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The Jawi Writing System And Vocabulary Of The Earliest Legal Malay Inscription And Manuscripts

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ABSTRACT

The Terengganu Inscribed Stone is the earliest known Islamic legal charter in the world that is in Malay and written in Jawi. The objective of this study is to explain the Jawi writing system and vocabulary found on the Terengganu Stone dated 702H/1303AD. Despite numerous studies of the stone, there still remain many different views on the correct transliteration and interpretation of some of the vocabulary inscribed on it. To address this, a study was made comparing the Jawi spelling system on the Stone with the new Jawi writing system as well as an analysis of the vocabulary on the Stone based on the meaning of the text and the context of the Inscribed Stone. To this end, a comparison was made with the Dublin manuscript of the Laws of Malacca MS1638 (1803AD) and the Kedah Laws manuscript MS40329 (1807AD). The study shows that the Jawi writing and spelling on the Inscribed Stone has its own system which has many similarities with present-day spelling compared with the Law of Malacca and the Kedah Laws. However, the vocabulary on the Stone, being of the Old Malay language, is still heavily influenced by Sanskrit and Arabic. Several difficult items of vocabulary were interpreted and some transliterations from Jawi to Rumi were amended and improved from earlier studies to overcome some of the problems that arose.

Key words: Terengganu Inscribed Stone, Jawi writing system, vocabulary, philology, Old Malay language.

Introduction

The Terengganu Inscribed Stone is the earliest known Islamic legal charter in the world that is in Malay and written in Jawi. It was recognized by UNESCO in the Memory of the World Register on 31 July 2009. As it is an Islamic legal charter, the inscription contains a lot of vocabulary that shows the nature of the law at the time it was made such as *merdeka* (independence), *danda* (penalty or fine), *tahil* (a traditional unit of measure equivalent to 37.8 grammes), *sepaha* (a quarter), *ingkar* (deny or default), *raja* (king), *acara* (events), *berpihutang* (creditors), quantifiers and so forth. It is thus appropriate to compare the text appearing on the Inscribed Stone with other Islamic legal texts from the Malay World. In this regard, the Dublin manuscript of the Laws of Malacca MS1638 (UM manuscript) which was copied in 1803AD and the Kedah Laws manuscript MS40329 (UK manuscript) located at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and completed in 1807AD were selected for the study. Although both texts date from much later than the Inscribed Stone, they are, apart from the Inscribed Stone, the two earliest legal texts from the Malay Archipelago.

Numerous studies have been made on various aspects of the Terengganu Inscribed Stone dated 702H/1303AD. Among these are studies by Paterson (1924), Blagden (1924), Sheppard (1949), Muhammad Saleh (1956), Fatimi (1963), Syed Mohd. Naquib (1970), Omar Awang (1985), Hamdan Hassan (1984), Othman Mohd. Yatim dan Abdul Halim (1990), Hashim Musa (2006), Wan Ali Wan Mamat (2006), Adi Yasran, Wan Muhammad and Mohd Sukki (2010) and others. However, these studies have led to a wide range of interpretations of the contents of the Inscribed Stone. Among the reasons for this is that the Jawi writing system and vocabulary used at the time the Stone was inscribed were quite different from those used today.

While previous studies of the UM and UK manuscripts are more focused research on content analysis, including a recent study made by Mohd Sukki and Adi Yasran (2012), and Adi Yasran et.al (2012).

The Jawi Writing System:

The need to study the Jawi writing system is of fundamental importance before the Jawi text itself can be analysed. Although many transliterations of the Inscribed Stone have been made, there are differences between them. These include the words *orang* (person) / *arwah* (soul) (A:1), ... *bagi* (give) / *santabi* / *sahabi* (A:1), *derma* (donation) / *darma* (duty) (A:3), *tugal* (a digging implement) / *tukul* (hammer) (B:5), *rautan/rotan* (B:9) *denda* (fine, as a punishment) / *danda* (C:1), *tida/tiada* (no) (C:6), *tiada ...* (no ...) / *tiada harta* (no property) (D:2) and others (see Appendix A). Although these differences may not be significant, as a treasure recognised in the Memory of the World Register by UNESCO, they should be minimized as much as possible or there may be an interpretation that could be construed as a recognized interpretation by its own Department of National Heritage.

