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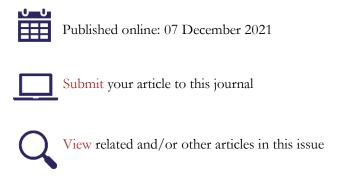View related and/or other articles in this issue

VERNACULAR TAFSIR IN MADURA: NEGOTIATING HUMAN EQUALITY IN A SOCIAL HIERARCHICAL TRADITION

Ulya Fikriyati[*], Ah. Fawaid[**] and Subkhani Kusuma Dewi[***]

Abstract: The Madurese tradition has three hierarchical levels that symbolise the social stratification expressed in its daily language. However, the Qur'ān teaches human equality before God. This article investigates how vernacular *tafsir – Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Bahasa Madura –* negotiates between the Madurese language and cultural background of social stratification on one side and the Qur'ānic spirit of human equality on the other side. The socio-historical approach and linguistic interpretation are employed to pursue the goal. This article finds that translation of the Qur'ān is a cultural work besides being religious. So, the relationship between Madurese translation as vernacular *tafsir* of the Qur'ān and local tradition is reciprocal. The vernacular *tafsir* negotiates the idea of human equality in two ways: choosing the *kasar* (lower level) style among other styles available in the Madurese language and shifting the base of levels from social hierarchy among human peers to the hierarchy between God and His creatures.

Keywords: *vernacular*, *Madurese*, *Indonesia*, *translation*, *human equality*, *stratification*

INTRODUCTION

In an expansive definition, *tafsir* means every human effort to understand the words of God according to each person's ability.[1] Based on this definition, the translation of the Qur'ān is a *tafsir.* Translation is not just about changing and representing language to another. The translation is constructing the events and characterising them in another language.[2] Thus, translators or interpreters can either undermine or strengthen aspects of the narratives they mediate implicitly or explicitly.[3] The role of translators of the Qur'ān is pretty much the same as the *mufassir* (interpreter/exegete of the Qur'ān).

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[1]   Abd al-'Aẓīm al-Zarqānī, *Manāhil Al-'Irfān Fī 'Ulūm Al-Qur'ān* [The Fountains of Knowledge in Qur'ānic Sciences] (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2003), vol. 2, 265.
[2]   Mona Baker, "Translation as Re-Narration," in *Translation: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, ed. Juliane House (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 159.
[3]   Mona Baker, *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account* (London: Routledge, 2006), 158.

In the vernacular process, translators are challenged to determine specific meanings among various meanings available for every single word and choose which words are most relevant to the local social ethics.[4] The translator's task is to bridge two different cultures. The task grows more challenging when the two traditions are inconsistent in key ways. This is exactly the situation between the Qur'ānic human equality norm and the Madurese tradition of social stratification.

Almost every word in Madurese belongs to one of three[5] or six levels[6] and most levels have a particular word totally different from other levels, as will be explained later. These language levels express social stratification and signal social inequality.[7] Every sentence used by an individual automatically shows which level the speaker is assuming vis-à-vis an addressee. Theoretically, to bridge both cultures, in this case, is impossible or at least hard to do. This article examines a non-Arabic-speaking society (Madura). The work reveals a dynamic engagement between *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Bahasa Madura* (The Qur'ān and its Translation: Madurese Language) and Madurese efforts to incorporate the Qur'ān into their culture. This article tries to capture how vernacular *tafsir* in Madura negotiates egalitarianism in the Qur'ān using the well-known Madurese culture of elitism expressed in their own tradition of language levels.

There are several works in Qur'ānic translation to Madurese,[8] but the MORA (Ministry of Religious Affairs) edition is the only subject of this article for three reasons. First, it is the most recent edition published of Madurese translation of the Qur'ān.[9] Second, this edition has not yet been the subject of scholarly research. Previous research available in Qur'ānic Madurese translation examined different works, namely the edition of *Lajnah Penerjemahan dan Pengkajian Al-Qur'an* (The Committee of Qur'ānic Translation and Studies)[10] and the edition

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4   Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Jawāhir Al-Qur'ān* [Jewels of the Qur'ān] (Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-'Aṣriyyah, 2014).

5   These three levels are *mabâ/kasar* (coarse), *tânga* (middle) and *alos* (refined). Lukman Fajariyah, "The Social Stratification of the Madurese Society and its Implications on the Usage of Bhasa Madhura," *Simulacra* 3, no. 2 (2020): 167, https://doi.org/10.21107/sml.v3i2.7371; Mulyadi Mulyadi and Umar Bukhory, "Stratifikasi Sosial Ondhâg Bâsa Bahasa Madura" [Social Stratification of Language Level in Madurese], *NUANSA: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Sosial Dan Keagamaan Islam* 16, no. 1 (2019): 4, https://doi.org/10.19105/nuansa.v16i1.2403.

6   These six levels contain a four-style level: *kasar* (coarse), *biasa* (ordinary), *tânga* (middle) and *alus/alos* (refined); and two reference levels: *alus/alos mandhâp* (low refined) and *alus/alos tèngghi* (high refined). See Alan M. Stevens, "Language Levels in Madurese," *Linguistic Society of America* 41, no. 2 (1965): 295, https://doi.org/10.2307/411879; Akhmad Haryono and Bambang Wibisono, "The Use of Speech Level in Socio Cultural Perspetive [sic] of Tapal Kuda Madurese Ethnic Society," *PAROLE: Journal of Linguistics and Education* 8, no. 2 (2018): 58, https://doi.org/10.14710/parole.v8i2.57-65.

7   J. H. B. Den Ouden, "Social Stratification as Expressed Through Language: A Case Study of a South Indian Village," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 13, no. 1 (1979): 34, https://doi.org/10.1177/006996677901300102.

8   Ulya Fikriyati, "Qur'an Translation of the Week #42: The Bhâsa Madhurâ Translation of the Qur'an," *The Global Qur'an*, March 5, 2021, https://gloqur.de/quran-translation-of-the-week-42-the-bhasa-madhura-translation-of-the-quran/.

