikat di bumi dan di langit tercenganglah pada rupa Adam itu ...</i>	TS 43: 10
... all the angels on the earth and in the heavens were amazed at the form of Adam ...	

### Example 7

<i>... telah kami jadikan kamu khalifah di bumi ...</i>	BS 2: 13: 39
... We appointed you as vicegerent on the earth ...	

However, under the semantic influence of the Arabic word *ard*, which could signify both “earth” and “country”,<sup>32</sup> *bumi* was used to denote “country” in *Tarjumān al-Mustafid*, as seen in the following quotations:

### Example 8

Aqtulū Yūsufa Awi Aṭraḥūhu Arḍan ...	Q12: 9
<i>Bunuh oleh kamu Yusuf itu atau buanglah oleh kamu akan dia pada bumi yang jauh</i>	TM12: 9
Kill Joseph or expel him to a distant land ...	

### Example 9

Wa Kadhālika Makkannā Liyūsufa Fi Al-Ardi ...	Q12: 56
<i>Dan seperti telah kami beri nikmat atas Yusuf (dengan lepas daripada penjara, telah kami tetapkan bagi Yusuf di dalam bumi (Mesir) ...</i>	TM12: 56
In this way did we favour Joseph (by freeing him from prison, before settling Joseph) in the land (of Egypt) ...	

However, this more specific sense of “country” disappeared with time and no longer applies in BI. The two processes of sense change affecting *bumi* could be shown in diagrammatic form as follows.

**Figure 1: Sense Change through Correlative Analogy**

Arabic	-->	TM	-->	BI
Arḍ earth country	Sense change: TM word identical with primary sense of Arabic. Secondary sense assumed through correlative analogy.	bumi earth country	Sense change; narrowing through disappearance of sense assumed from Arabic	Bumi = earth

*Sense Change due to non-Arabic Forces*

Several instances were found where sense change due to non-Arabic influences is evident in nouns.

Reference to several texts from Aceh suggest that *manusia* was polysemous in 17<sup>th</sup> century Malay; it had both a generic and a specific sense, signifying both “mankind” as well as specific people. This is seen in the following examples:

**Example 10**

<i>... segala isi negeri itu daripada manusyia dan gajah dan daripada segala binatang...</i>	HA 234: 7
... all the inhabitants of that land including people and elephants and all kinds of animals ...	

**Example 11**

<i>... Hakim itu pergi pada tempat sekalian manusia ada berhimpun hendak mengadap Raja Nushirwan ...</i>	TS 93: 23
... the Judge went to where all the people had gathered to see King Nushirwan ...	

**Example 12**

... dan memberi manfaat akan segala manusia, seperti sabda Nabi s. m...	BS 2: 13: 39
... and giving benefit to all mankind, as was said by the Prophet ...	

Reflecting this polysemous usage in Acehnese court Malay, we find *manusia* being used both generically and specifically in the writing of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf. We will consider examples from 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's *Daqā'iq al-Hurūf* as well as his *Tarjumān al-Mustafid*:

**Example 13**

... Maka pada hadrat itu bedza setengahnya daripada setengahnya maka bumi dengan rupa buminya dan langit dengan rupa langit, dan binatang dengan rupa binatangnya dan manusia dengan rupa manusianya ...	DH <sup>33</sup>
...and at that grade differentiation has taken place, so that the earth has its own particular form and so has the sky; likewise the beasts, man, the jinn, the angels, and the rest of creation, with everything in its own shape at that... <sup>34</sup>	

**Example 14**

La'ālli Arji'ū Ilá An-Nāsi La'allahum Ya'lamūna	Q12: 46
Mudah-mudahan aku kembali kepada segala manusia. Mudah-mudahan mereka itu tabu (akan takbirnya).	TM12: 46
This is in order that I may return to the people so that they may understand (its meaning).	

In Example 13, *manusia* is used in a generic sense. However, in Example 14 *manusia* refers to *Baginda dan pembesar-pembesarnya*<sup>35</sup> and is clearly not signifying the generic concept of humanity.

Thus in 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's KM *manusia* was polysemous, reflecting usage in the Court Malay texts. However, a process of semantic narrowing affected this term over time, as in BI *manusia* can only be used in a generic sense to signify *makhluk yang berakal budi (sebagai lawan binatang)*.<sup>36</sup>

We saw in earlier discussion sense change through substitution in the

case of the loan word *sikin*. Two further examples of substitution not involving Arabic loan words concern the terms *bendaharaan* and *kasih*.

### Example 15

Qāla Aj'alnī 'Alá Khazā'ini Al-Ardī	Q12: 46
<i>Kata (Yusuf): "Jadikan olehmu aku memerintahkan segala bendarahaan tanah (Mesir)".</i>	TM12: 46
(Joseph) said: "Place me in charge of all the storage facilities in the country (of Egypt)."	

### Example 16

Layūsufu Wa Akhūhu Aḥabbu Ilá Abīnā Minnā	Q12: 8
<i>Niscaya Yusuf dan saudaranya (seindung dengan dia bernama Bunyamin itu) terlebih kekasih kepada bapa kita ...</i>	TM12: 8
Truly Joseph and his brother (of the same womb, namely Benjamin) are more beloved by our father.	

As for *bendaharaan*,<sup>37</sup> the forms and functions of storage facilities have changed over the centuries. Nevertheless, the term has survived. This is a case of sense change through substitution, due to the change in form of the referent.

