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## **Female Friendly, Patriarchy and the Adoption of Arabic Pronouns: Linguistic Analysis of Family Law Verses in the Al-Qur'an**

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**Abstract:** This study examines the use of patriarchal language in the verses of family law in the Quran, which, despite their masculine structure, contain messages that favor female. The study employed a multi-method design that combined critical content analysis with linguistic (*lughawī*), gender, and Islamic law approaches. In Islamic studies, multi-methods can be called interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. The data were based on literature studies and in-depth interviews. This study concludes that from a linguistic perspective, the use of *damīr* in the Quran is an emancipatory strategy, not to perpetuate patriarchal domination. By addressing men who have historically held social and cultural authority, the Qur'an educates them to be aware of injustice and act as agents of change, while encouraging female to recognize and fight for their rights. From a gender perspective, two main characteristics were found: first, the dominant use of male pronouns (*damīr muzakkar*), which position men as the primary interlocutors, and second, the existence of several privileges attributed to men. Furthermore, this research offers important implications for Arabic language learning pedagogy. Teaching Qur'anic verses needs to be based on a contextual and gender-sensitive approach so that students not only master the linguistic aspects but also understand the socio-cultural dimensions inherent in the text. Communicative and discourse-based methods are recommended to encourage students to analyze lexical choices, metaphors, and pragmatic functions of Arabic that can both reinforce and challenge patriarchal traditions. This approach not only enhances linguistic competence and critical literacy but also equips students with an awareness of justice and equality from the perspective of Islamic family law. Thus, Arabic language learning serves as a medium for social transformation while strengthening moral awareness.

**Keywords:** Linguistic analysis, Qur'an interpretations, Arabic pronouns, patriarchy, gender, family law

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**Abstrak:** *Kajian ini menelaah penggunaan bahasa patriarkal dalam ayat-ayat hukum keluarga Al-Qur'an yang meskipun berstruktur maskulin, justru memuat pesan-pesan yang berpihak pada perempuan. Penelitian tersebut menggunakan desain multi-metode yang menggabungkan analisis konten kritis dengan pendekatan lughawi, gender, dan hukum Islam. dalam kajian Islam multi-metode dapat disebut pendekatan interdisipliner dan multidisiplin. Data berdasarkan pada studi literatur dan wawancara mendalam. Kajian ini menyimpulkan bahwa dari sudut pandang linguistik, penggunaan dhamir dalam al-Quran merupakan strategi emansipatoris bukan untuk melanggengkan dominasi patriarki. Dengan menyapa laki-laki yang secara historis memegang otoritas sosial dan budaya Al-Qur'an mendidik mereka agar sadar akan ketidakadilan dan berperan sebagai agen perubahan, sembari mendorong perempuan untuk menyadari serta memperjuangkan hak-haknya. Dari perspektif gender, ditemukan dua ciri utama: pertama, dominasi penggunaan kata ganti laki-laki (damīr muzakkar) yang menempatkan laki-laki sebagai mitra tutur utama, dan kedua, adanya beberapa hak istimewa yang dinisbahkan kepada laki-laki. Selain itu, penelitian ini memberikan implikasi penting bagi pedagogi pembelajaran bahasa Arab. Pengajaran ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an perlu dilandasi pendekatan kontekstual dan sensitif gender sehingga peserta didik tidak hanya menguasai aspek kebahasaan, tetapi juga mampu membaca dimensi sosial-kultural yang melekat pada teks. Metode komunikatif dan berbasis wacana disarankan untuk mendorong mahasiswa menganalisis pilihan leksikal, metafora, dan fungsi pragmatis bahasa Arab yang dapat memperkuat maupun menantang tradisi patriarkal. Pendekatan ini tidak hanya meningkatkan kompetensi linguistik dan literasi kritis, tetapi juga membekali peserta didik dengan kesadaran keadilan, kesetaraan, dari sudut hukum keluarga Islam. Dengan demikian, pembelajaran bahasa Arab berfungsi sebagai media transformasi sosial sekaligus penguatan kesadaran moral.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Analisis linguistik, tafsir Al-Qur'an, kata ganti, patriarki, gender, hukum keluarga*

## Introduction

The use of patriarchal language through Arabic pronouns that reflects gender inequality in family law verses in the Al-Qur'an has long been an issue of concern in the Islamic world. Traditional interpretations of patriarchal language through Arabic pronouns use often reflect gender biases that benefit men while harming women in various aspects of family life. This phenomenon not only has an impact on a theoretical level but also has significant practical implications in the daily lives of Muslims, such as restrictions on women's rights.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Levi Geir Eidhamar, "My Husband Is My Key to Paradise.' Attitudes of Muslims in Indonesia and Norway to Spousal Roles and Wife-Beating," *Islam and Christian-Muslim*

Atabik emphasized that gender bias in interpretation occurs, because the Arabic grammatical structure used in the Al-Qur'an is basically patriarchal.<sup>2</sup> The patriarchal linguistic character of the Al-Qur'an text is also understood with the insight of the interpreter's patriarchal culture without paying attention to the socio-cultural situation of the time of revelation.<sup>3</sup> This condition demands a new approach to understanding the linguistic aspects of family law verses that are more gender-sensitive and in accordance with the spirit of justice brought by the Al-Qur'an.

The study of Qur'anic interpretation of patriarchal language use through Arabic pronouns and gender has grown rapidly in recent decades. Contemporary Muslim scholars, such as Mernissi,<sup>4</sup> Wadud,<sup>5</sup> Barlas,<sup>6</sup> Engineer,<sup>7</sup> Hassan,<sup>8</sup> Fadhl,<sup>9</sup> A. Hidayatullah,<sup>10</sup> and Rahemtulla,<sup>11</sup> have contributed significantly in developing a more inclusive and gender just interpretation methodology. They put forward the argument that the egalitarian message of the Al-Qur'an is often clouded by gender-biased and ahistorical interpretations. Meanwhile, sociolinguistic studies of religious texts have also opened new perspectives on understanding the relationship between language, meaning, and social context. However, there is still a gap in integrating a sociolinguistic approach with gender analysis in the context of family law verses, especially in uncovering the linguistic strategies of the Al-Qur'an in conveying female-friendly messages

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*Relations* 29, No. 2 (2017), p. 241–264. Hamka Hasan, et. al., “Polygamy: Uncovering the Effect of Patriarchal Ideology on Gender-Biased Interpretation,” *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 78, No. 4 (2022), p. 1–9.

<sup>2</sup> A Atabik, “Wajah Maskulin Tafsir Al-Qur'an: Studi Intertekstualitas Ayat-Ayat Kesetaraan Gender,” *Palastren: Jurnal Studi Gender* 6, no. 2 (2025), p. 299–322.

<sup>3</sup> Norbani B Ismail, “The Qur'anic Exegesis, Reformism, and Women in Twentieth Century Indonesia,” *Studia Islamica: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 24, no. 3 (2017), p. 469–500.

<sup>4</sup> Fatima Mernissi, *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood* (Morocco: Perseus Books, 1994).

