

## **CHAPTER III**

### **PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA**

In this chapter, the writer presents and describes the linguistic signals (or terms) that indicate the aspects of power and solidarity at Pondok Pesantren Salafi Qomaruddin. As stated by Geertz in Hudson (1980: 127), the type of linguistic markers of the aspects of power and solidarity found in Javanese is vocabulary. This is justified because Javanese has some levels—*Ngoko*, *Krama Madya*, and *Krama Inggil*—that result in the variety of lexicon in each level. Furthermore, the use of certain language level, he added, will imply the social status of the speakers.

By the help of conversations obtained from the observation, the writer identifies the linguistic signals for the power-solidarity aspects at this community. The data are written and directly analyzed. To perform an easier discussion, the writer arranges the conversations based on the locations of where they occurred as well as the participants involved. The locations are; the residence of the Kyai, the Pondok Administrative office, the school, the Santris' rooms, and the public places such as canteen, bathroom, and so on. In each dialogue, the writer tries to describe as completely as possible how the relations lay among participants, and how they—through the language they use—might reveal their social positions, their behaviors and their attitudes towards the other members of the community.

### III.1. Conversation 1

Guest :“Assalamualaikum”

Santri :“Walaikumsalam warahmatulloh” (Shaking and kissing the guest’s hand at the same time)

Guest :“ Abah Yai wonten, mbak!”

(Is Abah Yai at home!)

Santri :“Inggih wonten, monggo pinarak ten ‘ndalem’ (pointing her thumb to a certain building and bowing her body)

(Yes, he is at home. I will take you to ‘ndalem’)

Guest : “Matur Nuwun!”

(Thank you!)

Santri : “Bu, jenengan saking pundhi?”

(Madam!Where do you come from?)

Guest : “Kulo saking meriki mawon, saking Nongko Kerep”

(I come from somewhere surrounding here, Nongko Kerep)

Santri : “Sekedap, kulo tingali riyen ten ‘ndalem”

(wait a moment, I will take a look first in ‘ndalem”)

This conversation takes place in the residence of Kyai. The participants of this conversation are a guest (women aged about 35 years old) and a female santri (aged about 20 years old). The guest starts greeting by saying *Assalamualaikum* (line 1) and the santri replies her by saying *Walaikum salam* (line 2). This kind of greeting is quite common in our society and this becomes a part of rules in

social interaction among muslims, particularly, and among common society. While replying the guest, santri shakes and kisses the right hand of the guest. Based on Javanese value, this attitude shows respect to the elders.

Both participants in the conversation above use Javanese at *Krama Madya* level. It is understandable because each of them does not recognize one another. In addition, they are very different in age. The addressing term *Bu* (line 6) is used by the santri to show that she tries to treat her addressee respectfully that is to treat her as if she was her own mother. Using this term also denotes that the santri tries to limit the social distance among them. In our culture, *Bu* is commonly used by children to address their mothers as well as is used to address a mature woman who has higher status, i.e. a teacher, a doctor, etc. However, they are still very lack of intimacy since they are rarely involved in social interaction. From this, we can see that there is low solidarity between them. Furthermore, the body movement of santri (bowing her body while talking—line 4) indicates that her addressee has more power than she does. Their relationship is categorized as asymmetrical, because the level of power they have are not equal.

The addressing term *Abah Yai*, that refers to the owner of Pondok Pesantren, is used by the guest without being followed by his name (see line 3). At glance, it seems to be declarative, although the intended person is not included in the conversation. Apparently, this addressing term is quite common among the members of the community or even by the outer related society. All of them simply call him by *Abah Yai* without being followed by his name. From this, we can infer that this person possesses the highest status in this community, so that he

also has the highest power. As a result, there is always a low solidarity when he is interacting with other members of this community.

The term *ndalem* (line 4) in the above conversation is taken from Javanese means *inside part*. In this case, this term refers to a physical construction functioned as a house or residence of kyai and his family. This term is exclusively used to refer to the kyai's residence and not to the other constructions nearby. Once someone says *ndalem*, it is, then, understood that it refers to kyai's residence.

### III.2. Conversation 2

Bu nyai : "Abah yai! Dienthosi tamu saking Glagah!"

(Abah Yai, you are being waited by a guest from Glagah)

Abah Yai : "Teko glagah!"

(From Glagah!)

Bu Nyai : "Inggih"

(Yes)

Abah Yai : "Lanang po wedhok?"

(Male or female?)

Bu Nyai : "Estri bah"

(She is a female)

Abah Yai : "Kenal ra aku?"

(Do I recognize her?)

Bu Nyai : "Inggih tepang bah, rayate pak Aji Khusnan"

(Certainly you recognize her, she is Mr. Khusnan's wife)

Abah Yai : "Oh, iyo"

(Ok)

Bu Nyai : "Abah dhahar riyen nopo kepangge rayate pak Aji Khusnan"

(Are you going to eat or to see Mr. Aji Khusnan's wife)

Abah yai : "Mangan dhisek wae, tapi kandhanono sabar dhisek"

(I will eat first, but, tell her to be patient)

Bu Nyai : "Inggih, bah!"