Similarly the changing connotations associated with the use of *kasih* could be seen as substitution, with associated semantic narrowing. The 'Abd al-Ra'ūf commentary used *kekasih* to refer to the love of a father for (an adult) son. In the Court Malay texts consulted, *kasih* is used as a general term to indicate affection:

### Example 17

<i>Sebermula barangsiapa tiada kasih akan Abu Bakar as-Siddik dan Umar dan Usman dan Ali ...</i>	MH 13: 154
Whoever does not love Abu Bakr as-Siddik and Umar and Uthman and Ali ...	

This is no longer the sense of the word in BI,<sup>38</sup> where it more commonly refers to romantic love or the love of parents for their small children.

## Verbals

### Verbs

#### *Sense Change Influenced by Arabic*

Several cases of sense change through substitution occurred with verbal loan words, brought about by a change in the attitude of speakers towards the words concerned. When a foreign word is adopted by Indonesian-Malay, the initial phoneme does not assimilate with the relevant *me-* form of the verbal prefix as long as the word is still considered primarily as a foreign word. However, when linguistic intuitions tell speakers that the word is no longer foreign, then the first phoneme of the root assimilates with the *me-* prefix.

Consider the forms of the loan words *khabar* and *faham* in the following examples:

#### Example 18

Wa Qāla Al-Maliku...	Q12: 50
<i>Dan berkata raja (tatkala datang kepadanya pesuruh mengkhabarkan ta'bir mimpi itu ...)</i>	TM12: 50
And the king said (when the courier informed him of the meaning of the dream ...)	

#### Example 19

La'allakum Ta'qilūna	Q12: 2
<i>Mudah-mudahan kamu (hai orang Mekkah) memfahamkan (segala ma'nanya).</i>	TM12: 2
So that you (O Meccans) may understand (the full meaning).	

In this context, there is evidence that a change in attitude towards the terms *khabar* and *faham* has occurred since 'Abd al-Ra'ūf wrote his works. In BI the standard terms *mengabarkan* and *memahami* show that the initial consonant of the root has been assimilated within the *me-* prefix. While the semantic content has not changed, the speaker's attitude towards the word has changed, hence sense change through substitution.<sup>39</sup> This can be represented in diagrammatic form as follows:

**Figure 2: Semantic Change through Substitution in Loan Words**

Arabic	-->	TM	-->	BI
kabar faham	Borrowing	mengkhabarkan memfahamkan	Sense change; process of acceptance as local word	mengabarkan memahamkan

*Sense Changes due to non-Arabic Forces*

Metaphor is a device for making use of sense change for particular literary effect. Stern regards metaphors as belonging within his sense change category of nominations, signifying sense change caused by a speaker intentionally allocating a name to a referent which has not been used with the referent previously.

Several instances of metaphorical usage occur in Sura 12 of *Tarjumān al-Mustafid*. Particular instances concern the use of the terms *berlayar*, *tergelincir*, *dihias* and *dibangsakan*.

*Berlayar* literally means “to sail” but is used to signify “to travel on land” in *Tarjumān al-Mustafid*. The context is as follows:

**Example 20**

Wa Jāʾat Sayyāratun ...	Q12: 19
<i>Dan telah datang segala orang yang berlayar (dari Negeri Madyan ke Negeri Mesir. Maka turun mereka itu hampir telaga itu) ...</i>	TM12: 19 <sup>40</sup>
There arrived a group of travellers (going from Madyan to Egypt. They stopped near the well) ...	

This usage is also suggested in other Acehnese Malay texts of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as is attested by the following example from the *Bustān al-Salaṭīn*:

**Example 21**

<i>... Setelah berapa bulan lamanya belayar itu di jalan, maka sampailah ke negeri Pahang ...</i>	BS 2: 13: 54
... After several months of travel, they arrived in Pahang ...	

It is likely that this usage of *belayar* originated from metaphorical beginnings. As such, initially the metaphor would have caused sense expansion. But narrowing of sense subsequently occurred, as this is an unlikely metaphor in BI, where *berlayar* has the more restricted sense of “to sail”.

Another instance concerns the term *tergelincir*, the literal sense of which is illustrated in the following example from the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya*:

### Example 22

<i>... ditangkiskannya dengan perisainya. Maka tergelincir daripada perisainya, kena leher kuda ...</i>	MH 33: 131
... he warded him off with his shield. Then he slid from his shield, striking the horse's neck ...	

This verb was used metaphorically in *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* to signify “to commit evil, fall into error”. The context is as follows:

### Example 23

Wa Mā Ubarri’u Nafsī	Q12: 53
<i>Dan tiada aku menyucikan diriku (daripada tergelincir).</i>	TM12: 53
And I do not absolve myself (from sliding into error).	

This metaphorical use of *tergelincir* can also be found in other writings by ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf:

### Example 24

<i>Dan jangan diambil kepada zahirnya, karena zahirnya tempat tergelincir segala orang yang am.</i>	DH <sup>41</sup>
Do not take these words literally, for it is literal interpretations that cause mishaps to the indiscriminating. <sup>42</sup>	

In BI *tergelincir* signifies *terpeleset karena licin*, in a physical sense. Nevertheless, such a metaphor could conceivably occur in BI, with associated effect on the semantic domain of the term.

