

DIFFERENCES IN THE ROMANIZED SPELLING OF ARABIC LOANWORDS IN BAHASA MELAYU IN MALAYSIA, AND BAHASA INDONESIA

(Perbezaan Ejaan Rumi Kata Pinjaman Bahasa Arab dalam Bahasa Melayu Malaysia dan Bahasa Indonesia)

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Abstract

Bahasa Melayu and bahasa Indonesia, the official languages of Malaysia and Indonesia respectively, are both derived from the Malay language. A common romanized spelling system was adopted by both languages and has been in use since 1972. Nevertheless, there are still differences in the romanized spelling of Arabic loanwords affecting both languages. Discrepancies in spelling between the two languages may be attributed to the conventions of the *Jawi* script in the spelling of Arabic loanwords, which cannot be accurately transcribed in the Latin alphabet. Ultimately, the conventions of the *Jawi* script, particularly in the Malay language in Malaysia, is more evident than in the Malay language of Indonesia. The comparison reveals that the Malay-speaking community in Malaysia is more positively inclined and more likely to accept Islamic tradition than the Malay-speaking community in Indonesia.

Keywords: common romanized spelling, *Jawi* script, bahasa Melayu, bahasa Indonesia, orthography

Abstrak

Bahasa Melayu dan bahasa Indonesia masing-masing merupakan bahasa rasmi Malaysia dan Indonesia. Kedua-duanya berasaskan bahasa Melayu. Suatu sistem ejaan Rumi bersama telah diterima pakai bagi kedua-dua bahasa ini sejak tahun 1972. Walau bagaimanapun, ejaan Rumi bagi kata pinjaman daripada bahasa Arab masih terdapat perbezaan dalam kedua-dua bahasa ini. Perbezaan ini mungkin

berpunca daripada konvensi tulisan Jawi bagi mengeja kata pinjaman bahasa Arab yang tidak dapat ditranskripsikan secara tepat dalam tulisan Rumi. Pengekalan konvensi tulisan Jawi lebih ketara dalam ejaan Rumi bahasa Melayu di Malaysia jika dibandingkan dengan bahasa Indonesia. Perbandingan menunjukkan bahawa penutur bahasa Melayu di Malaysia bersikap lebih positif terhadap tradisi Islam, malah lebih cenderung menerimanya berbanding dengan penutur bahasa Indonesia.

Kata kunci: ejaan Rumi bersama, tulisan Jawi, bahasa Melayu, bahasa Indonesia, ortografi

INTRODUCTION

In a multilingual society, words from local languages may be adopted to form one spoken language as the *lingua franca*. For instance, bahasa Indonesia includes many words from each of its local dialects. Therefore, bahasa Indonesia has developed differently from bahasa Melayu in Malaysia, even though both languages have their roots in the same language, bahasa Melayu (Malay). This not only occurs in the spoken but also in the written languages. In the Malay Archipelago, there has been a prolonged use of a variety of writing systems: the Indic script, the Arabic script, and the Latin alphabet, which were in use in turn because of the influence of different civilizations on the local communities at different times (Hardiati, 2002:2–3). This circumstance caused different spelling systems to influence one another. In other words, one system in a local language was affected by the previous writing system with the change of the dominant civilization.

This paper investigates the differences in the romanized spelling systems of bahasa Melayu in Malaysia and bahasa Indonesia with regard to the spelling of Arabic loanwords, which at one time were both written using the *Jawi* script. Despite agreeing on a common romanized spelling for Arabic loanwords, there are still apparent differences in the romanized spelling of each language community. For instance, the word for “news” is spelled differently in both languages. In bahasa Melayu in Malaysia, it is transcribed as *khabar* but in bahasa Indonesia, it is spelled *kabar*. In the original Arabic, the word is written as <kh b r> (خبر). The consonant digraph <kh> (خ) in the word continues to influence the romanized spelling of bahasa Melayu in Malaysia but not bahasa Indonesia. This shows that the Malaysian Malay-language community is more Arabic-centric as they prefer to retain the conventions of the *Jawi* script as compared to their Indonesian counterparts.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH

The term “hyperforeignism” is normally used in sociolinguistics to denote usage that results from an attempt to apply the rules of a foreign language to loanwords (Wells, 1982:108). It occurs wherever language varieties are in contact. Within a community, speakers can try to avoid applying rules of their native language to foreign loanwords when they adopt the social and cultural values of the foreign language as their own. In such a situation, application of the rules of their own language on the conventions of the foreign language may bring about unsatisfactory results. The phenomenon is known as “hyperforeignism”.