<sup>5</sup> Amina Wadud, *Qur'an and Women: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Women's Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>6</sup> Asma Barlas, *Believing Women in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Al-Qur'an* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> Ali Asghar Engineer, *The Al-Qur'an, Women, and Modern Society* (Second (New Delhi: New Dawn Press, 2005).

<sup>8</sup> Riffat Hassan, “Woman and Man's Fall: A Qur'anic Theological Perspective,” in *Muslima Theology: The Voices of Muslim Women Theologians*, ed. E Aslan, M Hermansen, and E Medeni (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2013), p. 101–114.

<sup>9</sup> Khaled Abou El Fadhl, *Speaking in God's Name: Islamic Law, Authority and Women* (Oxford: Oneworld Press, 2001).

<sup>10</sup> Aysha A. Hidayatullah, *Feminist Edges of the Al-Qur'an* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> Shadaab Rahemtulla, *Qur'an and the Oppressed: Liberation Theology and Gender Justice in Islam* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

amidst a patriarchal language structure.

This research aims to fill this gap by asking two main questions: (1) How are the characteristics of patriarchal language through Arabic pronouns manifested in family law verses? (2) What are the patriarchal linguistic strategies in conveying female-friendly messages in the socio-cultural context of that time? This research aims to reveal the complexity of the relationship between language form and meaning in family law verses and formulate a new approach to understanding the Al-Qur'an's strategy in promoting gender justice through contextual and transformative language.

The main argument developed in this research is that the use of patriarchal language through Arabic pronouns in the family law verses of the Al-Qur'an is an effective and contextual linguistic strategy to facilitate progressive social change in the particular context of the time when the Al-Qur'an was revealed. By placing men as the main speaking partners, the Al-Qur'an is actually carrying out a process of education and awareness towards groups who have privilege, encouraging them to become agents of change in a patriarchal society. Meanwhile, women's position in this language structure can be understood as a form of subtle advocacy aimed at raising awareness of their rights. This approach acknowledges existing social realities and offers a more effective and sustainable path of transformation compared to direct confrontation with deeply entrenched patriarchal systems.

Patriarchal language through Arabic pronouns, whose main characteristic is a call to men, is a strategy in the Al-Qur'an to liberate women.<sup>12</sup> These calls are essentially a warning to men to stop the oppression of women by changing the mainstream, abandoning traditions that are inhumane and discriminatory against women, with patriarchal style redaction, as well as the Al-Qur'an commanding actions that are friendly and just. Oppression as an interlocutor is recognition or existence as a dominant community group to minimize their potential for resistance. Because of this, the verses still leave some special rights to men.

This study employed a multi-method design that combined critical content analysis with a *lughawi*, gender, and Islamic law approach.<sup>13</sup> Multi-methods in Islamic studies are called interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches,<sup>14</sup> namely Islamic studies using analysis from various disciplines, such as linguistics, gender, and Islamic law. Data collection techniques included

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<sup>12</sup> Tarif Khalidi, "Reflections on Certain Principles That May Guide a New Commentary (Tafsir) of the Qur'an," *Religions* 13, no. 1 (2022).

<sup>13</sup> Ariesta Kartika Sari, *Triangulasi: Pendekatan Multimetode dalam Penelitian*, Malang: Literasi Nusantara Abadi, 2020.

<sup>14</sup> M. Amin Abdullah, *Multidisiplin, Interdisiplin, dan Transdisiplin: Metode Studi Agama dan Studi Islam di Era Kontemporer*, Yogyakarta: IB Pustaka, 2020. Ratu Vina Rohmatika, "Pendekatan Interdisipliner Dan Multidisipliner Dalam Studi Islam," *Jurnal al-Adyan* 14, No. 1 (2019).

a literature review and semi-structured expert interviews, situated within a critical paradigm. The paradigm was chosen to examine the gendered dynamics of Qur'anic discourse, particularly the way in which patriarchal linguistic forms most notably Arabic pronouns can simultaneously encode emancipatory and protective meanings for women. Critical content analysis was directed at family law passages related to marriage, divorce, and inheritance, focusing on the semantic and contextual roles of gendered pronouns. To complement this qualitative interpretation, a descriptive quantification was conducted to calculate the distribution of male and female pronouns, thereby integrating numerical evidence with interpretive depth and ensuring analytical clarity.

To reinforce the trustworthiness of the findings, the study incorporated interviews with five purposively selected experts in Qur'anic exegesis, Arabic linguistics, and Islamic law. This methodological triangulation enabled the textual interpretations to be critically reviewed across multiple disciplinary perspectives. Contributions varied by field: linguists elaborated on the semantic and pragmatic features of pronoun use, legal scholars situated the verses within contemporary gender debates, and exegetical specialists bridged classical *tafsīr* traditions with modern interpretive practices. By integrating interviews with textual analysis, the study overcame the limitations of a text-only approach and emphasized the importance of engaging with living scholarly traditions. Such integration enhanced both the credibility and comprehensiveness of the research, allowing the findings to be positioned within broader hermeneutical and socio-legal contexts.

The primary data consisted of Qur'anic verses concerning family law, specifically provisions on marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Analysis concentrated on the use of *isim ḍamīr* (personal pronouns) and *isim zāhir* (explicit nouns) referring to male and female identities. Each occurrence of these forms was systematically identified, recorded, and counted. The quantitative results were then examined qualitatively to uncover female-supportive messages embedded within the Qur'an's patriarchal register. For interpretive grounding, the study employed Mernissi's (1994) theory of patriarchal language, which provides a framework for classifying and analyzing how pronouns and explicit references to gender convey social and theological meanings. Through this approach, the research not only mapped the linguistic distribution of gendered terms but also demonstrated how Qur'anic discourse articulates commitments to justice, equity, and the safeguarding of women's rights.

### **Patriarchate in Arabic Language**

There are two gender characteristics in Arabic, namely (i) this language is not a mother tongue, and (ii) this language has a diglossic relationship with the Arabic dialects that coexist with it. These two characteristics make Arabic a

"public" language in a patriarchal context where "public" denotes "male authority", as opposed to "domestic" which denotes women's territory.<sup>15</sup> The study of Arabic from a gender perspective is still in its infancy although Arabic sociolinguistics has attracted the attention of scholars worldwide.<sup>16 17</sup> Some of these works use the variable "gender" in deconstructing the use of Arabic, but no significant attention is paid to the use of the word "gender" as an analytical tool in deconstructing male/female power relations among users. Arabic. The interaction of Arabic and gender can be proven at two levels, namely the formal (grammatical) level and the sociolinguistic (relational) level. At a formal level, Arabic exhibits a grammatical and semantic use of gender that can be qualified as "androcentric" (male-biased). And at a sociolinguistic level, Arabic is used more in male-related contexts than in female-related contexts.

