

Communication Used by Female Santri as Part of Their Social Interaction in Indonesian Modern Pesantren

Eka Susylowati^{a*}, Sumarlam^b, Wakit Abdullah^c, Sri Marmanto^d,
^aLinguistics Postgraduate Program, Sebelas Maret University Surakarta 57126
Indonesia, ^{b,c,d}Faculty of Humanities, Sebelas Maret University Surakarta
57126 Indonesia, Email: ^{a*}esusylowati@gmail.com

The study aims to explain the language codes used by the santri (Islamic boarding school students) for their daily communication at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School (AMIBS) and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School in Indonesia. The data consisted of the speeches uttered by the female santri of Madrassa Takhashushiyah during their communication with their colleagues, ustaz and ustaza (male and female teachers of Islamic boarding school), staffs and canteen food seller in the pesantren. Observation, recording and in-depth interview were deployed as the data collecting techniques. The data analysis relied on SPEAKING analysis. The study revealed a significantly dominant use of Indonesian Language at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School located in Ngruki Village. The use of Javanese Language, especially ngoko (the most common type of Javanese Language) was dominated by the Javanese santri. Meanwhile, English and Arabic Language were majorly used by the Javanese and non-Javanese santri.

Key words: *Communication, female santri, pesantren, modern, sociolinguistics.*

Introduction

The phenomena of language appears in various forms of social interaction in the society, including the interaction of female *santri* in Indonesian *pesantren* regarding the use of Indonesian Language, foreign language such as English and Arabic and regional languages. Within a social interaction, a speaker can use either language or codes to accommodate their communication in a multiethnic society. The Islamic boarding schools or *pesantren* can offer more values compared to the general education institutions due to the balance between the formal and *diniyah* (religious) subjects. *Pesantren* is a traditional Islamic boarding school institution, in where the *santri* (Islamic school students) live together and study under the guidance of clerics called *kyai*. The *santri*'s boarding house is located in the *pesantren* area together with the *kyai*'s housing with the complement of religious facilities, such as a mosque for worship, study chambers and other religious spaces (Dhofier, 2011: p.1). The language used by the *santri* in the *pesantren* area has more signature characteristics compared to the linguistics situation in other educational institutions due to the use of foreign language (Arabic and English), in addition to Indonesian Language for almost 24 hours. The *santri* at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School use the language variations for their social interaction, in which English, Arabic and Indonesian Language are obliged for their daily communication process.

The discussion on the use of language is a highly favored study by the foreign researchers due to the dynamic social cultural phenomena that affect the social structure and the use of language itself, such as the researches that discuss the use of language in social interaction (Markhamah, 2000; Blue & Harun, 2003; Rokhman, 2003; Saddhono, 2007; Herawati, 2009; Aman and Mustaffa, 2009; Okura, 2010; Chang and Haugh, 2011; Cynthia, 2011; Halim & Maros, 2014; Harun & Yusof, 2015; Chuchu & Noorashid, 2015; Fahme and Fung, 2016; Gunawan, 2013; Jaafar et all, 2016; Maros, Noorizan & Zakaria, 2016; Yanuar, Iragiliati & Zan, 2017; Mahsusi, Djatmika & Marmanto, 2017; Silva, 2017; Mangku, Chong Shin & Collins, 2018; Alagappar, et all, 2018; Jaafar, et all; Sulistyono & Fernandez, 2019; Inderasari, Lestari & Achسانی; Maryam, 2019). Regarding the previous reviews, the researchers found a gap related to the use of language in the communication of female *santri* of the *Madrassa Takahshuhsiyyah* at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School. The topic was chosen as the highlight of the study based on the consideration related to the unavailability of relevant research that specifically discusses the language use of female *santri* of the *Takahshuhsiyyah* Class, especially at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School whose students come from various ethnic groups in Indonesia, in addition to a number of students' backgrounds that previously ever stayed abroad. The significance of the research aims to establish a positive language communication, in an effort to direct the female *santri* of the *Takahshuhsiyyah* Class to choose the right codes for their speeches, thus they will avoid the possibility of misunderstanding. The study focuses on

the explanation of the language variations which were used for the communication lines between the *santri* and *santri*, *santri* and *ustazah*, *santri* and *ustaz*, *santri* and staffs, as well as *santri* and canteen food seller at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School.

Literature Review

Code Selection and Code-mixing

The use of language codes at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School strongly relates to the concept of code. The code is interpreted as a speech system, in which the application of its language elements indicates a number of characteristics based on the speaker's background, the speaker's relationship with the speech partner and the existing speech situation. Codes usually appear in the forms of language variants used by the members of a particular language community for communication (Poedjosoedarmo, 1978: p. 30; Rahardi, 2010: p.17). Meanwhile, Suwito (1983: p.87) argued that the code referred to one of the variants of the language hierarchy. The communication media as part of the language variant is also conceived as code. The code selection clearly exists in the communication process at the *pesantren* communities, such as the daily conversations between the *santri* and *ustaza*, *santri* and *ustaz*, *santri* and staff, as well as *santri* and food sellers at the *pesantren* canteen. In daily social interaction, the *pesantren* communities communicate in different events for different purposes, such as during the learning and teaching activities, guest reception, recitation activities, sermons, discussions, gossiping, extracurricular activities and others.

