

BECOMING MALAY: USE OF MALAY AND DUTCH LOANWORDS IN ARABIC CORRESPONDENCES OF THE ARABS IN THE 19TH CENTURY INDONESIA

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Abstract

For at least hundreds of years Arab travelers and merchants, especially those originating from Hadhramaut, have had special relationship with Southeast Asia and its people. Historically this relationship has been very deep and permanent; sociologically extensive and continuous; and culturally heavy manifesting in various significant, and influential ways. One such influence is the adoption of many Arabic elements in the languages used in Indonesia. On the contrary, the Arabic language used by the Hadhramis in the archipelago was also influenced by Malayo-Indonesian language. This study aims to describe such use of loan words from Malay and Dutch in the Arabic language of the Hadhramis. The present study is data oriented. Some twenty-five copies of letters written in Arabic by the Hadhramis are analyzed. A closer look at the letters or correspondences from and to Hadhramaut and the Indonesian archipelago revealed that some Malay and Dutch lexicons were also used in their correspondences which were written in Arabic. Such use may indicate at least two aspects, socio-linguistic and socio-political. At the socio-linguistic aspect, the use of Malay and Dutch elements can be said as early process of bilingualism and adoption of new linguistic identity, while at the socio-political level such use shows how the beginning of the identification and adoption of new local or national identity.

Keyword:

Introduction

The origin of the name is not exactly known. There are various theories. One theory is that the region is named after a nickname of Amar bin Qahtan (عمرو بن قحطان), meaning "death has come" from حضر/haḍara/ (Arabic for "has come") and موت/maut/ ("death"), the reason being that whenever he entered a battle, there are always many people who died.

Another theory stated that it is related to Hazarmaveth in Genesis 10:26 and 1 Chronicles 1:20 in the Bible (meaning "court of death", according to various Bible dictionaries). There, Hazarmaveth is the name of a son of Joktan, one of the sons of Shem in the table of the Sons of Noah in Genesis 10 - i.e. the founders of nearby nations including Sheba, also a son of Joktan. As Southern Arabia was and is one of the homelands of the South Semitic language subfamily, a Semitic origin for the name is highly likely. If the name did reflect a biblical- or pre-biblical-era naming convention in the Near East, this would make it ancient indeed, pre-dating both Islam and Greco-Roman civilization.

A third theory is that the name derives from the Greek ὑδρευματα (*hydreumata*), or enclosed (and often fortified) 'watering stations' at wadis. A *hydreuma* (singular) is a manned and fortified watering hole or way station along a caravan route. Juris Zarins, rediscoverer of the city claimed to be ancient Incense Road trade capital. Ubar in Oman, described that site in a Nova interview:

The site that we uncovered at Shihur was a kind of fortress/administration center set up to protect the water supply from raiding Bedouin tribes. Surrounding the site, as far as six miles away, were smaller villages, which served as small-scale encampments for the caravans. An interesting parallel to this are the fortified water holes in the Eastern of Egypt from Roman times. There, they were called *hydreumata*.

The present day term of Hadhramaut (written in several ways, Hadhramaut, Hadhramout, or Hadramawt) is a region, rich with historical values, in the southern part of Arab Peninsula extending from the Gulf of Aden, Arab Sea to Dhafar, the border of Oman. Politically, this region is a governorate of the Republic of Yemen. The people coming from this region, therefore, is called the *Hadhramis*.

Generally speaking, the Arabs are divided into two major groups. The northern Arabs and the southern Arabs. The division is not merely geographical, but also notes characteristics of each group (WH, 1937). The Arabs of Hadhramaut are the southern Arabs.

The northern Arabs consist of most nomadic tribes, or tent dwellers living around Hijaz and Nejed. On the contrary, the south Arabs are sedentary, inhabiting most area of Yemen and Hadhramaut, including its coast lines. According to Conn the north Arabs spoke a variant of Arabic which now becomes the language of the Qur'an; while the south Arabs used ancient Semitic language, Sabaea or Himyar, which is closer to Ethiopic language in Africa (Sarjeant, 1957).