Particularly in the orthography of “hyperforeignism”, the adoption of foreign loanwords with their particular orthographic rules or sets of orthographic conventions is made within specific social, historical, and cultural contexts (Sebba, 2007:26). Therefore, sustaining or rejecting particular orthographic rules that represent social and cultural ideologies may be equated with accepting or rejecting certain ideologies. Both Malaysia and Indonesia are countries with Muslim majorities. Thus, the use of Arabic loanwords and the conventions of the *Jawi* script that have been sustained in both Malay language communities for centuries represent the acceptance of Islamic culture. In this research, the phenomenon of differences in the romanized spelling of Arabic loanwords in bahasa Melayu and bahasa Indonesia is the focus, in order to study “hyperforeignism”.

PURPOSE AND METHOD OF RESEARCH

Approximately 20 percent of the Malay language (bahasa Melayu and bahasa Indonesia) consists of loanwords. Among them, about 10 percent are from Arabic¹. The reason Arabic loanwords are more numerous than other foreign words in the language is closely related to the Islamic values that are prevalent in both countries. This paper aims to analyze Arabic loanwords that display differences in their romanized spelling in bahasa Melayu and bahasa Indonesia. The result of this analysis will be used to determine the attitudes of Malay-language speakers, and how this relates to the Islamic values embraced in both countries.

In this research, the Arabic loanwords are compiled the entries of two Malay-language dictionaries (*Kamus Dewan* in Malaysia and *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* in Indonesia), which expose differences in the romanized spelling of these words. The entries are classified typologically according to differences in their graphemes. Each group is compared to the spelling in the *Jawi* script to ascertain which variety

of the Malay language is more influenced by the conventions of the *Jawi* script when it comes to spelling Arabic loanwords.

THE TRADITION OF THE *JAWI* SCRIPT IN MALAY COMMUNITY

The Arabic script has been in use in local communities in the Malay Archipelago since the 11th century CE². Numerous inscriptions found across the Malay Archipelago are evidence of the usage of the Arabic script. An epigraph inscribed in Brunei in 1048 CE (440 AH), is generally thought to be the first to use Arabic script in the Malay Archipelago (Othman and Abdul Halim, 1990:7, 92–95). The epigraph, which records a Muslim woman's death and states her name to have been "Makhdarah", was written in the Arabic language using Arabic script. There are two more epigraphs from a later date: in Leran, dated 1082 CE (475 AH) and in Aceh, dated 1297 CE (696 AH), recording the death of a Muslim woman and a sultan, respectively, in Arabic using Arabic script (Othman and Abdul Halim, 1990:7–8). These three epigraphs indicate that from approximately the 11th up to the 13th centuries the Arabic script had begun to spread in the Malay Archipelago along with Islamic culture.

In the early 14th century CE, the use of the Arabic script in Malay communities shifted to the vernacular languages rather than the Arabic language. In other words, Arabic script began to be used as a writing system for local dialects. The Terengganu Inscription from the Malay Peninsula, which dates back to 1303 CE (702 AH), is the first example of the Malay language written using the Arabic script (Othman and Abdul Halim, 1990:47). After the Terengganu Inscription, the Arabic script began to play a role as the main writing system within the Malay communities (Cho, 2012: 90–91). It was actively introduced to other Malay communities in the Malay Archipelago together with the spread of Islam. As a result of the propagation of Islam, members of those communities who had accepted Islam needed to translate the Qur'an and other Islamic books into their own language. In the process of translating these Islamic books, the Arabic script began to be adapted to the phonological system of the local language varieties (Cho, 2012:88).

