LLT Journal, e-ISSN 2579-9533, p-ISSN 1410-7201, Vol. 28, No. 1, April 2025, pp. 128-152

LLT Journal: A Journal on Language and Language Teaching
http://e-journal.usd.ac.id/index.php/LLT
Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

FRAMING FAITH AND LANGUAGE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ETYMOLOGIES IN INDONESIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

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https://doi.org/10.24071/llt.v28i1.9656
received 28 August 2024; accepted 16 April 2025

Abstract
A dictionary is more than a collection of words; it is a realm of knowledge and power where language, history, and ideology meet. This research aims to explore the representation and absence of etymological traces of socio-religious terms, particularly those of Arabic origin, in the online edition of the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI). A critical analysis of several entries shows that although since 2018 the KBBI has started to include etymological notes for some Arabic-derived words, this move remains partial, inconsistent and problematic. Terms such as modin and muslihat appear with superficial or distorted etymological explanations, while important terms in Islamic discourse such as istirjā‘, tayamum, and barakah are missing. On the other hand, the inclusion of sectarian terms-such as Ahlussunnah, Khawarij, and Wahabi-indicates an epistemological bias as well as a reflection of the particular ideological framework at work in the compilation of the dictionary. These findings show that the KBBI is not entirely neutral as a linguistic archive, but rather a discursive arena that produces and reproduces meanings in Indonesia's socio-political landscape. Thus, the dictionary does not only function as a linguistic tool, but also a field of cultural and ideological attraction, where the authority to define language becomes a contested political issue.

Keywords: Arabic term, Indonesian, KBBI, lexical etymology, socio-religious terminology

Introduction
Studies on the Great Indonesian Dictionary/*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI) have generally focused on aspects of dictionary development, lexical definitions, and exploration of the potential of the Indonesian language (Syukri et al., 2017; Wildan et al., 2022). A number of studies have also discussed the evolution of the KBBI through its various editions (Budiwiyanto & Suhardijanto, 2021; Kamajaya, 2019; Moeljadi et al., 2017; Sirulhaq et al., 2018). Although etymological information in the KBBI continues to grow, to date there has been no study that critically and comprehensively examines the accuracy and ideological

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dimensions of the inclusion of these etymologies, especially for lemmas with socio-religious content.

The presence of etymology in KBBI is a response to Jones' (1984) call for comprehensive etymological studies as a cornerstone for the development of Indonesian. The fifth edition of KBBI, accessible via the online platform kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id, incorporates thousands of new entries based on bibliographic research and public input, as noted by Wildan et al. (2022). The online platform allows users to propose new vocabulary and offers expanded features including word origins. Notably, since October 2019, the KBBI has incorporated Arabic etymologies, followed by Sanskrit origins in October 2020. These additions mark progress in lexicographic transparency and inclusivity. However, while these enhancements reflect an effort to broaden linguistic scope, the consistency, accuracy, and socio-ideological implications of etymological entries—especially those derived from Arabic—require closer scrutiny.

A critical concern lies in the phonological and semantic correspondence between source languages and their Indonesian renderings. For instance, the word *modin* is noted in KBBI as deriving from Arabic *mu'aẓẓin* (مُؤَذِّن), meaning 'caller to prayer,' and is glossed as a mosque official. However, various sources (Alniezar, 2019; Arifin, 2017; Munsyi, 2003) state that *modin* is more accurately derived from the Arabic phrase *imām ad-dīn* (إِمَامُ الدِّيْن), meaning *'religious leader*'. This indicates not only a semantic and orthographic shift but also a potentially ideological transformation, as it repositions the conceptual role of *imām* (leader) into a functionary (*mu'aẓẓin*). Similarly, the lemma *muslihat*, which originates from the Arabic *maṣlaḥah* (مَصْلَحَة), meaning *'benefit'* or *'public interest,'* is defined by KBBI as *'trick'* or *'strategy.*' This shows that there is a semantic deviation in the form of a negative connotation. Such shifts are not merely linguistic phenomena; rather, they carry significant socio-political implications, especially when they involve religious identity.

The same applies to the lemma *lebai*, which historically may have referred to learned individuals within religious contexts, but has since narrowed in meaning to merely denote mosque staff. Hoogervorst (2015) and Wain (2021) have voiced concerns over such distortions, particularly regarding Arabic-derived terms, which tend to be reframed in ways that reflect broader ideological biases within Indonesian discourse. According Hoogervorst (2015) the word *lebai* come from Tamil *labbai* (லப்பை).This term initially served as an honorific title for an Islamic authority, but eventually came to denote a distinct Tamil-speaking community adhering to the Ḥanafī school of thought. However, another explanation is provided by Wain (2021), who states that *leba'* originates from the Sino-Muslim term *libai* (禮). He traced the earliest known use of the Malay language to the word *lebai* in Java –where it emerged concurrently with the influence of Sino-Muslims in Cirebon, Gresik, and Demak. The etymology of *libai* is proposed: since the Song dynasty (960-1279), Sino-Muslims have used the noun *libai* to refer to religious affairs (especially *salat*) conducted in mosques. Through this investigation, he proposes that *lebai* originates from this term, indicating the influence of Sino-Muslims during the Islamization of Java.

While KBBI has made a number of improvements to the interface and efforts to attract user recognition, these improvements have mostly focused on definitions

rather than historical or ideological records of etymology. Therefore, this research is important to investigate the accuracy and potential ideological bias in the etymological entries of words in the social and religious fields.

The urgency of this research lies in the authoritative role of KBBI. As a reference for language standards in Indonesia, KBBI is used as a reference in the fields of education, media, and government documentation. Therefore, inaccurate or ideologically biased entries have the potential to shape public perceptions, reinforce stereotypes, and contribute to systemic exclusion practices. Unlike scientific dictionary etymologies that transparently explain semantic changes with clear methodological references, KBBI often presents etymological information without including sources or explanations in an orderly manner. This lack of transparency is the basis of reference for a critical study of lectionary practices in the KBBI.

This research aims to explore the etymological representation of several socio-religious terms in the KBBI Online, focusing on aspects of detail and ideological implementation. Specifically, this study analyzes whether the etymological explanation of lemmas such as modin and muslihat is in accordance with historical linguistic data, and whether their contemporary meanings indicate ideological filtering or semantic distortion. Furthermore, this study asks critical questions: to what extent does the inclusion of etymologies from Arabic—and, to a lesser extent, Sanskrit—in the KBBI reflect the power dynamics at work in Indonesian lexicographic practices? What are the impacts of possible etymological inaccuracies or simplifications on particular communities and identity groups? And how do these entries contribute to inclusivity or marginalization in Indonesian linguistic discourse?

These questions become particularly relevant in the context of multicultural and multireligious Indonesia, where language not only functions as a means of communication, but also plays a central role in the formation and maintenance of social boundaries. Referring to the Critical Discourse Analysis framework developed by Fairclough, which emphasizes the dialectical relationship between language, power, and ideology, this study aims not only to disseminate the lexical content in KBBI, but also to examine the broader sociolinguistic implications of such representations in the structure of Indonesian linguistic discourse.

Arabic loanwords and semantic transformation in Indonesian

Arabic has a very profound and significant influence on Indonesian vocabulary, especially in the fields of religion, law, education, and culture. This influence stems from the interaction that has been formed over the centuries between the Arab world and the Malay Archipelago through trade activities, migration, religious propagation, and the spread of Islamic science (Almurashi, 2024**;** Kembaren et al., 2019; Mahfud et al. 2022). The influence of Arabic is not only lexical, but also extends to the realm of culture, ideology and contributes significantly to the formation of Indonesia's sociolinguistic landscape. Ruskhan (2007a) limits the influence of Arabic especially in the fields of law and religion. Jones (2007) provides a broader mapping by identifying at least eleven different domains of the lexical footprint of the Arabic language which include philosophy, anatomy, literature, nautical terminology, euphemisms, education, flora and fauna, timeliness, and more. This illustrates that the influence of the Arabic language is

much more pervasive and embedded in various aspects of the Indonesian knowledge system than is often assumed.