The southern Arabs were the first to advance and develop their own civilization. While the northern Arabs had never been outstanding in international politics, except after the advance of Islam. The Sabaeans, who dwelled in the southwest part of present-day Yemen, were the first Arabs who developed sophisticated civilization and had been known as successful traders (WH, 1937). Genealogically, the Arabs divide themselves into two groups; Arab *Al-Bâ'idah* (remote Arabs) and Arab *Al-Bâqiyah* (remaining Arabs). Arab *Al-Bâ'idah* were ancient Arabs which are believed to extinct, including the tribes of Tsamud and 'Âd, which were mentioned in the Qur'an. The Arab *Al-Bâqiyah*, as the name implies, are present day Arabs. Some experts further divide this latter group into two sub-groups: Arab *Al-'Aribah* (Arabs of the Arabs) and Arab *Al-Musta'ribah*, the Arabised groups. The descendants of Ya'rub bin Qahthân bin Hûd, who are the native of Yemen, are of Arab *Al-'Aribah*. The Arab *Al-Musta'ribah* began from 'Adnân –descendants of Ismâ'il son of Abrâham- who underwent the process of being Arabised in the Arab peninsula. The tribes of Hijaz, Nejed, Nabasia, and Palmyra, all are of Arab *Al-Musta'ribah* (WH, 1937). In line with Hitti, Van den Berg claimed that the *sayyids* of Hadhramaut are not of southern Arab origin, and therefore not Arab *Al-'Aribah* (Arabs of the Arabs), but the Arab *Al-Musta'ribah*. This is because the *sayyids* are the descendants of 'Ali, cousin and son-in-law of prophet Muhammad, who is the descendant of Ishma'il, and was actually a migrant from the north (L.W.C, 1886).

Result and Discussion

A. The Province of Hadhramaut

Hadhramaut is divided into two regions. The coastline, which consists of two major port towns of Mukalla and Shihr, forms the gateway to the Indian

Ocean. This coastal area is separated by a range of Rocky Mountains from the interior, which consists of a number of stony plateaus incised with a series of deep valleys, or *wadis*.

The most prominent of these is the Wadi Hadhramaut, from which the region has taken its name. The fertile and most populous valley of Hadhramaut contains the major towns of Shibam, Say'un, and Tarim, and has been viewed traditionally as the repository of Hadhrami culture and learning. Several other major valleys, the most important of which are the *wadis* Al 'Ayn, Daw'an, and 'Amd, run south and southwest across Wadi Hadhramaut. Due to the importance of the Indian Ocean trade for the prosperity of the region, these valleys have long depended on access to the ocean for their survival, and tribal conflicts have been caused by fights to control one or both of the ports (Damluji, 1992).

A severe climate of extreme heat during the day and cold nights, especially in the elevated plateaus, is characteristic of both the coastline and interior. Rainfall is light and rare. Most of the land of Hadhramaut consists of barren rock, with agriculture only possible in valleys where there is an underground water supply. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the only agricultural crops of international commercial value were tobacco and honey. Other crops for domestic use included dates, millet, lucerne, sesame, and wheat. Some vegetables such as sweet potatoes, onions, garlic, pumpkins, and carrots were grown in small quantities; and fruits included limes, bananas, and pawpaws. The major remaining domestic food source was fish. It is clear that external trade, rather than domestic production, has always been essential to support the population of the region (WH, 1937).

The use of the Arabic language is only on special occasions, such as weddings and commemorating the dead. This is not the tradition of oral communication, because it does not involve the process of interaction with others. It would be very difficult to distinguish a person whether he possesses an Arab identity or Palembang when viewed from the language used. In the process of communication, verbal aspect relates to the use of the type of language, pronunciation, accent, vocabulary and ability to understand the meaning of the language (Henny Yusalia, 2017).

The region known as Hadhramaut occupies a corner of the south-west Arabian peninsula. In terms of the present political position, the region forms a province of the Republic of Yemen. To the north of this region lays a vast expanse of desert, the Rub' Al Khali or Empty Quarter. Consequently, the Hadhramis have looked to the south and to the east for economic and cultural contacts. Hadhrami maritime trade appears to have started in about the fifth century BC (Tibbets, 1956). Following the advancement of Islam in southern Arabia, more active, and new maritime trade was revived especially with regions transbordering the Indian Ocean, including southeast Asia. These trade routes were also means of seeking livelihood that their own homeland could not provide.

B. The Arrival and Diaspora of the Hadhramis in the East Indies

Arabs have been travelling east for centuries. They settled mostly in what are now Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. The majority of these Arabs are from the Hadhramaut region of south-eastern Yemen. Many migrated first to India, settling in the south-west or in Gujarat. They came as sailors, pedlars, traders of all sorts, cloth merchants, spice dealers, preachers, teachers and sometimes all of the above in a single lifetime.

