

The Political Language of Islam: A Socio-Semantic Analysis of Arabic Words in the Era of President Abdurrahman Wahid 1999-2001

Akhyar Hanif¹, Elvi Rahmi², Septika Rudiamon³, Deswita⁴

^{1,3,4}Universitas Islam Negeri Mahmud Yunus Batusangkar, Indonesia

²Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Negeri Bukittinggi, Indonesia

Correspondence: akhyarhanif@uinmybatusangkar.ac.id

Abstract. The purpose of this study was to 1) find out absorption words from Arabic, especially those related to the political language of Islam, which entered and were absorbed into Indonesian during the Gus Dur Administration era 2) to find out how the process of absorption of Arabic vocabulary, especially vocabulary used connotes the political language of Islam into Indonesian in the Gus Dur era. In carrying out this research, the researcher used a qualitative descriptive research method, where the main data sources are newspapers, books in Arabic that discuss Islamic politics. The results of this study are about a lot of uptake vocabulary related to Islamic politics, including bughat, Jihad, and Makar. This research is expected to be useful in enriching literature in Arabic linguistic studies and in the scientific treasures in Indonesia, which so far have not been much loved by the Indonesian people. In addition, this research is expected to trigger enthusiasm among other young researchers to conduct research, especially on themes that are closely related to the political language of Islam.

Keywords: Islamic Political Language, Arabic Words, President Abdurrahman Wahid

1. Introduction

This research will not only aim to record or describe Arabic absorption words that allegedly appeared to the public in the reform era as a discourse in the idiom of Islamic political language, especially during the reign of President Abdurrahman Wahid in 1999-2001 (popularly called Gus Dur), but will also critically analyze each idiom or jargon of political language using a sociolinguistic approach (Blahak, 2021). Thus, we can know what is the absorption of words in the idiom of Islamic political language that emerged into the public domain at that time and, at the same time, also understand why and in what context the idiom was used by Gus Dur.

There are at least a few main reasons why this issue is interesting to raise as a research discussion, especially in relation to themes about the political language of Islam.

First; the appointment of Gus Dur as the 4th President of the Republic of Indonesia in the reform era was actually the starting point of a new chapter in the Indonesian political scene, especially when it was associated with the “politics of Islam” as a whole (Han & Goleman, daniel; boyatzis, Richard; Mckee, 2019). Of course, this is not the place to discuss how Islamic political matters were during the New Order period, but one indisputable fact that Islamic political movements in the New Order era tended to be shackled, shackled and should not come to the fore (Thoyyib, 2018).

Although, it is honestly acknowledged that this statement is very likely to imply a problem that is actually very complex and all-encompassing. Well, the appearance of Gus Dur holding power in this country is the antithesis of all that. Gus Dur the Kiya, who is Santri, borrowed the term typology of Javanese society coined by Clifford Geertz, mastering well the traditional Islamic religious sciences, such as Fiqh, Ushul Fiqh, Philosophy, and Islamic Sufism. Thus, consciously or not, Gus Dur began to introduce or even use the terms or jargon contained in the traditional Islamic scientific treasures when he spoke before the Indonesian public, including terms contained in the khazanah of classical Islamic

Secondly, with the emergence of these idioms or jargon before the public, step by step, the public began to discuss and discuss them in such a way that they later became popular among the Indonesian people (Mahfud, 2021). Some examples of classic political vocabulary or jargon that had appeared in the past were the word *Bughât* and the word *Makar* (Karinkurayil, 2021). These two words were thrown by Gus Dur at the end of his reign to accuse the powers in Parliament (in this case, the MPR and DRR RI) of wanting to bring him down. These words then became popular among the Indonesian people because they were not only published in headlines in national and local print media but also discussed in various discussion forums and seminars, both national and local. The words *qânûn*, the words *dâr al-islâm*, and *dâr al-Harb* have also come to the fore (although now the word is popular and familiar in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam). Although the latter two have not officially become the vocabulary of Indonesia, at least it has been widely understood and understood, with a certain meaning, by the Indonesian nation in general (Ritonga, 2021).

Indeed, the political language of Islam is undoubtedly, closely related to the growth of Islam itself (Rawwas, 2018). There is even a view from salaf scholars who state that Islam is a religion as well as a politics (*al-islâm dîn wa siyâsah*) (Tofighi, 2020). This means that there is essentially no separation between religious language and political language in the Islamic view. Political language is an integral part of religious language (Blahak, 2021).