Figure 1 shows variations of the Arabic script used widely in local communities of the Malay Archipelago with the spreading influence of Islam. Among these variations, the *Jawi* script was most widely used because the Malay language, written in the *Jawi* script, had become a *lingua franca* for most communities of the Malay Archipelago (Cho, 2012:124). Meanwhile, for the Javanese community, the Arabic script was adapted for the transcription of the Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese

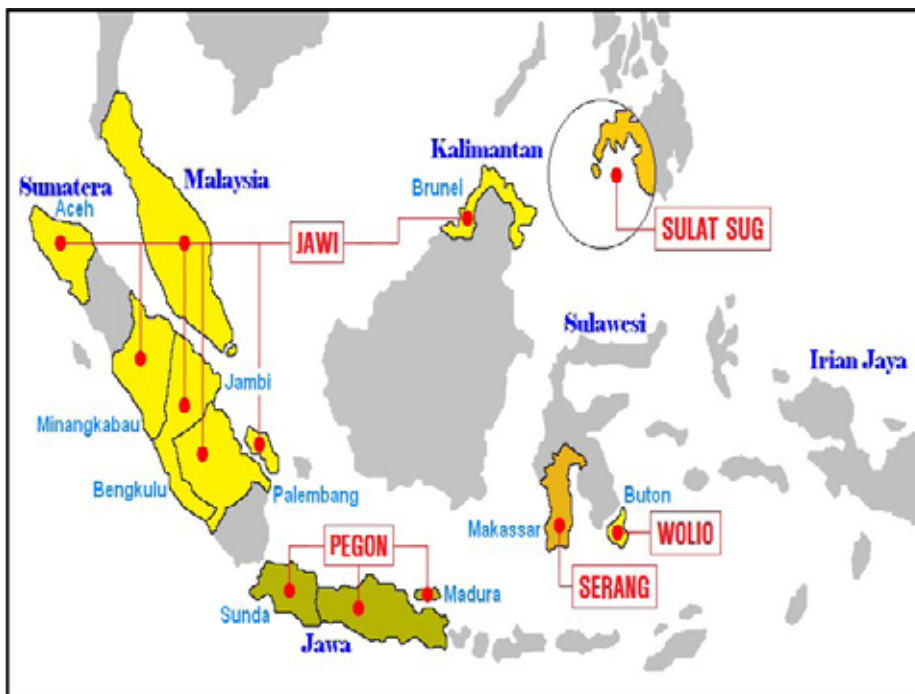


Figure 1 Variations of Arabic script in the Malay Archipelago.

(Cho, 2012:129)

languages and was known as the Pégon script (Cho, 2012:126). In the Buginese and Makassarnese communities of South Sulawesi, the Arabic-based Sérang script played the main role in writing after the introduction of Islamic culture to these communities in the 7th century CE (Mattulada, 1971:268–69). A variation still exists on Buton island in the southeastern part of Sulawesi. For a long time, the Buri Wolio script played the main role as the official written language to record and preserve the Butonese oral tradition (Cho, 2012: 127). In the southern part of the Philippines, the Sultanate of Sulu, which was founded in the early 15th century CE (in 1405CE) developed the Sulat Sug, an alphabet that is based on the Arabic script (Mohd. Rosli and Mohd. Fazil, 2011:4).

Acceptance of Islam in each local community of the Malay Archipelago brought civilization to the Malay world (Cho, 2012:81). In the process of Islamization, the use of variations of the Arabic-based script strengthened and manifested Islamic values within the Muslim societies of the Malay Archipelago. Consequently, the Arabic script, as shown in Figure 1, functioned as the main writing system in order to

significantly infuse the local Malay culture with Islamic values. This has an impact on the differences in the romanized spelling of Arabic loanwords in both languages even today. In the following section, the process of agreement on the common romanized spelling in both countries will be discussed.

PROCESS OF AGREEMENT ON COMMON ROMANIZED SPELLING BETWEEN MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA

Bahasa Melayu in Malaysia and bahasa Indonesia are variations of the Malay language (bahasa Melayu). On 13 May, 1969, the Malaysian government coined the term “bahasa Malaysia” to denote the Malay language of Malaysia, in order to strengthen feelings of unity among Malaysians. On the other hand, bahasa Indonesia was formed in 1928 through the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Pledge) during the Indonesian Youth Congress, which was one of the manifestations of the political awakening of the Indonesian people. Despite sharing a common origin, however, it is not easy to consider the Malay language of Malaysia and bahasa Indonesia as the same language. The differences between the two variations is not only in the names of the languages but also in the phonemic systems, spelling, vocabulary, grammar, and the like.