Within the bilingual and multilingual communities, as well as half-diglossic, a code-mixing process exists (Poedjoseodarmo, 1979: 70). The interdependency of language in a multilingual society is marked by the occurrence of code-mixing, as Suwito (1985: 75) mentioned the code-mixing phenomenon as one of the aspects of language dependency in a multilingual society. The characteristics of dependency in code-mixing are reflected by the mutual relationship between the roles and functions of language. In contrast, code-switching considers the function of context and the relevance of the situation as the characteristics of dependency. Code-mixing features neither clear motivation nor clear factors. The code-mixing phenomenon normally occurs in casual situations due to habitual factors.

Suwito (1996: 88-89) revealed that one of the characteristics of code-mixing is the loss of the original language function in other languages since the language elements are integrated with the elements of languages, they are inserted in to support the overall functions. Besides, code-mixing is a Linguistics convergence whose elements derive from various languages, each of which has abandoned its functions and supported the function of the languages it is inserted in. In detail, code-mixing features a number of characteristics as the following explanation:

1. If the functions of context and the relevance of situation reflect the characteristics of dependency in code-switching, then the dependency in code-mixing is marked by a reciprocal relationship between the roles and functions of language, implying some particular things that the speaker wants to achieve through his speech;
2. The linguistic elements or variations which are inserted into other languages will lose their original functions. These elements will integrate with the new languages and only support a single function;
3. The manifestation of code-mixing elements never exists in the forms of sentences. The common elements only appear as words, phrases, idioms, baster shapes, repetitions and clauses;
4. The use of a particular code-mixing methods sometimes aims to represent the social status and personal identity in society;
5. The code-mixing in a maximum condition marks the language convergence whose elements come from several languages, each of which has abandoned its functions to support the function of the new languages it is inserted in. These elements exist in the forms of inner code-mixing and outer code-mixing;

Bilingualism and Language Contact

Sociolinguistics as a branch of Linguistic studies the use of language in society. Bilingualism in Sociolinguistics refers to the use of two interchangeable languages by speakers or speech community in social interaction. The exploration of code selection in Sociolinguistics is inseparable from the concept of bilingualism or multilingualism. Fishman (1975: 73) conceived bilingualism as the use of two languages by a speaker in the interaction with other speakers in turn. To use two languages, a speaker must master both languages, including his mother tongue and another language as his second language.

Nababan (1984: 27) revealed that a bilingual person could to use two or more languages in conversation with others. The ability to use two or more languages covers receptive abilities (reading and listening) and productive abilities (speaking and writing). Bilingualism occurs due to the cultural contact between two groups of speakers that speak different languages. The cultural contact can occur in science and technology, health, politics, religion, trade and social and economic aspects. The condition will result in language contact among bilingual speakers and speech communities. Suwito (1985: 39) stated that the use of two or more interchangeable languages by the same speaker would lead to language change.

The effect of language change clearly appears, such as in the emergence of lexical lending from the two languages which are on contact. It can cause interdependence between the languages in a speech community. It implies the impossibility of a speaker to use one particular language without the influence of another language in a speech community. Weinrich (1968: 1) asserted

the existence of mutual contact in the interaction or communication that intertwines one language with another, one dialect with another and one language variation with another. In general, Indonesians use two or more languages for different social functions. Indonesians that consist of various ethnic groups generally master local languages and Indonesian language itself. For instance, Javanese people master the Javanese language with a number of variations, namely *ngoko* for the interaction with their family and close friends and *krama inggil* for the interaction with the people with higher social status or older age. Meanwhile, for official occasions, such as in schools, offices and government, they commonly use the Indonesian language as the national language for their daily communication.

Methodology

This study deployed a qualitative method, as it aimed to obtain actual and natural exposures regarding the use of language codes at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School. The researchers picked up Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School (AMIBS) and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School due to the encouragement of their *santri*'s foreign language skill reinforcement, including the use of English and Arabic for their daily communication, in addition to their multiethnic and multilingual communal background. Specifically, the study was directed for the *Takhashushiyyah* Class, as the researchers were interested in investigating the use of language codes in the class throughout the transition period of the *santri* from external to internal environment of the *pesantren*. The transition period was considered to affect the choice of speech codes among the *santri* that indeed were still bold with their respective regional dialects, in spite of the enforcement in using the Indonesian and foreign language (English and Arabic) for their daily communication in the *pesantren* area.

The data of this study consisted of the speech context of the female students of the *Madrasa Takhashushiyyah* in communicating through the formal and informal situation with their fellow *santri*, *ustazah* and *ustaz*, staffs and food seller in the *pesantren* canteen. The *santri*'s speeches appeared in the forms of words, phrases, sentences and discourse. The data sources of the research included the informants, activities and documents. Sutopo (2006; p.9) shared that the data collection methods in qualitative research were generally classified into two forms, including the interactive and non-interactive technique. The interactive method consists of interview and participant observation, while the non-interactive method includes document recording, however, ignores the aspect of participation.