If it is to be pulled some distance back, then the integration of political language with religious language is evident in the religious and political expressions of the Prophet Saw (Faridzadeh, 2021). which is further in many ways followed by his successors, *al-khulafâ' al-rasyidûn* such as; Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, and Ali. But later, historical realities show, however, that political language then began to stretch itself out of the language of religion (Seri-Hersch, 2020). This happened after the Umayyah

dynasty in Damascus came to power. As a result of the socio-cultural contact of Muslims with other nations of the world, such as the Persi and the Romans (Khapizov, 2022). So since then, it began to be introduced old idioms were then given a new understanding or meaning. Like the word al-Jamâ'ah, which at first only meant, according to linguistic levels, as a group, group, and so on, but at that time, it was given a political meaning by the political rulers of Islam (Sanadjian, 2019). This is what, in turn, became the jargon of ahl al-sunnah wa jamâ'ah (Sunni) which is famous to this day as a rival of the Shi'i Islamic group (Lewis, 2019).

In relation to Indonesian, there is no denying that the terms of the political language have also been adopted into this language. As a result of contact, whether direct or not, the Indonesian nation with the Muslim Arabs, which in turn brought great influence to the Indonesian. Actually, the entry of the Arabic language into Indonesian has been going on for a long time, namely along with the entry of Islam itself into the archipelago in the 13th century AD. From the various scientific studies that linguistic experts have done, especially when they try to compare Arabic and Indonesian, it is found in the Indonesian a lot of vocabulary is derived from Arabic (Adila, 2020). Sudarno, for example, noted that there are 2,336 Arabic vocabularies contained in Indonesian. Russel John, as quoted by Erwinia Burhanuddin, who has also researched this, shows that there are about 2,750 vocabularies. All this proves, on the one hand, that Indonesian is a living, dynamic language. Therefore, he is always open to accepting the entry of foreign vocabulary, especially in this case, Arabic. On the other hand, however, it reminds us of the weakness and "poverty" of this language, which has a little vocabulary (Duile, 2021).

Although Arabic is not synonymous with Islam, in fact, Islam and Arabic are inseparable (Hassan, 2019). Because Arabic has been an inseparable part of Islam until now, Arabic is still being studied by the community in line with the pace of development of Islam itself (El-Zawawy, 2021). When Islam with its Arabic-language holy book al-Qur'an is in conflict with a certain community or nation, then the earliest interaction occurs and inevitably is the occurrence of contact between Arabic and the language of the nation concerned, which in this case is Indonesian, which at that time was still called Malay (Kooria, 2019).

The culmination of the contact between Arabic and Malay, which later became the Indonesian, occurred in the 19th century AD when Malay borrowed the Arabic script and recognized it as the Arabic-Malay script or commonly referred to as Jawi or Pegon letters (Uni, 2022). Not only that but Arabic grammar has also been tried to be applied in Malay. However, given the stark differences between the two, the Arabization of the Malay language could not survive (Abdullah, 2021). Some of these differences concern various aspects, such as autographic, phonemes, morphological and syntactic, and even semantic aspects (Wahiyudin, 2021). Of course, this is a necessity because each language has its own distinctive characteristics and rules of the game according to the system applicable to the language in question, including Indonesian and Arabic (Koderi, 2019).

In later developments, Arabic was believed by Indonesian Muslims to be the only tool for understanding Islam (Muassomah, 2020). The doctrine increasingly influenced the existence of the language in Indonesia. In fact, this influence is massive because the many concepts or treasures of Islamic knowledge in Arabic cannot be represented by the preservation of Indonesian vocabulary, so these concepts are forced to be collected both in total and adjusted (Kooria, 2019). The Islamic knowledge referred to above, of course, includes aspects of knowledge about the concepts of Islamic political language, which have indeed been adopted by Indonesian and are sometimes still used to this day (Faridzadeh, 2021).

Vocabulary such as *Sulthan*, *Syarif*, *Jama'ah*, *Majlis*, *Shura* or *Deliberation*, *Adil*, *Jihad*, *hijra*, and so on, even when Indonesia entered the reform era, the classic Islamic political language rampantly resurfaced, such as the word *Bughat*, *Makar*, (it was controversial also during the reign of President Abdurrahman Wahid). The word *Qanun*, the words *Dâr al-Islam* and *Dâr al-Harb* have also come to the fore.