9   Moh. Mashur Abadi (Team of the Madurese Translation of the Qur'an), interview by Ulya Fikriyati and Ah. Fawaid, Sumenep-Madura, July 28, 2021.

10   Two previous works are available on this subject, which are written by Arini Royyani and Ulya Fikriyati. See Arini Royyani, "Al-Qur'ān Tarjāmah Bhāsa Madhurā (Studi Kritik Atas Karakteristik Dan

of *Terjemah I'roban Keterangan Madhurah Atoro' Lil-Jalalain* (A Grammar-based Madurese Translation of the Qur'ān According to Tafsir al-Jalālayn).[11] Third, the published research about the Madurese translation of the Qur'ān is rather scanty up to the time of writing. The three studies mentioned earlier represent all the works published on the Madurese translation of the Qur'ān.

The English translation of the Qur'ānic verses will be attached to accommodate the non-Madurese speaking reader. The English translation is quoted from "English Sahih International" of the Qur'ān in Word, an application produced by MORA of Indonesia.

Socio-historical and linguistic-interpretation approaches are employed in this research. The article consists of three main parts. The first part displays the socio-historical structure of the Madurese people according to their elitist-culture expressed through their language levels and the Qur'ānic idea of human equality. The second describes *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Bahasa Madura* as the research subject and the last part examines the way Madurese translation of the Qur'ān negotiates the idea of human equality using their well-known tradition (social hierarchy in the linguistic expression).

THE MADURESE SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND THE QUR'ĀNIC IDEA OF HUMAN EQUALITY

The Madurese people, originally indigenous to Madura Island East Java, Indonesia, are naturally and historically unique. The name Madura originates from *Maddhuna Saghara* meaning honey of the sea.[12] Madura is surrounded by an archipelagic area of fewer than 5.304km^2 and has more than 4 million inhabitants.[13] In line with the natural situation, historically, Madura was influenced by Hinduism before the 17th century before the arrival of Javanese Islamic empires, such as Gresik and Demak. From the last few decades of the 18th century, Dutch colonials governed Madura, and since the independence of the Republic, it has served as an East Java province. Among the influential figures of the island is Syaikhana Khalil Bangkalan (1820-1923), a charismatic Jawi scholar in Mecca who had a strong influence on

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Metodologi)" [The Madurese Translation of the Qur'ān (Critical Studies of Characters and Methods)] (undergraduate thesis., UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2015); Fikriyati, "Qur'an Translation of the Week #42."

[11]   Using an identical title, this article originated from an undergraduate thesis submitted to State Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and was rewritten with an additional co-writer. See Mursidi and Moh. Bakir, "Problematika Terjemah Al-Qur'an Bahasa Madura: Studi Kasus Terjemah I'raban Keterangan Madhurah Atoro' Lil-Jalālain (TIKMAL)" [The Qur'ān Translation in Madurese: A Study of Grammar-based Madurese Translation of the Qur'ān According to Tafsir al-Jalālayn], *Nun Jurnal Studi Alqur'an Dan Tafsir Di Nusantara* 7, no. 1 (2021).

[12]   Sodaqoh Zainudin, Soegianto A. Kusuma, and Barijati, *Bahasa Madura* [Madurese Language] (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1978), 1.

[13]   BPS Statistics Indonesia, "Total Population of Jawa Timur Province (People), 2018-2020," *East Java Statistic*, accessed August 19, 2021, https://jatim.bps.go.id/indicator/12/375/1/jumlah-penduduk-provinsi-jawa-timur.html.

the preservation of the traditional *ulama* (Islamic cleric) network as well as the foundation of Nahdlatul Ulama.[14]

Besides the ecological and historical setting, Madurese have unique social and cultural characteristics. Primarily, they are known for their emigration, which has made it the fifth-highest ethnic group nationally.[15] With this tribal migration, Madurese have a solid attachment for lineage solidarity (*settong dhârâ*) and cooperation among their resettlement brotherhoods (*satarètanan*).[16] Last but not least, Madurese are also known for their respect for authority, entrusting dominant figures to support the authority, either in domestic or public life, such as religious organisations and political parties.[17] This feudalistic structure has impacted the shape of the society's stratification and will be explored below.

The notion of inequality that has been generated through intergenerational transmission and differential association shapes the interactive expression among the classed groups. In this unequal relationship, the communication mechanism takes place.[18] Generally, Madurese communication is differentiated by three class divisions: lower class (*orèng kènè'*), middle class (*pongghâbâ*) and higher class (*prijaji*).[19] The lowest class in this society is supposed to submit their loyalty to the highest and refers to the working class, such as farmers, fishermen and craftsmen. Research by Humaidy[20] attests that *orèng kènè'* remains the most economically disadvantaged group, an unfortunate position stimulating emigration. The middle class was largely formed during the Dutch colonial government era. The Dutch had replaced the role of

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[14]   Established in 1926 by a group of *kyai* (Islamic traditional cleric), including Kyai Wahab Hasbullah and Kyai Hasyim Asyari, Nahdlatul Ulama is the largest social Islamic organisations in Indonesia. The organisation bases its teaching on a set of Sunni schools (*madhab*), commonly known as *ahlu sunnah wal jamaah (aswaja).* Among its essential teachings are the theological concept of Al Maturidi, Islamic jurisprudence teachings (*fiqh*) of Al Asy'arie, and it accepts the Sufi teachings of al Ghazali. These teachings influence society in a big way, such as the role of Kyai as part of Sufi Syeikh, whom the members pay respects. Mohammad Hefni, "Patron-Client Relationship Pada Masyarakat Madura" [Patron-Client Relationship in Madurese Society], *Karsa Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 15, no. 1 (2009): 20, https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v15i1.110.

[15]   Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura* [Social Change in Madurese Agricultural Societies] (Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa, 2002); Yanwar Pribadi, "Madura" in *Encyclopedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Koninklijke Brill NV, 2019), accessed August 11, 2021, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_35959; William D. Davies, *A Grammar of Madurese*, Mouton Grammar Library 50 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 2010).
      According to the 2010 census, Madura as an ethnic group comprises more than 7 million (equals 3% of the total population), making it among the ten highest ethnic populations in Indonesia. BPS Statistics Indonesia, *Population of Indonesia: Result of Indonesia Population Census 2010* (Indonesia: Badan Pusat Statistik, 2013), https://www.bps.go.id/publication/2013/03/05/becb3c0fa2dbec4af7a24430/penduduk-indonesia-hasil-sp-2010.html.