Patriarchal sociolinguistics in Arabic can be understood only within the overall socio-cultural framework in which it was created and preserved.<sup>18</sup> Like all societies and cultures today, Arab-Islamic society and culture is patriarchal. However, patriarchy is far from uniform across cultures; Patriarchy differs from one culture to another. Arab-Islamic patriarchy is based on the idea of dichotomous space: men are associated with the public sphere and women with the private sphere.<sup>19</sup> This notion of "boundary" space is not only spatial, but also linguistic and symbolic. Thus, in addition to public places being associated with men and private places with women, public languages such as Arabic are associated with men and mother tongues with women. Public rituals that are culturally symbolic, such as Friday prayers, are associated with men. In contrast, private rituals, such as birth rituals, are associated with women. Furthermore, public spatial, linguistic, and symbolic rituals are associated with male attributes of rationality and logic.

### Linguistic Analysis and Patriarchal Language in the Al-Qur'an

The use of language in sacred texts such as the Al-Qur'an provides critical insight into the cultural, social, and historical contexts in which those

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<sup>15</sup> Sadiqi Fatima and Moha Ennaji. "The Feminization of Public Space: Women's Activism, the Family Law, and Social Change in Morocco." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 2, No. 2 (2006).

<sup>16</sup> Catherine Miller, "Variation and Changes in Arabic Urban Vernaculars," in *Approaches to Arabic Dialects*, ed. M Haak, K Versteegh, and R Dejong (Amsterdam: Brill, 2003), p. 177–206.

<sup>17</sup> Aleya Rouchdy, *Language Contact and Language Conflict in Arabic* (New York: Routledge-Curzon, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> Fatima Sadiqi, *Women, Gender and Language in Morocco* (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002).

<sup>19</sup> Fatima Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam* (New York: Perseus Books Publishing, 1991). Annisa Ariftha and Anang Anas Azhar, "Symbolic Violence Against Women in Medan's Patriarchal Culture," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 11, No. 2 (2023).

texts were revealed and interpreted. One significant aspect of this linguistic analysis is the exploration of patriarchal language in the Al-Qur'an. The Al-Qur'an was revealed in the 7th century in Arabia, a society dominated by a patriarchal system, so this context is very important to understand the language choices in the Al-Qur'anic text. Scholars such as Wadud<sup>20</sup> and Barlas<sup>21</sup> argue that the patriarchal context of this revelation influences the language used in the Al-Qur'an. They emphasize the importance of distinguishing between the divine message and the socio-cultural framework of its initial audience. Key themes in patriarchal language include the use of gendered language and pronouns, where God and other key figures are often referred to with masculine pronouns. Pronoun indicators include *Isim ḍamīr* and *Isim zāhir*. There are also examples where women are referred to indirectly or together with men, giving rise to discussions as to whether this linguistic choice reflects divine will or socio-cultural norms.<sup>22</sup> In terms of narrative and character, the dominance of men in prophetic stories and the representation of women in the Al-Qur'an, such as the character Maryam and the Prophet's wives, are analyzed to see how these narratives reinforce or challenge patriarchal norms.<sup>23</sup> Legal and ethical directives in the Al-Qur'an, especially those relating to family law, inheritance, and testimony, are also examined to understand their implications for contemporary gender relations.<sup>24</sup>

The methodological approaches used by scholars include feminist hermeneutics, historical-critical methods, and linguistic and literary analysis. Wadud in exploring the text through a feminist lens, advocates a gender-inclusive interpretation,<sup>25</sup> while Barlas challenges patriarchal readings and advocates a liberatory approach to Qur'anic interpretation.<sup>26</sup> The historical-critical method is used to contextualize the verses in their historical setting, distinguishing between normative and descriptive elements. Contributions by Fatima Mernissi and Leila Ahmed provide critical insights into the historical development of gender norms in Islamic societies.<sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> Linguistic and literary analysis examines the language structure and rhetoric of the Al-Qur'an to reveal

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<sup>20</sup> Amina Wadud, *Qur'an and Women: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Women's Perspective*.

<sup>21</sup> Asma Barlas, *Believing Women" in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Al-Qur'an*.

<sup>22</sup> Amina Barlas, *Believing Women" in Islam*.

<sup>23</sup> Fatima Mernissi, *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood*.

<sup>24</sup> Leila Ahmed, "Table of Contents," in *Women and Gender in Islam, Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (Yale University Press, 1992), p. v-vi,

<sup>25</sup> Amina Wadud, *Qur'an and Women: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Women's Perspective*.

<sup>26</sup> Barlas, *Believing Women" in Islam*.

<sup>27</sup> Leila Ahmed, "Table of Contents."

<sup>28</sup> Fatima Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam*.

inherent biases.<sup>29</sup>

Contemporary debates and reinterpretations focus on attempts to reclaim the message of the Al-Qur'an that emphasizes ethical and moral guidance rather than literal interpretation. Modern scholars encourage a rereading of the Al-Qur'an that emphasizes gender equality and justice. However, these efforts face challenges and criticism from traditional scholars who see feminist interpretations as a deviation from classical interpretations, giving rise to debates about the limits of reinterpretation and the role of historical context in understanding the Al-Qur'an.<sup>30</sup>

The use of patriarchal language in the Al-Qur'an is a complex and multifaceted issue that has generated significant academic debate. Although the historical context of this revelation undoubtedly influenced the language used, contemporary scholars are actively engaged in reinterpreting the text to reveal its ethical and moral teachings on gender equality. This literature review highlights the diverse approaches and continued relevance of this topic so that it can contribute to the study of linguistics, the Al-Qur'an and Islamic theology.

### Characteristics of Patriarchal Language in Family Law Verses

The results of document analysis show that family law verses predominantly use patriarchal Arabic language structures. Patriarchal language is characterized by three patterns. First, mentions of gender identity always refer to men. In parallel redaction, men still have priority. Second, women are always used as part of the theme or object discussed. Third, family law provisions leave special rights for men. The identification of gender identity in Table (1) is the basis or evidence for the statement above.

**Table 1: Gender Identity in Family Law Verses**

No.	Surah and Verse Numbers	Gender Identity			
		Male ( <i>Muzakkar</i> ) <i>Isim ḍamīr</i>	<i>Isim zāhir</i>	Female ( <i>Muannas</i> ) <i>Isim ḍamīr</i>	<i>Isim zāhir</i>
1	QS. 4: 3-4 Verses on Marriage	<i>Wa in khiftum</i> (if you are afraid)		<i>Ṣaduqātihinna</i> (their dowry)	<i>Fawāḥidah</i> (then just one)
		<i>Allā tuqsiṭū</i> (you are not being fair)		<i>Fa in ṭibna</i> (then if they are kind)	<i>An-nisā'</i> (women)
		<i>Fankihū</i> (then marry)			<i>An-nisā'</i> (women)

<sup>29</sup> K Ali, *Sexual Ethics and Islam: Feminist Reflections on Qur'an, Hadith, and Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2016).

<sup>30</sup> Engineer, *The Al-Qur'an, Women, and Modern Society*. Irna Nur Arisa, et.al., "Women's Political Leadership: An Analysis of Gender Equality in Legislators in Sekadau," *Jurnal Sosiologi Dialektika Sosial* 11, No. 1 (2025).