Therefore, as an effort to enrich scientific treasures in the field of linguistics and also sociolinguistics, this paper does not want to list all Arabic absorption words in Indonesian as many have done but will try to explain some things, especially those related to aspects of the form and semantic meaning of Arabic vocabulary in Indonesian, especially in languages that “smell” of Islamic politics. In other words, how the process of absorption of Arabic vocabulary occurs in Indonesian when viewed from the point of view of its form and meaning-semantic. Based on the above background, researchers are interested in arguing the title of the study as “The Language of Islamic Politics.”.

2. Method

This research is descriptive-qualitative research (Yuliani, 2018). In accordance with the purpose of the study, the main sources of data are the national or local newspapers published at that time, books in Arabic that discuss classical Islamic politics, such as the book *al-Ahkâm al-Sulthâniyah* by Mawardi, *Al-Madînah al-Fadhîlah* by Al-Farabi, etc. These two main sources researchers consider being otorotative works in discussing the politics of classical Islam. Therefore, these two sources will be used as a source of comparison in analyzing the terms or jargon in Islamic political language that appeared during the reign of Gus Dur.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Gus Dur's political and religious views

To map out the political views and, at the same time, the religious thought of Gus Dur, the mountain is not an easy matter (Arif, 2018). However, just to meet the need for this writing, the author will only adapt two books that the author thinks are suitable to see at a glance how Gus Dur's political views are and, at the same time, his religious thoughts.

The first book, titled *My Islam, Your Islam and Our Islam: The Community Religion of a Democratic State*, was published by The Gus Dur Institute, Seeding Plural and Peaceful Islam, 2006. This book was given a very good preface by M. Shafi'i Anwar. He has spent no less than 23 pages framing the spectrum of political thought and also Gus Dur's religious thought (Putra, 2022).

The following will be the researcher to quote how Gus Dur's broad spectrum of political and religious thought is to lead us to understand Gus Dur's position on the map of Indonesian politics and, at the same time, religious thinkers, as follows (Asmawi, 2021); The title of this book, *My Islam, Your Islam, Our Islam* is taken from one of the articles written by Gus Dur. He was chosen because he could describe Gus Dur's intellectual odyssey from time to time. An intellectual odyssey that is not only not linear but also a process. This can be seen, for example, in the confession of Gus Dur himself, who saw Islam as a religion that was undergoing major changes.

Gus Dur admitted that in his youth, in the 1950s, he followed the mind path of the Muslim Brotherhood, a "hardline" Islamic group whose influence also reached Jombang, East Java (Sugianto, 2018). Even Gus Dur also actively participated in the Muslim Brotherhood movement in his hometown. Then in the 1960s, Gus Dur was interested in exploring Arab nationalism and socialism in Egypt and Iraq, precisely when he was a student at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, and Baghdad University, Iraq. The experience of gaining knowledge in these two countries certainly affects the development of his thinking (Suswanto, 2021). However, after returning to Indonesia in the 1970s, Gus Dur saw the development and new dynamics of Islam that were different from those in the Middle East. He saw the reality that Islam as a way of life (shari'a) could learn and take each other's various ideologies, even views from other religions (Islam, 2018).

Furthermore, Gus Dur said, intellectual wanderings produce two things at once: his personal experience will never be felt or experienced by others, while it is possible that Gus Dur's experience has similarities with other people who have their own wanderings. The issue of whether Gus Dur's wanderings ended in cosmopolitan eclecticism, while the wanderings of others resulted in the opposite, did not matter to Gus Dur. One's personal experiences will never be the same as those of others. People should actually be proud of their own thoughts that are different from others (Steć, 2021).

Departing with such a view, Gus Dur concluded that the Islam he thought of and experienced was a typical Islam, which was termed "my Islam." But Gus Dur stated, "My Islam" or "Gus Dur's Islam" needs to be seen as a series of personal experiences that others need to know but cannot be forced on others. Meanwhile, what is meant by "your Islam" are more of Gus Dur's appreciation and reflection on traditionalism or religious rituals that live in society. In this context, Gus Dur gave an appreciation of religious beliefs and traditions as "truths" embraced by certain communities of society that should be appreciated. According to Gus Dur, such "truth" departs from belief and not from experience. Such diversity was formulated by Gus Dur as "Your Islam," which also needs to be appreciated. The formulation of "Our Islam" is more of a derivation of

one's concern for the future of Islam based on the common interests of Muslims (Damaj, 2020).