To explain the Jawi spelling system used on the Inscribed Stone, a comparative analysis was made with the UM and UK manuscripts and with present-day spelling. The first page of each of the UM and UK manuscripts is attached as Appendices B and C for examples of the script. The full UM manuscript can be obtained from the Malay Manuscript Centre at the National Library of Malaysia, while the full UK manuscript is reproduced in the book by Mariyam Salim (ed.) (2005). The reference used for present-day spelling in Malaysia and Brunei was *Daftar Kata Bahasa Melayu: Rumi-Sebutan-Jawi* (2008) (DKBM) published by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Malaysia. The analysis was divided into two parts: spelling consonants and spelling vowels. Both analyses focused only on important spelling and problematic spelling. In order to retain authenticity, all spelling on the Inscribed Stone was maintained without any addition whatsoever. The analysis was conducted based on Za'ba's principles of spelling Jawi (Za'ba, 1949) which are still used today.

Za'ba's Principles of Jawi Spelling:

Hamdan (1991) has examined 40 of Za'ba's rules for spelling Jawi (2010) and concludes that Za'ba's Jawi spelling system is based on three principles (Za'ba's principles of Jawi spelling), namely:

- i. Economy – spelling that originally used the vowel point method (*kaedah baris*) can continue to be used where it does not cause confusion about the term in question. Examples are the Jawi spelling of the words *pada* (ڤڤا), *kepada* (ڤڤڤا), and *daripada* (ڤڤڤا).
- ii. Certainty – if spelling using the vowel point method causes confusion about the term in question, then a vowel should be added so it sounds clearer. Examples of such words are *segala* (سڤڤالا), *harta* (هڤڤرتا), and *bagi* (باڤڤڤي).
- iii. Conventional – spelling used by a number of authors can be used although it is not in line with the spelling system if it does not cause confusion about the term in question. Examples of such terms are *paduka* (ڤڤوڤوك), *raja* (ڤڤراج), and *agama* (اڤڤاڤام).

Spelling Of Consonants:

The spelling of consonants on the Inscribed Stone and in the UM and UK manuscripts and DKBM essentially follows the source word, particularly for Old Malay words and Arabic loanwords that have a different spelling system. Analysis of the spelling of consonants thus focused on three aspects that are related to source words and are significant only to the Inscribed Stone. These are the use of the letter *ta marbutah* (closed) and *ta maftuhah* (open), the use of the letter *qaf* at the end of the final closed syllable, and the use of the letter *nya*.

Use of the Letters Ta Marbutah (ة) and Ta Maftuhah (ت):

To identify differences in the use of *ta marbutah* and *ta maftuhah*, only *ta* at the end of the final closed syllable was analyzed as *ta marbutah* does not appear in other positions. The consonant sound /t/ in other positions is only spelt with *ta maftuhah*. On the Inscribed Stone there are five words which contain the letter *ta* in the positions shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Use of *ta marbutah* and *ta maftuhah*

Rumi spelling	Jawi spelling on the Inscribed Stone		Jawi spelling in the UM manuscript		Jawi spelling in the UK manuscript		Present-day Jawi spelling (DKBM)
	Word	Location	Word	Loc.	Word	Loc.	
menurut	منورب	A:7	منورة	9:1	-	-	منوروت
Jumaat	جمعه	A:10	-	-	-	-	جمعة
keempat	كامف...	B:2	كامفة	2:4	كامفة	10:24	كامفت

buat	بوت	B:5	بوة	16:9	-	-	بوات
dapat	داهب	C:6	دافة	8:1	دافت	59:14	دافت
rakyat	-	-	رعت	6:1	رعت	8:13	رعت

The table above shows that spelling with *ta marbutah* and *ta maftuhah* on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone is identical to present-day Jawi spelling. For present-day spelling, DKBM has determined that the /t/ sound in Old Malay words should be denoted in Jawi script by *ta maftuhah*, whereas the /t/ sound in words borrowed from Arabic should be retained in its original form except for common words that have been absorbed by and are regularly used in Malay such as *rakyat* (people) (رعت), *nikmat* (grace) (نعمت), *hikmat* (wisdom) (حکمت) dan *berkat* (blessing) (برکت). The word *Jumaat* (Friday) does not change because it is an Arabic loanword and a special noun. The use of *ta marbutah* for Old Malay words as found in the UM and UK manuscripts does not comply with the principle of certainty because both can be used. In addition, *ta marbutah* can also be pronounced with /h/ in Arabic loanwords such as *umrah* (pilgrimage to Mecca), *syahadah* (declaration of Islamic faith), *syariah* (sharia law), and *harakah* (movement) while for Old Malay words this is not the case, as *empat* (four) cannot be pronounced *empah*.