Diaspora of the Arabs of Hadhramaut and of other origin in general to the islands of Southeast Asia has begun before the advent of Islam in this region. A regular trading route between Arabia and the region appears to have existed as early as the seventh century. Prior to the arrival of Islam the migration of the Hadhramis to the former Dutch East Indies declined substantially. After the advent and spread of Islam from the Hijaz to Hadhramaut, the Hadhrami adventure became active again. In this second wave of adventure the Hadhramis reestablished trade contact and introduced Islam in the region. Since the tenth century on their arrival kept increasing. Reports from European as well as the Middle East travellers showed the existence of Hadhrami settlement centers in some trade port cities in the region (Morley, 1949).

The wave of migration of the Hadhramis to the region grew significantly in the middle of the nineteenth century. This was due to the change of the Dutch colonial policy, which made it possible for Java and several other islands in the colonial territory open to the international market. Besides, the increase of activity and frequency of Hadhrami migration was facilitated by the opening of Suez Canal in 1869 and the use of modern steamship transportation mode, so that maritime travel between Arabia and the islands of Southeast Asia intensified. The first port towns they visited were those that located at the northernmost tip of Sumatra. Then they went south to Palembang or crossed eastward to Pontianak in West Kalimantan. Some of them spread to the northern port cities of Java.

In the 1820s, some Hadhrami colonies, which played an important role in international trade networks, could be found in the cities of the northern coasts of Java. Since those years the number of Hadhramis in the Dutch East Indies kept increasing.

Van den Berg (1886) reported that in 1859, the Dutch East Indies government did the first census on the number of members of the Arab community in Indonesia. Before the 1859 census, the Dutch administration in Indonesia mixed up the Arabs with Indians or Bengalis. In this first census, the number of members of Arab community in Indonesia was about 10,441. The number increased to 16,814 in 1870, 39,165 in 1885. According to the estimation of al-Irsyad (an organization whose members are mainly of non-Sayyid Arab descents), current number of Arab descents or al-Muwalladun in Indonesia is about 5 millions (Bajerei, 1996).

Now, Arabs can be found in almost regions of Indonesia. Significant number especially can be found in Aceh, Palembang, and Padang in Sumatra

island; almost in every major cities in Java island, particularly in Jakarta, Semarang, Pekalongan, Solo, Gresik, Pasuruan, Surabaya, and Malang; Sumenep andn Bangkalan in Madura; Pontianak dan Banjarmasin in Kalimantan; even in Bali, Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua, and the island of Timor (Budi Santoso, 2000).

L.W.C. van Den Berg (1885: 108) claimed that the number of Arab in South Kalimantan before 1886 was 827. The term South Kalimantan was not yet used in van Den Berg's report, rather he used *cote meridionale et orientale de Borneo* to refer to what is now a range of coasts extending from the southwestern to the southeastern parts of Kalimantan. Of the total number of the Arabs living in South Kalimantan before 1886, 113 of them were immigrants or al-Wulaiti consisting of 105 adult male and 8 children or teenagers; of the 714 immigrants of Indonesia-born or al Muwalladun, 155 of them were men, 129 women, and 430 children. By noticing the statistics, we can infer that the rapid increase of the number of Arabs was not due to immigration, but because of high rate of birth among them. We can also claim that the immigrant Arabs did not bring their wives along with them, instead they married local women. This is supported by Berg's report on Arabs in Indonesia before 1900s:

“Les Arabes dans l'Archipel indien sont mariés, soit à des femmes indègines, soit des filles de leurs compatriotes, les quelles n'ont quitté le pays et sont, par ce fait, entièrement semblabes aux femmes indègines, sous le rapport de la langue, de la civilisation et des moeurs (Wende, 2003).