In this study, the data collection was carried out through observation of the use of the language codes of female *santri* at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School. In detail, the data were collected in natural settings during a number of activities, such as the lecture, recitation, casual conversations and discussions. The data used

in this study consist of the speech context used by the female *santri* of the *Takhashushiyyah Madrasa* to communicate in formal or informal situations. The communication happened between the *santri*, *santri* and *ustaza/ustaz*, *santri* and staff, as well as *santri* and canteen food seller which appeared in the forms of words, phrases, sentences and discourse. The data sources vary in terms of the places, informants, events, documents and others. Meanwhile, this research included the informants, activities and documents as its data sources. Subroto (1992: 32) defined the term sample as part of the population that becomes the direct object of research. Meanwhile, Arikunto (2010: 174) mentioned the term sample as part of the population being studied. Regarding the theories, this research adopted a *purposive sampling* technique. The sample selection of this study considered the following matters:

1. The availability of conversations among the *santri* at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School by using more than two languages for their interaction at the *pesantren* environment.
2. The use of any forms of codes for the conversations among the *santri*, *ustaza* and staff at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School.
3. Regarding with the participants, the researchers picked up 20 multilingual informants who were considered fluent in oral communication. The participants were chosen based on the utterances that they use for the communication between *santri* and *santri*, *santri* and *ustaza* and *santri* and staff in formal and informal situations. They were considered able to distinguish the characteristics of the codes that they used.

The document recording as the data collecting technique was functioned to record the use of language in terms of communication between the *santri* and *santri*, *santri* and *ustazah*, *santri* and *ustaz*, *santri* and staffs, as well as *santri* and canteen food seller at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School. It aimed to obtain natural speeches as the data through the available recording devices. Meanwhile, the in-depth interview was organized with the informants who were fluent in communicating using Indonesian Language, foreign languages (English and Arabic) and regional languages. In this context, the informants were free to provide all information regarding the use of language codes for their daily interaction at the *pesantren* environment. Furthermore, the data were analyzed using the ethnographic communication method that consisted of a number of speech components developed by Hymes (SPEAKING).

Discussion / Analysis

The following section shares the use of language in the communication process that occurred at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School, in which Indonesian, English, Arabic and Javanese appeared as the most dominant languages. The findings regarding the use of the languages in communication process at Assalaam Modern

Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School are explained by the following details.

Communication between Javanese and Javanese Female Santri

The languages or codes used in the communication process between the fellow Javanese female *santri* at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School include Indonesian, English, Arabic, Javanese and other regional languages. The following conversation signifies the use of *ngoko* variant as part of the Javanese Language by the female *santri* that come from the Javanese ethnic. Both *santri* possessed the same degree of competence and had a remarkably close relationship as if they were sisters which can be seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Communication between Javanese and Javanese Female *Santri*

Type	Name		Javanese Version	English Version
Data 1	<i>Santri 1</i>	:	<i>He, rek!</i>	Hi, girl!
	<i>Santri 2</i>	:	<i>He! Opo?</i>	Hi, what's up?
	<i>Santri 1</i>	:	<i>Kowe melu lomba opo?</i>	What competition will you join?
	<i>Santri 2</i>	:	<i>Oo, sek nggo Assalaam Festival kae lho?</i>	Ah, the one for the Assalaam Festival?
	<i>Santri 1</i>	:	<i>Ho'oh.</i>	Yes.
	<i>Santri 2</i>	:	<i>Oh, nek aku melu lomba nembang.</i>	Ah, I'll join singing competition.
	<i>Santri 1</i>	:	<i>Owalah, podho nek ngono. Kapan kowe arep latihan?</i>	So shall I. When will you take practice?
	<i>Santri 2</i>	:	<i>Sesuk ya, dina Setu.</i>	Tomorrow, on Saturday.
	<i>Santri 1</i>	:	<i>Okay, matur nuwun, ya!</i>	Okay, thanks!
	<i>Santri 2</i>	:	<i>Sami-sami.</i>	You're welcome.

Data 1 signifies a communication that occurred between the two *santri* of the *Madrassa Takhashushiyah* that actually come from the same Javanese ethnic group. The conversation illustrates the communication between the two *santri* at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School using Javanese Language (JL). It took place in their bedroom during the afternoon recess. Thus, the speech happened in an informal situation within the boundary of friendship.

Santri 1 started the conversation by greeting her friend *He, rek!* (*rek* is a typical greeting in Javanese Language which commonly signifies the Surabaya dialect to mark the pronoun of the second person). She used the Surabaya dialect since *santri 2* as her speech partner in the

pasantren also comes from Surabaya. *Santri 2* then replied *He! Opo?* which signifies the *ngoko* variant due to their same age range. However, at the end of the speech, *santri 1* used the *krama* variant (subtle structure of Javanese Language that commonly functions to perform respect to the elders or noble people) in her Javanese code, as she said *Matur nuwun ya!*. *Santri 2* then answered with the same *krama* variant by saying *Sami-sami*. The form of *krama* variant in Javanese Language functions to show respect to each other. The expression of intermediate Javanese Language in the speech illustrates a shift of codes between the two *santri* of the *Madrasa Takhashushiyyah* at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School. The *santri* commonly tend to use *ngoko* variant, however, the data showed another fact regarding the use of intermediate Javanese Language in the communication of the female *santri*.