(Yes, I will)

This actually strengthens the first conversation in the sense that the kyai is treated respectfully. This conversation takes place in the *ndalem* between the kyai himself (aged about 65 years old) and his wife (aged about 50 years old). In this conversation, his wife simply calls him by *Abah Yai* (line 1), without being followed by his name, just like the others.

In fact, *Abah Yai* is the person who occupies the highest position in this community. This position affects his social interaction with any member of this community including his own family. From the conversation, we can see that both of them speak Javanese at different level, although they are a couple. He uses the *ngoko* level (see line 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10), while his wife uses the *Krama madya* one (see line 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9). The different choice of language level, in this case, is not merely because there are age differences between them. Instead, since there are differences in the aspect of power, which is possessed by the Kyai, his wife

tries to show her inferiority and her respect by using the *krama madya* level while she is communicating with her husband.

From this we can see that there are differences in the aspect of power-solidarity although they are a couple. The *kyai* has a higher power than his wife. As a result, their relationships can be categorized as asymmetrical. In the aspect of solidarity, we still can see the distance lays in their social interaction that indicates the low solidarity between them. Thus, their relationship can be categorized as asymmetrical.

### III.3. Conversation 3

Santri 1: "Hey meneng! Abah Yai rawuh!"

(Be quite please! Abah Yai has come)

Santri 2 : " Endhi!"

(Where!)

Santri 1: "Sing nggawe surban ijo iku lho!" (Pointing his thumb to a person in front of the 'musholla')

(A person with green 'surban' over there)

Santri 2: "Oh... iyo"

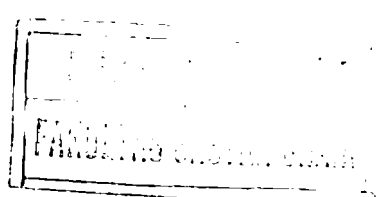
(Oh...I see)

Santri 1: "Kon durung sowan nang Abah Yai yo mari teko omah wingi?"

(Have you visited Abah Yai since you returned home yesterday)

Santri 2: "Iamma"

(No, I have not)



Santri 1: "Gawiyen kopyahmu, ndang cepet merono'o"

(Pushing his friend' arm)

(Put on your 'kopyah', and get there quickly)

Santri 2: "Abah Yai mulai mbala jam piro?" "Aku tak njipik riyadhku "

(What time will Abah Yai start teaching? I will take my *riyadh* first)

This conversation takes place in one of the rooms in pesantren, which belongs to the male area. The participants of this conversation are two male santris (each of them at about the same age). While they are communicating, both of them use Javanese of the same level—that is *ngoko* level. One of them switches his language from Javanese to Arabic (see line 6). It indicates that the situation behind their interaction is informal. For an additional information, Arabic is the language mainly taught and used within this community after Javanese. Thus, switching from Javanese into Arabic or from Arabic into Javanese is regarded as a common phenomenon in their interaction. For some visitors who are rarely interacting with this community, it is sometimes difficult to understand their conversation.

In line 7, santri 1 pulls his friend's arm when he is asking his friend to do something. This body movement shows intimacy among them. It is understandable for they are in the same age as well as in the same position in this community—as santris. They also have shared togetherness and experiences during their time in pondok. Thus, they hold a close social distance. From the language level they used, the body movement they performed, it is visible that

each of them are in the same positions and statuses, none of them is more superior than the other. In short, they are equal in the aspect of power. This equality predicts the aspect of solidarity behind their relationship. From the conversation, we can see that the solidarity they maintain is high. Their relationships can be categorized as symmetrical.

In this conversation, we can see how the owner of this pesantren is treated respectfully. In line 1, santri 1 addresses this person with *Abah Yai*, without being followed by his name, just like the other members of this community. Santri 1 pays great respect to this person not only in the aspect of addressing term. The gesture he produces (using the thumb to point to the intended person—*Abah Yai*—see line 3) also denotes that the intended person is more superior than he is. This strengthens the previous explanation that *Abah Yai* is the person with the highest power in this community. Furthermore, pointing with a thumb, in Javanese culture, indicates the high sense of politeness. This kind of attitude is usually applied to respect the honored person.

The term *sowan* (line 5) is chosen by santri 1. This term is taken from Javanese (*Krama Madya* level), which means *to visit*. This term is usually used by anyone in this community when he want to visit *Abah Yai*—and not to visit anyone else— regardless the purpose of his visits. Once someone states *sowan*, it is then understood that the person who is visited is *Abah Yai*. In fact, in this community, the tradition of *sowan* is still frequently applied. Every santri who wants to return home should go *sowan* first to *Abah Yai* to ask permission. When



he/she returns to pondok, he/she has to go *sowan* again to show that he/ she has returned. There is a moral punishment when this tradition is broken.