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		<i>Mā tāba</i> (good/happy) <i>Lakum</i> (for you) <i>Fain khiftum</i> (if you are afraid) <i>Allā ta 'dilū</i> (you are not being fair) <i>Mā malakat</i> (what is being possessed) <i>Aymānukum</i> (your right hand) <i>Allā ta 'ulū</i> (you don't do any harm) <i>Wa ātū</i> (and give)			
2.	QS. 4: 19-23 Verses on Marriage	<i>Lā yaḥillu lakum</i> (not <i>halāl</i> for you)	<i>Abāukum</i> (your fathers)	<i>Lā ta 'dulū hunna</i> (don't trouble them)	<i>Wa banātu</i> <i>al-akhi</i> (and the brothers' daughters) <i>Wa banātu li</i> <i>ukhtiy</i> (and sisters' daughters)
		<i>An tarithū</i> (you inherit)	<i>Ummahātukum</i> (your mothers)	<i>Hunna</i> (they are women)	<i>Wa banātu li</i> <i>ukhtiy</i> (and sisters' daughters)
		<i>Li tadhhabū</i> (to eliminate)	<i>Wa banātukum</i> (and your daughters)	<i>karihumūhunna</i> (you hate them)	<i>Wa</i> <i>ummahātuku</i> <i>m</i> (and your mothers)
		<i>An ya 'līna</i> (they do)	<i>Wa</i> <i>akhawātukum</i> (and your sisters)	<i>Wa āsyirūhunna</i> (and hang out with them)	<i>Wa</i> <i>akhawātuku</i> <i>m</i> (and your sisters)
		<i>Tuk 'rihū</i> (you don't like it)	<i>Wa</i> <i>'ammātukum</i> (and your father's sisters)	<i>Ihdaā hunna</i> (one of them)	<i>Wa ummahāt</i> (and your mothers)
		<i>Wa in aradtum</i> (and if you want)	<i>Wa khālātukum</i> (and your mother's sisters)	<i>Wa akhazna</i> (and they have taken)	<i>Wa</i> <i>rabāibukum</i> (and your wife's children)
		<i>Wa ātaytum</i> (and you have given)		<i>Hurrimat</i> (prohibited)	<i>Nisāikum</i> (your women/wive s)
		<i>Ta 'khudhū</i> (you take)		<i>Arda 'nakum</i> (breastfeeding them)	<i>Al-ukhtayni</i> (two sisters)
		A ta'khudhūnahu (do you take it back)		<i>Bihinna</i> (with them)	<i>Nisāikum</i> (your women/wive s)
		<i>Ta 'khudhūnahu</i>		<i>Bihinna</i> (with	

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		(you take it back) <i>Ba 'dukum</i> (some of you) <i>Wa lā tankihū</i> (and don't marry) <i>'Alaiykum</i> (upon you) <i>Hujūrikum</i> (your responsibility) <i>Dakhaltum</i> (you enter/gather with) <i>Lam takūnū</i> (you don't become) <i>Dakhaltum</i> (you enter/gather with) <i>'Alaiykum</i> (upon you) <i>Abnā'ikum</i> (your children) <i>Min aṣlābikum</i> (from your ribs/your biological children) <i>Tajma 'ū</i> (you collect)		them)	
3.	QS. 4; 34-35 and 128-130 Verses on Marriage	<i>Ba 'dahum</i> (some of them)  <i>Wa bimā anfaqu</i> (and because they give nafkah) <i>Min amwālihim</i> (from their wealth)  <i>Takhāfūna</i> (you are worried)  <i>Fa lā tabghū</i> (then don't look around)  <i>Wa in khiṭum</i> (and if you are afraid) <i>Fab'athū</i> (then send) <i>Min ahlihī</i> (male from the family) <i>Wa in tuḥsinū</i> (and if you do good)	<i>Al-rijālu</i> (you men)  <i>Qawwamūna</i> (leader/stronger)	<i>Nusyūzahunna</i> (their disobedience)	<i>Al-nisā'</i> (women/wives)  <i>Fāṣ-ṣālihātu</i> (then pious women) <i>Qānitātun</i> (obedient women) <i>Ḥāfiẓātun</i> (women who take care of themselves) <i>Imra'atun</i> (a woman)
				<i>Fa'izūhunna</i> (so advise them)  <i>Wahjurūhunna</i> (and move them)  <i>Waḍribūhunna</i> (and hit them)  <i>Fa-in aṭa 'nakum</i> (so if obeying you) <i>'Alaihinna</i> (upon them) <i>Min ahlihā</i> (from her family) <i>Khāfat</i> (she was scared) <i>Min ba'lihā</i> (from her husband)	

		<i>Wa tattaqū</i> (and you take care of yourselves) <i>Ta 'lamūna</i> (you do it) <i>Wa lan tastaṭī'ū</i> (and you can not do/get) <i>An ta 'dilū</i> (you do justice) <i>Bayna an-nisā'</i> (between wives) <i>Ḥaraṣtum</i> (you want so much) <i>Fa-lā tamīlū</i> (so don't be inclined) <i>Wa in tuṣ'lihū</i> (and if you make improvements) <i>Wa tattaqū</i> (and you take care of yourselves)		<i>Fa tazrūhā</i> (then you give it)	
4.	QS. 30; 21 Verses on Marriage	<i>Khalaqa lakum</i> (He created for you) <i>Min anfusikum</i> (with your own kind) <i>Li taskunū</i> (so that you are at peace) <i>Wa ja'ala baynakum</i> (He made one of you)		<i>Ilayhā</i> (to her)	
5.	QS. 2: 228-236 Verses on Divorce	<i>Wa lā yaḥillu lakum</i> (and it is not halal for you) <i>An ta 'khudhū</i> (you take) <i>Arādū</i> (they want) <i>Fa in khiṭtum</i> (so if you are worried) <i>Ta 'tadū</i> (you are violating)	<i>Wa li al-rijāli</i> (and men/husbands)	<i>Yatarabbaṣna</i> (let them suspend) <i>Bi anfusihinna</i> (with themselves) <i>Wa lā yaḥillu lahunna</i> (and not for you) An yaktumna (they hide) <i>Fī arḥāmihinna</i> (in their womb)	<i>Wa al-muṭallaqātu</i> (and women who are divorced) <i>An-nisā'</i> (women/wives) <i>An-nisā'</i> (women/wives) Wa al-wālidātu (and mothers) <i>Lā tuḍarra wālidatun</i>