The verb *dihiasi* provides another instance of metaphorical usage. Its most common meaning in 17<sup>th</sup> century Malay texts is as occurs in the following example, taken from the *Hikayat Aceh*:

**Example 25**

... dan dihiasinya istananya dan dihiasinya segala yang patut berhias.	HA 19: 15
... and he decorated his palace and all that was appropriate to decorate.	

Metaphorical use of this term appears in the following context in *Tarjumān al-Mustafid*:

**Example 26**

Qāla Bal Sawwalat Lakum Anfusukum Amran	Q12: 18
Maka kata (Ya'kub), "Tetapi dihiasi bagi kamu oleh segala nafsu kamu suatu pekerjaan ..."	TM12: 18
(Jacob) said: "But you have cooked something up in your minds ..."	

Here *dihiasi* signifies "to seduce, deceive", a metaphorical extension of its usual signification of "adorn, decorate".<sup>43</sup> Such a metaphorical usage does not exist in BI. So again we could propose that sense expansion through nomination initially occurred with the metaphorical usage in the KM text. This was followed by semantic narrowing with the loss of the expanded sense.

The final example of metaphorical usage to be presented here concerns the term *dibangsakan*. The example in the 'Abd al-Ra'ūf text is as follows:

**Example 27**

Inilah Surah Yusuf yang dibangsakan pada Negeri Mekkah ...	TM12: introduction
This is the chapter of Joseph collected in Mecca ...	

The form *dibangsakan* does not occur at all in our Court Malay control texts. It appears as a form in the *Muhimmāt al-nafā'is*,<sup>44</sup> a late 19<sup>th</sup> century collection of *fatāwā*. Moreover *dibangsakan* occurs in BI, though it is extremely rare, and signifies *memasukkan dalam bangsa*.<sup>45</sup> Therefore we deduce that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's usage of *dibangsakan* to refer to "the compiling of a written text" is a metaphorical innovation of the author.



### Adjectives

An example of semantic change affecting adjectives concerns the word *keras*, used in a manner in *Tarjumān al-Mustafid* which would be unusual in BI:

#### Example 28

Yā Ṣāhibayi As-Sijni A'arbābun Mutafarriqūna Khayrun Ami Allāhu Al-Wāḥidu Al-Qahhāru	Q12: 39
<i>Hai dua tolanku yang di dalam penjara. Segala tuhan yang berceraiakah terlebih baik atau Allah T'ala yang Esa yang amat keras?</i>	TM12: 39
O my two fellow prisoners! Is it best (to worship) multiple gods who differ or the One Omnipotent God?	

The term *keras* is used to render Arabic *Qahhāru* in the phrase *Allāhu Al-Wāḥidu Al-Qahhāru*, meaning “the one, omnipotent God”. Jassin translates this phrase as ...*Tuhan yang Esa, yang Maha Perkasa*.

In BI, *amat keras* is not synonymous with *Maha Perkasa*. In BI *Tuhan yang keras* would refer to a Lord who was “harsh” rather than “powerful”.

An examination of our control texts suggests that *keras* was clearly polysemous in Acehese Court Malay.

#### Example 29

<i>Apabila masuk ia dalam api neraka yang maha keras hangatnya itu.</i>	TS 74: 5
When he entered the fires of Hell, of which the heat was most severe.	

This example from the *Tāj al-Salātīn* uses *keras* in a way which might be acceptable in BI. However, the following example from *Bustān al-Salātīn* uses *keras* in a way which alludes to just rule and power, and provides support for ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s usage.

#### Example 30

<i>... adil pada segala barang hukumnya, dan keras pada segala barang perintahnya.</i>	BS 2: 13: 25
... just in all his laws, and firm in all his commands.	

So although *keras* is polysemous in BI, it appears to have been more polysemous in 16<sup>th</sup> century Acehese Malay. Some narrowing of sense seems to have occurred between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## Function Words

### *Adverbs*

There were few examples of sense change in the adverb class in the data under analysis. There was, however, one clear case of Arabic semantic interference in ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s Malay.

The case in question concerns the use of *padahal*. This functions syntactically as a conjunction in BI but is used adverbially by ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf, as in the following two examples:<sup>46</sup>

#### Example 31

Wa Jā’ū Abāhum ‘Ishā’an Yabkūna	Q12: 16
<i>Dan datang mereka itu kepada bapa mereka itu yaitu pada petang-petang hari padahal mereka itu menangis.</i>	TM12: 16
Then they came weeping to their father in the early evening.	

#### Example 32

Qāla ...	Q12: 26
<i>Kata (Yusuf padahalnya melepaskan dirinya) ...</i>	TM12: 26
(Joseph) said (while freeing himself) ...	

In Example 31 ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf used *padahal* to render the Arabic ḥāl construction.<sup>47</sup> Example 32 is an exegetical gloss. This use of *padahal* is synonymous with BI *sambil* and *ketika* which are adverbs of time, rather than with BI *padahal*, which has the contrastive sense of “although”, “whereas”. This contrastive sense is also reflected in the following example from early Malay literature, taken from the *Tāj al-Salātīn*:

#### Example 33

<i>Betapa dapat kami mengadap raja padahal yang murka ia atas kami sekalian.</i>	TS 120: 22
How can we face the king who is furious with us all.	

The evidence points to two processes of sense change affecting the term *padahal*. First, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's usage of the term expanded its semantic domain, reflecting the influence of Arabic. This expanded sense was subsequently lost. The original sense change is of the analogical type of the Stern model where the new sense was borrowed from a foreign language.