Communication between Javanese and Non-Javanese Female Santri

The communication that occurred between the Javanese and non-Javanese female *santri* using Indonesian Language, foreign language (English and Arabic) and mixed language is illustrated in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Communication between Javanese and non-Javanese Female *Santri*

Type	Name		Indonesian Version	English Version
Data 2	<i>Santri 1</i>	:	<i>Ih... Anak-anak MTs mantep-mantep juga ya spelling bee-nya!</i>	Wow... I still can't believe that the <i>Madrasa Takhashushiyyah</i> students are steady in their spelling-bee!
	<i>Santri 2</i>	:	<i>Iya, ya... Soalnya mereka mujadahnya mantul.</i>	Indeed... They totally master the <i>mujahada</i> .
	<i>Santri 1</i>	:	<i>Anti dukung sapa nih yang juara?</i>	Whom will you support to be the champion?
	<i>Santri 2</i>	:	<i>Weh.... Ana mah Azka lovers.</i>	Umm... I am Azka's lover.
	<i>Santri 1</i>	:	<i>Weh... Kalau dia menang jajanin ana ya.</i>	Umm... Treat me if he wins.
	<i>Santri 2</i>	:	<i>Ogah-ogah.</i>	No.

Data 2 implies a casual conversation based on the speech situation. The emergence of words which are different with the formal Indonesian Language structure marked the influence of codes from social media. The data shows the mix of Indonesian codes with slangs, Arabic and English. The reduplication also existed, as *santri 1* said *Mantep-mantep* to express an admiration related to the creativity or notion. Another example of reduplication was also expressed by *santri 2* by saying *Ogah-ogah* to express her reluctance to receive her fellow's challenge.

Furthermore, the term *Mantul* (literally means *bounce*, contextually means *great*) indeed derives from the phrasal acronym *mantap betul* (totally great). This code is a slang which is commonly used to express an admiration, as explained by Gunawan (2013: p.9) that marked slang as a communication media of the teenagers. The forms of Indonesian slangs that often exist in social communication include the terms *lo* (you), *gue* (I) and *woy* (hey). The terms *spelling-bee* and *lovers* belong to foreign language codes, English. Meanwhile, the term *mujahadah*, in addition to the pronouns *ana* and *anti*-indeed derive from Arabic code. Such pronouns are commonly used to greet the fellow *santri* in the *pesantren* area. The conversation also contains a code mixing with the Javanese Language, such as the term *jajanin* that derives from *jajan* as the root added by suffix *-in* and implies an action verb. In brief, *jajanin* means giving treats to someone.

Communication between Female Santri and Ustaza

The following conversation occurred between the Malay *santri* and Javanese *ustaza* using Indonesian Language in the sideline of lecture process at the *pesantren*.

Table 3: Communication between *Santri* and *Ustaza*

Type	Name		Indonesian Version	English Version
Data 3	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Ustazah, ana tidak mengerti Bahasa Arabnya, Us.</i>	<i>Ustaza, I don't understand this part in Arabic.</i>
	<i>Ustaza</i>	:	<i>Ga papa, diisi sebisanya aja.</i>	<i>It's okay, just answer it.</i>
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Kalau pake Bahasa Indonesia boleh nggak, Us?</i>	<i>Can I answer it using Indonesian Language?</i>
	<i>Ustaza</i>	:	<i>Gak boleh, lah. Ini kan pelajarannya pake Bahasa Arab.</i>	<i>No. We are learning Arabic this moment.</i>
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Yah, Us... Us, kalau Bahasa Indonesia di Arab-Arabin gimana, Us?</i>	<i>No...., what if mixed codes between Indonesian and Arabic?</i>
	<i>Ustaza</i>	:	<i>Ya dah ga papa asal nyambung.</i>	<i>Okay then, as long as it is understandable.</i>

The conversation occurred between a Malay *santri* and Javanese *ustaza* during the Arabic lecture at Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School. The objective of the conversation was to discuss a particular Arabic test done by the *santri*. The *ustaza* provided the *santri* instruction to complete her test using Arabic, however the *santri* got a lack of Arabic linguistics competence. The *santri* then requested to use mixed Indonesian and Arabic, for instance, the word *markob* which derives from the Arabic Language *marit qolbun* and means *disappointed*. The *santri* chose a single Indonesian code for her Arabic learning due to her lack of Arabic

competence and easy-to-understand feature of Indonesian Language that she used. Additionally, the different of ethnic background also contributed more in the use of Indonesian Language among the female *santri* in the *pesantren* area.

Communication between Female Santri with Staff

Table 4 below shows communication that occurred between a female *santri* with a staff at the *pesantren* used the informal Indonesian Language variation.