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		(let not a mother suffer)
<i>Fa in ṭallaqahā</i> (then if he divorces her)	<i>In kunna</i> (if they exist)	<i>Khiṭbah an-nisā'</i> (propose to women)
<i>Fa-lā taḥillu lahu</i> (then it is not halal for him)	<i>Yu'minna</i> (believe)	<i>An-nisā'</i> (women/wives)
<i>Hattā tankiḥa</i> (so he got married)	<i>Wa bu'ulatuhunna</i> (and their husbands)	
<i>Wa idhā ṭallaqtum</i> (and if you divorce her)	<i>Bi raddi hinna</i> (test them)	
<i>Li ta'tadū</i> (go beyond the limits because of you)	<i>Wa lahunna miṭlu</i> (and for them women are like)	
<i>Wa lā tattakhidhū</i> (and don't you make it)	<i>'Alaihinna</i> (upon them)	
<i>Wa-dhkurū</i> (and remember)	<i>'Alaihinna darajatun</i> (upon them a level of degree)	
<i>'Alaikum</i> (upon you)	<i>Fīmā if'tadat</i> (about what the wife pays the ransom)	
<i>Anzala 'alaikum</i> (He sent it down to you)	<i>Ātaytumūhunna</i> (you have given them)	
<i>Ya 'izukum bihi</i> (He teaches you)	<i>Ta'tadūhā</i> (you violate)	
<i>Wa-ttaqū Allāh</i> (and taqwa to Allah)	<i>Fa-in ṭallaqahā</i> (so if a husband divorces (her))	
<i>Wa 'lamū</i> (and you should know)	<i>Fa-in ṭallaqahā</i> (so if a husband divorces (her))	
<i>Idhā ṭallaqtum</i> (and if you divorce (her))	<i>Yubayyinuhā</i> (she explains it)	
<i>Idhā tarāḍaw</i> (if they are mutually willing)	<i>Fabalagna</i> (then she arrives)	
<i>Baynahum</i> (among them)	<i>Ajalahunna</i> (her iddah period)	
<i>Man kāna minkum</i> (to those among	<i>Amsikūhunna</i> (so hold them)	

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you)	
<i>Dhālikum</i> (So it is)	<i>Sarraḥūhunna</i> (divorce them)
<i>Lakum</i> (for you)	<i>Lā tumsikūhunna</i> (so hold them)
<i>Wa antum</i> (and to you)	<i>Fabalagna</i> (then she arrives)
<i>Bi waladihā</i> (with her child)	<i>Ajalahunna</i> (her iddah period)
<i>Wa in aradtum</i> (and if you want)	<i>Lā ta'dulūhunna</i> <i>hunna</i> (so you don't hinder them)
<i>An tastaḍī'ū</i> (to suckle to other people)	<i>An yankihna</i> (they get married)
<i>Awlādukum</i> (your children)	(their husbands)
<i>'Alaikum</i> (upon you)	<i>Yurḍi'na</i> (let breastfeed)
<i>Idhā sallamtum</i> (if you submit)	<i>Awlādahunna</i> (their children)
<i>Mā ātaytum</i> (what you give)	<i>Lahu rizquhunna</i> (for him to give rizq)
<i>Wa-ttaqū Allāh</i> (and have faith in Allah)	<i>Wa kiswatumhunna</i> (and their clothes)
<i>Wa 'lamū</i> (and (you) should know it)	<i>Bi waladihā</i> (with their child)
<i>Yatawaffawna</i> (they died)	<i>Yatarabbaṣna</i> (they suspend)
<i>Minkum</i> (among you)	<i>Bi anfusihinna</i> (with themselves)
<i>Wa yazarūna</i> (and they left)	<i>Fa-idhā balaghna</i> (then when they arrive)
<i>'Alaikum</i> (upon you)	<i>Ajalahunna</i> (their iddah period)
<i>Aknantum</i> (you hide)	<i>Fī anfusihinna</i> (to themselves)
<i>Aradtum</i> (you insinuate)	<i>Sa-</i> <i>tadhkurūnahunna</i> (you will call them)
<i>Fi anfusikum</i> (within yourself)	<i>Lā turwā'idūhunna</i> (don't make marriage promises with them)
<i>Annakum</i> (truly you)	<i>Lam</i> <i>tamassūhunna</i> (you haven't

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	gathered with them yet)
<i>An taqūlū</i> (you say)	<i>Lahunna</i> (for them)
<i>Wa lā ta 'zīmū</i> (and you don't be stubborn)	<i>Wa matta 'ūhunna</i> (give them gifts)
<i>Wa 'lamū</i> (and (you) should know)	
<i>Fī anfusikum</i> (within yourself)	
<i>Fahdharū</i> (so be afraid of Him)	
<i>Wa 'lamū</i> (and (you) should know)	
<i>Lā junāha 'alaykum</i> (not sinful)	
<i>In ṭallaqtum</i> (if you divorce)	
<i>Aw tafriḍū</i> (you decide)	

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The redaction of family law verses consistently places women as a third person as part of the discussion material. The woman's identity is placed as an object, as *al-nisā'* in QS. 4:4, 2:231, QS. 4:19 *istabdala zawji* (QS. 4:20) *hunna* (QS. 2:229, 231, 232, 234, 233, 236; QS. 4:19, 20, 33, 49, 65). There are several words that are placed as subjects, such as *wal-muṭallaqāt*, *yatarabbaṣna* (QS. 2:228), *wal-wālidātu yurḍi'na ḥawlayni* (QS. 2:233), *faṣ-ṣāliḥātu qānitātun*, *balagna ajalahunna* (QS. 2:230), and some begin with the ḥarf al-jarr, such as *min al-nisā'* (QS. 4:3; QS. 4:222, 34). Meanwhile, gender identities that indicate men are generally placed as conversation partners (second person). There are indeed a number of male identities in the third person but they are usually preceded or followed by second person identities, such as *al-rijālu qawwāmūna 'ala al-nisā'* followed by *ba'ḍukum*. Most of the male gender is placed at the beginning of the verse, such as in *khiftum* (QS. 4:3), *wa'aftum* (QS. 9:4), *in araḍtum* (QS. 4:29), *lā yarithu* (QS. 4:19), *kaifa ta'khudhūnahum* (QS. 4:21), *lā tankihū* (QS. 4:22), *wa-in khiftum shiqāqa* (QS. 4:35), *wa-idhā ṭallaqtum* (QS. 2:230), *lā junāha 'alaikum* (QS. 2:235–236), and *yūṣṭikum* (QS. 33). Apart from the use of male and female gender identity pronouns, there are several words that refer to both, such as *humā* in *falā junāha 'alaihinna* (QS. 2:222), *an yatarājā'ā in ḥannā* (QS. 2:230), *in yurīdā iṣlāḥan* (QS. 4:35), *in arādā fiṣālan* (QS. 2:233), *an yuṣliḥā* (QS. 4:128), and *in yatafarraqā* (QS. 4:130).

Apart from the redaction, the depiction of patriarchy in family law verses is also seen in the existence of special rights for men. These privileges include, among other things, the ability to have polygamy with up to four wives (QS. 4:3), leadership in the household, permission to beat one's wife, the inheritance

of one son versus the share of two women (QS. 4:12), and in one verse it is emphasized that men's status is one level higher than women's (QS. 2:228).

It is interesting to show several gender identities of women who, in the verses, are positioned as subjects in sentences starting with nouns or verbs. The words or sentences in question position men and women unequally, for example: *faṣ-ṣālihātu qānitātun* (QS. 4:34), *aṭa'nakum* (QS. 4:34), *wal-muṭallaqāt* (QS. 2:228), *al-wālidāt* (QS. 2:233), *ittasa'at bihi*. However, this does not mean that family law verses come with a misogynistic spirit. The patriarchal language above is actually a medium for conveying female-friendly messages. It is said so because, as shown in the table below, each family law verse comes with one or more messages that depend on women. Apart from that, quantitatively, the number of male gender identities is greater than that of female gender in one or a group of family law verses as in data (2) below.