The vision of "Our Islam" concerns an integrative concept that includes "my Islam" and "Your Islam" and concerns the fate of the Muslims as a whole. In this context, Gus Dur realized that there were difficulties in formulating "Our Islam." That's because the experiences that make up "My Islam" differ in form from "your Islam," which causes its own difficulties in finding formulations for "Our Islam." But the fundamental problem in the context of "Our Islam" lies in the existence of a temporary tendency of groups of people to impose the concept of "Our Islam" according to their own interpretation (Muhibbu-Din, 2019). In other words, they want to impose the truth of Islam according to their own interpretation. This monopoly on the interpretation of Islamic truth, according to Gus Dur, is contrary to the spirit of democracy.

3.2. Idiomatic Analysis of Islamic Political language in the Era of Gus Dur

For the purposes of this research, we need to first sit down on what we mean by the political language of Islam. The political language of Islam referred to here is the words absorption from Arabic with political nuances or idioms contained in the traditional Islamic scientific treasures that later appeared to the public during the reign of Gus Dur (Fogg, 2019). These idioms were used by him to explain his expressions or views on the national political map of the time. Indeed, it is not easy to map how Gus Dur's role is in reproducing these Islamic political idioms in Indonesia. But one thing that is certain is that Gus Dur has been instrumental in introducing some of the political idioms of classical Islam to the Indonesian public.

We can see that there are so many idioms that have emerged, both in the religious field and in the political field, throughout the leadership of Gus Dur (1999-2001). Of course, not all of these idioms are accommodated in this paper, but in accordance with the focus of this paper, the idioms discussed here are only those related to idioms in political language alone. These idioms are discussed from the perspective of their political meaning in the classical Islamic scientific treasures and then the use of such semantics meaning at the political level in Indonesia at that time (Powell, 2021). Therefore, here are some Islamic terms or idioms politics that came to the fore and were hotly discussed at that time so that they became a national issue, including:

3.2.1. Bughât

This bughât word is an absorption word of Arabic origin (Janah et al., 2019). This idiom has indeed appeared to the public during the reign of Gus Dur and has become a hot topic and is widely discussed in political discourse at the national level. As reported in various mass media, on Monday (19/3 2001), around 20 EAST JAVA NU clerics discussed religious law on bughât. They consider that the existing political situation has led to a legitimate government. The meeting was chaired by Deputy Rais Syuriyah PWNU East Java, KH Ahmad Subadar. In light of the general view of president Abdurrahman Wahid's failure to carry out the reform mandate, he was strongly suspected of being involved in the KKN in the Buloggate and Brunaigate scandals,

which is why Gus Dur's loyal supporters, such as nu East Java scholars discussed the religious law on bughât. They questioned whether the criticisms and efforts made by members of the House of Representatives, students, and also the anti-Gus Dur community were classified as bughât or not.

At the time, the word bughât and impeachment of the leader were indeed again being discussed. These idioms, such as bughât dan impeachment, were deliberately brought up, especially by Gus Dur's fanatical supporters, into the public domain to counter the accusations of lawmakers (DPR) who were indeed trying to bring him down. Bullagate and Brunaigate are considered the two scandals that knocked Gus Dur out of office. Of course, this is not the place to talk about the long drama about Gus Dur's downfall, but what is interesting is what the idioms of bughât and impeachment of leaders mean in relation to the Islamic political language used by Gus Dur or his followers at that time so that later these idioms became a trend in the discourse of the language of national politics.

3.2.2. Jihâd

The word Jihad has actually been familiar to our Ears Indonesians, although it is recognized that each of us may have a different perception of the meaning of jihâd. It may be that some of us Muslims understand the conception of jihâd in a more "hard" form or hard meaning. In this context, Jihad is understood as "a war against infidels" (Priani, 2021; Halimah & Aryadillah, 2018). Even more radically, they understand this conception of "infidels" as people who are not only as religious as them but also people who are not as understanding and in line with them (Alayba, 2018). So radical and exclusive movements in Indonesia emerged that we feel to this day. While others, understanding the concepts of jihâd tends to be more "soft" or "soft meaning." Here they not only understand jihâd in the sense of "war" as above but also "all one's earnest efforts to achieve one's ideals." Thus, the conception of jihâddi here is much broader, more lenient, and tends to be inclusive.