Julul et al. (2019) documented around 1,870 loan words from Arabic in the fifth edition of the KBBI V. However, these loan words do not always retain their original meaning. For example, the Arabic word *ṣalāh* (صلاة) which generally refers to prayer or a form of spiritual supplication, is narrowly defined in the KBBI as an Islamic ritual prayer consisting of certain physical and verbal elements. This kind of narrowing of meaning—known as specialization—is a common phenomenon in semantic evolution.

More significantly, several lemmas originating from Arabic have undergone a shift in meaning that contains ideological content. As an illustration, the word *muslihat*, derived from *maṣlaḥah* (مصلحة) in Arabic—meaning 'benefit', 'welfare', or 'public interest'—in contemporary Indonesian actually has a negative connotation, namely 'trickery' or 'cunning trickery'. This shift in meaning towards pejoration indicates a semantic transformation that is not merely linguistic, but may also be influenced by cultural reinterpretation and ideological construction of moral and ethical categories (Lewis, 2018).

Another interesting example is the term *modin*, which in the context of Javanese Muslim society refers to a religious official who is in charge of various religious activities, such as the call to prayer, funerals, and marriage contracts. KBBI traces the origin of this term to the Arabic word *muʾaḏḏin* (مؤذن), which means 'one who calls the call to prayer'. However, a number of academic studies have shown that modin is more accurately derived from the phrase *imām ad-dīn* (إمام الدين), which means 'religious leader', a broader and more authoritative role. This difference raises more serious issues regarding etymological accuracy and the possibility of ideological bias in Kamus (Alniezar, 2019; Arifin, 2017**;** Munsyi, 2003).

The examples shown here demonstrate that the semantic evolution of Arabic words into Indonesian is not a direct result of linguistic adaptation, but rather reflects complex ideological and cultural negotiations. To understand this process, an interdisciplinary approach is needed that goes beyond historical linguistics studies. It also includes a critical sociolinguistic analysis and a wacana to understand language relasi, kekuasaan, and social representation.

Semantic shift, lexicography, and ideology

Semantic shift is a linguistic phenomenon that has been extensively documented in the scientific literature. Classic works such as Bloomfield (1933), and Ullmann (1962), as well as contemporary studies by Yuniarto and Marsono (2013), Newman (2016), and Periti and Montanelli (2024), have identified various forms of meaning change, including broadening, narrowing, amelioration, and pejoration. This kind of semantic shift often occurs when a lexeme is absorbed into a different language and cultural environment, so that it undergoes reinterpretation in accordance with the local meaning and value system.

In the context of Indonesian, especially in relation to Arabic words, this form of semantic specialisation is a common phenomenon. For example, the Arabic term *ṣiyām* (صيام), which generally means "fasting", experienced a narrowing of meaning when it was absorbed into Indonesian as fasting, which is more specifically understood as a religious ritual practice in Islam. However, there are

also cases of more complex meaning shifts, such as those reflected in the deception lexicon, which involve a process of exposure. This transformation of meaning not only shows semantic dynamics, but also has the potential to reflect the construction of certain ideologies in the socio-cultural space where the word is used. Likewise, the term lebai, which was originally a polite term in Malay for elders or religious experts, in the development of contemporary Indonesian has experienced a shift in meaning to a derogatory term, with connotations of pretence or hypocrisy in religious expression. This change in meaning reflects the influence of socio-political dynamics on semantic perceptions (Wain, 2021).

One relevant theoretical lens to analyse this phenomenon is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as formulated by Fairclough (1995) and further developed in the digital context by Machin and Mayr (2023). CDA views language as an arena where power and ideology are produced, maintained and contested. In this context, the definition in the KBBI cannot be viewed simply as a neutral linguistic description, but rather as a product of certain institutional, cultural, and ideological forces. Lexicographic authority, thus, has a strategic role in determining the legitimacy of certain meanings over others. Semantic entries in dictionaries can function as ideological gatekeeping devices that reinforce dominant narratives and, simultaneously, reduce or erase alternative discourses (Henry & Kahane, 1992).

A similar thing can be found in the simplification of the term *modin* to *muʾaḏḏin*, which has the potential to erase local religious hierarchies and vocabulary that reflect the richness and diversity of historical Islamic practices in Indonesia. This observation underlines the importance of reflexivity in lexicographic practice. The compilation of a dictionary should not only be based on linguistic data alone, but should also consider the socio-historical and ideological contexts that surround and shape meaning. In a multilingual and multicultural society like Indonesia, lexicographic practice should be directed to be inclusive, representative, and critically aware of the power relations manifested through language.

Etymology, lexicographic practice, and methodological challenges

Etymological studies play an important role in understanding the historical roots and linguistic development of a lexeme. Halliday et al. (2007) distinguish between lexicology as the theoretical study of lexical elements, and lexicography as the application of these principles in dictionary construction. Etymological research enables lexicographers to trace the origins, evolutionary paths, and transformations of word meanings and forms across temporal and linguistic boundaries, thus providing a more comprehensive understanding of their semantic functions and nuances.

In response to the limitations of the previous edition, the Language Development and Fostering Agency (*Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa*) has revitalized the etymology project in the fourth edition of KBBI (Kamajaya et al., 2017). Moeljadi et al. (2019) report that the KBBI online platform now includes etymological information for a large number of entries, covering the original script, source language, and borrowing paths. The project began with a search for loanwords from Sanskrit (2016), then continued with Dutch (2017), and Arabic (2018). This initiative aims to strengthen the function of KBBI as a linguistic reference source that is not only descriptive, but also historical.

Despite significant progress in the development of lexical etymology, a number of methodological challenges remain, especially in tracing Arabic loanwords. Arabic loanwords in Indonesian often come through linguistic intermediaries, such as Persian, Urdu, or classical Malay, which complicates the process of identifying their direct origins (Adelaar, 2011; Adelaar & Hoogervorst, 2024; Tadmor, 2009; Van Dam, 2010). In addition, the absence of a standard transliteration system and historical documentation also hampers accurate etymological attribution.

One aspect that also complicates the process is the orthographic and phonological adaptation that occurs during the assimilation process. Ruskhan (2007b) classifies Arabic loanwords into three main categories: (1) phonological adaptation, (2) conceptual translation, and (3) hybrid elaboration. In the form of phonological adaptation, phonemes from Arabic are adjusted to the Indonesian phonological system, such as in the word *ḥāṣil* (حاصل) which becomes *hasil*, or *musāfir* (مسافر) which becomes *musafir*. Conceptual translation involves replacing Arabic terms with local equivalents that have similar meanings, for example *puasa* for *ṣawm* (صوم) and *sembahyang* for *ṣalāh* (صلاة). Meanwhile, hybrid elaboration reflects a *combination* of local and loan elements, as seen in the phrase puasa Ramadan which comes from ṣawm Ramadān.

This adaptive transformation reflects the creativity of Indonesian speakers in assimilating foreign concepts into the local cultural and linguistic framework. However, without systematic documentation and rigorous academic scrutiny, the adaptation process risks obscuring accurate etymological traces. This risk becomes even more significant in the context of compiling a national dictionary, where reliability, objectivity and accuracy of information are of paramount importance.