[16]   Fajariyah, "The Social Stratification of the Madurese Society," 169.

[17]   Abd Hannan and Abdillah Kudrat, "Hegemoni Religio-Kekuasaan Dan Transformasi Social: Mobilitas Jaringan Kekuasaan Dan Keagamaan Kyai Dalam Dinamika Sosio-Kultural Masyarakat Madura" [Religio-Power Hegemony and Social Transformation: Mobility of Power and Religious Networks in the Socio-Cultural Dynamics of Madurese Society], *Sosial Budaya* 16, no. 1 (2019): 15.

[18]   Wendy Bottero, *Stratification, Social Division and Equality* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 3-4.

[19]   Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial*, 306.

[20]   Mohammad Ali Al Humaidy, "Analisis Stratifikasi Sosial Sebagai Sumber Konflik Antar Etnik di Kalimantan Barat" [Social Stratification as Battleground among Ethnics at West Kalimantan: An Analysis], *Karsa: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman* 12, no. 2 (2012): 193, https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v12i2.142.

the Madura noble family to the chosen administrators, consisting of officers and civil servants working to organise the sources of villages. The most advantageous class of Madurese is the highest class, with support from the middle one. *Prijaji* is the most respected class, which entails their guardianship over the whole society. This class serves as the patron leaders of various authorities, including the *kalèbun* (village head), representing formal authority; the *kiai* (expert in Islam), embodying religious authority; and the *blatèr* (strongman)*,* carrying cultural authority.[21]

Unlike the triadic model of modern society in which the middle class mediates the other two, Madurese society is characterised by its hierarchical patronage. The Madurese agricultural society sets this intermediary class as a supportive source for a patron-client structure. The group tends to function as brokers, serving the upper class through the loyalties and significant help of the lower class of *orèng kènè'.* There are at least two reasons for this. First, the lack of economic resources has made the lower class give their loyalty to the highest group of *kiai*, *blater* and *kalèbun*. Given their relatively flexible position, the middle class is supportive of such a relationship. Serving the higher class has economic advantages, which then helps both lower classes survive. The intermediary position increases the social prestige and cultural identity of the middle class.[22]

Another reason that supports the patron-client system is the guardian position of the higher class. The higher class is charged with responsibilities for economic resources, knowledge authority and guarantor of security, which has created their position as guardians of the community. The wider the invested responsibility they have in the community, the broader influence they will receive.[23] Faithfulness toward the higher class is also supported by the teachings of honouring elders: *bupa*, *babu*, *guru*, *rato* (father, mother, teacher, king). This norm necessitates double dedication; the lower classes should respect these figures and symbolically imply a standardised morality to determine an individual's goodness, decency and politeness. Finally, this power distribution process has a significant effect on the socio-cultural construction of the Madurese community as a whole. Thus, this patronage practice has shaped the social structure of the Madurese, where language became a salient expression of the respect toward the guarantors and need to gain protections in life.

The triadic model of Madurese society implies the layered class on the use of language. The Madurese language has two basic systems: the style system and reference system. The first system denotes social status and familiarity between addressee and speaker within a communication system. The second system deals with two positions: the social-power

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21   Yanwar Pribadi, "Islam and Politics in Madura: Ulama and Other Local Leaders in Search of Influence (1990–2010)" (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 2013), 290.
22   Hefni, "Patron-Client Relationship," 22.
23   Abdur Rozaki, *Menabur Karisma, Menuai Kuasa* [Planting Charisma, Harvesting Power] (Yogyakarta: IRCISod, 2004). For a recent study on the upper-class influence, see Yanwar Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 51, no. 1 (2013): 23, https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.511.1-32. In line with the patronage model of Indonesian society, see Heddy S. Putra, *Minawang, Hubungan Patron-Klien Di Sulawesi Selatan* [Minawang, A Patron-Client Relation in South Sulawesi] (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1988), 33-34.

reference to a high-status person in a discourse level and the signification of persons' belongings or actions, which are generally shaped by wealth, lineage/nobility, education, occupation and age.[24] Stevens has elaborated four features of the style system: *kasar* (coarse), *alos* (refined), *tânga* (middle) and *biasa* (ordinary).[25]

Several research studies denote the use of the style system in a more comparative way, sometimes used together with the highest level (*alos*) as a way to express gratitude and respect (*kramanisasi*). Both are used for speakers lower than the addressees' level. In contrast, the *bhâsa kasar* [coarse language] are used in *alos thèngghi* [high-refined] talks to compromise or accommodate humour and flexible way. A study by Mulyadi and Bukhory foundthe interchanging use of the Madurese levels into two situations. First, the *bhâsa kasar* for an informal of awkward situation, used by religious of village leaders accommodating a message with humorous terms and attract the audiences' feeling, so the audience will follow the meaning easily. Second, the highest level of language is used to emphasise the sense of messages' urgency by those higher classes actors and the interlocutors are required to pay attention to the message. Last, the *bhâsa tèngghi* [highest language] is used to put respect and prestige on the presentation, particularly during rituals or festivals.[26]

Other research found the complex use of the Madurese style system, *ondhâggâ bhâsa* (levels of language), which reflects the direct use of the hierarchical pattern of society. Samsiyadi, Kusnadi and Badrudin elaborate this use of language rank in the *pesantren* situation and found three levels of interaction among the ranked actors. Among the three qualities of ranks – *enje' iyeh* (yes-no at coarse level), *engghi enten* (yes-no at middle level) and *èngghi bhunten* (yes-no at refined level) – the *pesantren* students interact with the teachers by *èngghi bhunten*, reflecting the paternalistic and respect relation between them. Second, *enje' iyeh* is used during the *santri* (who [ever] follows Islamic education in Islamic boarding schools) interaction as a sign of friendship and solidarity. Last is the polite *engghi enten* between senior and junior *santri*.[27] The above research resembles Stevens' argument that a higher level and style are used when speaking to a social superior, such as an older member of the family, in a formal situation, and to some extent, it became the proper way to strengthen the message of the communication.[28]

The previous paragraphs show how the Madurese uphold social stratification in their daily life interaction: a tradition the Qur'ān has rebuffed. From its beginning, the Qur'ān teaches egalitarianism: a noble is as equal as a commoner, a female is as equal as a male, coloured skin

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[24]   Stevens, "Language Levels in Madurese," 295; Paul Kerswill, "Language and Social Class," in *English Language*, ed. Jonathan Culpeper et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 389.