**Table 2: Data on the Number of Gender Identities in Family Law**

No.	Verses on Marriage Law	<i>Muzakkar</i> Identity	<i>Muannas</i> Identity
1.	QS. Al-Nisa (4): 3-4 about Verses on Marriage	12	5
2.	QS. 4: 19-23 about Verses on Marriage	44	30
3.	QS. 4: 34-35 about Verses on Marriage	14	13
4.	QS. Al-Tahrim (30): 21 about Verses on Marriage	4	1
5.	QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 228-237 about Verses on Divorce	65	52
6.	QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 240-241 about Verses on Divorce	6	4
7.	QS. Al-Ahzab (33): 49 about Verses on Divorce	8	7
8.	QS. Al-Tahrim (65): 1-6 about Verses on Divorce	14	14
9.	QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 180 about Verses on Inheritance	5	0
10.	QS. Al-Nisa (4): 7 about Verses on Inheritance	5	1
11.	QS. Al-Nisa (4): 11 about Verses on Inheritance	15	9
12.	QS. Al-Nisa (4): 12 about Verses on Inheritance	14	10
13.	QS. Al-Nisa (4): 176 about Verses on Inheritance	14	8
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>154</b>

Based on the identification of gender identity in Table (2), family law verses use patriarchal language with quantitative evidence as follows. The pronoun for men (*muzakkar*) is more widely used with a total of 220 pronouns, while the pronoun for women (*mu'annath*) is only 154 times. In the verses on marriage (QS. 4:3–4, 4:19–23, 4:34–35, 30:21), the pronoun *muzakkar* is used 74 times while *mu'annath* is only 49 times. In verses on divorce (QS. 2:228–236, 2:240–241, 33:49, 65:1–6), the pronoun *muzakkar* is used 93 times and *mu'annath* 77 times. In the verses on inheritance (QS. 2:180, 4:7, 4:11, 4:12, 4:176), the pronoun *muzakkar* is used 53 times, while *mu'annath* only 28 times. This quantitative fact further strengthens the characteristics of the patriarchal language used, where men are more often used as conversation partners than women.

This data also shows the defense of family law verses for women in marriage, divorce and inheritance where, in the context of the traditions that existed at that time, they experienced dehumanization, marginalization and injustice. Previously, women were equated with objects that were owned and inherited (QS. 4:19). They have no right to themselves and their own lives, nor to His property. Family law passages change all that. Each verse makes a friendly message, such as establishing marriage as a permanent contract (QS. 4:28), aiming to foster love to live together in peace and tranquility (QS. 30:21), the obligation to socialize in a decent manner, the prohibition of impoverishment by attracting gifts that have been given previously, no matter how large, except for certain reasons. The dowry, which was originally a convention of sexuality, was transformed into a selfless gift or a sign of sincere love and equal rights for reconciliation if disharmony occurs.

Oppression and marginalization in divorce are abolished, such as restrictions on *iddah* for three *quru'* times for live divorcees (QS. 2:228),<sup>31</sup> restrictions on talaq which are referred to twice, prohibitions on preventing ex-wives from marrying the man they want, the permissibility of *khulu'*, prohibitions on *iddah* transitions, guarantees on clothing, food, and shelter during the *iddah* period and the prohibition on taking dowry if the divorce occurs after sexual intercourse. The most significant change is that women who were previously part of the inheritance became part of the heirs. Even behind the male privileges, there is a female-friendly message.

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<sup>31</sup> Dede Rohayati, et.al., “Legal Enforcement Against Non-Compliance by Ex-Husbands with Court Orders on Iddah and Mut’ah Support,” *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian syari’ah Dan Masyarakat* 25, No. 1 (2025), p. 157-170.

### The Al-Qur'an's Patriarchal Linguistic Strategies in Its Female-Friendly Message

The verses on family law in the Qur'an use patriarchal language to convey messages that are friendly to women. This patriarchal language is characterized by two things. First, these verses consistently use men as interlocutors, while women are positioned as part of the material being discussed. Men's gender identity tends to be positioned as the second person (talking partner), while women's identity is positioned as an object (*maf'ul bih*) or third person. This idea was further emphasized in an interview with a participant specializing in Arabic language, who argued: "In the rules of Arabic grammar, when both men and women are addressed collectively, the use of the masculine form is considered adequate to represent the whole group, making the use of the feminine form unnecessary."<sup>32</sup>

The interview excerpt with Andi Abdul Hamzah, Lecturer of Arabic Language, UIN Alauddin, which emphasizes that in Arabic grammatical rules a mixed group of men and women can be represented by the masculine form, strongly resonates with discourse analysis arguments asserting that Qur'anic verses consistently employ the masculine as the primary interlocutor, while women are more frequently positioned as objects or third parties. Both perspectives highlight the dominance of the masculine form in Arabic linguistic structures, though they differ in approach. The Arabic lecturer's explanation underscores the normative grammatical aspect—the formal rules governing language use—whereas textual analysis foregrounds the ideological implications of this rule in shaping gender discourse. Thus, what is commonly perceived as a standard grammatical practice simultaneously carries broader discursive dimensions, where men are positioned as the main subjects of conversation, and women are more often framed as part of the discussion topic. Additional insights according to Ridhwan, Professor of Islamic Law from IAIN Bone highlight the following perspective that in my understanding, the trajectory of Qur'anic interpretation cannot be separated from the socio-cultural conditions in which the exegetes do their work. Because many classical exegetical texts were produced in a patriarchal context that positions men as the dominant group, it is understandable that the explanation of verses related to women often reflects a male-centered perspective.<sup>33</sup>

Second, family law verses still leave special rights for men, such as the ability to have polygamy with up to four wives, being the leader of the household, permission to beat one's wife, and sons' inheritance shares being greater than daughters. This can be seen in the following Table (3):

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<sup>32</sup>Interview with Dr. Andi Abdul Hamzah, Lecturer of Arabic Language, UIN Alauddin Makassar, July 2025.

<sup>33</sup>Interview with Ridhwan, Profesor of Islamic Law, IAIN Bone, South Sulawesi, July 2025.