Some of the differences in spelling are shown in Figure 2, where the dissimilarity in the romanized spelling is apparent even though the words have the same meaning. One interesting fact to consider is that all the words listed in Figure 2 are Arabic loanwords. This observation shows that the dissimilarity of the romanized spelling in both languages is related to the use of the *Jawi* script where Arabic loanwords are concerned.

MALAYSIAN		INDONESIAN
fikir	<i>to think</i>	pikir
ghaib	<i>supernatural</i>	gaib
khobar	<i>news</i>	kabar
syukur	<i>thanks</i>	sukur
zahir	<i>outward</i>	lahir

Figure 2 Differences of Roman spelling in Arabic loanwords between Malaysian and Indonesian.

The orthography of the Malay language in Malaysia and Indonesia is currently based on the Latin alphabet, and on spelling systems previously created by Western linguists during the period of the colonial administrations of the British (in Malaysia) and the Dutch (in Indonesia). In both countries, a need was felt for standardizing the Latin orthography of the Malay language in order to expand the education system for the local populace (Sebba, 2007:91). The Wilkinson spelling, which is based on English spelling, was at first applied for the Malay language in 1904 (Vikør, 1988:17), while the Ophuijsen spelling, based on Dutch spelling, had been commonly used in Indonesia since 1901 (Vikør, 1988:15). In Malaysia, the *Jawi* script was still commonly used by the Malays in the 1950s, even though the romanized spelling had already been introduced since 1904 (Vikør, 1988:22). During this period, there were debates between traditionalists, who wanted to retain the *Jawi* script, and modernizers, who favoured a romanized orthography (Sebba, 2007:92). However, at the *Kongres Bahasa dan Persuratan Melayu* (Malay Language and Literature Congress), scholars decided to opt for the romanized spelling system as the official orthography. Based on this decision, Article 152 of the National Language Act of the Constitution of Malaya, which was written in 1957, stated that the romanized spelling system was the official writing system for the national language (Asmah, 1992:201). The National Language Act has been considered by many Malay people to have been the death blow to the *Jawi* writing tradition that had made Malays literate centuries before. In the end, the act was revised to include a clause that allowed for the continued existence of *Jawi* (Asmah, 1992:202). This was one of the ways that Malaysia took to actively sustain Islamic values that are tied to the use of the *Jawi* script.

After the end of the Second World War, both Malaysia and Indonesia required new systems of romanized spelling in order to modernize. Thus, in 1947, Indonesia reformed its spelling system, replacing the Ophuijsen system with the Soewandi system, named after the Indonesian Minister of Education of the period. In 1956, Indonesia revised its spelling system through *Pembaruan Ejaan* (spelling reform). Later, with the independence of Malaysia in 1957, and with Prijono as the Minister of Education and Culture in Indonesia, more efforts were made to create cultural links between Malaysia and Indonesia. His orthography formed the basis for a proposal of a spelling system which was agreed on by the Malaysian and Indonesian governments in 1960, and which was termed the MELINDO spelling system. At this point however, international relations between Malaysia and Indonesia had begun to deteriorate due to ideological reasons. This political situation was the main reason for the suppression of the implementation of the MELINDO spelling system (Sebba, 2007:92).

In 1966 the Suharto regime in Indonesia reinstated cooperation between both countries. A draft was agreed between Malaysia and Indonesia in 1967 for a renewed common romanized spelling system. In Malaysia, the proposal was generally welcomed but it was in Indonesia that there were arguments against the orthography as it was regarded as an imitation of the bahasa Melayu system (Sebba, 2007:93). Despite protests from teachers and high school students in Indonesia, the official commission and professional linguists involved continued to defend the reform (Vikør, 1988:26).

However, in 1972 an agreement was reached between the two governments and the new spelling was proclaimed in Indonesia as *Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan* (Perfected Spelling or Enhanced Indonesian Spelling) based on the Presidential Decree No. 57, and *Ejaan Rumi Baru Bahasa Malaysia* (New Romanized Spelling of Bahasa Malaysia) in Malaysia (Sebba, 2007:93). This agreement is honoured by the Malay-language communities of both countries until today, despite all discrepancies, particularly where Arabic loanwords are involved, as shown in Figure 2, which are attributable to the conventions of the *Jawi* script, as mentioned before.