Use of the Letter Qaf (ق) In Final Closed Syllables:

In Za'ba's Jawi spelling system, Old Malay words that end with the letter *k* or a glottal stop will end in one of three ways, with *qaf*, *kaf*, or *hamzah* as in the words *anak* (child) (انق), *baik* (good) (بايك), dan *pokok* (tree) (فوكو), that is in the manner of Jawi spelling used at that time. Where the consonant /k/ appears in earlier syllables, the issue does not arise as it is always spelt with the letter *kaf* in Jawi spelling.

Table 2: Use of *qaf* in final closed syllables

Rumi spelling	Inscribed Stone Jawi spelling		UM manuscript Jawi spelling		UK manuscript Jawi spelling		Present-day Jawi spelling (DKBM)
	Word	Loc.	Word	Loc.	Word	Loc.	
meraksa	مرقسا	A:3	-	-	-	-	مرقسا
mendudukan	مندوقكن	A:9	-	-	-	-	مندوقكن
Anak	انق	B:12	انق	3:4	انق	22:28	انق
masuk	ماسق	C:4	ماسق	5:2	ماسق	53:16	ماسق
hendak	هندق	C:5	هندق	1:9	هندق	3:3	هندق

The table above shows that the use of letter *qaf* in final closed syllables on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone is identical to present-day Jawi spelling. The same applies to the UM and UK manuscripts. In the present-day Jawi spelling system, all glottal stops in final closed syllables of Old Malay words are spelt with *qaf*, while the consonant sound /k/ in the final closed syllable of English loanwords is spelled with *kaf* such as *abstrak* (abstract) (ابستك), *plastik* (plastic) (قلستيك) and *kek* (cake) (كيك). For Arabic loan words, the spelling of the source language is maintained such as for *isyak* (last Muslim prayer of the day) (عشاء), *imsak* (the time to stop eating sahur (for fasting), slightly before *Fajr*) (امسك), *rujuk* (refer) (رجوع) and *talak* (divorce) (طلاق). This method eliminates spelling mistakes that arise from Za'ba's Jawi spelling system.

Use of the Letter Nya (ن):

Based on the consonants found on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone, there were consonant sounds in Old Malay that were not found in the Arabic alphabet. Letters of this type include *ca* in *acara* (event) (احارا), *nga* in *dengan* (with) (دعس), *pa* in *pada* (to) (فدا), *ga* in *bagi* (give) (بكي), and *nya* in *dendanya* (penalty) (داندان). However, a special feature of the Terengganu Stone is the use of the letter *nya*. It is exquisitely written with three dots above it. This was followed in the UM and UK manuscripts, and continues to be so written today. The writing of *nya* in this way is very important as other letters do not exhibit any difference from Arabic letters. In addition, there is a view that says that the letters *ca* and *ga* were borrowed from Persian script. If that were the case, then only the letters *nga*, *pa*, and *nya* were created by the Malays and can be regarded as original to Jawi writing. With the letter *nya* written so exquisitely, it can be claimed that the Terengganu Inscribed Stone is inscribed with the oldest Jawi script so far found anywhere in the world. And the letter *nya* becomes the oldest Jawi letter in the world.

Spelling Of Vowels:

Until the second edition of DKBM (2010), vowels were spelt in a variety of ways in Jawi. This is because there are two spelling systems for vowel sounds: spelling with vowel letters (alphabetical vowel system) and spelling without vowel letters (the vowel point system / *sistem baris*). There are only three types of vowel letters

in the three texts examined in this study, namely *alif*, *wau* and *ya*. Use of the vowel *alif* is discussed separately from *wau* and *ya* as it represents a somewhat different system.