[25]   Stevens, "Language Levels in Madurese," 296-97.

[26]   Mulyadi and Bukhory, "Stratifikasi Sosial," 16.

[27]   Samsiyadi, Kusnadi, and Ali Badrudin, "Penggunaan Tingkat Tutur Bahasa Madura Di Lingkungan Pondok Pesantren Nurul Falah Di Kabupaten Bondowoso: Suatu Tinjauan Sosiolinguistik" [The Use of Madurese Speech Level in Nurul Falah Islamic Boarding School Bondowoso: A Sociolinguistic Review], *Publik Budaya* 1, no. 1 (2016): 14.

[28]   Stevens, "Language Levels in Madurese," 298-99.

is as equal as white skin, and so on. It opposes the Arab and whole world tradition that time[29] and the Madurese tradition today, as described above. People are distinguished into several social levels according to something they have no choice to make. Certain levels possess a superiority, while others must bow due to inferiority based on unessential things. The Qur'ān emphasises human equality that all mankind shares as equal in creation.[30] It said in *surah* Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:13:

> *Yā ayyuhā al-nās innā khalaqnākum min dhakar wa unthā wa ja'alnākum shu'ūban wa qabā'il li ta'ārafū inna akramakum 'ind Allāh atqākum innā Allāh 'alīm khabīr.*

> O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted.

Ibn 'Āshūr explains the *asbāb al-nuzūl* of the verse is when the Prophet asks Banī Bayāḍah (one of a noble tribe in Anṣār) to arrange a marriage of one of their girls to Abū Hind, their slave in *Jāhilīyāh*. Banī Bayāḍah denied the order and said: "How could we ask our daughter to marry our slave?" then Allah revealed this verse to reprove Banī Bayāḍah.[31]

Quraish Shihab adds another *riwāyah* and says the verse was revealed when Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ sounded the *azan* in the Ka'bah and Usaid ibn Abī al-Āṣ said sarcastically: "Praise be to Allah that my father passed away when it is going on" or an anonymous man said: "Is it too hard for Muhammad to find another man to sound azan in Ka'bah except for this raven?"[32] On the one hand, Bilāl is one of Muhammad's coloured skin companions and a slave in *Jāhilīyah*. On the other hand, he was very close to the Prophet and gifted a golden voice. That is why the Prophet asks him to sound the azan in Ka'bah. Thus, the historical context of the verse's circumstance explains that treasure, wealth, heredity and even skin colour do not actually point to people of honour.[33]

The universal message of the Qur'ān requires Muslims to continually transform, negotiate and emphasise the fundamental unity of humankind in its origin and creation by the Divine Being.[34] The following parts will display how the Madurese translation of the Qur'ān negotiates this fundamental concept of human equality through their hierarchical language expression.

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[29] Jawwād 'Alī, *Al-Mufaṣṣal Fī Tārīkh Al-'Arab Qabla Al-Islām* [Details of the Pre-Islamic Arabs' History] (Baghdad: Jāmi'ah Baghdād, 1993), 541.

[30] Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina, *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), xii.

[31] Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn 'Āshūr, *Tafsīr Al-Taḥrīr Wa al-Tanwīr* [The Liberating and Enlightening Tafsir] (Tunis: Dār Suḥnūn, 1997), vol. 26, 258.

[32] M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsîr Al-Mishbâh Pesan, Kesan, dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an* [The Light: Messages, Reflections, and Coherences of the Qur'ān] (Ciputat: Lentera Hati, 2011), vol. 12, 616.

[33] Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ Al-Ghayb* [Keys of the Supernatural] (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2005), vol. 28, 112.

[34] Sachedina, *The Islamic Roots*, 27.

MADURESE TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'ĀN; AN OVERVIEW

Conveying the message of God, normatively, was the responsibility of Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon him). It is explicitly expressed in the Qur'ān, especially at *surah* al-An'ām verse 19 and al-Mā'idah verse 67: "It is the Prophet's responsibility to warn you thereby and whomever it reaches" (*li 'undhirakum bih wa man balagh*) and "announce that which has been revealed to you from your Lord" (*balligh mā unzila ilayk min rabbik*). At the end of the prophetic period, the expansion of Islam extended beyond the Arab world. So, there was a need to transmit warnings, followed by his successive generations – successors, followers and *ulama* – according to the language of his target community.

Translating the Qur'ān to several languages was one of many steps to socialise the Islamic teachings.[35] The task of translating the Qur'ān became more complicated as it expanded beyond the region where it was born. Understanding the Qur'ān in its original language is not available to all Muslims. Vernacular Qur'ān or its *tafsir* helps them to face inevitable problems. That is why translation of the Qur'ān is essential.

Initially, discussions about the translation of the Qur'ān into a non-Arabic language (*'ajam*) were a subject of debate among scholars. Riddell recorded the dynamic views among scholars surrounding the translation of the Qur'ān before the 20th century. During the 20th century, the views of Muslim scholars around the translation of the Qur'ān underwent a change.[36] The wave of translating the Qur'ān in several locations triggered efforts in other parts of the Muslim world. For example, in South-East Asia, Abdur Rauf Singkel (1615-1693) tried to publish the Qur'ān and its interpretation in Malay.