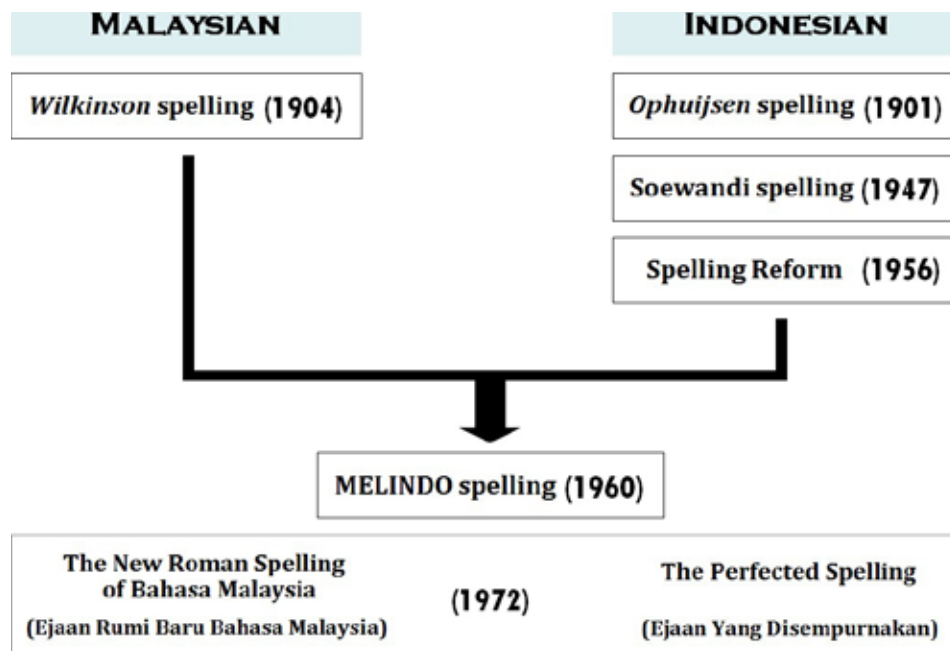


Figure 3 Process of agreement on common romanized spelling system between Malaysia and Indonesia.

ANALYSIS: DIFFERENCES IN THE ROMANIZED SPELLING OF ARABIC LOANWORDS IN BAHASA MELAYU IN MALAYSIA AND BAHASA INDONESIA

There are 1353 Arabic loanwords recorded in the *Kamus Dewan* (Dewan Dictionary, 1998), which constitute 11 percent of the all entrywords. This denotes that there is quite a large number of Arabic loanwords in bahasa Melayu. In this research, around 83 words out of the 1353 Arabic loanwords have been selected as data as they exhibit striking differences between bahasa Melayu in Malaysia and bahasa Indonesia, as far as the romanized spelling systems are concerned. In bahasa Melayu in Malaysia, all of these Arabic loanwords are spelled according to the conventions of the *Jawi* script but this is not the case in bahasa Indonesia. These words are classified into three groups based on typological differences. The words in the first group show that the Arabic graphemes transcribed as <f>, <gh>, <kh>, <q>, and <sy> in the Malaysian romanized spelling system are transcribed simply as <p>, <g>, <k>, <k>, and <s>, which are more adequate to Indonesian orthographic condition. The second group indicates that an Arabic grapheme transcribed as <z> in the Malaysian romanized spelling system is represented by different graphemes (<j>, <l>, and <s>) in Indonesian orthography. The last group reveals that the final Arabic grapheme in a word is used differently in both languages, such as <h> - <t>, <t> - <h>, <k> - <h>. The three groups are as follows (in each of the word group below, the words in bahasa Melayu in Malaysia precedes the words in bahasa Indonesia):

1. An Arabic grapheme in bahasa Melayu in Malaysia is replaced with a similar one in bahasa Indonesia although the Latin letters are different in both languages:

(a) <f> - <p>

<i>faham - paham</i>	<f h m> (فهم)	(to understand)
<i>fasal - pasal</i>	<f sh l> (فصل)	(article)
<i>fikir - pikir</i>	<f i k i r> (فكير)	(to think)
<i>nafas - napas</i>	<n f s> (نفس)	(breath)