**Table 3: Female Friendly Message Data on Family Law Verses**

Field of Family Law	Surah and Verse Numbers	Female Friendly Messages	Historical Context
Marriage	QS. 4: 3	Restrictions on Polygamy	Unlimited practice of polygamy
	QS. 4: 4	Order to Give Dowry to Women	The tradition of inheriting a widow whose husband died
	QS. 4: 19	Prohibition of inheriting women by force	
	QS. 4: 20-21	Prohibition on taking back the dowry that has been given to a wife who is about to be divorced	
	QS. 4: 22-23	Prohibition on marrying certain groups of women	The desire to marry stepmother after a father died
	QS. 4: 34	A husband must provide protection to his wife and the solution to <i>nusyūz</i> wife	There was a complaint from a wife who received domestic violence from her husband
	QS. 4: 35	Peacemaker from the wife's family and husband's family if <i>syiqāq</i> occurs	Sauda was afraid of being divorced by the Prophet because he was getting older
	QS. 4: 128	The solution if a husband is <i>nusyūz</i> and a husband should not behave <i>nusyūz</i> towards his wife	
	QS. 4: 129-130	The commandment to treat wives fairly	
	QS. 30: 21	Commandment for affection between husband and wife	
Divorce	QS. 2: 228	Iddah provisions for divorced women	Previously, iddah had not been established for divorced women
	QS. 2: 229-230	Restrictions on the divorce that can be reconciled	Previously, men were free to divorce their wives and reconcile without any restrictions
	QS. 2: 231-232	Orders to reconcile or continue the divorce in a good way	Previously, a husband was free to divorce and reconcile before the end of the iddah to make things difficult for the wife and prevent her from marrying another man
	QS. 2: 233	The father's obligation is to provide support and clothing for	

		the mother and child	
	QS. 2: 234-235	The ability to put on makeup, travel or accept proposals after the death iddah of four months and ten days	
	QS. 2: 236	The order to grant mut'ah to a divorced wife	
	QS. 2: 237	Order to give ½ dowry to a divorced wife who has not been interfered with but whose dowry has been determined	
	QS. 2: 240	The testamentary order for a wife who has died is in the form of nafqah for a year without removing her from the house	The Prophet distributed the inheritance of a man from Taif who died in Medina but did not give a share to his wife.
	QS. 2: 241	The obligation to provide mut'ah to a divorced wife	Due to the revelation of QS. Al-Baqarah verse 236, someone said: if I want to do good I will do it, if I don't want to, I won't do it.
	QS. 33: 49	The obligation to give mut'ah to a divorced wife even though she has not done marital intercourse and for her the iddah does not apply	
	QS. 65: 1-6	The correct timing for divorcing a wife coincides with the calculation of their iddah period and does not exclude them from the house	When Rasūlullah SAW divorced Hafsa, Hafsa returned to her family, then Rasūlullah was ordered to reconcile with her because she was a woman who was diligent in worship.
	QS. 65: 2	An order to reconcile with a wife who is approaching her iddah period or to let go in a good way	
	QS. 65: 4	The iddah period for a wife who has gone through menopause, is pregnant and has not yet menstruated	There are questions from friends regarding the iddah of women who have not been mentioned in the previous iddah verse
Inheritance	QS. 2: 180	Orders to leave a will to both parents (mother and father) and close relatives	
	QS. 4: 7	Equal rights to inheritance for sons and daughters	Previously, in the Jahiliyah tradition, girls and young children did not receive inheritance
	QS. 4: 11	Equal rights to inheritance for sons and daughters and for	A friend who was sick and visited by Rasūlullah

	fathers and mothers	asked Rasulullah what he should do regarding his wealth
QS. 4: 12	Equal rights to inheritance for husband and wife	A friend who was sick and visited by Rasūlullah asked Rasūlullah what he should do regarding his wealth
QS. 4:176	The equal right to receive a share of the assets left behind by sisters and brothers in the case of <i>kalālah</i>	

Even though they use patriarchal language, family law verses actually contain friendly messages and defend women. First, establishing marriage as a permanent contract which aims to live together in love and peace (QS. 30:21). Second, it requires relationships to be *ma'rūf* (good) and prohibits usurping women's rights (QS. 4:19). Third, changing the dowry from a sexual convention to a gift of sincere love (QS. 4:4). Fourth, giving equal rights to reconciliation if disharmony occurs (QS. 4:35). Fifth, eliminating oppression and marginalization in divorce, such as limiting *'iddah*, guaranteeing the right to *nafaqah*, and providing opportunities for *khulu'* (divorce) (QS. 2:228–237).<sup>34</sup> Sixth, making women heirs, which was previously part of the inheritance (QS. 4:7, 4:11, 4:12, 4:176). These five arguments align with the perspective articulated during the interview by an academic from UIN Alauddin Makassar, who stated that verses on household leadership, inheritance, and testimony are often interpreted in a way that seems to strengthen male authority. However, upon closer examination, the Quran actually opens a broader path for equality and upholds women's rights.<sup>35</sup> In line with this, academics from IAIN Bone emphasized that the Quran explicitly protects women. For example, women are given the right to inherit, even though historically they were treated as part of the inheritance itself. To me, this marks a substantial step forward in upholding and maintaining women's dignity.<sup>36</sup>

Hence, the use of patriarchal language is not just a reflection of culture but is an important part of the family law reform strategy to defend women without resistance from men. Consistency places men as conversation partners

<sup>34</sup> Fikri Fikri, et.al., "Transformation of Maqāṣid Shari'āh in Divorce Mediation in Religious Courts: Revitalization of the Bugis-Mandar Customs, Indonesia," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 7, No. 1 (2023). Nurhadi Nurhadi, "Fasakh Nikah is Talak Khulu' in the Perceptive of Muqaranah Mazahib Fil Al-Fiqh and Maqashid Syari'ah," *El-Mashlahah* 10, No. 1 (2020).

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Dr. Haniah, MA, Lecturer of Islamic Law, UIN Alauddin Makassar, July 2025.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Dr. Abdul Hakim, Lecturer of Qur'anic Exegesis, IAIN Bone, South Sulawesi, July 2025.

to acknowledge the position or existence of men as the dominant group in society. Also, a recommendation is given to men to act as agents of social change. This gift was very reasonable because, as the dominant social group at that time, men held social control, controlling social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital.

As agents of change, men are ordered to change their principles, which dehumanize women (QS. 4:19), reducing the frequency, quality and tempo of several things that were previously done without clear limits such as *polygamy* (QS. 4:3), *ṭalāq* (QS. 2:229), the *'iddah* period of divorced women (QS. 2:228, 234; 33:49; 65:1–6), reorientation of the goals and principles of marriage (QS. 30:21; 4:19, 21), prohibition of impoverishment by not giving a dowry or withdrawing it in return as well as other gifts, the prohibition of preventing the ex-wife from remarrying, and giving inheritance (QS. 4:7, 11, 12).<sup>37</sup> The use of patriarchal language of male subjectivity and female objectivity is also used to reprimand or educate men and advocate for women. The relationship between men and women when the family law verses were revealed can be stated as a relationship of oppressors and oppressed: men as perpetrators and women as victims. Because of this, it is very natural for men as perpetrators of oppression to receive warnings, the messages of the verses in the form of prohibitions and imperatives are generally directed at men. On the other hand, women as an oppressed group are barely required to do anything. The messages for women tend to be about things that are natural, such as the prohibition on hiding pregnancy during the *'iddah* period, and breastfeeding their children for two full years (QS. 2:228–233).