In Indonesia, *pesantrens* (traditional Islamic boarding schools) use the local language for daily communications and academic purposes. In Madura, Java, Sunda and other regions, the *kiai* explains Arabic books in the local language. The *bandongan* pattern (classical learning system in a *pesantren* with *kiai* reading and explaining the content of *kitāb*) is the most appropriate example of applying this method. Thus, vernacular classical Arabic books are familiar in the *pesantren* milieu. The Madurese language and Qur'ān are part of the objects of these vernacular works.[37]

Tafsīr Jalālayn written by Sheikh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Sheikh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī is the most familiar *tafsir* in the *pesantren*, as well as *pesantren* in Madura. The translation of *Tafsīr Jalālayn* into the local language circulates mainly in local markets.[38] The Madurese

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35   Ahsin Sakho Muhammad, *Membumikan Ulumul Qur'an* [Grounding the Qur'ānic Studies] (Jakarta: Qaf, 2019), 140.

36   Peter Riddell, "Menerjemahkan Al-Qur'an Ke Dalam Bahasa-Bahasa Di Indonesia" [Translating the Qur'ān into Indonesian Local Languages], in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan Di Indonesia Dan Malaysia* [Sadur: The History of Translation in Indonesia and Malaysia], ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: KPG, 2009), 397-98.

37   Ulfatun Hasanah, "Sejarah Dan Perkembangan Penulisan Tafsir Al-Quran Di Madura" [Qur'ānic Interpretation in Madura: Its History and Development], *Jurnal Al-Fanar* 3, no. 1 (2020): 78-79, https://doi.org/10.33511/alfanar.v3n1.71-92.

38   Van Bruinessen confirmed that, in the 19th century, pesantren in Madura and West Java did not use their own regional languages but had Javanese as a medium; when Arabic texts were translated here, it was into Javanese. This, too, has changed and there are now *kitab kuning* in Madurese and Sundanese as well. See

translation of *Tafsīr Jalālayn* by Abdul Majīd Tamīm from Pamekasan and Muhammad 'Ārifun from Bangkalan are widely known nowadays.

Such facts show the vernacularisation of the Holy Scriptures has been ongoing. In Madurese traditions, the teaching of *kitab kuning* (yellow book; an idiom used to call the Islamic classic books) with its various disciplines was presented and improvised in local languages. When a *kiai* reads a book, he relays it by reading the Arabic book's text then translating it into the local language. So, when reading a book of *tafsir*, the *kiai* also translates and explains it in local languages. With this situation, the translation of the Qur'ān into Madurese is not rejected within the community. The problem arises around the translation model, whether a literal (based on grammatical structures) or communicative translation model is used. As Abadi states,[39] the communicative translation model represents a better option for the content of the Qur'ān.

As a result, IAIN (State Islamic Institute) Madura collaborates with associated institutions and published *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Bahasa Madura* (The Qur'ān and its Translation: Madurese Language). It was launched and published in 2018, as well as two other vernacular translations of the Qur'ān into the Bugis and Acehnese languages. IAIN Madura cooperates with the Puslitbang Lektur (Research and Development Center for Religious Literature, the Religious Treasury and Organization Management) and Kemenag RI (Ministry of Religious Affairs, Republic of Indonesia) to publish *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Bahasa Madura*.

Alongside the Ministry of Religious Affairs, IAIN Madura also involves the Pakem Maddhu foundation. IAIN Madura's team focuses on translating the Qur'ān into Madurese, while alignment of the Madura language aspect used in the translation becomes the domain of the Pakem Maddhu foundation. This non-governmental organisation was established in 1992 to focus on the Madura language, involving conservation and development of Madura's language and literature. The Puslitbang Lektur and Kemenag RI published and distributed *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Bahasa Madura* to the public.

This translation required a long period with several short steps and processes. As the translation team proceeded, these gradual and lengthy processes evaluated the validity of translation work. Therefore, IAIN Madura's team worked with the Balitbang Kemenag RI (Center for Research and Development of Literature, the Religious Treasury and Organization Management) and Kemenag RI to hold several workshops for media evaluation, alignment and validation of the Qur'ān's translation.
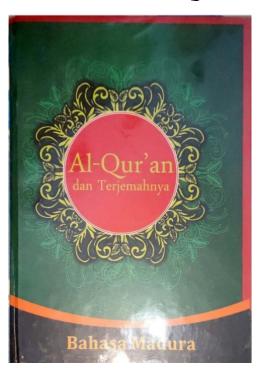
The Qur'ān and its translation in Madurese were printed in 866 pages, not including the copyright page and introduction. It uses a Madurese *batik* cover with a domination of green and red colours. The cover with a *batik* motif symbolises an appreciation for traditional local arts. The first printed copies (November 2018) of the Madurese translation of the Qur'ān are published by the Center for Research and Development of Literature, the Religious Treasury

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Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu: Comments on a New Collection in the KITLV Library," Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde, Deel 146, no. 2/3 (1990): 237, https://doi.org/10.2307/27864122.

39   Moh. Mashur Abadi, interview by Ulya Fikriyati and Ah. Fawaid, Sumenep Madura, July 28, 2021.

and Organization Management, Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic of Indonesia, with its distinct task for Madura as an organisation for preparing the translated Qur'ān in Madurese.

Picture 1: The *batik* cover of *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Bahasa Madura*

Picture 2: A page from *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Bahasa Madura*

This translation generally uses a communicative model, not strictly following the grammatical rules of the Arabic text, also considering the audience's worldviews, as Abadi

states.[40] An alternative model of this type is used to help the readers grasp the meaning of the Qur'ān, even if readers do not ignore its grammatical understanding.

The team respects the guidelines in the face of obstacles in the translation process. One of the decisions taken was to make *Tafsīr Jalālayn* a focus alongside other interpretations, such as *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm* by Ibn Kathīr. In some cases, the team of Madurese translating the Qur'ān added an annotation to certain Qur'ānic verses to make the translation clearer. For example, when translating *ummatan wasaṭan* with *ommat sè panengga* (a middle nation) in *surah* al-Baqarah verse 143,[41] the translator adds an annotation that explains "a middle nation" as balanced people in the affairs of the world and the afterlife, and does not focus too much on either of them. Annotations are commonly added in translations when it is hard to capture the holistic meaning of a word/idiom.