(b) <gh> - <g>

<i>ghaib - gaib</i>	<gh a i b> (غائب)	(invisible)
<i>maghrib - magrib</i>	<m gh r b> (مغرب)	(sunset prayer)
<i>mubaligh - mubalig</i>	<m b l gh> (مبلغ)	(proselytizer)
<i>tabligh - tablig</i>	<t b l i gh> (تبليغ)	(conveying the Islamic message)

(c) <kh> - <k>

<i>khabar - kabar</i>	<kh b r> (خبر)	(news)
<i>Khamis - Kamis</i>	<kh m i s> (خميس)	(Thursday)
<i>khuatir - kuatir</i>	<kh u a th r> (خواطر)	(worried)

(d) <q> - <k>

<i>qadar - kadar</i>	<q d r> (قدر)	(power, ability)
<i>qasidah - kasidah</i>	<q sh i d t> (قصيدة)	(Arabic poem)

(e) <sy> - <s>

<i>asyura - asura</i>	<a sy u r a> (عشوراء)	(feast of 10 th Muharram)
<i>musykil - muskil</i>	<m sy k i l> (مشكيل)	(having a grievance)
<i>syarbat - serbat</i>	<sy r b t> (شربة)	(sweet, cooling drink)
<i>syarikat - serikat</i>	<sy r i k t> (شريكة)	(company, partnership)

2. An Arabic grapheme in bahasa Melayu in Malaysia is replaced by different graphemes in bahasa Indonesia.

(a) <z> - <j>

<i>ziarah - j(z)iarah</i>	<z i a r h> (زيارة)	(visit)
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(b) <z> - <l>

<i>zahir - lahir</i>	<z a h r> (ظاهر)	(outward)
<i>zalim - lalim</i>	<z a l m> (ظالم)	(unjust, cruel)

(c) <z> - <s>

<i>nusyuz - nusuz</i>	<n sy u z> (ظالم)	(recalcitrant)
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3. The final Arabic grapheme is spelled differently in both languages.

(a) <h> - <t>

<i>muhibah - muhibat(h)</i>	<m h b h> (محبه)	(affection)
<i>risalah - risalat(h)</i>	<r i s a l h> (ريساله)	(pamphlet)

(b) <t> - <h>

<i>zuriat - zuriah(t)</i>	<z u r i t> (ذورية)	(descendant)
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In the list of words above, the underlined Latin grapheme most closely represents the sound of the original grapheme in the *Jawi* script. In comparing these sets of words, one can distinguish which Malay word adheres more closely to the conventions of the *Jawi* script. In other words, all Arabic loanwords in bahasa Melayu follow the spelling of *Jawi* script. But in bahasa Indonesia, they are assimilated with a grapheme more suited to the Indonesian romanized orthographic system. Among the three groups above, the first group demonstrates the most frequent differences for the set of graphemes in the romanized spelling of both languages. Some of the words included in the first group are listed in the appendix. The Arabic graphemes that correspond to <f>, <gh>, <kh>, <q>, and <sy> in the first group, and <z> in the second group do not occur in native Malay words (Vikør, 1988:47–48). However, these graphemes are maintained in the Malaysian romanized spelling system, in words such as *faham* (to understand), *fikir* (to think), *ghaib* (supernatural), *tabligh* (conveying the Islamic message), *khabar* (news), *Khamis* (Thursday), *qadar* (power, ability), *asyura* (feast of 10th day in the month of *Muharram*), *syarbat* (sweet, cooling drink), and *zahir* (outward).

The third group includes words in which the final grapheme is spelled differently in Indonesian romanized spelling system. The grapheme <h> is changed to <t> in bahasa Indonesia, e.g. *muhibah - muhibat* (affection), and *risalah - risalat* (pamphlet). Opposite to this, the grapheme <t> is replaced with <h> in bahasa Indonesia e.g. *zuriat - zuriah* (descendant). In this case, even though the graphemes <h> and <t> are exchanged in bahasa Indonesia, they are listed as synonymous in the Indonesian dictionary *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*.