Table 4: Communication between Female *Santri* and Staff

Type	Name		Indonesian Version	English Version
Data 4	<i>Staff</i>	:	<i>Khadijah, sini!</i>	<i>Khadija, come here!</i>
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Iya, Us. Kenapa</i>	Yes, <i>Ustaza</i> . Why?
	<i>Staff</i>	:	<i>Tanyain sama teman-temannya, kok belum ada yang setoran hadits?</i>	Please ask your friends, why none has yet to recite <i>hadits</i> ?
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Lah, emangnya iya, Us?</i>	Really, <i>Ustaza</i> ?
	<i>Staff</i>	:	<i>Iya, anti juga kok belum setoran kenapa?</i>	Yes, neither have you, why?
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Eh, iya, Us. Baru berniat tapi belum sempat, Us.</i>	Ah, I have planned but yet done it, <i>Ustaza</i> .

The selection of Indonesian code is represented by data 4 that signifies a conversation at the office room of Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School. The conversation involved a female *santri* and a staff in a formal situation. Even if the conversation took place at the office, both *santri* and staff used informal Indonesian Language, as they had been very close and familiar. In spite of the familiarity, the *santri* still practice the politeness principles in speaking with the staff whose age is older than hers. There is a term *setoran* in the data (literally means deposit, contextually means test of memorization). The multiethnic and multilingual *pesantren* communities can introduce particular language diversity which appears not only due to the heterogeneous users, but also diverse social interaction patterns. For example, the *santri* normally use special words to communicate, in which the words are understandable due to the factual language agreement.

The context will be different when the *santri* talk to the bus driver due to the gap of perception, since the specific words in one particular group may not be available in another group's perception. There might be a possibility of typical word similarities that exist with different meanings, such as the word *setoran*. For a bus driver, the term *setoran* is used to mention the amount of money from his earnings that he has to share with his employer (Almoataz and K. W.

2018). Meanwhile, for the *santri*, the term represents an activity of performing the memorization test of the Koran or *hadits* to the *ustaza* or staff. The register used by the *santri* in the *pesantren* environment remarks a type of language variation to express their opinions and ideas. The interaction which runs through the communication process in the *pesantren* environment is an example of the use of language that signifies the uniqueness based on the needs of the language functions within a society with all of its variations. The following data 5 represents a conversation between the female *santri* with the staff in an informal situation at the *pesantren* office using Indonesian code.

Table 5: Communication between Female *Santri* and Staff

Type	Name		Indonesian Version	English Version
Data 5	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Selamat pagi, Us. Assalamu'alaikum.</i>	Good morning, <i>Ustaza. Assalamu'alaikum.</i>
	<i>Staff</i>	:	<i>Selamat pagi. Wa'alaikumussalaam. Ada apa, Mbak?</i>	Good morning. <i>Wa'alaikumussalaam. Is there something that I can help with, dear?</i>
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Maaf, Us. Kelas kami memerlukan beberapa buah meja lagi, Us.</i>	Excuse me, <i>Ustaza. Our class needs some more tables.</i>
	<i>Staff</i>	:	<i>Berapa buah meja, Mbak? Untuk kelas berapa?</i>	How many tables does it need, dear? For what class?
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Lima buah, Us. Untuk Kelas Takhashushiyyah.</i>	Five tables, <i>Ustaza. For the Takhashushiyyah Class.</i>
	<i>Staff</i>	:	<i>Okay, tunggu sebentar, ya. Akan segera kita kirimkan meja ke kelasmu. Segera kembali ke kelas sana.</i>	Okay, please wait a moment. We will provide the tables. Now please come back to your class.
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Terima kasih banyak, Us. Wassalamu'alaikum.</i>	Thank you very much, <i>Ustaza. Wassalamu'alaikum.</i>
	<i>Staff</i>	:	<i>Sama-sama. Wa'alaikumussalaam.</i>	You are welcome. <i>Wa'alaikumussalaam.</i>

The conversation above involved the *santri* and *ustaza* at the office of Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School in a formal situation using the Indonesian language code. The code functioned to facilitate the communication between the *santri* and *ustaza*, for instance, the use of utterance *Maaf, Us. Kelas kami memerlukan beberapa buah meja lagi* (Excuse me, *Ustaza. Our class needs some more tables*). Meanwhile, the Arabic code was used to initiate and end the conversation. The use of Arabic code existed in the opening greeting *Assalamu'alaikum*

and closing greeting *Wa'alaikumussalaam*. The *pesantren* community is commonly familiar with the use of the Arabic language due to the mandatory for their daily communication. The conversation above also used English code, for instance, the word *okay* that commonly appears in oral formal communication, as the common substitute of the standardized Indonesian term *baiklah*.

Communication between Female Santri and Ustaz

In Table 6 below conversation represents the use of Indonesian and Arabic in the communication that occurred between a female *santri* and *ustaz* during the lecture.