NEGOTIATING THE IDEA OF HUMAN EQUALITY IN *AL-QUR'AN DAN TERJEMAHNYA BAHASA MADURA*

As previously described, the idea of human equality is against the deep-seated tradition of social stratification in Madura. The following parts explain how to deal with the idea of human equality in *al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya Bahasa Madura* from two dialogue patterns: the dialogue between God and His creatures and the dialogue between the creatures.

The Translation of Dialogues Between God and His Creatures

Several Qur'ānic verses record dialogues between created beings and God, such as the dialogues between God and the angels, God and the prophets, God and ordinary human beings or God and demons. The team of Madurese translating the Qur'ān agreed to choose the level *alos tèngghi* in translating all dialogues addressing God by His creatures. There is no difference if the speakers are humans, angels or even demons.[42] By contrast, every speech by God addressing creatures is translated in *bhâsa kasar*, such as shown in the following table.

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40   Ibid.
41   Translation Team, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya Bahasa Madura* [Al-Qur'ān and its Translation: Madurese Language], I (Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan Kemenag RI, 2018), 26.
42   Moh. Mashur Abadi, interview by Ulya Fikriyati and Ah. Fawaid, Sumenep Madura, July 28, 2021.

Table 1: The dialogues between God and His creatures

The dialogue figure and the *surah*	Arabic transliterated text of the Qur'ān	Madurese translation	English translation
Angels and God (Al-Baqarah [2]:30)	Wa idh **qāl** Rabbuk li al-malā'ikah innī jā'il fī al-arḍ khalīfah. **Qālū** ataj'al fīhā man yufsid fīhā wa yasfik al-dimā' wa naḥnu nusabbiḥu bi ḥamdik wa nuqaddis lak. **Qāl** innī a'lam mā lā ta'lamūn	(Ènga'a bâ'na Muhammad) nalèkana Pangèranna bâ'na **adhâbu** ḍâ' Malaèkat: "Saongghuna Sèngko' madâddhi khalifah neng bhumè". Maka Malaèkat **mator:** "Ponapa Ajunan abhâdiyâ neng bhumè orèng sè bhâkal abhâdhi karosaghân sareng maḍumpa ḍârâ, èngalè kaulâ sadhâjâ atasbhih kalabân mojhi Ajunan sareng manyoccè ḍâ' Ajunan?". Salèrana Allah **adhâbu:** "Saongghuna Sèngko' tao ḍâ' pa apa sè bâ'na kabbhi ta' tao".[43]	And [mention, O Muhammad], when your Lord said to the angels, "Indeed, I will make upon the earth a successive authority." They said, "Will You place upon it one who causes corruption therein and sheds blood, while we declare Your praise and sanctify You?" Allah said, "Indeed, I know that which you do not know."
Human and God (Āli 'Imrān [3]:35)	Idh **qālat** imra'at 'Imrān Rabbi innī nadhart lak mā fī baṭnī muḥarraran fataqabbal minnī innak ant al-samī' al-'alīm	(Ènga'a bâ'na Muhammad) nalèkana binèna 'Imron **ngoca':** Ḍu, Pangèran kaulâ, saèstona kaulâ ampon anadzâr ḍâ' Ajunan, pa-ponapa sè neng ḍâlem kanḍungan kaulâ (panèka) dhâdhi kabulâ sè ngabdhi, lajhu narèmaa Ajunan ḍâri kaulâ. Saèstona Ajunan Maha Mèyarsa, Maha Ngaghâli.[44]	[Mention, O Muhammad], when the wife of 'Imran said, "My Lord, indeed I have pledged to You what is in my womb, consecrated [for Your service], so accept this from me. Indeed, You are the Hearing, the Knowing."
Human and God (Maryam [19]:10)	**Qāl** Rabb ij'al lī āyah. **Qāl** āyatuk allā tukallim al-nās thalāth layāl sawīyan	Zakariya **mator:** "Ḍu, Pangèran kaulâ, parèngè kaulâ sèttong tanḍhâ". Pangèranna **aḍhâbu:** "Tanḍhâ-tanḍhâna bâ'na, iya arèya bâ'na ta' (bisa) acaca kalabân manossa tello malem abiddhâ, ḍâlem kabâḍâ'ân bârâs".[45]	(Zechariah) said, "My Lord, make for me a sign." He said, "Your sign is that you will not speak to the people for three nights, [being] sound."
Demon and God (al-A'rāf [7]:14-15)	**Qāl** anẓirnī ilā yawm yub'athūn, **qāl** innak min al-munẓarīn	(Ibblis) jâriya **mator:** "Moghâ-moghâ adentosaghi (terros maodi') kaulâ kantos arè èpajhâghâna (manossa ḍâri kobhur). Salèrana Allah **adhâbu:** "Saongghuna bâ'na (Ibblis) tamaso' sè èdentosaghi (terros odi' kantos arè èpajhâghâna manossa ḍâri kobhur).[46]	[Satan] said, "Reprieve me until the Day they are resurrected." [Allah] said, "Indeed, you are of those reprieved."

The four examples of Madurese translation noted that three different words are used to translate an Arabic word *qāl*a/*qālat* (En: said): *aḍhâbu*, *mator* and *ngoca'*. The three words have the same meaning but are used at different levels. *Aḍhâbu* is the translation of *qāla* in the highest-level language, *mator* is the medium and *ngoca'* is the lowest. In the reference system,

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43   Translation Team, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya*, 6.
44   Ibid., 64.
45   Ibid., 396.
46   Ibid., 190.

aḍhâbu is the *alos tenggi* version and *mator* is the *alos mandhâp*. The translation of *aḍhâbu* is attributed only to God as Lord, while each angel, humans and demon uses the words *mator* or *ngoca'*. The difference in usages is based on the addressee. The word *mator* is used to translate the *qāla* spoken by the creature to God directly, such as recorded in a dialogue of angels and God in Al-Baqarah [2]:30; Zakariya and God in Maryam [19]:10; and a demon and God in Al-A'rāf [7]:14-15. Actually, all creatures should express themselves in the *kasar* style, but when the addressee is God, it shifts to *alos* style and *alos mandhâp* level and the whole sentence at *alos tèngghi* level:

> Zakariya *mator* (in *alos* style and *alos mandhâp* level): "*Ḍu, Pangèran kaulâ, parèngè kaulâ sèttong tanḍhâ*" (in *alos tèngghi* reference level).