### Conjunctions

The conjunctions *maka*, *dan* and *tetapi* seem to have undergone processes of sense change. We will first consider the case of *maka*:

#### Example 34

<i>Maka berepanalah sekalian meréka itu, maka ada daripada baluh repana itu daripada emas ...</i>	AC 147: 12
Then they all played the drums, and some of the drum frames were made of gold ...	

#### Example 35

<i>... maka makin sangatlah sakitnya itu, maka ada seorang tabib tuha dipanggilnya ...</i>	MH 4: 59
... as he became more ill, an aged physician was called ...	

These examples point to *maka* functioning primarily as a punctuation word in Acehnese Malay texts in the classical period. Lewis also refers to *maka* in this way, suggesting that its main role was to join one clause to the next.<sup>48</sup> This usage is even more clear in the following example from *Tarjumān al-Mustafîd*:

#### Example 36

Wa Jā'at Sayyāratun Fa'arsalū Wa Aridahum Fa'adlá Dalwahu Qāla ...	Q12: 19
<i>Dan telah datang segala orang yang berlayar ... (maka turun mereka itu hampir telaga itu). Maka disuruhkan mereka itu orang yang mengambil air, maka diulurkannya timbanya (di dalam telaga itu, maka bergantung kepadanya Yusuf, maka dikeluarkannya akan dia, maka tatkala dilihatnya ia) dikatanya ...</i>	TM12: 19

The travellers ... (stopped near the well). So one of their number was instructed to fetch water, and he lowered his bucket (down into the well. Joseph held onto it so he withdrew him. When he saw him he said...	
---	--

Winstedt comments that *maka* “connects principal sentences in rapid staccato narrative, marking each separate event of the whole.”<sup>49</sup> In fact, this usage of *maka* closely resembles that of the Arabic conjunction *fa*, though the resemblance was not a result of *fa* influencing usage of *maka*.

In contrast, the BI translations of Q12: 19 do not use *maka* with such a degree of freedom:

### Example 37

<i>Kemudian datanglah kelompok orang-orang musafir, lalu mereka menyuruh seorang pengambil air mereka, maka dia menurunkan timbanya, dia berkata ...</i>	<i>Al Quraan Dan Terjemahnya 12: 19</i>
Then a group of travellers arrived, whereupon they ordered one (of their number) to fetch them water, then he lowered his bucket and said ...	

In this case the translator is evidently committed to achieving a smoother style of translation, hence the use of *kemudian* and *lalu* in conjunction with *maka*.

With regard to sense change, *maka* assumed a more defined sense over the years. In both the Court Malay texts and ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s writing, its semantic content is limited; it serves as little more than a syntactic device joining two clauses which occur in succession. In BI, however, *maka* assumes an enhanced semantic identity and character of its own.

Sense change also occurred with the conjunctions *dan* and *tetapi*. Just as ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf rendered *fa* with *maka*, the Arabic conjunction *wa* was translated in a wholesale manner by *dan*. Two factors are relevant here.

First, *dan* is not used as regularly as *wa* in Arabic to begin sentences in the set of Court Malay control texts referred to. Thus ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s use of *dan* is aberrant within the context of Acehese Malay of the period. His use of *dan* was directly influenced by Arabic *wa*; it

became little more than a syntactic device used as a clause initiator. This usage did not have a lasting effect on the development of Malay, however, as use of *dan* in BI resembles conventions in the Court Malay texts.

Second, at several places in the text of the ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf commentary, we find that the Arabic conjunction *wa lakinna* has been translated by *dan tetapi*:<sup>50</sup>

### Example 38

Wa Allāhu Ghālibun ‘Alā Amrihi Wa Lakinna Akthara An-Nāsi Lā Ya‘lamūna	Q12: 21
<i>Bermula Allah Tā‘ala amat keras pekerjaannya ... dan tetapi kebanyakan manusia tiada tahu ...</i>	TM12: 21
And God is in control of his affairs but most people are not aware of this.	

This form does not occur at all in our four Court Malay control texts. Furthermore, it is ungrammatical in BI. It is a loan translation, and represents an idiosyncratic feature of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s writing.

### Prepositions

The manifestations of sense change within the class of prepositions are very similar to those affecting conjunctions. Moreover, the causes of the change are almost identical in the two groups, with Arabic semantic interference prominent in both. ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf generally linked each Malay preposition with an Arabic preposition, and used the Malay rendering wherever the Arabic word was encountered, without appropriate regard to contextual suitability.

The chart below indicates which Malay preposition was linked with each Arabic preposition in *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*. The individual examples demonstrate how, in effect, the Malay prepositions expanded in sense as a result of this assumption of equivalence.

**Figure 3: Arabic/TM/BI Preposition Equivalents**

Arabic preposition	TM “equivalent”	BI equivalents
‘alā	(di) atas	Kepada
Bi	Dengan <sup>51</sup>	Dengan/ atas

Li	Bagi	Kepada
Ilā	Kepada	Oleh/ke
Min/’an	Daripada	Daripada/ verb (e.g. <i>termasuk</i> )
Ma’a	Serta	Serta/ dengan/ dan
(accusative case)	akan	No preposition

### Atas

Van Ronkel indicates that the practice of translating *’alā* with *atas* often caused confusion for modern readers of translations from Arabic to KM, as *atas* is not always appropriate in context.<sup>52</sup>

#### **Example 39**

Wa Qālati Akhruj ‘alāyhinna	Q12: 31
<i>Dan dikatanya (bagi Yusuf), ‘Keluar engkau atas mereka itu, (hai Yusuf)’.</i>	TM12: 31
And she said (to Joseph): “Go out to them, (Joseph)”.	