Another methodological concern is the inconsistency in Arabic transliteration within KBBI. A standardized system for representing Arabic script in Latin characters is essential to ensure transparency and scholarly rigor. In this study, Arabic terms are transliterated using a modified system that distinguishes key phonemes, such as *ṣ* (ص), *ḥ* (ح), and ʿ (ع), to avoid conflation and misinterpretation.

Moreover, the absence of diachronic annotations in KBBI—i.e., information on historical changes in word usage—limits the reader's understanding of semantic evolution. For example, tracking how *muslihat* shifted from 'benefit' to 'deceit' would require historical lexicons, corpus data, and comparative dictionaries from earlier periods. Integrating such diachronic perspectives would enhance KBBI's capacity as both a synchronic and diachronic linguistic resource. While the KBBI has made commendable progress in incorporating etymological data, significant work remains. Collaboration with scholars of Arabic linguistics, Islamic studies, Javanese philology, and historical Malay is essential. Furthermore, the application of updated linguistic theories on semantic change—such as cognitive semantics, historical pragmatics, and sociolinguistics—can enrich the lexicographic process and prevent reductive or biased representations. Lexicography is not merely about describing language but about shaping knowledge. As such, dictionaries must be constructed with critical awareness, methodological rigor, and a commitment to linguistic justice.

Method

This study employs a qualitative approach based on the principles of CDA, as formulated by Fairclough (1989; 1995; 2001). Fairclough's CDA is selected due to its capacity to link linguistic forms with broader sociocultural and ideological structures. It enables the researcher to treat language not merely as a textual construct but as a form of social practice wherein power relations are embedded and reproduced. In this context, discourse is understood as a dynamic interplay between text, production and interpretation practices, and the sociocultural environment in which the discourse circulates.

The primary data for this research comprises Arabic-derived religious and socio-religious terms documented in the online version of the KBBI. The KBBI is utilized on the basis of its institutional authority as the standard national reference for Indonesian vocabulary. Its lexical entries are not only descriptive but also prescriptive, reflecting normative choices made by the state through its language development agency. The data selection emphasizes entries that have undergone a semantic shift. To ensure etymological and semantic accuracy, the study also draws upon Hadi's (2015) corpus of Arabic loanwords in Indonesian, which offers a comprehensive mapping of lexical items across historical and semantic domains.

The analytical procedure in this study refers to the three-dimensional framework of CDA. The first dimension includes textual analysis, which focuses on an in-depth examination of dictionary definitions, semantic structures, and connotative shifts that occur. Emphasis is placed on how certain meanings are constructed, and to what extent semantic aspects of the original Arabic are retained, adapted, or eliminated. The second dimension refers to discursive practices, namely the analysis of the processes of production, distribution, and consumption of texts, especially by the Terminology Commission and lexicographers at the Language Development and Fostering Agency. This dimension considers factors such as editorial decisions, intertextual relationships, and institutional influences that shape the process of lexical construction.

The third dimension is sociocultural practices, which place dictionary entries in a broader ideological and historical context. The analysis at this stage includes religious discourses, national language policies, and socio-political dynamics that influence the perception and use of these terms in contemporary Indonesian society. This methodological framework allows for a multidimensional interpretation of dictionary entries, viewing them not as neutral linguistic entities but as discursive arenas where meanings are negotiated and ideological positions are constructed. The integration of textual, discursive, and sociocultural dimensions in this approach ensures a comprehensive, contextual, and methodological analysis that is in line with the research objectives.

Findings and Discussion

This section offers a detailed analysis of the etymology and discursive construction of the selected socio-religious terms listed in the KBBI. The analysis focuses on Arabic loanwords that have undergone semantic, social, and ideological transformations in the Indonesian context. In tracing the etymological roots of these terms, this study uses a variety of authoritative linguistic references, including *Loanwords in Indonesian and Malay* by Russell Jones (2007), *Lisān al-'Arab* by Ibn Manẓūr (2010), *Maqāyīs al-Lughah* by Ibn Fāris (2001), and *Mu'jam al-Lughah*

al-'Arabiyyah al-Mu'āṣirah by Aḥmad Mukhtār ‘Umar (2008). These sources are used as comparative benchmarks to evaluate the level of accuracy and representational implications of the processing of Arabic loanword entries in the KBBI.

This analysis follows the tripartite framework of Fairclough’s CDA, which includes: (1) textual analysis, with a focus on linguistic features and meanings as presented in the dictionary; (2) discursive practices, which involve the production, interpretation, and institutional mediation of terms by language authorities; and (3) social practices, which investigate the broader socio-cultural and ideological context in which these terms operate. By organizing the discussion around individual lemmas, the study seeks to show how each term serves as a site where linguistic, religious, and political ideologies intersect—often subtly encoded in seemingly neutral lexicography descriptions. The first lemma analyzed is modin, a term rich with historical, religious, and political connotations.

Modin

Textual studies

Modin is a word from Arabic. KBBI gives three senses for *modin* as follows:

Table 1. Sense of *modin* in KBBI

modin	sense 1	*n Isl juru azan; muazin* ‘muezzin’
	sense 2	*n Isl pegawai masjid* ‘mosque employee’
	sense 3	*n Isl lebai di kampung* ‘village religious leader’’

All three senses in the KBBI associate *modin* with Islamic ritual and institutional roles, often revolving around mosque activities. In KBBI, the etymology of *modin* is traced to the Arabic verbal noun *muʾaḏḏin* (مُؤَذِّن), meaning ‘the one who calls for prayer’. This term is derived from the verb form *ʾāḏana* (آذَنَ), 'to announce (the prayer time)’, which itself originates from the triliteral root *ʾaḏina* (أَذِنَ), conveying meanings such as ‘to permit’ or ‘to know.



Figure 1. Explanation of the etymology of word *modin* in KBBI

Discourse practice analysis

Tracing the lexicographic history of *modin* reveals semantic expansions and shifts. In Poerwadarminta’s *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* (2007), the lemma *modin* was defined similarly as *juru azan*, *pegawai masjid*, and *lebai di kampung*, indicating a religiously affiliated figure. KBBI II (1989) refined this entry into three systematically ordered senses, which have remained unchanged through to KBBI V (2016), apart from the addition of domain tags such as “Isl.”

The persistence of these senses highlights the stability of institutional religious language, but their origin remains underexplained. According to a member of the Komisi Peristilahan (Terminology Commission), the inclusion of *muʾaḏḏin* as a sense of *modin* reflects an old borrowing, part of a broader trend of unpatterned lexical imports:

"The term *modin* falls into the category of old loans, which tend to lack a discernible pattern. This phenomenon is also observed in the case of the word *rela* 'willing', which according to Russell Jones, is derived from *riḍā* (رضا) in Arabic. A weakness in our dictionary lies in the absence of historical explanations regarding the sense of a word. In practice, the process of assigning sense is carried out by referring to existing corpus" (Kharish, 2021).

The lemma *modin* thus appears to have developed through both corpus-based usage and a formalized need to represent Islamic terminology in standardized Indonesian.

Social practice analysis

The social praxis of *modin* involves broader religious authority in rural Indonesian and Malay societies. In the KBBI, the lemma modin is derived from the Arabic word *muʾaḏḏin* (مؤذن), meaning 'the one who calls to prayer'. This term originates from the verb *ʾāḏana* (آذَنَ), 'to announce', or *ʾaḏina* (أَذِنَ), 'to permit' or 'to be aware'. Munsyi (2003) also supports this derivation, noting a phonological shift from *muʾaḏḏin* to *muʾaddin* (مؤدن).