CONCLUSION

As described in the previous chapters, discord continues between bahasa Melayu in Malaysia and bahasa Indonesia as regards the romanized spelling of Arabic loanwords,

despite both countries having agreed to a common romanized spelling system in 1972. Undeniably, the influence of the Arabic language on the Malay language has always been strong since the Malays embraced the Islamic culture along with the religion. In Malaysia, the Arabic language is positioned as a sacred language unique in religiosity and culture. Classical Malay employed the *Jawi* script and was to a large extent the product of Islamic culture inspired by the Arabic civilization. Malay people in Malaysia used Arabic words and phrases and even applied Arabic stylistic norms in Malay sentences. Thus, it was completely natural for Malay language communities to spell Arabic words exactly the way they had learned them (Vikør, 1988:47). Their stand towards Islamic values was represented in the National Language Act, Article 152 in the Constitution of Malaya, which mentioned the continued existence of *Jawi* script (Asmah, 1992:202).

However, the status of the Arabic language in Indonesia followed a slightly different path. Unlike in Malaysia, Arabic words in Indonesia became assimilated into bahasa Indonesia, despite the large Muslim population. The most immediate language issue that Indonesian society needed to contend with after independence from the Dutch in 1945 was to elevate the status of bahasa Indonesia amidst the large number of dialects in order to unify the local communities nationally and politically. The National Language Act of Indonesia establishes bahasa Indonesia as the unifying language for the diverse ethnic groups through The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, not only Arabic loanwords (including other foreign words) were altered but also many of the local terms were Indonesianized in order to produce a standard bahasa Indonesia. On the other hand, in bahasa Melayu in Malaysia, hyperforeignism is evident and it is employed to express adherence to Islamic culture by sustaining conventions of the *Jawi* script, suggesting that the Malay-speaking community of Malaysia positively and actively embraces Islamic values, as exemplified through their orthographic system. In contrast, the bahasa Indonesia community prefers to adapt the spelling of Arabic loanwords to a more Indonesianized graphemic system. In conclusion, the difference in social language contexts, reflecting differences in attitude towards Islamic culture, in both bahasa Melayu-originated language communities is manifested in the differently-adopted romanized spelling of Arabic loanwords. This research is focused on the aspect of the graphemic system to discuss the different romanized spellings of Arabic loanwords between bahasa Melayu in Malaysia and bahasa Indonesia which continue to exist in spite of agreement by both parties to a common romanized spelling system in 1972. For further research, comparison of the phonological system of both languages would be beneficial.

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NOTE

- 1 In the dictionary of *Kamus Dewan* (1998), entries of Arabic loanwords are 1353 (10.8 per cent from all entries).
- 2 Collins defines the Malay world in a linguistical concept. He notifies that Malay world is one territory in which Malay language and the sub-dialects are spoken as a mother tongue. It takes the region from western part of Indonesia to the end of eastern Indonesia, including Malay Peninsula, southern part of Thailand, Brunei and southern part of the Philippines (Collins, 1998:1–3).

APPENDIX

1. Similar but not identical representations of Arabic graphemes in bahasa Melayu in Malaysia used in bahasa Indonesia.

(a) <f> - <p>

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
profit	faedah	فأيدده	paedah (faedah)
interpretation	tafsir	تفسير	tapsir (tafsir)
to understand	faham	فهم	paham
dawn	fajar	فجر	pajar (fajar)
destitute	fakir	فقير	pakir (fakir)
transient	fana	فناء	pana (fana)
Islamic inheritance law	faraid	فرائض	paraid (faraid)
vagina	faraj	فرج	parji
paragraph, article	fasal	فصل	pasal
fluent	fasih	فصيح	pasih (fasih)
ungodly, sinful	fasiq (fasik)	فاسق	pasik
deed, work	fiil	فعل	piil (fiil)
to think	fikir	فكير	pikir
divination, presentiment	firasat	فراسه	pirasat (firasat)
slander	fitnah	فتنه	pitenah (fitnah)
tithe, natural character	fitrah	فطره	pitrah (fitrah)
to memorize	hafaz	حفظ	hapal (hafal)
shroud	kafan	كفن	kapan
equality	kufu	كوفو	kupu (kufu)
blasphemy	kufur	كفور	kupur (kufur)
the spoken word	lafaz	لفظ	lapal (lafal)
benefit	manfaat	منفعة	manpaat (manfaat)
agreement	muafakat	موافقة	mupakat
proselyte	mualaf	مؤلف	mualap (mualaf)
fit for religious duties	mukalaf	مكلف	mukalap (mukalaf)
traveller	musafir	مسافر	musapir (musafir)
breath	nafas	نفس	napas
to deny	nafi	نافي	napi (nafi)
lust	nafsu	نفسو	napsu (nafsu)
the second month in the Muslim calendar	Safar	صفر	Sapar (Safar)
intercession	syafaat	شفاة	syapaat (syafaat)
to die	wafat	وافت	wapat (wafat)