Use of the Vowel Alif (1):

The vowel *alif* used on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone appears in all vowel positions within a word and in both open and closed syllables. The same applies to the Jawi spelling in the UM and UK manuscripts and DKBM. In this case, the difference in spelling is less important because the interval between the texts under review and the present day is very great which could account for the changes that have occurred. What is important is adherence to Za'ba's principles of Jawi spelling. The following list contains examples of words that use the letter *alif* in various word positions on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone compared to the UM and UK manuscripts and DKBM.

Table 3: Comparison of the vowel letter *alif*

Rumi spelling	Inscribed Stone Jawi spelling		UM Jawi spelling		UK Jawi spelling		Present-day Jawi spelling (DKBM)
	Word	Loc.	Word	Loc.	Word	Loc.	
mereka	مريک	A:1	مريک	53:8	مريک	18:24	مريک
Pada	فدا	A:2	فد	1:5	فد	1:1	فد
agama	اکاما	A:4	اکام	5:2	-	-	اکام
Raja	راجا	A:4	راج	1:9	راج	25:2	راج
paduka	فادوک	A:8	فدوک	2:12	فدوک	1:2	فدوک
pertama	فرتاما	A:9	فرتام	2:9	فرتام	10:5	فرتام
Kala	کالا	A:10	کال	9:7	کالا	3:17	کالا
Kelima	کلما	B:4	کلیم	10:5	کلیم	11:4	کلیم
merdeka	مردیکا	B:8	مردھیک	22:8	مردھیک	55:19	مردیک
dendanya	داندان	C:1	دندان	16:9	دندا	15:1	دندا
Tiga	تیکا	C:1	تیک	39:5	تیک	10:21	تیک
Sepaha	سفاها	D:1	سفاہ	16:1	سفاہا	1:9	سفاہا
Siapa	سافا	D:2	سیاف	35:7	سیاف	10:21	سیافا
Segala	سکال	D:4	سکل	1:5	سکل	18:21	سکالا
Acara	اچارا	D:5	اچارا	117:5	-	-	اچارا

Table 3 shows that the words spelt on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone contain the letter *alif* more frequently than those found in the UM and UK manuscripts and DKBM. This widespread spelling of Jawi words with the letter *alif* complies with the principle of certainty and is convenient and easier to learn. For example, when spelling the word *danda* in Jawi the letter *alif* is placed in the first syllable. This enables the reader to read the word as *danda* and not *denda*. Spelling it in this way allows researchers to identify the etymology of the word as being of Sanskrit origin and to thus find its original meaning easily in a Sanskrit dictionary. However, spelling that frequently uses the letter *alif* has been deemed not to comply with the principles of economy and convention. This phenomenon can be clearly seen in the UM and UK manuscripts which do not use *alif* in certain words such as *siapa* (who); the word does not have the letter *alif* at the end of the word in either of these two texts. However, the omission of *alif* from the word *siapa* was changed in DKBM: *alif* was added to the end of the word. According Adi Yasran and Hashim Musa (2008), this addition was made to enable homograph disambiguation of the word *siap* that is spelt without the letter *alif* at the end. The addition of the letter *alif* to avoid the homograph shows that DKBM has itself sacrificed the principle of economy so as to comply with the principle of certainty as is found on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone. The issue of homographs did not arise in the UM and UK manuscripts as *siap* was at the time of their composition spelt سيف.

It can thus be seen on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone – the oldest known example of Jawi script – that adherence to the principle of certainty is of the utmost importance so that there is no room for doubt in the reader's mind. Furthermore it contains content that is important, namely the law of the land that should be known by everyone, especially those residing in Terengganu. Thus, the widespread use of the letter *alif* can be seen to be a strength and a useful feature of the Jawi script used at that time.

In addition to compliance with the principle of certainty, the use of the letter *alif* in Jawi spelling is widely regarded as being the result of the influence of Kawi script. The influence of Kawi writing is clearly seen on the gravestone of Ahmad Majnu in Pengkalan Kempas, Negeri Sembilan dated 872H, equivalent to 1467/68AD, the second oldest known Malay text written in Jawi in Malaysia after the Terengganu Inscribed Stone. What is interesting about the tombstone is the use of Kawi script side by side with Jawi (Othman Yatim and Abdul Halim Nasir, 1988). This discovery proves that Kawi script was still used to write Malay in the 15th century AD. It is thus probable that the frequent use of the letter *alif* on the Terengganu Stone was influenced by the syllabic

writing system of Kawi script rather than the alphabetical system of Jawi script. Basic Kawi script is shown below:



Fig. 1: Kawi writing based on syllables

Source: Ancientscripts.com (1996). <http://www.ancientscripts.com/kawi.html>

It can be seen from the basic Kawi script above that its syllables comprise a single vowel or a combination of a consonant and the vowel /a/. To produce sounds like /tu/ the syllable *ta* would be combined with sound *u*, as if the sounds /t/ and /a/ cannot be separated. Similarly, the syllables *ma* in *agama* (religion), *pertama* (first) and *lima* (five), *ja* in *raja* (king), *ga* in *tiga* (three), *ka* in *merdeka* (independence), *pa* in *siapa* (who) and other syllables that use the letter *alif* on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone, appear to be spelt according to syllables rather than letters.

The effect of Kawi script is amplified with use of the term *mandalika* which in Sanskrit means “king of a state or region”. In the Nagarakretagama (1365AD), the term *mandalika* was used to describe a state under the patronage of the Majapahit Empire including Terengganu. The Kawi script which also known as Ancient Javanese script, was widely used throughout the Majapahit Empire based in East Java (Blagden, 1924). This meant that the influence of Sanskrit and Kawi script remained dominant despite the influence of Arabic and had begun to spread into Malay and the Jawi spelling system on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone.

Use of the Letters *wau* (و) and *ya* (ي):

In modern Jawi spelling as contained in DKBM, the vowels /i/, /e/, /u/ and /o/ should be denoted with the same vowel whether in an open or closed syllable. In this case, once again DKBM sacrifices the principle of economy in order to comply with the principle of certainty. The situation is quite different for the Terengganu Inscribed Stone and the UM and UK manuscripts. The differences can be seen in the table below:

Table 4: Comparison of the use of the letters *wau* and *ya*

Rumi spelling	Inscribed Stone Jawi Spelling		UM manuscript Jawi spelling		UK manuscript Jawi spelling		Present-day Jawi spelling (DKBM)
	Word	Loc.	Word	Loc.	Word	Loc.	
orang	اورغ	A:1	اورغ	2:1	اورغ	1:8	اورغ
mulia	مليا	A:2	مليا	12:3	مليا	10:3	موليا
beri	برى	A:2	برى	8:5	برى	20:2	برى
Islam	اسلام	A:2	اسلام	5:2	اسلام	1:23	إسلام
sekalian	سكاليين	A:3	سكاليين	4:4	سكاليين	24:22	سكاليين
ini	اينى	A:4	اينى	1:3	اينى	24:12	اين
di dalam	ددالم	A:5	ددالم	27:5	دالم	63:9	ددالم
itu	ايتو	A:6	ايت	2:1	ايت	24:1	ايت
titah	تيتيه	A:8	تيتيه	7:6	تته	19:4	تيتيه
bulan	بولن	A:10	سيبولن	26:5	بولن	9:29	سيبولن
tujuh	توچه	A:11	توچه	45:2	توچه	1:1	توچوه
ratus	راتس	A:11	سراتس	22:5	راتس	2:19	راتوس
dua	دوا	A:11	دو	2:9	دوا	10:17	دوا
mengambil	معامل	B:3	مغميل	18:4	اميل	3:6	مغميل
kelima	كلنما	B:4	كلنم	10:5	كلنم	11:4	كلنم
merdeka	مردنكا	B:8	مردهيك	22:8	مردهيك	55:19	مرديك
beristeri	براستري	B:9	براستري	73:5	براستر	53:9	براىستري
sepuluh	سقوله	C:1	سقوله	16:9	سقوله	12:6	سقولوه
tahil	تاهل	C:2	تاهيل	16:1	تهيل	19	تاهيل
masuk	ماسوق	C:4	ماسوق	5:2	ماسوق	53:16	ماسوق
tiada	تيدا	C:6	تيدق	34:3	تيد	18:23	تيد

Based on comparison in the table above, it appears that there is a mixed system of spelling for the vowels /i/, /e/, /u/ and /o/. However, the spelling of the sounds /i/ and /u/ in closed syllables such as in the words *mengambil* (take), *tahil*, *tujuh* (seven), *ratus* (hundred), *sepuluh* (ten) and *masuk* (enter) is consistent on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone, namely through the use of the vowel point system (*sistem baris*) or by spelling without vowels in the final syllable. The same applies to the UM and UK manuscripts except for the word *tahil*

which is spelt using full vowel letters. In this regard, the spelling on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone fulfils the principle of economy but does not fulfill the principle of certainty and leads to differences in interpretation of the word بوجل (B:5) that is read *tugal* (digging implement) by Paterson, but *tukul* (hammer) by Hamdan.