Historical Malay texts reinforce this semantic ambiguity. In *Tāj us-Salāṭīn* (Al-Jauhari, 1602), a treatise on Islamic kingship, the lemma *modin* appears in a sentence alongside *imām* and *khaṭīb*, suggesting its association with mosque ritual leadership:

> *…dan bertentukan belanja akan imām dan khaṭīb dan mudin supaya berlaku pekerjaan sembahyang* ['…and allocate funds for the imam, preacher, and mosque official to ensure the performance of religious duties.']

Similarly, *Cerita Bangka* (1861). includes:

> *orang tiada boleh menjadikan kadhi atau khaṭīb dan modin melainkan itu rangga boleh menjadikan dengan kuasa sendiri* [No one can appoint a judge, preacher, or mosque official except for the ruler who has the authority to do so']"

These examples show *modin* situated in proximity to formal religious leadership roles, reinforcing its ritual function. In *Hikayat Raja Donan* (Raja Donan, 1886, p. 48), however, *modin* carries expanded meaning, combining ritual leadership with social responsibilities such as circumcision:

> *maka Raja Donan pun berkehendaklah akan modin yang tujuh orang... jika menghitankan tak dapat keluar darah*. ['Thus, King Donan desired seven mosque officials, and these officials were summoned and examined by King Dolan to assess their competence. If they failed to demonstrate proficiency, they would not be appointed as mosque officials']"

This broader socio-religious role continues today in some Indonesian rural communities, where *modin* denotes a multifunctional figure responsible for marriage, funerals, and other rites.



Figure 2. The word *modin* in the *Hikayat Raja Donan* (1886)

A competing theory, advocated by Wahid (2007), posits that *modin* is a contraction of the Arabic phrase *imām ad-dīn* (إمام الدين), meaning 'religious leader'. Wahid states:

> "The position in the countryside was called *imam agama*—in Arabic *imām ad-dīn*, famous for the abbreviation *modin*."

This interpretation aligns with community practice, as seen in KH. Bisri Mustofa's *Primbon Imamuddin*, a Jawi-script (Coluzzi, 2020; Hijjas, 2013; Laffan, 2003) manual for rural religious officials. The title itself presents *Imamuddin* as an emblematic figure of religious authority, reinforcing the acronym hypothesis.

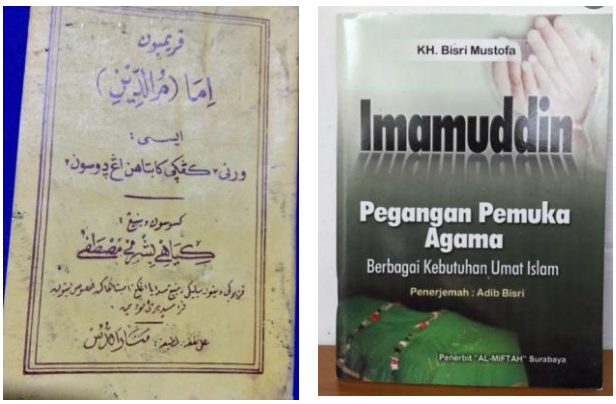


Figure 3. *Primbon Imamuddin's* book in the Javanese edition of *Jawi* (Jāwī) by KH. Bisri Mustofa (left) and his translation in Indonesian.

This etymological multiplicity—whether from *muʾaḏḏin* or *imām ad-dīn*—illustrates the dynamic nature of Arabic loanwords in Indonesian. As Sylado (2002) argues, linguistic growth often involves misperceptions or reinterpretations. The

word *modin* may result from such mishearings or cultural reinterpretations (Yudo, 2022), akin to:

- meriam (from Portuguese soldiers invoking *Maryam*)
- Minggu (from *Domingo*)
- odading (from Dutch *O, dat ding*)

In the case of *modin*, misreading of Arabic script (Jawi) may also have contributed. Examples include *suatu* (originally *sawatu* -سواتو) and *seru* (from *serwa* - سرو) (Graafland, 1865; Munsyi, 2005). The word *modin* demonstrates a rich interplay between textual definitions, historical usage, and evolving socioreligious functions. Its treatment in the KBBI reflects a tendency to standardize Arabic-origin words within limited ritual frameworks, while its broader social meaning in historical and contemporary contexts suggests a need for more inclusive, diachronic dictionary practices.

Muslihat

Textual studies

Muslihat is a lemma of Arabic origin. KBBI gives two senses for lemma *muslihat* as follows:

Table 2. Sense of *muslihat* in the KBBI

muslihat	sense 1	*n daya upaya* ‘effort*’*
	sense 2	*n siasat atau taktik* ‘strategy or tactic’

In the first sense, *muslihat* is interpreted as *daya upaya* ‘effort’, whereas in the second sense, it is understood as *siasat atau taktik* ‘strategy or tactic’. According to the KBBI, the etymological origin of the word is the Arabic verbal noun (*maṣdar*) مَصْلَحَةٌ (*maṣlaḥah*), which denotes ‘goodness’ or ‘benefit’. This term is derived from the triliteral root ص ل ح (ṣ-l-ḥ) and the basic verb form *fi’il mujarrad* صَلَحَ (*ṣalaḥa*), meaning ‘to be good’, ‘to be righteous’, or ‘to be virtuous’.

Fi’il is (Arabic verbs) come in two forms: a straightforward and fundamental form, known as ‘*mujarrad*’, which is typically composed of three consonants, CvCvCv, although occasionally it may consist of four, CvCCvCv. There is also an enhanced form referred to as ‘*mazìd*’, which is created by adding one or more elements to the root consonants of the basic form (Versteegh et al., 2011).

These lexical origins indicate a semantic domain centered on the concepts of goodness, truth, and usefulness. The Arabic root ص ل ح (ṣ-l-ḥ) gave birth to various morphological derivations in the form of nouns and participles, including صَالِحٌ (*ṣāliḥ*) ‘true’, إِصْلَاحٌ (*iṣlāḥ*) ‘improvement’ or ‘renewal’, and مُصْلِحٌ (*muṣliḥ*) ‘renewer’. All of these derived forms maintain the core ideas of improvement, benefit, and positive actions. However, there is a significant semantic shift between the original meaning in Arabic and the contemporary meaning recorded in the KBBI. The term maslahat, which comes from the Arabic form maṣlaḥah, in its use in Indonesian has undergone an expansion of meaning to include not only ‘effort’ or ‘benefit’, but also ‘strategy’, and in certain contexts, even interpreted as ‘trickery’.

The discrepancy between the etymology and the actual semantic meaning listed in the KBBI raises critical questions about the process of meaning

transformation and recontextualization experienced by the term in the dynamics of the Indonesian language. This semantic tension becomes the starting point for further analysis through the Critical Discourse Analysis approach, in order to trace how these changes reflect the influence of ideology, institutional, and sociocultural in the construction of lexical meaning.

The inconsistency between the etymology and contemporary semantic meanings listed in the KBBI raises critical questions regarding the process of semantic transformation and recontextualization that the term has undergone in the development of the Indonesian language. This inconsistency forms the basis for a more in-depth analysis using the CDA approach, which allows for exploration of the relationship between changes in meaning and the dynamics of power, ideology, and socio-cultural context.

Furthermore, the phonological adaptation from Arabic into Indonesian has maintained the consonantal framework /m-s-l-ḥ/, so that its etymological relationship can still be recognized phonetically. However, the semantic shift that has occurred shows that the term that originally referred to collective welfare (*maṣlaḥah ʻāmmah*) has undergone a change in meaning in the context of modern Indonesian, where the word muslihat is often associated with manipulative strategies or military tactics.