Table 6: Communication between Female *Santri* and *Ustaz*

Type	Name		Indonesian Version	English Version
Data 6	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Ustaz, kalau misalkan shalat berjama'ah itu perlu sutrah nggak, Tad?</i>	<i>Ustaz, is sutrah (prayer barrier) still required in a congregational prayer?</i>
	<i>Ustaz</i>	:	<i>Kalau shalat berjama'ah nggak perlu sutrah lagi, kan imamnya sudah jadi sutrah.</i>	No need, since the <i>imam</i> (worship leader) also functions as a <i>sutrah</i> .
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Lha, itu di masjidnya udah ada garis-garisnya udah cukup jadi sutrah belum, Ust?</i>	What about the lines at the mosque floor, are those lines enough to be supposed as <i>sutrah</i> ?
	<i>Ustaz</i>	:	<i>Kalau garis-garis ini dibuat untuk ngelurusin shaf. Lebih baik sutrah benda aja yang lebih tinggi nggak cuman garis doang.</i>	The floor lines function to straighten up the <i>shaf</i> (prayer line). <i>Sutrah</i> is better in the form of a high object, not only the lines.

The excerpt of the above conversation signifies the Indonesian and Arabic external code mixing to emphasize the religious values to the *santri*. The code mixing contains Indonesian and Arabic codes, in which the Indonesian code used an informal variant based on its structure. The code mixing occurred during the Q&A session between the *santri* and *ustaz*. The question was firstly begun by the *santri* that asked *Ustaz, kalau misalkan shalat berjama'ah itu perlu sutrah nggak, Tad?* The *ustaz* then replied the question using informal Indonesian mixed with Arabic through his sentence *Kalau shalat berjama'ah nggak perlu sutrah lagi, kan imamnya sudah jadi sutrah*. The code mixing particularly aimed to convince the religious messages through Arabic terms, such as the word *sutrah* (prayer barrier) and *shaf* (prayer lines). The following data in Table 7 shows a conversation between an *ustaz* (male teacher of Islamic boarding

school) and his female *santri* at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School during the lecture at the *Takhashushiyah* Class.

Table 7: Communication between Female *Santri* and *Ustaz*

Type	Name		Indonesian Version	English Version
Data 7	<i>Ustaz</i>	:	<i>Assalamu'alaikum.</i>	<i>Assalamu'alaikum.</i>
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Wa'alaikumusalaam.</i>	<i>Wa'alaikumusalaam.</i>
	<i>Ustaz</i>	:	<i>Masya, kenapa kamu tidak masuk kelas kemarin?</i>	Masya, why did you not come yesterday?
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Kemarin saya sakit dan saya pergi ke AMC.</i>	I was sick and went to AMC.
	<i>Ustaz</i>	:	<i>Tidak apa-apa, Masya. Semoga engkau dalam keadaan baik dan sehat sekarang.</i>	No problem, Masya. Hopefully you are in a good condition now.
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Terimakasih, Tad.</i>	Thank you, <i>Ustaz</i> .
	<i>Ustaz</i>	:	<i>Maaf, Masya. Saya akan menjelaskan pelajaran kemarin yang kamu tidak ikuti supaya kamu dapat memahami pelajaran dengan baik.</i>	Sorry, Masya. I will explain the last lecture that you could not follow yesterday, thus you will understand better.
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Baik, Tad.</i>	Sure, <i>Ustaz</i> .

The conversation involved an *ustaz* and his female *santri* during the lecture at the *Takhashushiyah* Class at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School. The use of standard Indonesian grammar in the conversation had well described the formal atmosphere. Accordingly, the *ustaz* asked his *santri* that did not join his class at the previous day through the sentence *Masya, kenapa kamu tidak masuk kelas kemarin?* The *santri* then explained that she was sick and ought to visit the AMC (Assalaam Medical Center). The conversation used the standard Indonesian code that created a serious or formal situation.

Communication between Santri and Canteen Food

The last instance of communication code involved a female *santri* and canteen food seller at the *pesantren* complex. The *santri* normally used Indonesian and the mixed Indonesian and Arabic. In Table 8 below conversation occurred between a female *santri* and food seller at the *pesantren* canteen.

Table 8: Communication between *Santri* and Canteen Food Seller

Type	Name		Indonesian Version	English Version
Data 8	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Assamu'alaikum, Mi. Maa-maza an haza, Mi?(Apa ini, Mi)</i>	<i>Assamu'alaikum, Ummi. Maa-maza an haza, Ummi? (What is it, Ummi?)</i>
	<i>Seller</i>	:	<i>Napa, Ndri?</i>	What, Ndri?
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Mi, sate-sateannya belum datang, Mi?</i>	<i>Ummi, has the satay yet to come?</i>
	<i>Seller</i>	:	<i>Sabar, Ndri. Bentar lagi.</i>	Be patient, Ndri. A moment later.
	<i>Santri</i>	:	<i>Alah, Mi. Laper, Mi... Asfair (Pinjam) HP, nggih Mi.</i>	Oh, no.... I am starving, Ummi... <i>Asfair</i> (may I borrow) your phone, <i>Ummi?</i>
	<i>Seller</i>	:	<i>Nggak... Nggak... Nggak boleh. Nanti dimarahi Ustazah.</i>	No... No... No. <i>Ustazah</i> will be furious to you.