On the other side, the translator chooses the word *ngoca'* to translate *qālat* in Āli 'Imrān [3]:35. He does so because the wife of 'Imran talked to herself, not God. According to the Madurese tradition, it would be inappropriate when a person points at themselves in *alos tèngghi* language. It seems the translator interpreted the narration as if the wife of 'Imran said to herself and not to God directly, whereas the Arabic text of the verse only records "*qālat*" with no supplementary information about her talking to herself or God directly. Thus, *qālat imra'at 'Imrān* is translated as *binèna 'Imron ngoca'* (En: the wife of Imran said) in coarse style level, rather than *binèna 'Imron mator* (En: the wife of Imran said) in refined style level.

On the contrary, when translating the whole sentence of Imran's wife "*Ḍu, Pangèran kaulâ, saèstona kaulâ…*" (En: Oh my Lord, Actually I…), the translators determined to apply the *alos tèngghi* language level. The only reason is that the wife of 'Imran refers to her subconscious phrase to God. It shows how the Madurese is respecting God through their language expression. Every single word addressing God directly or indirectly should be expressed in the *alos tèngghi* language levels.

All creatures remain the same before God. Their talks to Him are translated in the highest courtesy expression through the *alos tèngghi* language level. The use of the word *Ajunan-kaulâ* (as the translation of the word *anta/ka-ana/nī* [En: you/your-I/me) and all the remaining sentences of these previous four verses point out that humans, angels and demons are tied together as creatures, even though in many other verses it is explained that humans occupy the top hierarchy of the creature pyramid.[47] No speech by them addressing God should be translated in coarse or even the middle levels.

Translation Pattern of Dialogue Among Fellow Beings

While the previous section explains creatures' equality before God, this section mainly discusses human equality, considering the language levels used in daily human interactions. The discussion focuses on two examples: wife–husband and commoners–nobles dialogues. The two conditions culturally (in Madura) require the polite communication expressed in *alos*

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[47]   Such as written in the Qur'ān: Al-Baqarah [2]:34; Al-A'rāf [7]:11; al-Isrā' [17]:61; al-Kahf [18]:50; Ṭāhā [20]:116.

language levels, but are not found in the following translation of Yūsuf [12]:25 and Al-Kahf [18]:94-95.

Wife's dialogue to her husband

Yūsuf [12]:25 records a dialogue between the ruler of Egypt and his wife in an unexpected incident involving Yūsuf.

The text of the Qur'ān:

Wa istabaqā al-bāb wa qaddat qamīṣah min dubur wa alfayā sayyidahā ladā al-bāb qālat ma jazā' man arād bi ahlik sū'a illā an yusjan aw 'adhāb alīm

Madurese translation:

Bân orèng kaḍuwâ jâreyâ bâng-tabângan nojjhu labâng bân (orèng binè' jâreyâ) najhâ' kalambhina Yusuf ḍâri buḍi sampè' sèbbhit, bân sè kaḍuwâ ngatalè jhâraghânna neng aḍâ'na labâng. Orèng binè' jâreyâ ngoca': "Apa taḍâ' bâlessân ḍâ' orèng sè amaksod jhubâ' ḍâ' binèna bâ'na, kajhâbhâ èkarangkèng otabâ sèksa sè nyakèyaghi?[48]

English translation:

And they both raced to the door, and she tore his shirt from the back, and they found her husband at the door. She said, "What is the recompense of one who intended evil for your wife but that he be imprisoned or a painful punishment?"

The language style of the Madurese translation tells the readers that the wife defends herself in front of her husband at *bhâsa kasar* level. There are several words indicating *kasar* style in the translation, such as *apa* (what) (its *alos* version is *ponapa*),[49] *jâreyâ* (this), *tadâ'* (there is no), *binèna* (wife of) and *bâ'na* (you) (*alos* version: *panèka*, *sobung*, *raji* and *panjenengan*). *Kasar* style words are the leading indicator of social equality interaction between speaker and addressee. Only people with equal or higher social status and degree of familiarity may express themselves in *kasar* style dialogue. The translation indirectly demonstrates that a husband's status is not higher than his wife's. Therefore, the wife may talk to her husband in *kasar* style. It could be the contrary if the translator determines to translate the dialogue in *alos* style. Thus, the translation indicates the translator's idea of human equality and, at the same time, gives the readers the proof of negotiation.

Dialogue between nobles and commoners

The second translation indicates that human equality interaction is present in dialogue between nobles and commoners. Al-Kahf [18]:94-95 represents the dialogue between people who live between two mountains (the commoners) and Dhū al-Qarnayn (the noble):

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[48]   Translation Team, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya* 303.
[49]   Davies, *A Grammar of Madurese*, 470.

The Arabic text:

Qālū yā Dhā al-Qarnayn inna ya'jūj wa ma'jūj mufsidūn fī al-arḍ fa hal naj'al lak 61lso61g 'alā an taj'al baynanā wa baynahum saddā qāl mā makkannī fīh Rabbī khayr fa a'īnūnī bi quwwah aj'al baynakum wa baynahum radmā.