For an open syllable, the Jawi spelling on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone is more likely to place a vowel letter than to use the vowel point system as for the words *beri* (give), *itu* (that), *titah* (command), *bulan* (moon or month) and *lima* (five). This trend was continued in the UM and UK manuscripts. DKBM also made a ruling that the vowels /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/ and /o/ in Old Malay words should be spelled with vowel letters.

Vocabulary:

The discussion of vocabulary here actually follows a series of analyses of the Jawi writing system used on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone. Having reviewed the entire text on the Stone, problems still remain when determining the vocabulary for words such as *orang* (person) / *arwah* (spirit) late (A: 1), ... *bagi* (give) / *santabi* / *sahabi* (A: 1), *rautan* / *rotan* (rattan) (B: 9) *tida* / *tiada* (no) (C: 6), *tiada* (no) ... / *tiada harta* (no property) (D: 2) and others.

Orang / Arwah (A:1):

Based on observation of the script on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone, it is found that the spelling *alif-wau-ra-nga/ha* is closer to the word *orang* that is spelt اورغ in Jawi. This view is based on the shape of the letter 'ain' which is almost the same as that used in the words *orang* on B: 2, and *barang* on C: 4. Since the word *arwah* is spelt ارواح in Arabic and ارواح in Jawi, it is difficult to maintain that there is a significant difference in spelling.

Santabi / Sahabi / ...bagi (A:1):

The words *santabi* / *sahabi* / ... *bagi* appear after the word *orang* discussed above. If the word *orang* is accepted as discussed above the sentence reads "... the Prophet with the *orang santabi* / *sahabi* / ... for them" Based on the text on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone, the spelling that is closest is سدابی while the spelling for *santabi* requires the addition of a 'home', that is سدابی, that is quite different to the original spelling. The interpretation of ...*bagi* given by Paterson (1924) is somewhat dubious because the spelling is quite different from the word *bagi* that appears below it which is spelled بگی (A:3).

Through an online search for words in *Sanskrit, Tamil and Pahlavi Dictionaries* (1997), it was found that the word *sanabhya* from the Sanskrit word that means "a blood-relation" carries the meaning descent. The word was earlier found to be suitable to replace the word *santabi* / *sahabi* /...*bagi*. However, based on the spelling of the word *mulia* (noble) (ملنا) (A:2), *jika ia* (if it) (حكما) (B:6) and the word *bagi* (for) (بگی) (A:3) then the sound spelt سدابی is *sanabi*. The change from *sanabhyato sanabi* involves the removal of the sound at the end of a word called apokope in phonological terms. This phenomenon also applies to several other words borrowed from Sanskrit such as *badan* (body) from *vadana*, *atau* (or) from *atava*, *jam* (hour) of *yama*, *baiduri* (opal) from *vaiduriya* (precious stones) and many others (Khalid M. Hussain, 1978). Thus, it is proposed that the word *santabi/sahabi* /...*bagi* used previously be converted to *sanabi*.

Rautan / rotan (B:9):

Most previous studies transliterated the word that is spelt راوس (B:9) on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone as *rautan*. Blagden believes that *rautan* is a more archaic word than *rotan*, as if saying that *rautan* and *rotan* are two different words but have the same meaning. It might be useful to analyze the word in the context of spelling at the time the Terengganu Inscribed Stone was inscribed. Apart from the word *rautan*, no other combination of the vowels *alif* and *wau* is found on the Stone except for the word *orang* (اورغ) (A:1), where it spells the sound /o/ at the beginning of the word. As there is no evidence to indicate that *alif* and *wau* combine to make the sound /au/, the evidence that shows that *alif* and *wau* combine to make the sound /o/ should be accepted. Therefore, the word راوس on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone should be read and transliterated as *rotan* without any doubt.