#### **Example 40**

Wa Jā’ū ‘Alā Qamīsihi Bidamin Kadhībin	Q12: 18
<i>Telah dibawa mereka itu di atas baju (Yusuf kepada Yakub) darah yang mempunyai dusta.</i>	TM12: 18
And they put false blood on his shirt.	

In both these cases (*di*)*atas* is used to render Arabic *’alā*. The following examples from our Court Malay control texts provide further points of consideration:

#### **Example 41**

<i>... dinaiki hulubalang Acéh Dar as-Salam ke atas anjung itu.</i>	AC 66: 10
The nobles ascended Acéh Dar as-Salam to the furthest point ...	

#### **Example 42**

<i>Maka jatuh satu takar di atas batu pada hadapan mereka itu ...</i>	TS 77: 1
Then a drop fell on a stone in front of them ...	

These Court Malay control text examples suggest that *atas* was typically used to refer to physical location to or towards an object.

In this context, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s usage of *(di) atas* in Example 39 is aberrant, though his usage in Example 40 is more acceptable according to Court Malay norms. If these two examples were being rendered in BI, in neither case would *atas* be likely; *kepada* would be preferred.

Thus *atas* has undergone two processes of sense change. The first was brought about through sense adoption from the Arabic *‘alā*, resulting in *atas* being used in contexts in which it may not have been used in 17th century Court Malay texts. The second was sense narrowing, with the BI word *atas* having a sense range which is closer to the range of the Court Malay control texts than the TM *atas* itself.

This process also holds true for each of the prepositions examined below, except for *akan*. To this end, three examples of usage for each preposition will be given, and it will be shown in what way the Arabicized TM preposition would be unsuitable in BI. The first example will show the preposition’s non-Arabicized usage in Court Malay, the second will show the sense assumed in TM under Arabic influence, and the third will show the sense range of the word in BI, reflecting a process of semantic narrowing.

### Bagi

#### Example 43

<i>Kata yang empunya riwayat: maka ada bagi raja Indera Syah itu seorang isterinya bernama ....</i>	AC 1: 9
The distinguished person related a story: King Indera Syah had a wife whose name was ...	

#### Example 44

Wa Qāla Lilladhī	Q12: 42
<i>Dan berkata (Yusuf) bagi seorang daripada keduanya ...</i>	TM12: 42 <sup>53</sup>
And Joseph said to one of the two ...	

#### Example 45

<i>Pakaian ini bagi ayahmu.</i>	Poerwadarminta 1976: 73
These clothes are for your father.	

In both Court Malay and BI *bagi* is used to denote possession, or that something is for someone. However in TM ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf mechanically renders Arabic *qāla li* with *berkata bagi*. In the Court Malay control texts consulted, this combination does not occur at all; in contrast, the phrase *berkata kepada* appears dozens of times.<sup>54</sup> In BI, *kepada* would also be normal in such contexts. Thus once again ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s translation method, prioritising syntactic fidelity over semantic convention, has led to sense change in TM.

### Kepada

#### Example 46

<i>maka Marwan Hakim pun berkirim surat kepada Abu Bakar as-Siddik, demikian bunyinya ...</i>	MH 7: 13
Then Marwan Hakim sent a letter to Abu Bakar as-Siddik, which went as follows ...	

#### Example 47

Layūsufu Wa Akhūhu Aḥabbu Ilā Abīnā Minnā	Q12: 8
<i>...niscaya Yusuf dan saudaranya ... terlebih kekasih kepada bapa kita ...</i>	TM12: 8
Truly Joseph and his brother ... are more beloved by our father ...	

#### Example 48

<i>Kami ceritakan kepadamu kisah yang paling indah.</i>	<i>Bacaan Mulia 12: 3<sup>55</sup></i>
We will relate to you a most beautiful tale ...	

The Court Malay example from the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya* above uses *kepada* in a way which conforms with usage in BI. In Example 47, the sense of the Malay preposition in TM is again influenced by Arabic. ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf has again prioritised fidelity to Arabic syntax, rendering *aḥabbu ilā* mechanically by *terlebih kekasih kepada*. The result is alteration in the sense range of the Malay preposition *kepada*.<sup>56</sup>



Daripada**Example 49**

<i>Maka kemudian daripada berapa hari sultan Muda pun datang ...</i>	AC 281: 9
Then after a few days Sultan Muda arrived ...	

**Example 50**

Qāla Innī ... Akhāfu ‘An Ya’kulahu Adh-Dhi’bu Wa Antum ‘Anhu Ghāfilūna	Q12: 13
<i>Kata (Yakub), ‘Bahwasanya ... takut aku akan dia dimakan oleh harimau padahal kamu lalai daripadanya’</i>	TM12: 13
And (Jacob) said, “Truly ... I fear that a tiger will eat him while you are not watching over him ...”	

**Example 51**

<i>Cincin ini dibuat daripada emas.</i>	Poerwadarminta 1976: 229
This ring is made of gold.	