Madurese translation:

Rèng-orèng jârèyâ ngoca': "Hè Dzulqarnain, saongghuna Ya'juj bân Ma'juj jârèyâ, rèng-orèng sè aghâbây karosaghân neng bhumè. Maka, apa bisa sèngko' majâr bâ'na (asal) bâ'na aghâbây keḍḍung (sè koko) èantara sèngko' bân rèng-orèng jârèya?" Dzulqarnain ngoca': "Apa sè èparèngaghi tang Pangèran ka sèngko' lebbi bhâghus, maka bhânto sèngko' kalabân kakowadhân (tokang-tokang), ḍâgghi' sèngko' aghâbhâyaghina keḍḍhung (sè koko) èantara bâ'na bân rèng-orèng jârèyâ".[50]

English translation:

They said, "O Dhul-Qarnayn, indeed Gog and Magog are [great] corrupters in the land. So may we assign for you an expenditure that you might make between us and them a barrier?" He said, "That in which my Lord has established me is better [than what you offer], but assist me with strength; I will make between you and them a dam."

Ibn Kathīr said Dhū al-Qarnayn is a well-known king and a prophet.[51] He was also known as Alexander the Great.[52] So, Dhū al-Qarnayn supposedly occupies the highest position either as a king in social life or a prophet in spiritual life. According to Madurese tradition, an individual with such status is free to talk at all language levels; otherwise, all people should talk in *high refined* language to him. Observing the Madurese translation of Al-Kahf [18]:64-65 leads us to conclude there is no level difference between Dhū al-Qarnayn's speech and that of the people. Both parties (noble and commoners) use the same language style (*kasar* style) to interact with each other. It could not be an accident. The translators' choice is the only explanation for the translation appearing in *kasar* style.

A further example that displays the equality in interaction is Moses' expression toward his teacher Khiḍr, such as recorded in Al-Kahf [18]:66-67:

The Arabic text:

Qāl lah Mūsā hal attabi'uk 'alā an tu'allimani mimmā 'ullimta rushdā. Qāl innak lan tastaṭī' ma'iy ṣabrā.

Madurese translation:

Musa atanya ka abâ'na (Khidir): 'Apa (olle) sèngko' noro' bâ'na, sopajâ bâ'na ngajhâri sèngko', èlmo sè bhenḍer, èantara èlmo-èlmo sè ella èajhârraghi ka bâ'na?' Khidir ngoca': 'Saongghuna bâ'na ta' bhâkal bias sabbhâr, abhârèng sèngko'![53]

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50   Translation Team, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya*, 392.
51   Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah Wa al-Nihāyah* [The Beginning and the End] (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabīy, 1998), vol. 2: 122.
52   John Renard, "Alexander," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2001), vol. 1, 61-62.
53   Translation Team, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya*, 388.

English translation:

Moses said to him, "May I follow you on [the condition] that you teach me from what you have been taught of sound judgement?" He said, "Indeed, with me you will never be able to have patience."

The teacher has a noble status in Madurese society as they are known for Madurese local wisdom: "*Bupa, babu, guru, rato* (father, mother, teacher, and king)." These four elements are culturally respected and all speech addressing them directly or indirectly should be expressed at the *alos tèngghi* language level. However, the above translation in Moses' dialogue demonstrates the opposite. Moses' dialogue uses the *kasar* language level even to address Khiḍr (Moses' teacher). The words *apa* (what), *sèngko'* (I), *noro'* (follow) and *bâ'na* (you) demonstrate that. So, it is not surprising when Khiḍr, as a teacher, also talks in the *kasar* style level to his student as proven by the words *ngoca'* (said), *bâ'na* (you) and *sèngko'* (I). Even though Moses and Khiḍr are prophets, their status is different. Khiḍr's status as a teacher is higher than Moses, according to the four respected social elements in Madurese tradition. This choice demonstrates that negotiation is possible in Madurese translation. It seems the translator is trying to convey that a teacher and their student are equal in social interaction through these vernacular choices in Qur'ān translation. The translators set aside the *alos tèngghi* language level and choose the *kasar* level to replace it.

CONCLUSION

Generally, the negotiating of the idea of human equality in Madurese translation of the Qur'ān is successfully presented in several parts by shifting the base of language levels from social hierarchy among human peers to the hierarchy between God and His creatures. Almost all dialogues among humans are translated in *kasar* style,[54] except for a few parts that are translated in *alos mandhâp* or *alos tèngghi* style, such as in children's dialogues with their parents: Ibrāhīm with his father,[55] Joseph with his father,[56] the sons of Jacob with Jacob[57] and even the son of Noah (who is described as a wicked son) with his father.[58] All these dialogues are translated at *alos tèngghi* level. This subject needs further investigation.

This negotiation is dynamic, used to resolve some matters over which two or more independent parties are in conflict. Such negotiation is primarily a process of reconstructing, building and maintaining relationships.[59] It does not involve replacing one culture with another. The translators initiate the negotiation in two respected settings in Madurese society: *guru* and *rato* (teacher and king). They seem to put the two first, *bupa* and *babu* (father and mother),

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54   Syukron Affani (Team of the Qur'an and its Translation: Madurese Language), interview by Ah. Fawaid, Pamekasan Madura, August 14, 2021.
55   Translation Team, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya*, 169.
56   Ibid., 300.
57   Ibid., 24.
58   Ibid., 288.
59   Wendi Lyn Adair and Jeanne M. Brett, "Culture and Negotiation Processes," in *The Handbook of Negotiation and Culture*, ed. Michele J. Gelfand and Jeanne M. Brett (Stanford, Calif: Stanford Business Books, 2004), 158.

aside. Ignoring the language levels in children–parent dialogues would be risky for Madurese people; rather than conveying the Qur'ānic idea of equality, a translation that equates children and parents would be judged as a wrong translation from the first view. It would evoke images of a rude prophet in Madurese consciousness. It is not just a matter of moving from cognitive and cultural frames,[60] but in some conditions the translators have to decide which have the least bad effects (*akhaff ḍararayn*). Making the translation of the Qur'ān more approachable and easier to understand in the light of local culture is the main goal of vernacular *tafsir*. Thus, local readers feel the Qur'ān is addressing them too and was not just revealed to the Arab peoples.

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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[60] The term cognitive and cultural framing block is usually used to prove that the translators' social background plays an important role in shaping a translation. Robert Bascom, "From the Embodied Mind to the Social Brain: The Negotiation of the Self and Translation," *The Bible Translator* 64, no. 1 (2013): 12, https://doi.org/10.1177/0260093513481140.

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