In line with trade factor, migration of the Hadhramis to the Dutch East Indies as well as other countries in the Indian ocean was also supported by the actual condition in their place of origin in the Middle East. At least two factors are worth mentioning as the main supporting factors for the Hadhrami migration waves (Natalie Mobini Kesheh, 1997). The first factor pertains to the Hadhramaut internal political condition. For most of history, Hadhramaut was never ruled by a single major power. Several ruling tribes and clans divided the region into small petty states.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century two major powers were in conflict, the families of the Qu'aytis and theKathiris. The conflict went on throughout the century and worsened the economy of the region. It can be assumed that this unstable political condition, which was the resul of tribal and familial conflicts and severely affected the economy, led to more Hadhramis to leave their country. Chritian Lekon (1995) described the economy of Hadhramaut very much dependent on imports. In the 1930s, the wealth of Hadhramaut could only supply the need of one third of its people. In those years, 20 to 30 percent of Hadhrami population lived in several countries in the Indian Ocean.

The above reason assured the economic and political conditions were the major problems faced by the Hadhramis in their country, especially during the era of massive emigration in the nineteenth century. In addition, natural condition which caused frequent droughts and resulted in severe periodical famines attributed to the inability of its economy to support life of its entire people (Kazuhiro Arai, 2004). These difficulties forced some of them to leave

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Hadhramaut in search of a better life. Syed added the Islamic notion of geography, which considered the world to be a universal unit without territorial frontiers, greatly facilitated the migration of the Hadrami Arabs (Farid Alatas, 1997).

Although in terms of number the Chinese in Indonesia are relatively higher, nevertheless cultural and linguistic influences of Arabs are far greater. This relates with the adoption of the religion of Islam, whose religious terminologies use Arabic language, as the the religion of the majority of Indonesian people.

During the Dutch colonial period until a couple of decades after Indonesia's independence, the Arabs in Indonesia were divided into categories of *quh* (plural *ahqah*) or *wulaiti* (plural: *wulayati*) and *muwalladun* (singular *muwallad*). The first category refers to those who were born in Hadhramaut, while the second refers to those who were born outside or foreign born.

Of the three major foreign ethnic groups in Indonesia (Arab, Chinese, and Indians), the Arabs and Indians can be said to have adopted the language of their area of residency in totality. Therefore, the Arabs living in Central and East Java will speak Javanese. The same is true with the Arabs who live in South Kalimantan where people use Banjarese, a Malay dialect, as their vernacular. However, as an ethnic group or race, the Arabs still maintain some of their cultural identity, such as using some relics of Arabic vocabulary in their speech, having their own social organization, including having a musical group that performs music and songs of Arab origin, and the practice of endogamy. The first and second generation Arabs supposedly used Arabic as their main language of communication and language of local, regional, as well as international correspondence among them. The latter is evident in some archives of correspondences, which were written in Arabic of Hadhrami dialect. In these letters traces of interferences lexicons of languages which were used in Indonesian archipelago at that time can be found. Examples influence of Malay, Dutch, and Chinese words are obvious (please see the appendices of examples of the letters). The letters, that were actually excerpted from the appendices of van den Berg's book, were presumably copies of personal correspondences among the Hadhramis living in the East Indies.

Language Contact and Interference

Language contact takes place between two different language speakers in contact situation. The languages in contact are said to form a Sprachbund (Isle Lehist, 1988), which refers to area where different languages and languages used in that area undergo changes from genetic heterogeneity to typologically homogenous.

The contact of languages presumes a situation in which some groups of speakers of different languages live close to each other for hundreds of years and each group maintain their language for intra-group communication, and at the same time they have to communicate with speakers of the other language who live in the same area. One of the factors that induces language contact is the arrival of

a large number of speakers of a language to a linguistically homogenous area. One of the impacts of such phenomenon is that the newcomers and the local people use their respective language; this in turn leads to a *sprachbund*, an area in which two languages come into contact. The newcomers might assimilate with the local people and use, or even think of the language of the local people as their own language; or contrarily the language of the newcomers overcomes the language of the local people that eventually the local people use and shift to the language of the newcomers. Whichever the result of the language contact, it depends very much on extralinguistic factors, such as number of each group, degree of material and non-material culture, and military power possessed by each of the groups. Usually, a period of spread of bilingualism precedes a shift to a new language. However, language contact may take place without direct contact of groups of language speakers. Classical Arabic and English best exemplify this non direct contact phenomenon. Classical Arabic, for example, has come into contact with other languages through religion of Islam. Languages such as Turkish, Persian, Malay, and Bahasa Indonesia, whose speakers are mostly Muslims, borrow a large number of Arabic words (Sarah Thomason G, 2004).