Tida/tiada (no) (تدا) (C:6, D:1, D:2 dan D:4):

In terms of meaning, the word *tida* that appears on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone can be construed not to be part of the modern Malay language. But in the context of the same sentence, the UM manuscript uses the word *tiada* as does the UK manuscript. Blagden believed that *tida* on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone is the original form of the word *tidak* that is now used. However, he did not present any evidence or argument to support his view that there has been a process of increasing the use of the consonant /k/ or glottal stop at the end

of words in Malay. However, if the word *tiada* is accepted, no additional phonological process needs to be explained. What happens is only the use of the vowel point system (*sistem baris*) that is widely used on the Terengganu Stone. In the present-day spelling system, this method is called the gliding method because between the vowels /i/ and /a/ is actually inserted the gliding consonant /y/. According to this method, the sound of the vowel /a/ after the gliding sound /y/ or /w/ will require the letter *alif* such as ليات (*liat*) (clay) and بواس (*buas*) (wild). However, on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone, apart from the alphabetical vowel system, the vowel point system was also used for this method as in the examples of *keluarga* (family) (كلوركا) and *perempuan* (women) (فرمعوں). If ككلوركا can be read as *keluarga* rather than **kelurga* and فرمعوں can be read as *perempuan* and not **perempun*, there is no reason why تندا cannot be read as *tiada*. It is therefore proposed that the word *tida* on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone be replaced with the word *tiada*.

Tiada... (no) / tiada harta (no property) (D:2):

Paterson and Hamdan did not transliterate the word that appears after *tiada* (no) (D: 2). But the word *harta* appeared in that place in the pamphlet which was distributed to participants of the Seminar Batu Bersurat Terengganu (Terengganu Inscribed Stone Seminar) 2009 in Kuala Terengganu. However, it was discovered that the word *ia* was at the end of the said word as was the case with the word *jika ia* (if it). If the first letter of the word *harta* (property) is accepted to be *ha* (ه), then the spelling is هريسا and it should be read as *harta ia* as in the case of *jika ia* (حكا) (B:6). The word *ia* at the end of the said word has been spelt *ia* at the end of the word *mulia* (ملنا) (A:2). Therefore, it is proposed that the word *harta* (property) (D:2) be added to become *harta ia*.

Other vocabulary:

Apart from the five items of vocabulary discussed above, there are several other words that are spelt inaccurately. This can lead to differences in meaning that may affect the understanding of readers. Among the items are *derma* (donations) (A:3) which should be spelt *darma*, *sebelah* (A:5) which should be spelt *setelah*, *saratan* (A:10) which should be spelt *syaratan*, *jauh* (far) (B:1) should, it is proposed, be transliterated as *Jawa*, *denda* (fine) (C:1) should be spelt *danda* and *bendera* (flag) (C:4) should be *bandara* (prison) (Asmah Omar, 2010). These findings indicate that the interpretation and transliteration of Jawi spelling to Rumi for the text of the Terengganu Inscribed Stone should not just be based on present-day transliteration methods alone, but must also take into account the system of Jawi spelling and vocabulary that existed at the time the inscription was made.

Conclusion:

Based on the above discussion, it can be seen that the Jawi spelling on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone already has its own system. This has been proved by the spelling system for consonants and vowels. For the spelling of consonants, there is the use of *ta marbutah* and *ta mafuhah* and the uniform use of the letter *qaf* the same as it is now. Also, the letter *nya* is the oldest Jawi letter in the world, thus proving that the writing on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone is also the oldest in the world. In terms of vowels, the use of the letter *alif* is widespread and shows that the system of Jawi spelling on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone complies with Za'ba's principle of certainty that is still used today. In addition, it also shows the influence of Kawi / Java script, which allows for the existence of a relationship between Terengganu and the Majapahit Empire centered in East Java at the time. The comparison of the Terengganu Stone text with the texts of the UM and UK manuscripts shows that the system of Jawi spelling on the Terengganu Inscribed Stone is more developed and systematic. This study thus proposes that the Jawi spelling system of the Terengganu Inscribed Stone be used as the basis for improvement of the Jawi spelling system in the future.