Figure 4. Explanation of the etymology of *muslihat* in the KBBI

Although the adaptation of Arabic terms into Indonesian is a common phenomenon, the case of *muslihat* is a striking example because it shows a change in meaning that is morally antithetical between the original meaning and its contemporary interpretation. This change reflects semantic dynamics that not only require linguistic analysis, but also require ideological deconstruction and tracing the socio-historical context behind it.

Discourse practice studies

Poerwadarminta (2007) defines *muslihat* as: (1) *daya upaya (tipu…)* ‘effort’, and (2) *tipu daya (…perang)* ‘deception’, *siasat (perang)* ‘strategy’, *taktik* ‘tactic’. Meanwhile, the KBBI, from Editions I to V, consistently defines *muslihat* as: (1) *daya upaya* ‘effort’, and (2) *siasat atau taktik (untuk menjebak dan sebagainya)* ‘strategy or tactic (for trapping and similar purposes)’, e.g., *perang; jangan terjebak oleh muslihat musuh* ‘warfare; do not be ensnared by the enemy’s strategy’ enemy’ (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa Kemdikbud, 2018). While Poerwadarminta provides clear associations with deceit, the KBBI maintains a more neutral tone, avoiding explicit references to deception. However, the contextual examples in KBBI do imply negative connotations, particularly in military contexts.

Interestingly, the KBBI omits explicit reference to the term *tipu* 'deceit', which Poerwadarminta uses in connection with *muslihat*. Despite this omission, the context of usage, particularly in compound phrases like *tipu muslihat* (deceitful strategy), indicates that *muslihat* is often employed with negative connotations in actual discourse.

Kharish (2021) observes that "The etymological features compiled are not all displayed in the corpus. When we look at the current sense of the word *muslihat* in the KBBI, it has shifted significantly. Yet, if we consult corpora such as the Malay Concordance Project, we find several usages of *muslihat* that align more closely with its Arabic origin." For instance, in the newspaper *Saudara*, published in Penang in 1937, the word *muslihat* appears in the following excerpt:

> *Kiranya ketua-ketua ugama berusaha pada mencari barang mengembangkan Islam dan muslihat Islam seumpama yang dia mencari muslihatnya sendiri daripada orang-orang Islam niscaya tidaklah ada seorang pun penyebar ugama Kristian merampok tempat kita di sini*.. ['If only the religious leaders would strive to seek and advance the cause of Islam and its strategies, just as they pursue their own personal gains from among the Muslims, then surely not a single Christian missionary would have succeeded in seizing our place here'] (Muhibuddin, 1937).

In this passage, *muslihat* clearly refers to the strategic or beneficial dimensions of Islam, emphasizing its constructive, not deceitful, aspects. Similarly, in the literary text *Kalilah dan Dimnah* (1962), the word is used in a sentence that reinforces its interpretation as *benefit* or *wisdom*:

> *Orang yang bijak sanggup membuat persahabatan dengan seterunya untuk mendapat faedah dan muslihat daripada seterunya…* ['A wise person is able to forge friendship with his enemy in order to gain benefit and strategic advantage from that enemy'] (Baidabah, 1962).

Both examples highlight a semantic orientation toward positive, strategic benefit, consistent with the Arabic *maṣlaḥah*. These uses challenge the narrower, more negatively tinged contemporary sense offered by current dictionary definitions and illustrate the ongoing semantic negotiations in the socio-discursive landscape.

The shift from the original meaning of 'goodness' or 'benefit' to 'deception' and 'tactic' is not fully accounted for in the dictionary. Crucially, this raises the following question: How can *muslihat*, which means 'deceit', originate from the Arabic word مَصْلَحَةٌ (*maṣlaḥah*), which means 'goodness'? If it indeed derives from *maṣlaḥah*, then it should not logically be linked to the word *tipu* ('deception'), as in the compound *tipu muslihat*. Alternatively, if the derivation is assumed to be from مُصْلِحَة (muṣliḥah), a feminine active participle meaning 'one who improves or rectifies', derived from أَصْلَحَ (aṣlaḥa), then the semantic divergence becomes even more problematic. Arabic sources such as *Mu'jam al-'Arabī al-Asāsī* define muṣliḥah as 'someone who calls for goodness' ('Umar, 2008), a definition that carries no negative implications.

These contradictory meanings exemplify the complex interplay between imported lexicon and local discursive practices. The ideological reframing of

Arabic-origin words such as *muslihat* may reflect changing attitudes toward power, politics, and religion in postcolonial Southeast Asia.

Social praxis studies

On the *SEALang Library* page, there are three words embedded as equivalents for the word *muslihat*: ruse, attempt, and effort. The three entries used as equivalents to the word *deception* are as good as those recorded by Poerwadarminta (2007) in *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* (General Dictionary of Indonesian Language). In the dictionary, the word *muslihat* is defined by: *daya upaya* 'effort', *tipu daya* 'deception', *siasat* 'strategy', dan *taktik* 'tactic'.

The semantic trajectory of the term *muslihat* cannot be fully understood without considering the broader socio-political and ideological context. The transformation of meaning from a term that originally referred to the concept of 'goodness' or 'public welfare' to a term that is now often associated with 'deception' and 'tactical maneuver' reflects the complex dynamics between language, power, and social change. Lexicographic sources outside Indonesia also strengthen the indication of this semantic shift. For example, the SEALang Library lists English equivalents for muslihat with entries such as ruse, attempt, and effort. The term ruse, meaning 'deceptive maneuver' or 'deception', highlights the pejorative dimension of the word, while attempt and effort carry more neutral or even positive connotations.

This semantic ambivalence not only shows the polysemic nature of the word muslihat, but also indicates the existence of ideological tension in the process of defining loan terms, especially when the term originates from a language that is laden with religious or moral content, such as Arabic. Thus, the re-meaning of the term needs to be analyzed critically in relation to the discursive practices and power configurations that underlie it. Pierre Étienne Lazare Favre's *Dictionnaire Français-Malais* (1880) includes the phrase *tipu muslihat*, translated as *strategies, a ruse*, and *finesse*. This suggests that by the late 19th century, Malay speakers already used *muslihat* in compounds to signify cunning or trickery. These early French translations validate that the semantic shift had begun well before Indonesian lexicography institutionalized the term in the 20th century.


738 STIMULANT STRICTEMENT

STIMULANT, E, qui excite, qui stimule, مقرّق *merg-gertak*.

STIMULANT, qui agit sur les organes de la digestion. يبغ قنس *yag perût*. Nourriture stimulante, مكان يغ قنس *makan yg perût*.

STIMULATION, s. f., حال مقرّق *hâl merg-gertak*, تجهاك *pergajak-an*.

STIMULER, v. a., aiguillonner, exciter, مقرّق *merg-gertak*, مقاجق *merg-âjak*. Le désir des grandeurs stimule les hommes, ملك ايفن اكن كسارن ايت مقرّق اورغ مساس *maka iyan akan ka-hasir-an itu merg-gertak âorag masasia*.

STIPENDIER, v. a., مغوله *merg-âjah*. — des troupes, مغوله اورغ سفاداو *merg-âjah âorag soldado*.

STIPULATION, s. f., جنجي *janji*, فرجنجين *per-janji-an*, شرط *sart*, قرار *parkâra*.

STIPULER, v. a., برجنجي *ber-janji*, برڤول *ber-kaul*, مشتوكن *me-nantû-kan*.

STOÏQUE, adj., تكف هاتي *tegûp hâti*, هاتي تتڤ *tetâp hâti*.

STOMACHIQUE, adj., فوت داد *dada pûta*. Veine —, اورت داد *âorat dada*.

STOMACHIQUE, bon pour l'estomac, داد باييق فد *baik pada dada*.

STORE, s. m., تيرى تغكف *tirey tingkap*, تيرى كلوفن *tirey gulung-an*.