The Jassin Quran renders the final phrase of Q12: 13 with *sedang kamu lalai memperhatikannya*. ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s usage here is again reflecting influence from the Arabic preposition *‘an*. Elsewhere in his commentary Arabic *min* is mechanically rendered by *daripada*. The semantic influence on this Malay preposition from the Arabic prepositions *min* and *‘an* has also been noted by Van Ronkel.<sup>57</sup>

Akan**Example 52**

Fayakīdū Laka Kaydān	Q12: 5
<i>Maka diperdayakan mereka itu akan dikau dengan suatu yang meminasakan dikau ...</i>	TM12: 5
And they will deceive you with something which will destroy you ...	

**Example 53**

Qālū La’in Akalahu Adh-Dhi’bu Wa Naḥnu ‘Uṣbatun	Q12: 14
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<i>Kata mereka itu: 'Demi jikalau dimakan akan dia oleh harimau padahal kami jemaah ...</i>	TM12: 14
They said: "If a tiger were to devour him when we were large in number ...	

In the above examples drawn from TM, *akan* is used as an accusative case marker. This was a common feature of KM texts.<sup>58</sup> Our Court Malay texts also provide evidence of this usage of *akan*:<sup>59</sup>

#### Example 54

<i>Sebermula barangsiapa tiada kasih akan Abu Bakar as-Siddik dan Umar dan Usman dan Ali, ...</i>	MH 13: 154
Whoever does not love Abu Bakr as-Siddik and Umar and Uthman and Ali ...	

#### Example 55

<i>... lagi takut akan Allah dan sentiasa sembahyang lima waktu ...</i>	BS 2: 13: 73
... fear God and always pray five times ...	

#### Example 56

<i>Turut oleh kamu akan Allah dan akan Rasulullah ...</i>	TS 47: 17
Obey God and the Prophet ...	

However, *akan* could also be used in a dative sense in Court Malay:

#### Example 57

<i>Maka dikaruniai akan dia gelar Saif al-Muluk.</i>	AC 203: 6
Then he bestowed upon him the title of <i>Saif al-Muluk</i> .	

The default usage of *akan* is to signal future time; indeed, in BI it is a verbal, not a preposition:

#### Example 58

<i>Dan burung-burung akan memakan dari kepalanya ...</i>	<i>Bacaan Mulia</i> 12: 41 <sup>60</sup>
And the birds will eat from his head ...	

If the examples from *Tarjumān al-Mustafid* were rendered in BI, *akan* would be deleted in Example 52, with the pronoun *engkau* placed before the verb, while in Example 53, *akan* would be deleted and *dia* moved before the verb.

*Akan* serves as little more than a syntactic device in ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s translation. Its primary verbal usage in BI reflects significant semantic narrowing since the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## Conclusion

Previous studies of Kitab Malay of a substantial nature have tended to focus on syntactic rather than semantic issues. In this present article, however, we have turned our attention to semantics.

In this analysis of the various translations of the *Sūrah Yūsuf*, evidence has been found of sense change in all three macro word-class categories – nominals, verbals and function words – as well as in all but three sub-categories, namely interjections, numerals and pronouns.

It is important to note the inextricable link between syntax and semantics in forming our conclusions. Our study of semantic change can only be fully comprehended by considering syntactic factors as well. This reflects the mindset of the translator who prioritised syntactic fidelity over semantic convention. Thus decisions regarding the syntactic form of the translated text had a significant knock-on effect on the semantic features of the translated text. In broader terms, these decisions contributed to the semantic mosaic of Malay-Indonesian and its varieties.

An appropriate way to conclude this paper would be to draw up a summary list of the data we have assembled, along the lines of the table of Russell Jones’ data presented at the beginning of this paper.

Ar. form	Ar. meaning	Court Malay form	Court Malay meaning	TM form	TM meaning	Semantic process	BI form	BI meaning	Semantic process
Sakin	knife	Sakin	knife	Sakin	knife	Straight loan	sikin	knife	substitution
Madina	Town; Medina	Madina	Medina	Madina	Town; Medina	expansion	Madina	Medina	narrowing
Balagha ashuddahu	He grew to adulthood	Kesudahan keras tubuhnya	He grew to adulthood			Correlative analogy			Sense loss
Ard	Earth; country	bumi	Earth	bumi	Earth; country	Correlative analogy	bumi	earth	narrowing
		manusia	Mankind; people	manusia	Mankind; people		manusia	mankind	narrowing
		Per-bendaharaan	Storage facilities; treasures	bendaharaan	Storage facilities; treasures		Per-bendaharaan	Storage facilities; treasures	substitution
		Kasih	Love; affection (general)	Kasih	Love; affection (general)		Kasih	Love; affection (more specific)	Substitution + narrowing
Khabara	Inform	kabar	Inform	mengkhabarkan	Inform	Straight loan	mengabarkan	Inform	Acceptance as local rather than loan word
fahima	understand	faham	understand	memfahamkan	understand	Straight loan	memahamkan	Understand	Acceptance as local rather than loan word
		Belayar	To sail; to travel	Belayar	To sail; to travel	Original metaphor?	Belayar	To sail	Narrowing
		Tergelincir	To slip	Tergelincir	To slip; fall into error	Metaphor/nomination	Tergelincir	To slip	Narrowing



Some twenty-three words or phrases have been selected from 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's commentary on *Sūrah Yūsuf* to illustrate features of semantic change. Two dimensions to semantic change have been considered: Court Malay à 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Kitab Malay, and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Kitab Malay à Bahasa Indonesia.