Study about linguistic borrowing is covered in the theme of language contact. For the anthropologists, language contact is considered one aspect of cultural contact, and linguistic borrowing is one example of cultural diffusion, spread of part of a culture from people to people.

Stated that no matter how small the degree or the nature of contact between two cultures, it is sufficient to say that a phenomenon of two languages influences each other, and the simplest influence is one language borrowing words from the other.

Haugen uses the term linguistic diffusion for borrowing, which he defined as “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another” (Weinreich, 1953).

Borrowing occurs in three areas, namely cultural, intimate, and dialect. A borrowing phenomenon is cultural when language boundaries are of separate geographical and political boundaries. It is intimate when if the two languages in contact come from the same political domain. While dialectal borrowing shows the adoption of language features of the same language area.

Differentiated between borrowing and the interference phenomena. Borrowing is actually interference in language, while interference is the incoming of elements from other language in speech or interference in speech. In line with Weinreich, Mackey explained the relationship between borrowing and interference as follows:

“Interference is the use of elements from one language while speaking or writing another.... It is the characteristic of the message, not of the code. The effects of interference may or may not be institutionalized in the language, resulting in different degrees of language borrowing which affects the code and becomes the property of those who use the language – monolingual and bilingual alike” (Weinreich, 1953).

Based on the above mentioned definition, the existence of some words or terminologies from the languages spoken in Indonesia at the time of the correspondence among the Hadhramis in the nineteenth century in Indonesia is the interference phenomenon. The interference is from the local languages into the Arabic language used by the Hadhramis at that particular time and in particular place. Nevertheless, such interference did not at all affect the Arabic language used in their place of origin, the Hadhrami Arabic of Hadhramaut. Rather it only influenced the Arabic language used in Indonesia (the East Indies). This is confirmed by letters of parents from the city of Mukalla to their son in Indonesia. In these letters, there were no evidence of interference from the language spoken in their son's place. On the contrary, letters for correspondence among the Hadhramis in the East Indies showed the interferences of some Malay and Dutch, as well as Chinese lexicons in their letters.

In terms of aspect of use of the lexicons, the interference include the words for transportation and communication such as الكريته *alkaritah* < *carreta* – ‘cart or car’, تروس *tarus/turus* (straight, go ahead), التمر *at-timur* (the east), الفرانكو *alfaranku* (stamp), الفوز *alfuz* (mail, mail carrier), الباس *albas* (pass, passport), فوتر- *futar* – *yafutir* (turn around, go round), شنتة *sintah* – (ink), dan زام *zam* (watch, clock); for administration, government, and social الفركرات *alfarkarat* (legal cases), هوف جفسة *huf jafsah* – *hoofd-Djaksa* (head judge), يسقمير *yasqamir* – *weeskamer* (chamber of commerce), الركويس *alrikwis* – (request), اسفتسى *asaftasi* (acceptatie) – (acceptance, receipt), جافة بنق *jafah banq* – Java Bank, البنك *albanqi* – bank, كمفون *kamfun* – (compound, village), الكراني *alkarani* – clerk, الفنترة *alfintarah* – (tricky, smart), تران *taran* – (light), الميل *almail* – mail; for trading business المنشريان *mansyarian* – (profession), اهل التكو *ahlit-tuku* (shop owner), الباتيقي *albatiq* – batik, بابيه *babah* (Chinese), شاف *syaf* or (Malay cap) – (trade mark), الكنتشين *alkansyin* – (button), الشوراع *alsyura* – (pattern of a cloth), البنانق *albananki* – (thread), الكاشي *alkasyi* – (cloth made of rough garment), صاروم- ضوارم *sorum/sawarim* – (sarong), بناكس *bunkus* – *banakis* – (packet), اب البناكس *abalbanakis* – (peddler, hawker), دوبي *doby* – *doby* – (dress washer), روطن *ruton* – rattan, مركب الدخان *markab addukhan* – (steam boat), المكلرين *almaklarin* – makelaar (broker), اهل البريف *ahlulbariq* – (brick man/builder), غاز *gaz* – gas, النומר *numur* – number, بناكو *banku* – *banaku* – (stole), بندر *bandar* – (town), مندفلم *mandofalam* – madopalem (pattern of Chinese cloth), and اللكشوان *alluksyuan* – lokcuan (batik patterns worn by the Chinese).

Appendix 1

Examples of Some Malay Lexicons used in the Writing of Hadhrami Arabs' letters in the East Indies Archipelago.