STRAMOINE, s. m., قرى مات جوغ *pri mâta jâtig*.

STRAMONIUM, s. m., plante, pomme épineuse, كيوبغ *kaziûng*.

STRANGULATION, s. f., حال ميمكفكن *hâl mem-cekek-kan*.

STRANGURIE, s. f., قيا كت سليم *pecâkit selaium*.

STRATAGÈME, s. m., ruse, finesse, تيڤو *tipu*, مصلحة *meplehat*, اڤاي *apâyu*, داي *dâyu*. Trouver un —, مندافت تيڤو *men-dâpat tipu*. Par le moyen d'un —, دڤن مصلحة *dengan meplehat*.

STRATÉGIE, s. f., علم فرڠ *ilmu prâng*, علم مڠكوكن بال تنتار *ilmu meng-gelâk-kan bâla tantâra*.

STRATIFIÉ, E, adj., arrangé par couches, برڤاتس يڠ *yang ber-lâpis-lâpis*.

STRICT, E, adj., rigoureux, كرس *kras*, سوچ *sûch*.

STRICT, exact, سفاءم *sefaiuma*, تل *betûl*.

STRICTEMENT, adv., دڤن كرس *dengan kras*, دڤن سفاءمان *dengan sefaiumâ-an*.

DICTIONNAIRE

FRANÇAIS-MALAIS

كتاب قاموس

اڤاس فرنچيس دڠن اڤاس ملايو

PAR

L'ABBÉ P. FAVRE,

TOME SECOND.

VIENNE.

IMPRIMERIE IMPÉRIALE ET ROYALE.

M.DCCC.LXXX.

PARIS, MAISONNEUVE ET CIE, QUAI VOLTAIRE 15.

Figure 5. The lemma 'muslihat' in dictionnaire Français-Malais by Pierre Étienne Lazare Favre (1880)

The semantic reorientation of a number of lexemes needs to be understood in the context of postcolonial Indonesian linguistics and the wider Malay world. Vocabulary derived from Arabic generally entered the local lexicon through religious teachings, reading of the Qur'an, and Islamic legal discourse. However, in the realm of secular and political discourse, these words often experience shifts in meaning or acquire alternative meanings. This phenomenon of changing meanings reflects the dynamics of socio-political relations that continue to develop, especially in contexts where strategy, diplomacy, and conflict play a central role.

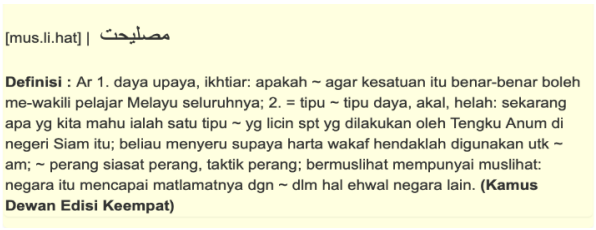
Furthermore, the tendency to eliminate or reduce the moral-religious dimension in the definition of modern loan terms from Arabic can be interpreted as part of a broader process of secularization and linguistic standardization. Official institutions such as the Language Development and Fostering Agency have a mandate to codify the standard form of the Indonesian language to support the needs of education and state administration. In this codification process, lexemes that have ambiguous meanings or have the potential to cause controversy can undergo restrategization in order to promote the ideology of neutrality and strengthen national cohesion.

A poetic illustration of the term's semantic fluidity can be found in a Malay poem by Tan (2017), which reads:

Trump insaf anti-kritis [Trump regrets not the critics' cries],
Adakah ikat sokongan tersedia [Is his circle of support still tight?]*;*
Trump iktiraf Baitulmuqaddis [Trump declared *Baitulmuqaddis* with pride],
Adakah muslihat akan berjaya? [Will his cunning plans take flight?]
ترامڤ انصاڤ انتي-كريتيس،
اداكه ايكت سوكوڠن ترسديا؛
ترامڤ اعتراڤ بيتالمقدس،
اداكه مصليحت اكن برجاي؟

In this stanza, the ambiguity of the meaning of the word deception is deliberately highlighted, opening up a wide range of interpretative possibilities. The term can be interpreted as representing political cunning, strategic cunning, or even diplomatic maneuvering. The poem deliberately leaves the term open to interpretation, reflecting how its meaning remains in a semantic grey zone between 'benefit' and 'manipulation', depending on the discursive context and the reader's position.

This example also represents the continuing influence of Arabic script and vocabulary in the cultural memory of the Malay world community. The use of the Jawi spelling مصليحت in harmony with the Arabic forms *maṣlaḥah* and *muṣliḥah* demonstrates high phonetic fidelity, while also marking the historical depth in the semantic evolution of the term.



[mus.li.hat] | مصلیحت

Definisi : Ar 1. daya upaya, ikhtiar: apakah ~ agar kesatuan itu benar-benar boleh me-wakili pelajar Melayu seluruhnya; 2. = tipu ~ tipu daya, akal, helah: sekarang apa yg kita mahu ialah satu tipu ~ yg licin spt yg dilakukan oleh Tengku Anum di negeri Siam itu; beliau menyeru supaya harta wakaf hendaklah digunakan utk ~ am; ~ perang siasat perang, taktik perang; bermuslihat mempunyai muslihat: negara itu mencapai matlamatnya dgn ~ dlm hal ehwal negara lain. **(Kamus Dewan Edisi Keempat)**

Figure 6. *Muslihat* in the online *Kamus Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* (Dictionary of the Language Council and Library) (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2023)

The lemma *muslihat* serves as a salient example of how lexemes undergo semantic transformation through discourse and social practice. From its Arabic origins denoting ethical benefit to its contemporary Indonesian usage implying deception or strategy, the word illustrates the ideological recontextualization of language in postcolonial and modern nation-states. Critical discourse analysis, particularly as framed by Fairclough's three dimensions—text, discourse practice, and social praxis—thus offers a valuable lens to uncover the layered meanings and power relations embedded in seemingly simple dictionary entries.

Lexical inconsistencies in socio-religious terms without etymology in the KBBI

While previous discussions have focused on the semantic inconsistencies between the etymology of a term and its current social praxis, another significant issue emerges in the representation of Islamic religious terminology in the KBBI: the absence of etymological information**.** This absence hinders a comprehensive understanding of a word's historical and cultural development, particularly when the lemma is directly borrowed from Arabic. Among the terms that exhibit this etymological omission are *istirjāʿ*, *tayammum,* and *barakah* (in its Indonesian forms *berkah* and *berkat***)**. These omissions raise questions about lexicographic consistency and the broader ideological framing of Islamic discourse in the Indonesian linguistic landscape.

Istirjāʿ*: *A lexeme marked by theological gravity

The lemma *istirja* (Arabic: اِسْتِرْجَاعٌ, *istirjāʿ*) is presented in the KBBI with two primary senses:

Table 3. Senses of *istirjāʿ* in the KBBI

Lemma	Sense	Part of Speech	Gloss
istirja	Sense 1	n (Islam)	Pernyataan kembali kepada Allah Swt. 'Declaration of returning to Allah.'
	Sense 2	n (Islam)	Ucapan *innā li-Llāhi wa-innā ilayhi rājiʿūn* 'We belong to Allah, and to Him we return,' uttered upon misfortune.

Although *istirjāʿ* is clearly a religious term of Arabic origin, the KBBI fails to include an etymological note**.** The word is derived from the Arabic triliteral root *r-j-ʿ* (ر ج ع), meaning 'to return'. More specifically, *istirjāʿ* is a verbal noun formed with the prefix *ist-* (اِسْتِـ), connoting a request or attempt (Ali, n.d.)**,** and is associated with the phrase *innā li-Llāhi wa-innā ilayhi rājiʿūn* (إِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ), which is recited upon experiencing death or calamity.