Therefore, Ruslan Sangaji, Professor of Tafsir at IAIN Bone, is of the view that the Qur'an actively dismantles oppressive practices directed at women by introducing humane rules, such as limiting the *iddah* period, guaranteeing financial rights, allowing women to file for *khulu'* (divorce), and requiring marital relations to be based on *ma'rūf* (justice and respect). Collectively, these provisions reflect the Qur'an's spirit of eliminating the marginalization of women.<sup>38</sup>

Just as consistently placing men as speaking partners, giving privileges to men is also part of the strategy. Recognition of their existence in society in the form of recommendations to increase the role of change agents may reduce men as a superior group thereby minimizing the potential for rejection

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<sup>37</sup> Abdul Helim, et.al., "Cumulative Versus Alternative Conditions: A Study of Polygyny Permits in Indonesia from the Perspective of the Legal Certainty Principle," *De Jure* 15, No. 1 (2023). Yusna Zaidah, "Judicial Discretion in Inheritance Case Resolution: Towards Progressive Legal Justice in Indonesia," *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum dan Pemikiran* 24, No. 1 (2024).

<sup>38</sup>Interview with Ruslan Sangaji, Profesor of Tafsir (Quranic Interpretation), IAIN Bone, South Sulawesi, July, 2025.

(*resistance*). However, this is not enough to organize ideas for female-friendly changes in every verse. In fact it reduces their authority and even disturbs their interests. For this reason, the potential for resistance can be further minimized: the family law provisions leave women with several rights. Namely, special privileges include, among other things, leadership in the household. In this capacity, women are stated to have to submit to their husbands and the husband has the right to beat if the wife commits *nushūz* (QS. 4:34).<sup>39</sup> The maximum limit for *polygamy* is up to four wives (QS. 4:3), and the inheritance share is two to one for men. With these three things, men do not feel like they have lost their superiority, the way to have fun satisfying sexual desires is not closed, and economic rights are still guaranteed. However, there are indicators that these special rights are transitional provisions because the family law verses that mention them indicate stages and there are still other alternatives that can be chosen and even stated as a better way to resolve household disharmony.<sup>40</sup> For example, family law verses state that reconciliation is the best way (QS. 4:128), then monogamy protects the perpetrator from a heavier burden (QS. 4:3).

This research found three characteristics of patriarchal redaction in family law verses. First, consistency in placing men as conversation partners (subjectification) and placing women as conversation material (objectification). Second, putting men first in parallel sentence narration which places both of them as the subject of the sentence. Third, leaving privileges for men. Patriarchal redaction with the three characteristics above is a medium as well as a strategy so that female-friendly messages which are the verse's mission do not get resistance from men, considering that these messages disturb the dominance of their superiority and even their interests and pleasures. Therefore, legal verses continue to recognize the status of men as a social group with all kinds of social capital they possess by means of negotiation, making them talking partners and recommending them to act as agents of change. So, it can be emphasized that the redaction of patriarchy does not support, legitimize, let alone perpetuate patriarchal ideology but rather to end patriarchal ideology itself.

The use of patriarchal language through Arabic pronouns in family law verses is a strategy in the Al-Qur'an to liberate women from the oppression and injustice experienced at that time. By making men the talking partners, these verses actually educate and make them aware to change thought patterns and traditions that are inhumane and discriminatory towards women. Meanwhile,

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<sup>39</sup> Atun Wardatun and Bianca J. Smith, "Woman-Initiated Divorce and Feminist Fiqh in Indonesia: Narrating Male Acts of Nushūz in Marriage," *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 24, No. 2 (2020). Harwis Alimuddin, et.al., "Reconstruction of the Concept of Nusyūz in Islamic Law: Perspectives of Religious Figures in Ternate, Indonesia," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 8, No. 1 (2025).

<sup>40</sup> Hotnidah Nasution and Ahmad Rifqi Muchtar, "Negotiating Islamic Law: The Practice of Inheritance Distribution in Polygamous Marriages in Indonesian Islamic Courts," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 24, No. 1 (2024).

women are advocated to realize their rights. Positioning men as agents of change was very important in the socio-cultural context of that time. This recognizes the existence of men as holders of social dominance and owners of strong capital. In this way, the potential for resistance from them can be minimized, considering that the idea of change often disturbs the interests of those in power. Therefore, the verses still leave some privileges for men.

The significant findings above are built from the basic principles of the Al-Qur'an, of which family law verses are one part. The Al-Qur'an is a text that comes from a speaker who is not bound by any interests, nor is he affiliated with any culture, tradition or ideology. Then, in terms of its goals and mission, the Al-Qur'an aims to uphold true justice among His servants. This principle leads us to examine further the nuances of patriarchal ideology seen explicitly in family law verses. Redaction analysis focusing on identifying gender identity and mapping the theme or role of each verse has succeeded in identifying the above characteristics of patriarchal redaction. Then, these patriarchal characteristics are collided with the historical context of the revelation of the verse. Using this critical paradigm, this research generated fresh insights even though it was pitted against data that, whether we realize it or not, has existed and been exposed to academics for thousands of years.

This research confirms a theory that is believed to be widely applicable in efforts to empower the defense of the oppressed. In this context, awareness of perpetrators through education and various treatments is more effective than advocating for victims. The awareness of a perpetrator of oppression, let alone changing his main set to become emancipatory, will certainly liberate all victims who are under his oppression, and not vice versa. This does not mean that victim advocacy is not necessary. Of course, it is best to do both simultaneously. The application of this theory can be carried out in the formulation of laws, regulations and policy making at a practical level. The findings of this research also provide answers to why emancipatory activities so far in the form of advocacy training have not provided satisfactory results. The impact of various projects implemented to campaign for gender equality, anti-domestic violence and gender mainstreaming has not been felt significantly. That's because the activities mostly target victims to advocate for. Moreover, excessive advocacy language can turn into provocation.

## **Conclusion**

The conclusion of this research declares that patriarchal language in family law verses is not a support for patriarchal ideology, but rather an essential part of a strategy to eliminate the remnants or influence of patriarchy in marriage, divorce, and inheritance, which in fact often places gender-based injustice on women. For this reason, all principles, values and practices that have the potential to oppress or give rise to acts of violence against one party

because their gender identity is not in line with the principles of values taught by the Al-Qur'an. The verses of the Al-Qur'an, in general, and the verses of family law are the speech of the Most Just, free from cultural affiliation, tradition and ideology. Thus, it is impossible to contain bias towards one particular group. Gender bias does not deserve to be addressed to the Al-Qur'an. Gender bias is only possible at the level of interpretation where truth is relative. The paradoxical relationship between the redaction of family law verses and the content they contain is a lesson for organizing a society that is free from oppression. This principle should be adopted by individuals, NGOs, and governments to carry out empowerment programs and activities. In addition, the findings of this study have strong implications for Arabic language teaching methods. The use of Qur'anic verses in teaching should be accompanied by a contextual and gender-aware approach, allowing students to not only gain linguistic proficiency but also to engage with the socio-cultural dimensions of the text. Educators are encouraged to adopt communicative and discourse-oriented strategies that guide learners in examining vocabulary, figurative language, and pragmatic features of Arabic which may either perpetuate or challenge patriarchal notions. Such practices enhance both language skills and critical literacy, equipping students to interpret the Qur'an with an emphasis on justice and equality. Consequently, Arabic learning becomes not merely a process of mastering grammar and vocabulary, but also a transformative space where ethical awareness and social responsibility are cultivated.

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**Interviews:**

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