From Malay:

Arabic	Malay	English
المنشريان	pencarian	Profession, job
الباس	pas	passport

الفوز	pos	Mail, post office
تروس	terus	Go ahead
اهل التكو	Pemilik toko	Shop owner
الباتيق	batik	Batik
الفركرات	perkara	Matters
بابه	Babah	Chinese (man)
شاف	Cap	Trade mark
الكنشين	Kancing	Button
الشوراع	Corak	Pattern
الفنطرة	Pintar	Smart, cunning
البنانق	Benang	String, thread
التمور	Timut	East
تران	Terang	Light
الكاشى	Kaci	Hoarse white cloth
كمفون	Kampung	Village
البنق	Bank	Bank
زام	Jam	Watch
فوتر - يفوتر	Putar, berputar	Turn around
صاروم - ضوارم	Sarung	Sarong
بنكس - بناكس	bungkus	Packet
اب البناكس	Pedagang kelontong	Peddler
جاوه - جاوى	Jawa	Java
روطن	Rotan	Rattan

From Other Languages – European and Chinese:

Arabic	Malay	English
هوف جفسة	Jaksa Kepala	Attorney
جافة ينق	Java Bank	Java bank
اسفتسى	Aseptatie (Dutch)	Receipt, reception
الكريته	Kereta (Caretta – Portuguese)	Train, car
النومر	Nomor	Number
شنتة	Tinta (< Portuguese)	Ink
بنك - بناكو	Bangku (< Portuguese)	Bench, stool
غاز	Gas (Dutch)	gas
بندر	Bandar (Malay < Parsi)	Town, port
اهل اليريف	Ahlul (Arabic) Brick (Dutch)	Builder
المكربين	Makelar (Dutch)	Broker
الفرنكو	Pranco	Stamp

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الركوبيس	Rekwis, permohonan	Request
الميل	surat	mail
يسقمير	weeskamer	
دوبى	Douby (India)	Laundry shop
الكراني	Kerani (India)	Clerk
اللکشوان	Luk-cwan (Chinese)	Type of Batik pattern worn by Chinese women
مندفلم	Mandopalem (Chinese)	Type of cloth

Loan translation

مركب الدخان Markab addukhan – kapal api - steamship

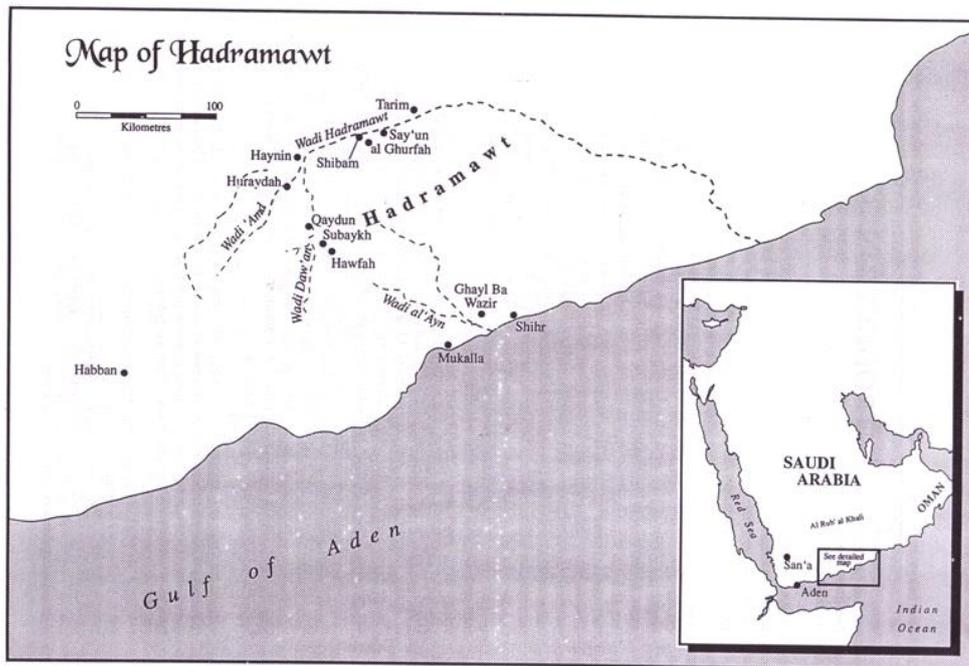
If we pay close attention to the Malay (Indonesian), Dutch, and Chinese lexicons in the letters of the Hadhrami Arabs in the East Indies archipelago at that time, we could see some innovations, especially those of sound change. For example the sounds of Malay and Dutch languages which do not exist in Arabic were replaced with sounds of the closest equivalent in terms of their places or manners of articulation. It is also interesting to note that some Malay lexicons were treated like Arabic lexicons in the way they receive formal modification. Such modifications were the ways of plural formation of nouns and imperfective derivation of verbs as in *sorum* > *sawarim* ‘sarong’, *bunkus* > *banakis* ‘packets’, *almakalarin* < (Dutch) makelaar ‘brokers’, *banku* – *banaku* ‘stole’, and *futar* – *yafutir* (Arabic *adara* – *yaduru*) for Malay’s ‘berputar’ (turn around, go around).