According to the sense of language, jihâd comes from the word juhûd (Arabic word), which means the ability or expending all his energy and ability to do something (Tubuly, 2018). The word jihâd also comes from the word Jahd (Arabic word), which means difficulties that overcome it must be made in earnest. jihâdjuga means war. Such is the description of Wahbah al-Zuhaili in the Kitab al-Islam wa Adillatuhu. In short, according to the sense of language, jihâd means to work hard, earnestly, to exert all ability to solve a problem or achieve a noble goal.

3.2.3. Makar

This word comes from the Arabic word al-makr, later adopted by Indonesian so that it became the word, Makar. As al-hukm said, which was translated into law, this diversion or desecration has certainly more or less reduced the meaning it contains. The process of meaning reduction is common in linguistic-semantic studies (Novikova, 2018). Therefore, in the dictionary Indonesian this word is interpreted as deceiving and deceiving. There are also other meanings are; 1) rotten thoughts, gimmicks; 2) deeds

(attempts) with the intention of attacking (killing) people; 3) acts (attempts) to bring down the legitimate government and soon (Adawiyah, 2019).

This term is found in various letters in the Qur'an, one of which is found in QS. al-An'am, 6: 123. Here it is argued that in every land, there are authorities who are against God's law. They commit Makar, that is, to make plans with the aim of deceiving people from the way of God. From this verse, it can be understood that the essence of Makar is to make plans to achieve the goal. More QS. Al-Anfal, 8:30 reminds the Prophet Saw how the infidels made plans to detain, kill or expel the Prophet from Mecca when Allah was the best planner (Lumbard, 2022).

Makar is nothing new. The terms Makar and acts of Makar have been known for a long time. Even in the time of Prophet Muhammad SAW, there were often events of Makar to bring down the Prophet; even various attempts and deceptions were made by many infidels to kill the Prophet. The event was clear and in detail, explained by Allah in the Quran as Allah said on QS. Al Anfaal: 30, "And (remember) when the infidels (Quraysh) think of the power of effort against you to arrest and imprison or kill you or expel you. They thought of deceit (Makar), and God thwarted that deception. Allah is the best avenger of deceit (Makar)." This verse reminds us of what happened in Mekah while also reminding us how Allah's qadar plan is and His wisdom towards what he decides and commands (Helli, 2021). It is okay for humans to commit Makar (deceit). But God has Makar (deceit) that is greater than what man is capable of.

4. Conclusion

The era of Gus Dur's reign as the 4th President of the Republic of Indonesia can be called the rise of students on our national political map. In the new order era, this "santri" Islam did not gain a place in the national arena. Unlike the reform era, it seems that Islam is showing its existence in the country's political struggles. It was marked by the emergence of Islamic parties or parties based on Islam which to this day still exist, although they have never received a majority of votes. Gus Dur is the Islamic representative of the student who once ruled for about 2.5 years (1999-2001). As a representation of Islamic students, he presented many terms contained in Islamic treasures, such as terms in Shari'a or Islamic jurisprudence. But not only that, the terms in classical Islamic political science that, of course, are contained in Arabic also appeared at that time. Political terms or idioms such as buhbat, Jihad, and Makar hypnotized the headlines of national newspapers, especially at the end of their reign.

Socio-semantic, political terms or idioms such as buhbat, Jihad, and Makar in classical Islamic khazanah actually have meanings in their respective portions. What is interesting is when all three concepts in classical Islamic political jargon were addressed by Gus Dur's supporters to defend him from his impeachment proceedings from the presidency. The meaning of buhbat (separatist or rebels against the legitimate government) was used or addressed by Gus Dur's followers to members of the House of Representatives who opposed him at that time seemed to be drawn up because it is a constitutional institution, not a group of people who are unhappy and rebellious to the

government. So are the concepts of Jihad and Makar. It seems too narrowed and forced to suit the interests of the wearer. Of course, that in the context of sociolinguistic studies is entirely legitimate and natural.

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