In Islamic theological discourse, this phrase represents a submission to divine will and an acknowledgment of the ephemeral nature of worldly life. Shihab (2020) explains that the initial letters of *istirjā*ʿ—*alif*, *sīn*, and *tā*ʾ—function morphologically to indicate a transformation or redirection of one's state, particularly from life toward death and ultimately toward God. Thus, the phrase reflects not only grief but also theological resignation. The absence of this rich etymological and doctrinal context in the KBBI limits the semantic depth and spiritual connotation of the lemma for lay readers, undermining its role in Islamic epistemology.

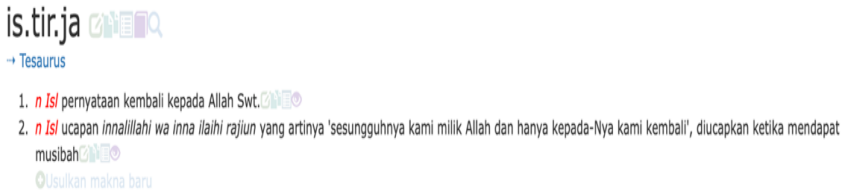


Figure 7. Explanation of the etymology of *istirja* in the KBBI

Tayammum*: *Ritual purity amid physical constraints

Another Islamic term lacking etymological explanation in the KBBI is *tayamum* (Arabic: تَيَمُّمٌ, *tayammum*), a term denoting a form of ritual purification. The KBBI defines *tayamum* as follows:

Table 4. Sense of *tayammum* in the KBBI

Lemma	Sense number	Part of Speech	Gloss
tayamum	Sense 1	n (Islam)	*Bersuci dari hadas kecil atau besar dengan debu (pasir, tanah) karena tidak ada air atau karena halangan memakai air.* 'Ritual purification using clean dust (sand, soil) in the absence of water or when water use is obstructed, e.g., due to illness.'

Etymologically, the Arabic word *tayammum* is derived from the root *y-m-m* (ي م م)**,** which carries the sense of 'to aim for' or 'to intend'. The verbal noun *tayammum* thus originally signified the intention or act of directing oneself toward something, which in religious terms, becomes the act of seeking purity when water is unavailable. According to Shihab (2020, p. 107), the notion of 'aiming toward' aligns metaphorically with the concept of redirecting one's intention in worship from water-based purification to an earth-based alternative sanctioned by Islamic jurisprudence.

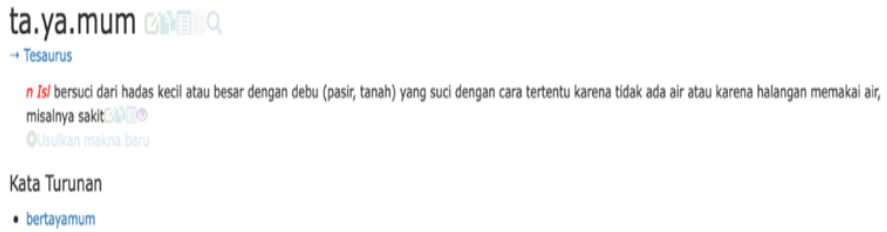


Figure 8. lemma *tayamum* in the KBBI

The omission of such etymological data in the KBBI again points to a lack of comprehensive documentation. Given that *tayammum* belongs to the domain of *ʿubūdiyyah* (acts of worship), the absence of its linguistic root severs the connection between ritual practice and its semantic evolution in Arabic. It also limits the understanding of the theological permissibility and symbolic purity embedded in the act, particularly relevant in fiqh discussions on alternative forms of *ṭahārah* (ritual cleanliness).

Barakah, *berkah*, *and berkat*: *Orthographic variance and etymological silence*

The case of the lemmas *berkah* and *berkat* is more complex. Both are derived from the Arabic word *barakah* (بَرَكَة), meaning 'blessing' or 'abundant goodness'. The KBBI defines these terms as follows:

Table 5. Senses of *berkah* and *berkat* in the KBBI

Lemma	Sense Number	Part of Speech	Gloss
berkah	Sense 1	n	*Karunia Tuhan yang mendatangkan kebaikan bagi kehidupan manusia*. 'The gift of God that brings goodness to human life.'
berkat	Sense 1	n	Same as above.
	Sense 2	n	*Doa restu dari orang yang dihormati atau dianggap keramat*. 'Blessing or goodwill from a revered person.'
	Sense 3	n	*Makanan dari kenduri.* 'Food brought home after a communal feast.'
	Sense 4	v (colloquial)	*Mendatangkan kebaikan*; bermanfaat. 'To bring benefit or blessing.'

While both lemmas reflect the core semantic value of *barakah*, only *berkat* is accompanied by an etymological note. The omission of etymological context for *berkah* is problematic, especially considering its widespread usage in religious and spiritual discourse.

Campbell (1996) argues that the coexistence of -ah and -at variants in Indonesian can be explained diachronically and synchronically. Diachronically, *-at* forms (*berkat*) are likely older borrowings via Persian or Malay intermediaries, whereas *-ah* forms (*berkah*) represent more recent, direct adoptions from Arabic. Synchronically, modern Indonesian tends toward the Arabicized -ah endings, consistent with increased Arabization of Islamic discourse in Southeast Asia. This orthographic divergence, compounded by selective etymological inclusion, may signal underlying tensions in standardization practices within the KBBI.



Figure 9. The word *berkah* and *berkat* in the KBBI

Moreover, the semantic overlap between *berkah* and *berkat* emphasizes the necessity of a unified etymological treatment**.** Without it, users are left with the false impression that these terms are unrelated or that their usages diverge more significantly than they do in practice. The lack of etymology in *berkah*, despite its clear link to Arabic *barakah* (بركة), obstructs diachronic understanding and weakens the lexical cohesion of Indonesian's Islamic vocabulary.

The jamaʿah/jemaat binary: A case of etymological parity

In contrast to the inconsistencies observed above, the KBBI offers etymological clarity in the case of *jamaah* and *jemaat*. Both are derived from the Arabic root *j-m-ʿ* (ج م ع), meaning 'to gather' or 'to assemble'. Despite the shared origin, the KBBI assigns *jemaat* to Christian congregations and *jamaah* to Muslim assemblies. While this usage reflects sociolinguistic realities in Indonesia, it also subtly reinforces religious demarcation through lexical partitioning.

The inclusion of etymological roots in both cases suggests that the KBBI has the capacity to document lexical origins in detail if it is an editorial priority. However, the absence of entries for words such as *istirjāʿ*, *tayammum*, and *berkah* is even more striking. This absence suggests a selective approach to etymology, potentially reflecting institutional bias or negligence in the dictionary-building process.