In terms of the three questions asked at the outset, eight examples show alteration in the semantic domains of the particular Malay words between Court Malay usage and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Kitab Malay. All twenty-three examples show alteration in the semantic domains of the particular Malay words between 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Kitab Malay and modern Indonesian. A further six examples show alteration in the semantic domains of the particular Malay words between Court Malay usage and modern Indonesian.

It has been possible to explain these alterations in terms of semantic change, using Gustav Stern's model. The cases of semantic change between Court Malay and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Kitab Malay depend typically on sense expansion, mostly under the impact of correlative analogy, where Arabic semantics intrudes into the semantic range of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Kitab Malay, or metaphor. In contrast, most cases of semantic change between 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Kitab Malay and modern Indonesian are best explained in terms of sense narrowing or loss, with a small number of examples manifesting semantic change through substitution.

This study of semantics, when added to previous studies of syntax, provides the foundations for further research into Kitab Malay, a widely used but little studied variant of Malay found in religious texts translated from Arabic originals.

## Endnotes

1. A. Meillet, "Comment les Mots Changent de Sens", *L'Année Sociologique*, 1905-6, 1-38.
2. G. Stern, *Meaning and Change of Meaning, with special reference to the English language*, Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1965 [1931].
3. S. Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell, 1957 [1951].
4. Cf. Dirk Geeraerts, *Diachronic prototype Semantics: a contribution to historical lexicology*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1997; and Joachim Grzega & Marion Schöner, *English and general historical lexicology: materials for onomasiology seminars*, Eichstätt: Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, 2007.
5. Cf. *Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs Vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Batavia, vol. 39 (1901), 24.3.02: 30. Van Daalen lived 1863-1930, and ultimately rose to the rank of Lieutenant General, playing an important role in both the military and colonial administration, especially in connection with the Aceh war.
6. With thanks to the Malay Concordance Project maintained by the late Dr Ian Proudfoot at [www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/ahcen/proudfoot/MCP\\_/](http://www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/ahcen/proudfoot/MCP_/).
7. *De Hikajat Atjéh*, ed. Teuku Iskandar, 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1958. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde, deel 26.
8. Siti Hawa bin Haji Salleh (ed.), *Bustan al-Salatin*, 2nd edition, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992. [first edition 1966].
9. *The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah, a medieval Muslim-Malay romance*, ed. L.F. Brakel, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975. Bibliotheca Indonesica of KITLV, 12.
10. Bukhari al-Jauhari, *Taj al-Salatin*, ed. Khalid M. Hussain, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992. Edisi Pelajar.
11. A. H. Johns, "Daqā'iq al-Hurūf by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1955, 55-73 & 139-158.
12. *Al Quraan Dan Terjemahnya*, Jakarta: Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 1974.
13. H.B. Jassin, *Qurānū'l-Karīm – Bacaan Mulia*, Jakarta: Djambatan, 1978.
14. Stern, *Meaning and Change of Meaning*, 163.
15. Cf. Denys Lombard, *Le "Spraeck ende Woord-boek" de Frederick de Houtman: première méthode de malais parlé, fin du XVIIe s.*, Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1970.
16. Cf. G.W.J. Drewes, "De Invloed Van de Atjehse Omgeving op het Maleise Spraeck Ende Woord-Boek van Frederick de Houtman", BKI vol. 128 (1972), 447-457. Translated to Indonesian as *Pengaruh lingkungan Aceh terhadap penyusunan kamus bahasa Melayu "spraeck ende woord-boek" oleh Frederick de Houtman*, trans. Aboe Bakar, Banda Aceh: Pusat Dokumentasi dan Informasi Aceh, 1982.
17. Cf. Peter G. Riddell, "Literal Translation, Sacred Scripture and Kitab Malay", *Studia Islamika*, 9/1 (2002), 1-26. The language used in translations of this type was so heavily influenced by syntactic features of the Arabic original that Van Ronkel describes it as *sejenis bahasa yang kearab-araban*. Cf. S. Van Ronkel, *Mengenai Pengaruh Tatakalimat Arab terhadap Tatakalimat Melayu*, Jakarta: Bhratara 1977, 12.
18. Russell Jones, "Loan-Words in Contemporary Indonesian", in John W. M. Verhaar (ed.) *Towards a Description of Contemporary Indonesian: Preliminary Studies Part II*. Special issue of *Nusa* 19 (1984), 17. For a comprehensive list, cf. Russell Jones, *Arabic Loan-Words in Indonesian*, London: Indonesian Etymological Project, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1978.
19. R. O. Winstedt, *Malay Grammar*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.
20. M. B. Lewis, *Teach Yourself Malay*, London: English Universities Press, 1947.
21. John W. M. Verhaar, "Affixation in Contemporary Indonesian", in Bambang Kaswanti Purwo (ed.) *Towards a Description of Contemporary Indonesian: Preliminary Studies Part I*. Special issue of *Nusa* 18 (1984), 1-26.