In terms of vocabulary too, this study has suggested several improvements to earlier interpretations of the text of the Terengganu Inscribed Stone. Among them are the words *orang* (A:1), *sanabi* (A:1), *rotan* (B:9), *tiada* (C:6, D:1, D:2 and D:4), and *harta ia* (D:2). The comparison with the text of the UM and UK manuscripts can also help solve vocabulary problems, especially for the word *tiada*. In addition, the many similarities between the vocabulary of the three texts studied show that there is continuity in the use of language between the three territories (Terengganu, Melaka and Kedah) ruled by the Malay Sultanates. It also proves that Malay grammar is indeed able to uncover the legal language that was a reference to those who resided in the territories of or dealt with the Malay Sultanates.

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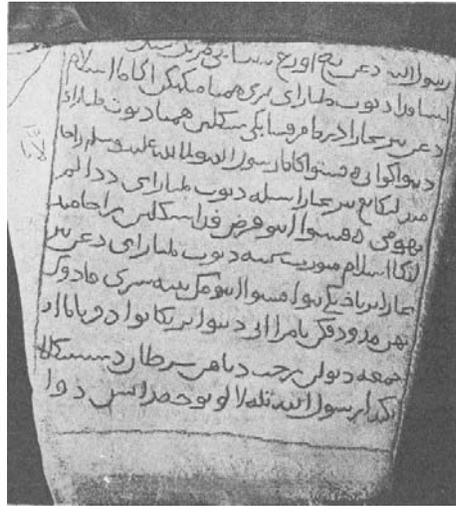
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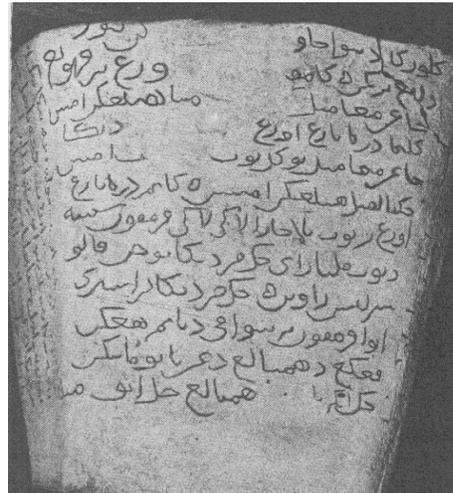
APPENDIX A:

IMAGES AND TRANSLITERATION OF BATU BERSURAT PIAGAM TERENGGANU:

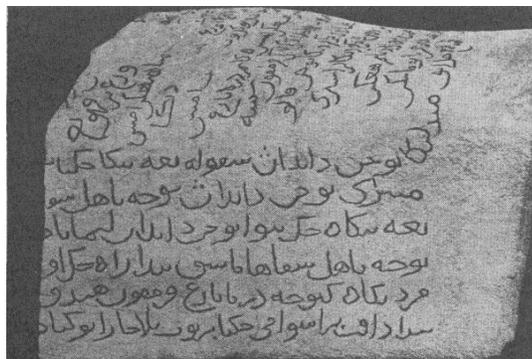
Side A



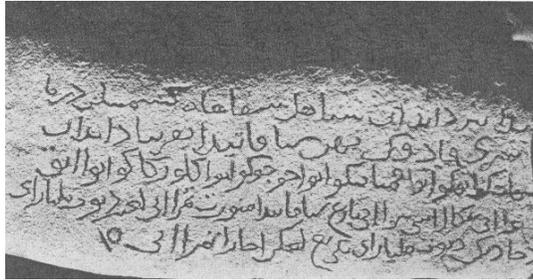
Side B



Side C



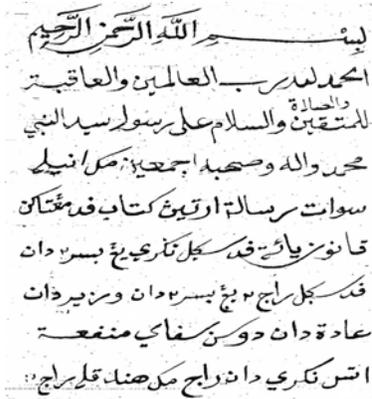
Side D



Source (Images): Malay Concordance Project. Online. Internet. 1 March 2011. Available: <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/SK/0.html>

APPENDIX B:

IMAGE ON THE FIRST PAGE OF THE RISALAH HUKUM KANUN MELAKA VERSION DUBLIN MS1638 (1803M):



APPENDIX C:

IMAGE ON THE FIRST PAGE OF THE UNDANG-UNDANG KEDAH VERSION MS40329 (1807M):