The same is also true with hybrid noun phrase formation involving different language sources available to the Hadhramis. For example *ahlit-tuku* (Arabic *ahl* – owner or expert, *toko* – Chinese) for ‘wholeseller’ and *ahliilbariq*, lit. ‘brick expert’ (*ahl*, Arab, and Dutch *brik*,) for ‘builder’, and loan translation *markab ad-dukhan* (Arabic *markab* – something to ride on, and *dukhan* – smoke) for ‘steamship’.

The interference phenomena found in the letters written by the Hadhramis in the East Indies also revealed a segment of their life dynamics in the archipelago. Given that most of the Hadhramis in the East Indies archipelago were merchants or traders, it is understandable why many lexicons were about trade activities or about trading commodity. As noted earlier that one economic hardship in their place of origin, and looking for a better life were of the main motive of their arrival in Indonesia, the contents of their letters consistently discussed potential chances they had and types of commodity they traded. Strong networks they formed and maintained are obvious in the origin and destination of the correspondence. The way all of the letters were opened by praising God, and ended with prayers for the safety and well being of the receiver, are evident that all of the Hadhramis in the former East Indies, or present day Indonesia, have mostly (if not all) been Muslims.

Appendix 1.

Figure 1. Map of Hadramaut



Letter from a mother in the city of Mukalla, Hadhramaut.

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وان شى كتاب من اهلى من البلاد فقدت ترسله الى مكاسر عند المحب
سالم بن محفوظ الله وصى شان الولد عمر قدك تحق لنا عن حاله
وجواهه (*) كم وعند من هو لحيث قدك وكيل وكان الله فى عزك
والله الله فى الجواب الى مكاسر ومن شان ارسال او علم او خبر الله
الله فى التحقيق والسلام ختام والسلام منا ومن العم محمد وانا وباه (*)
سوا (*) فى مكاسر وساترا سوا من سرباية والسلام من الخال احمد
والسلام ختام

No. 11.

الحمد لله وحده ليد المعزم الاكرم الولد المبارك فلان بن فلان سلمه
الله تعالى امين. السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته. صدرت من بندر
المكلا (*) واحواها راتقة واسماره (*) العادة وان سالم عنا ومن الحبايب
الجميع بعانية نرجو انكم وكافة اولادكم النجمع بعانية وقد سبقت
اليكم جملة كتب ولم يحد منكم جواب وفيها اكمل الحقائق لعل المانع
خير وانت يا ولد من يوم ساترت ما وصل نحي منك كتاب ولا
ارسال ولا خبر ولا علم ما كانت موجود فى الدنيا ولا يستوى منك
هذا الامر زهن رينياتك ولا معك الا نحي واذا ما ذكرت نحي بانذكر
من غيرنا (*) وحملتك فى بطنى تسعة اشهر وعذيتك ورينيتك وراحيين
نصحتك ولا درينا كيف البصر فيك وايض هذا الامر جميع الناس
يجازون اهلهم بكل خير وارسالهم كل عام وانت الله ثم الله فى
الارسال (*) والعم ما يواعد (*) والحبيب عبد الله معان باليتب لك
قد كتبت كتبا كثيرة ولا قدرته بجواب (*) ما هذا المرجو منك واذا
ما وقع البر اليوم متى بالقع فى والدتك وما بعد طاعة الله الوالدين
لقوله سبحانه وتعالى وقضى ربك ان تصدقوا الا اياه وبالوالدين احسانا (*)