22. Cf. *Tata Bahasa Deskriptif Bahasa Indonesia: Sintaksis*, Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 1985, 26ff. This work presents the following parts of speech, sounding almost Latin as it does so: nomina, pronomina, adjektiva, numeralia, verba, adverbialia, preposisi, interrogativa, demonstrativa, konjungsi, artikula, interjeksi, kategori fatis.
23. R. Ross Macdonald, *Indonesian Reference Grammar*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1976.
24. Gorys Keraf, *Tatabahasa Indonesia*, Ende: Penerbit Nusa Indah, 1980, 61-92.
25. Cf. also James Sneddon, *Indonesian reference grammar*, St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996.
26. Asmah Haji Omar, *Essays on Malaysian Linguistics*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1975, 180.
27. C.K. Ogden & I.A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1923, 11.
28. Cf. Peter G. Riddell, "Semiotics", in Kevin J. Vanhoozer, (ed.), *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2005, 734-737.
29. The transliterated Quran text used in this paper is a slightly modified version of that available online at <http://transliteration.org/quran/home.htm>.
30. Stern, *Meaning and Change of Meaning*, 192ff. Stern identifies three types of substitution: a factual change in the referent, a change in our knowledge of the referent, and a change in our attitude to the referent. The case of *sakin* is an example of the first type.
31. Stern, *Meaning and Change of Meaning*, 218ff. Stern identifies three types of analogy involved in sense change: combinative analogy, or "sense loans from cognate words in the same language"; correlative analogy, due to influences within one language or due to cross-language forces; phonetic associative interference. The case of *bumi* is an example of correlative analogy.
32. Penrice, *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Quran*, 5.
33. Johns, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf", 62-63.
34. Johns, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf", 70.
35. Jassin, *Bacaan Mulia*, 322.
36. Poerwadarminta, *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia*, 632.
37. This term appears as the form *perbendaharaan* in the Court Malay control texts consulted; e.g. ... *tiada ia menaruh harta itu dalam perbendaharaan tetapi dibelanjakan* ... TS 187: 30 (he did not deposit that wealth in the treasury but spent it ...)
38. In BI it would be more common to use *disayangi* than *dikasihi* when talking of parental love for adult offspring.
39. Nevertheless, remnants of the previous intuitions in respect of these words still linger in BI, as the form *mengkabarkan* can still be found.
40. *Berlayar* is also used in this way in comment on verse 10.
41. Johns, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf", 64.
42. Johns, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf", 71.
43. The translation in the Jassin Quran for the same Arabic text is as follows: (*Yakub*) *berkata: 'Tidak, Pikiranmu telah menyuruh kamu melakukan (kejahatan)'*.
44. Nico Kaptein (ed.), *Muhimmāt al-nafā'is: a bilingual Meccan fatwā collection for Indonesian Muslims from the end of the nineteenth century*, Jakarta: INIS, 1997.
45. Poerwadarminta, *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia*, 87.
46. Further examples of this use of *padahal* are found in 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's commentary on verses 31 and 45.
47. Cf. Van Ronkel, *Mengenai Pengaruh Tatakalimat*, 19, who also indicates that this was a feature of KM translations from Arabic which he examined.
48. Lewis, *Teach Yourself Malay*, 225.
49. Winstedt, *Malay Grammar*, 162.
50. Cf also 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's commentary on verses 38 and 40.



51. Although Van Ronkel, *Mengenai Pengaruh Tatakalamat*, 24-25 speaks of the minimal influence of Arabic *bi* on KM *dengan*.
52. Van Ronkel, *Mengenai Pengaruh Tatakalamat*, 21.
53. Cf. also similar use of *bagi* in 'Abd al-Ra'uf commentary on verses 7, 23, 31, 35.
54. Cf. *Maka raja Syah Muhammad pun berkata kepada tuan puteri itu: "Hai tuan puteri ... (AC 2: 10)*
55. Jassin, *Bacaan Mulia*, 314.
56. In his commentary on verse 81, 'Abd al-Ra'uf uses *kepada* in a way which is more faithful to the norms of both Court Malay and BI: *Kembali kamu kepada bapa kamu maka ...*
57. Van Ronkel, *Mengenai Pengaruh Tatakalamat*, 29.
58. Van Ronkel, *Mengenai Pengaruh Tatakalamat*, 18.
59. However, Court Malay did not always feel the need to use such an accusative case marker. In contrast with the preceding TM example, the *Hikayat Aceh* shows the verb *makan* used with a direct object in the following example: *Setelah sudah mereka itu nerima ayapan dan makan sirih .... AC 98: 17 (After they received food and ate betel nut...)*
60. Jassin, *Bacaan Mulia*, 321.

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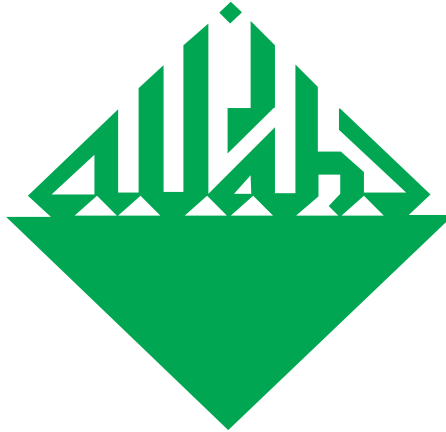


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# سثوديا اسراميا

مجة إنلونيسية للدراسات الإسلامية

السنة التاسعة عشر، العدد ٢، ٢٠١٢



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اختلاف الطبيعة العلمية الإسلامية بين مناطق  
الساحل الشمالي والمناطق الداخلية  
لجأوه الوسطى في القرن ١٥-١٧ الميلادي  
ايسماواتي

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مخطوطة *Butuhaning Manুষya Mungguhing Sarak*:  
معارية الإسلام في المناطق الداخلية لجأوه  
آغوس إيسوانتو

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