(b) <gh> - <g>

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
puberty	baligh	بالغ	balig
invisible	ghaib	غائب	gaib
envy, emulation	ghairah	غيره	gairah
mistake, error	ghalat	غالت	galat
victorious	ghalib	غالب	galib
accent, dialect	loghat	لغة	logat
sunset prayer	maghrib	مغرب	magrib
sad, sorrowful	masyghul	مشغول	masgul (masygul)
proselytizer	mubaligh	مبلغ	mubalig
conveying the Islamic message	tabligh	تبليغ	tablig

(c) <kh> - <k>

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
news	khabar	خبر	kabar
Thursday	Khamis	خميس	Kamis
worried	khuatir	خواطر	kuatir, kawatir
manuscript	naskhah	نسخه	naskah

(d) <q> - <k>

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
winged horse	buraq	براق	borak
ungodly, sinful	fasiq (fasik)	فاسق	pasik
power, ability	qadar	قدر	kadar
ancestry, family	qadim	قديم	kadim
the final words of the call to prayer	qamat	قائمة	kamat
Arabic poem	qasidah	قصيدة	kasidah
special supplication in the night of the 15 th day in month of <i>Muharram</i>	qunut	قنوت	kunut

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
prayer or formula recited at a burial	talqin	تلقين	talkin
the path to truth	tariqat	طريقه	tarikah

(e) <sy> - <s>

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
feast of 10th day in month of <i>Muharram</i>	asyura	عشوراء	asura
meeting, assembly	mahsyar	محشر	mahsar (mahsyar)
sad, sorrowful	masyghul	مشغول	masgul (masygul)
having a grievance	musykil	مشكيل	muskil
the eighth month in the Muslim calendar	Syaaban	شعبان	Saban (Syaban)
attestation	syahadat	شهادة	sahadat (syahadat)
poem	syair	شعير	sair (syair)
condition	syarat	شرط	sarat (syarat)
sweet, cooling drink	syarbat	شربة	serbat
partnership	syarikat	شريكة	serikat
gratitude	syukur	شكور	sukur (syukur)

2. Arabic graphemes in bahasa Melayu in Malaysia differently used in bahasa Indonesia.

(a) <z> - <j>

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
providence	rezeki	رزقي	rejeki (rezeki)
visit	ziarah	زياره	jjarah (ziarah)

(b) <z> - <l>

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
to memorize	hafaz	حفظ	hapal (hafal)
the spoken word	lafaz	لفظ	lapal (lafal)
outward	zahir	ظاهر	lahir
unjust, cruel	zalim	ظالم	lalim
midday prayer	zuhur	ظهر	lohor
reverence	takzim	تعظيم	taklim (takzim)

(c) <z> - <s>

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
person who wastes	mubazir	مبذّر	mubasir (mubazir)
recalcitrant	nusyuz	نشوز	nusus

3. The final Arabic graphemes differently and oppositely spelled in both languages.

(a) <h> - <t>

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
court of justice	mahkamah	محكمة	mahkamat (mahkamah)
affection, friendship	muhibah	محبة	muhibat (muhibah)
appropriateness	munasabah	مناسبة	munasabat (munasabah)
pamphlet, leaflet	risalah	ريساله	risalat (risalah)
sighting (of the new moon to fix the Eids)	rukyah	روءيه	rakyat

(b) <t> - <h>

Meaning	Malaysian	Jawi Script	Indonesian
disaster	musibat	مصيبة	musibah (musibat)
descendant, offspring	zuriat	ذورية	zuriah (zuriat)