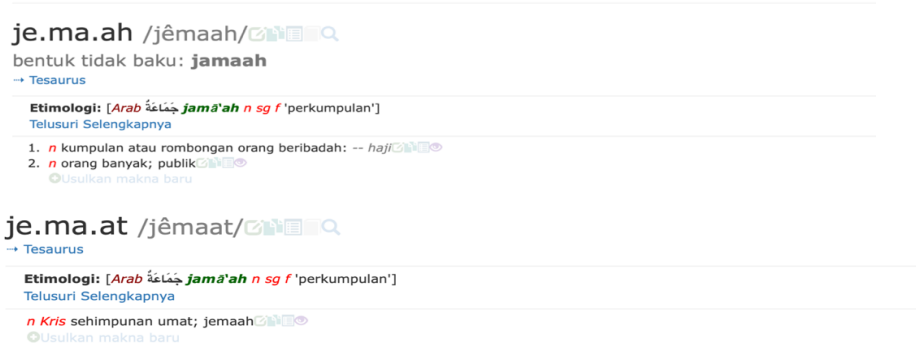


Figure 10. Lemma *jemaah* and *jemaat* in the KBBI

Sectarian lexical inclusion and omission in the KBBI: Issues of lexicographic representation

In addition to the absence of etymological information in several socio-religious entries, the KBBI also exhibits notable lexical omissions regarding Islamic sectarian terms**.** While it includes entries such as *Ahlusunah* and *Suni*, defined respectively as *kaum muslimin yang mengikuti ajaran Nabi Muhammad saw.*(‘Muslims who follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad [peace be upon him]’), and *Khawarij*, defined as *kaum luar yang tidak mengalami kekhalifahan, terjadi pada masa kekhalifahan Usman bin Affan, pada pertengahan abad VII*(‘outsiders who did not experience the caliphate, occurring during the caliphate of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān in the mid-7th century’), the dictionary does not list a number of other historically significant Islamic sects**,** both those considered orthodox and those deemed heretical in various discursive traditions.

Among the unlisted groups are *Rāfiḍah* (رَافِضَة), a polemical term often used to refer to certain branches of Shīʿism; *Bāqiriyyah* (بَاقِرِيَّة), a subgroup of early Shīʿa thought; *Jahmiyyah* (جَهْمِيَّة), a sect associated with Jahm ibn Ṣafwān and known for its denial of divine attributes; *Karrāmiyyah* (كَرَّامِيَّة), a theological school with anthropomorphic views of God; and *Ḍarāriyyah*(ضَرَارِيَّة), linked to heterodox teachings**.** These terms—while perhaps more obscure to the general public—are nevertheless integral to classical Islamic theological historiography and are widely referenced in both Indonesian Islamic scholarship and religious education curricula.

On the other hand, the KBBI does include the lemma *Wahabi*, which is defined as *‘aliran reformasi konservatif Islam yang berkembang dari dakwah seorang teolog Muslim Arab Saudi pada abad ke-18 yang bernama Muhammad bin ‘Abdul-Wahhāb* (‘a conservative Islamic reformist movement that developed from the preaching of an 18th-century Saudi Arabian Muslim theologian named Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb’). Despite the doctrinal controversies surrounding Wahhabism, this inclusion reflects a selective editorial policy, especially given that the dictionary contains no entries for *Shia* (*Syiah*) or *Ahmadiyya* (*Aḥmadiyyah*), both of which are established religious communities with historical and contemporary significance in Indonesia.

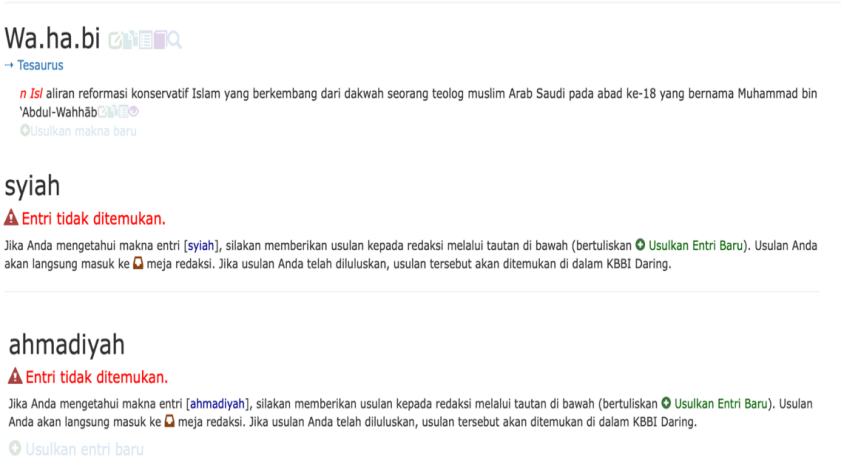


Figure 11. Lemma *Wahabi*, *Syiah*, and *Ahmadiyah* in the KBBI

Questions about the consistency and equitable representation of the inclusion of religious terms arise as a result of this editorial decision. It is difficult to provide a reason why the words Shia and Ahmadiyah were not included in the KBBI due to the requirements set by the Language Development and Guidance Agency: the word must be unique, refined, in accordance with Indonesian linguistic rules, not have pejorative connotations, and be frequently used. Both terms are widely used in Indonesian public discourse, which includes national media, academic publications, and official religious fatwas. Neither term has a naturally negative meaning outside of a specific ideological framework.

Moreover, the omission of these terms points to a more systemic lexicographic problem of bias. A number of reviewers have noted that the KBBI does not include some other sectarian terms. However, including certain terms, such as Wahabi, while excluding others, such as Shia and Ahmadiyya, suggests normative judgement implicit in the editorial process. Lexicographical institutions should provide clear explanations of inclusion standards, especially with regard to religious and ideological terms, to avoid subjective interpretations and possible accusations of bias. Such explanations may reiterate existing sectarian stories. It may also omit groups that have historically been the subject of socio-political strife in Indonesia.

It is important to emphasise that in this article, the names Shia and Ahmadiyya are not mentioned as a criticism or defence of either group. Rather, they are mentioned as examples of a broader pattern of erasure that impacts various sectarian identities within the Islamic tradition. They enter into this discussion as case studies that demonstrate how lexical representation, or lack of representation, can reflect and reinforce particular religious ideologies, institutional preferences, and political preferences.

It is imperative to further explore the ideological factors, editorial policies and socio-political dynamics that influence lexicographical decisions, given how sectarian terms are asymmetrically represented in the KBBI. As a result, future editions of the dictionary should utilise a more open and inclusive framework, especially in terms of religious understanding, so that they can better showcase the rich intellectual and cultural heritage of Islam in Indonesia.

Conclusion

This study shows that the KBBI, although widely regarded as the official lexicographic authority in Indonesia, reveals ideological tendencies and epistemological gaps in its treatment of socio-religious vocabulary. Using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis-specifically the dimensions of text, discourse practice, and social practice-this paper examines selected entries, including modin, muslihat, istirja', tayamum, blessing, and blessing. The findings show inconsistencies in semantic representation, selective etymological inclusion and omission of historical context. This is not merely a technical error, but a reflection of the discursive power and socio-religious hierarchy implicit in the text.

The absence of etymological information for key terms in Islam-especially those important in daily religious practice-indicates a lack of transparency in the criteria used for lexical inclusion. While sectarian terms such as *Sunni*, *Khawarij*, and Wahhābī are included, other terms such as *Syiah* and *Ahmadiyah* are not, despite their sociopolitical relevance in Indonesia. Similarly, blessing and blessing

appear in the dictionary, yet only one is given an etymological context. These inconsistencies raise critical questions about the construction of religious authority and normativity in official language sources.

This study calls for more explicit editorial policies in national dictionaries, especially when dealing with sensitive religious terminology. Although qualitative in nature, these findings pave the way for further research involving a wider corpus, cross-language comparisons, and quantitative assessment of etymological accuracy in the KBBI. Ultimately, this study underscores that dictionaries are not ideologically neutral; they function as cultural instruments that shape, preserve and institutionalise dominant knowledge systems. Realising the ideological function of dictionaries is crucial for a more critical and inclusive lexicography in Indonesia and other countries.

Acknowledgement

This article is based on research funded by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia in 2022 under the scheme of Strategic National Applied Research (*Penelitian Terapan Kajian Strategis Nasional*), Grant Number 221050000047775. The author extends sincere gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers whose insightful comments and constructive suggestions significantly improved the quality of this article. Appreciation is also conveyed to the journal editor for their guidance and valuable input during the review and revision process.

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