The *santri* and canteen food seller used Indonesian and a small intensity of Arabic in their communication. The Arabic part of the communication includes the expressions *Maa-maza an haza mi* and *Asfair*. The higher frequency of the Indonesian Language compared to the Arabic is indeed reasonable due to the lack of Arabic competence at the Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School for an intensive interaction inside and outside the *pesantren* environment.

The findings related to the communication among the female *santri* in their social interaction at the modern *pesantren* area signify comparisons with other studies. Herawati (2009) revealed a dominant use of *ngoko* variant in Mondrian complex which was commonly practiced by the adult Javanese residents, as well as *krama* variations. Meanwhile, the Chinese descendants tended to use *ngoko* variant and Indonesian code to communicate with the Javanese people. Meanwhile, the current study discovered that there were differences of communication styles among the female *santri* in the modern Islamic boarding schools. The use of Indonesian code was still very dominant, while English and Arabic were majorly used for the lecture and daily interaction. The *ngoko* variant as part of Javanese Language was functioned for an informal situation among the female *santri*.

The current study found out the similarity in the use of code switching and code mixing among the female *santri* of *Madrassa Takhshuhsiyah* for their communication at the *pesantren* area. The study also highlights the differences in terms of code switching and code mixing which were dominantly used by the female *santri* at the *pesantren*. Jafar, Awal, Mis and Lateh (2016) examined the *Pattern of Language Choice at the Board of Malaysia-Thailand* by focusing on the patterns of code selection by Malaysian and Thai communities. They focused on business



and family as the domains. The data collection ran through a survey and questionnaire. They discovered that Malaysian and Thai people used two different languages, including the Kelantan dialect and the variations of the dominant Malayan language. The research at least has described the use of language in society, despite the adoption of different media.

The research was carried out for the Malaysian and Thai communities, while this current research was performed for the *pesantren* communities. Inderation, Lestari, Achsani (2019) that studied the language style used by *Ustaz* Hanan Attaki for his sermons on *Instagram* revealed that *Ustaz* Hanan Attaki possessed several characteristics in his language, such as the insertion of Arabic and English code mixing in Indonesian Language, in addition to the use of slangs. One of the comparative points of this study with the other previous studies is the existence of slang variations for daily communication at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School.

Conclusion

The use of Indonesian Language at Assalaam Modern Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School was still very dominant, in both formal or informal situation. The use of Indonesian was mainly dominated by the *santri* within the communication lines that include *santri* with *santri*, *santri* with *ustaza*, *santri* with *ustaz*, *santri* with staff and *santri* with canteen food seller. The common use of Indonesian, Arabic and English was remarkable among the Javanese and non-Javanese *santri*. The female *santri* tended to use Indonesian and Arabic for their communication with the *ustaz* and *ustaza* during the lecture. They also used Indonesian with a little intensity of Arabic mixing for their communication with the canteen food seller. Meanwhile, the *ngoko* variation as part of the Javanese was commonly used by the female Javanese *santri* who had been familiar with each other. The use of language among the female *santri* of the *Madrasa Takhashushiyah* in the *pesantren* environment aimed to get a picture of the linguistics aspects during the communication process through the performance of more than two languages.

For the next researchers, the discussion related to the use of language can cover various studies, such as ethnolinguistics, pragmatics and psycholinguistics. Therefore, other oral communication phenomena at the modern and traditional *pesantren* environment are also required for the research inclusion as the comparative study to generate different and deeper insight.



REFERENCES

- Arikunto, S. (2010). *Prosedur Penelitian Suatu Pendekatan Praktik*. Bandung: Penerbit Rineka Cipta.
- Alagappan, P.M., Dealwis, C., David, M.K. (2018). The influence of age cohort and social networks on the language choices of the non-indigenous Tamil minority in Kuching, Serawak, Malaysia. *KEMANUASIAAN the Asian Journal of Humanities*, 25(1), 69-93
- Amman, I., & Mustaffa, R. (2009). Social variation of Malay language in Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia: A study on accent, identity and integration. *GEMA Online@Journal of Language Studies*, 9(1).
- Almoataz, K. and K.W. Mohamed, 2018. Disruption-based innovations for incumbent technology businesses. *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*, 4(2): 20-50.
- Blue, G.M & Harun, M. (2013). Hospitality language as a professional skill English for Specific Purposes. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 22:73-91.[cited,2013Nov18th]. Available from: URL: <http://www.elsevier.com/locate/esp>.
- Chucu, F., & Noorashid, N. (2015). Code choice within intercultural communication among ethnic minority in Brunei. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 5(1), 86-94
- Chang and Haugh. (2011). Strategic Embarrassment and Face Threatening in Business Interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43.
- Chen, Lidan. (2015). *Sino-Anglo Code Switching and Persuasive of Chinese Newspaper Advertising: A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. *International Journal of English Linguistics*: Vol 5, No.5; 2015
- Chong Shin. (2012). *Masyarakat Multilingual dan Pemilihan Bahasa: Minoritas Tionghoa di Kota Sekadau, Pulau Borneo*. Jakarta: Masyarakat Linguistik Indonesia.
- Creswell, John W. (2009). *Research Design*. United States America: SAGE Publication Inc.
- Coates, Jennifer. (1986). *Women, Men and Language. A Sociolinguistics Account of Sex Differences in Language*. London and New York: Longman.
- Coulmas, F. (1997). *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- da Silva, A.M. (2017). Exploring the language choice of the non-commercial signs in Jakarta. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 7(2), 467-475