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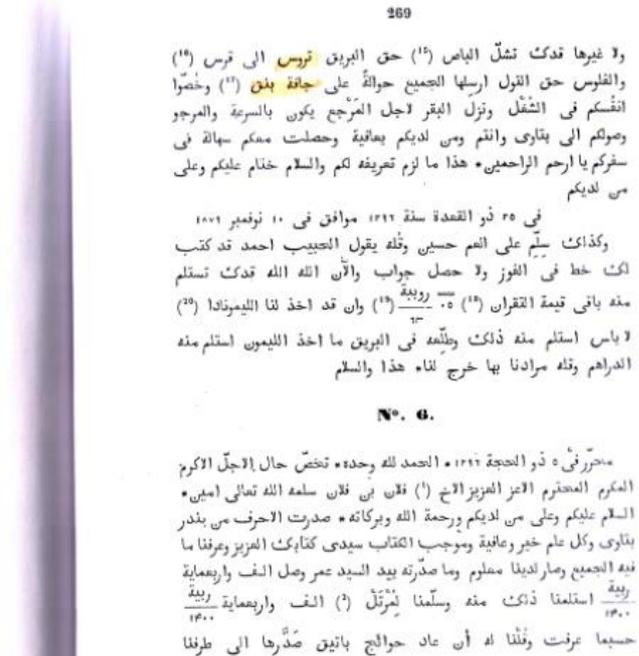
لهم احق بالبر من غيرهم وفرحنا بما صدرته لثاكت القرشين (*)
بيد سالم وقد جوب عليك بوصفها واعلمك ب وفاة خالكت من حضرموت
ونحي ما ذكرت نحي بشى ولا كرايمك ولا حبايتك (*) ما هذا المسبون
مذكت يا ولد والسلام من حبايتك وكرايمك وخالاتك واولاد خاكت
والحبيب عبد الله وراقم الاحرف احمد بن سالم ولما الحبيب عبد الله
مشغول مذكت من قل الكتاب والسلام عليك وعلى اهلك والبنات
ونحي تدمى لك مع كل فرض (*) وانت الله الله فى الخروج (*)
ابى (*) اينما تكون بئيننا نظرة فيك والعم ما يواعد والسلام
من والدتك

No. 12.

الحمد لله وحده صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم. الى
جذاب الاجل الاكرم المعزم الاح المميز فلان بن فلان سلمه الله
امين. صدرت الاحرف من بندر باكلنتان (*) والاعلام سارة موجوب
الكتاب سوا عن احوالكم وما انتم عليه نرجو انتم والاهل بنافية وثانيا
اعلمنا لم بوصولنا من سرباية على السلامة والعافية والذى نطمع سدى
بان نحي ارسلنا الى طرف الولد احمد خمسة عشر ربية نقة
وامرنا يسلم لك ذاك وشفه جالس فى البيت (*) الذى كان فيه على
الهارش (*) فقط. حال ما (*) يصاكت خطنا هذا تسير الى باحوجان (*)
وتسلم الفلوس المذكورة وتكتب للوالد احمد قبض (*) فيها ان طلب
مذكت قبض وصول (*) وتسلم الفلوس الخمسة عشر ربية للزوجة
خديجة واخرها انكاتها (*) مطوية (*) فيها مثل ما نحي مطولين فيها

(*) P. 77 et 78. (*) "Grand'mère", c'est encore une signification du mot خديجة à insérer dans les dictionnaires. V. p. 52. (*) Je prie pour toi dans chacune de mes

A letter of a Hadhrami in Surabaya



Conclusion

Historically this relationship was deep and permanent; sociologically broad and sustainable; and manifests culturally in a variety of significant and influential ways. One of these influences is the adoption of many elements of Arabic in the language used in Indonesia. On the other hand, the Arabic language used by Hadhrami in the archipelago was also influenced by the Malay-Indonesian language. We can also conclude that in the Malay (Indonesian), Dutch, and Chinese lexicon in Hadhrami Arabic letters in the East Indies archipelago at that time, we could see several innovations, especially sound changes. For example, the sounds of Malay and Dutch that are not in Arabic are replaced with sounds that have the closest equivalent in terms of place or procedure of articulation. It is also interesting to note that some Malay lexicons are treated like Arabic lexicon in the way they accept formal modifications.

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