- Dhofier, Z. (2011). *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Menganai Masa Depan Indonesia*. Jakarta: LP3ES
- Dunn, C. (2011). Formal Forms or Verbal Strategies Politeness Theory and Japanese Business Etiquette Training. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43:3643-3654
- Gagne, Okura. (2010). Reexamining the Nation of Negative Face in the Japanese Sociolinguistics Politeness of Request. *Language & Communication Journal*. 30:123-138
- Gunawan, F. (2013). Implikasi penggunaan bahasa gaul terhadap pemakaian bahasa Indonesia di kalangan siswa SMAN 3 Kendari. *Al-Izzah*, 8, (1), 56-72
- Harun, K, & Yusof, M. (2015). Komunikasi Bahasa Melayu-Jawa dalam media sosial. *Jurnal Komunikasi Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 31(2) 2015: 617-629
- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics. Second edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Herawati, N. (2009). *Komunikasi antarwarga di kompleks Mondrian Klaten*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Universitas Sanata Dharma
- Inderasari, E., Lestari, B. , & Achsani, F. (2019). *Penggunaan bahasa dakwah ustaz Hanan Attaki di media sosial instagram*. *Jalabahasa*, 15, (1), 1-15
- Jaafar, M.F., Awal, Norsimah Mat., Mis, M.A., and Lateh, Norhayati. (2016). *The Pattern of Language Choice at the Boarder of Malaysia-Thailand*. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 5 No.2, January 2016, pp.176-185
- Mahsusi, J., Djatmika & Marmanto, S. (2017). Pemilihan Kode Pada Mahasiswa Riau di Yogyakarta: Kajian Sociolinguistik. *Lingua: Journal of Language, Literature and Teaching* 14 (2), 267-284
- Markhamah. (2000). *Etnik Cina: Kajian Linguistik Kultural Surakarta*: Muhammadiyah University Press
- Marnita, R. (2009). *Language Choice among Minangkabau People in Padang City: A Sociolinguistic Study* Yogyakarta: The First International Graduate Student Conference on Indonesia.
- Maryam, S. (2019). Pola Bahasa Generasi Milineal Dalam Novel Catatan Hati Seorang Istri. *Genta Bahtera*, 5(1), 46-55



- Mujiono. (2013). *Analisis Alih Kode dalam Pengajaran Bahasa Inggris pada Program Studi Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris di Universitas (Studi Kasus di UM, UMM, UNIKAMA, dan UNESA)*. Disertasi. Surakarta: Sebelas Maret University Press
- Nababan, P.W.J. (1984). *Sosiolinguistik: Sebuah Pengantar*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Poedjosoedarmo, S. (1978). *Kode dan Alih Kode. Dalam Widyaparwa 15*. Yogyakarta: Balai Penelitian Bahasa.
- Poedjosoedarmo, S. (1979). *Tingkat Tutur Bahasa Jawa*. Jakarta: Depdikbud
- Rahardi, K. (2010). *Kajian Sosiolinguistik*. Bogor: Penerbit Ghalia Indonesia
- Rokhman, F. (2003). *Pemilihan Bahasa dalam Masyarakat Dwibahasa: Kajian Sosiolinguistik di Banyumas*. Dissertation. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University
- Saddhono, K. (2007). *Oreng Madure dan Wong Solo Fenomena Integrasi Linguistik Kultural*. Surakarta: Sebelas Maret University Press.
- Salzmann, Z. (1993). *Language, Culture and Society: an Introduction to Linguistics Anthrophology*. USA: Westview Press.
- Sutopo, H.B. (2006). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Surakarta: Sebelas Maret University Press
- Suwito. (1983). *Pengantar Awal Sosiolinguistik: Teori dan Problema*. Surakarta: Henary Offset.
- Saville-Troike, M. (2003). *Ethnography of Communication: an Introduction*. New York: Blackwell Publishing
- Sulistyono, Y., & Fernandez, I., Y. (2019). Linguistic situation araound East Florest and Alor-Pantar Islands in East Indonesia. *Humanities & Social Sciences Reviews*, 7(3), 189-194
- Wirastuti, D. (2017). *Pilihan Kode Pada Masyarakat Jawa (Studi Kasus di Wilayah eks-Karisedanan Surakarta)*. *Unplished Dissertation*. Surakarta: Universitas Sebelas Maret
- Yanuar, N., Iragiliati, E., Zen, E.L. (2017). Boso Walikan Malang's Address Practices. *GEMA Online@Journal of Language Studies*. Vol.17, No (1).