The term *mbala* (line 8) is taken from Javanese (*Krama Madya* level) means “to read and to teach”. This term is commonly used in this community to show the activity of Abah Yai when he is reading and teaching *kitab kuning* to his santris in *musholla*. He is usually using *sorogan* method—one of the popular teaching methods in traditional pondok pesantren, when he is teaching. *Sorogan* is the way of teaching where the Kyai reads and teaches the santri by sitting in front and the santris listen carefully in the U shaped position. Seemingly, this term is exclusively applied and attributed to Kyai and not to other *ustadz* in this community.

#### III.4. Conversation 4

Writer : “Lho...Mbak! Iki Ning Hima ta?”

(asking in a very low voice when one of the Kyai’s grand daughters came to her)

(Lho...Mbak! Is she Ning Hima?)

Santri : “Iyo, ngadeko, ndang salamano!” (Standing from her seat)

(Yes, she is. Stand and shake her hand)

Writer : “Ning, lujeng! Sampun ageng nggih sak meniko”

(Ning! How are you? You are getting bigger now)

Ning : “He’e”

(Yes, I am)

Writer : "Kelas pinten sak meniko?"

(In what year are you studying now?)

Ning : "Durung sekolah"

(I have not entered school)

Writer : "Adike ning hima sing cilik sopo jenenge, mbak?"

(Whispering to her companion)

(Mbak! What is the name of Ning Hima's little brother?)

Santri : "Mas Iqbal"

(His name is Mas Iqbal)

Writer : "Ning, Mas Iqbal kulo betho mantuk nggih?"

(Ning! May I take Mas Iqbal home with me?)

Ning : "Emoh... Ojo..."

(No, you may not)

Writer : "Sak niki Mas Iqbal ten pundhi, Ning!"

(Where is Mas Iqbal at this moment, Ning?)

Ning : "Dolanan karo mbak-mbak pondok"

(He is playing with female santris)

This conversation occurs in *ndalem* when the writer visits the family of *Abah Yai*. In the beginning part of the above conversation, the participants involved are the writer herself and her companion (female santri in this pesantren, aged about 28 years old). Both participants use Javanese at *ngoko level* (see line 1, 2, and 7). The writer addresses her interlocutor using *mbak*, which indicates the

seniority of her interlocutor (see line 1). However, the age differences do not influence their social relationship. It is seen clearly in the language they use and the gesture they perform (see line 2). The frequent social interaction among them in the past is also one of the reasons for their intimacy. From this, we can see that the aspect of solidarity behind their relationship is high. None of them is more superior than the other. Apparently, they are equal in the aspect of power. Such a kind of relationship can be categorized as symmetrical.

In the middle of the conversation, there is another participant involved that is one of the Kyai's granddaughters aged around 6. By the time she comes forward to the writer and her companion, they suddenly stand up and slowen their voices. Intentionally, the writer simply calls her by *ning* without being followed by her name (see line 3) and changes the language level she uses into *Krama Madya* level (see line 3, 5, 9, 11), although her interlocutor is much younger than she is. In addition, her interlocutor uses Javanese at *Ngoko* level (see line 4, 6, 10, 12) when she is replying. From this, we can see that there are differences in the aspects of power and solidarity. As the parents who are treated respectfully, the other member of the Kyai's family are also treated this way. Since there is a difference in status between the writer and her interlocutor (the Kyai's granddaughter), this affects the power-solidarity aspects in their relationship. The writer is certainly more inferior than the Kyai's granddaughter. They are not equal in the aspect of power and the solidarity they maintain is low. In short, their relationship can be categorized as asymmetrical.

In the above conversation, the addressing term, *Ning*, is used by the writer

to address the Kyai's granddaughter. This term is taken from Javanese meanings *big sister*. Seemingly, this predicate is attributed to all daughters and granddaughters of the Kyai regardless their ages. For the kyai's sons, there are other addressing terms named *Mas* and *Gus*. Both of these are taken from Javanese meaning *big brother*. But there is actually a difference in concept. The former addressing term (*Mas*) is attributed to the sons who have not been mature enough. In line 8, 9, 11, the writer and her companion address one of the Kyai's grandsons with *Mas* although he is only two and a half years old. The latter (*Gus*) is given to the ones who have grown up and have certain religious ability and knowledge. These predicates are still applied in this community. Those who do not use these predicates while addressing them are regarded as impolite. From this, we can infer that just like the parents, the children are also treated respectfully by all the members of this community.

### III.5. Conversation 5

Visitor 1 : "Mpun dangu, Cak!" (Greeting and shaking his hand to open  
the conversation)

(Have you been long here!)?

Visitor 2 : "Mboten, tasek enggal, Cak"

(No, I have been here for a while, Cak!)

Visitor 1 : "Saking pundhi!"

(Where do you come from?)

Visitor 2 : "Masangan, Sampeyan?"

(I come from Masangan, and you?)

Visitor 1 : “Benjeng” “Rokok, Cak!” (Offering some cigarettes to his addressee)

(I come from Benjeng. Do you want some cigarettes?)

Visitor 2 : “Suwun”

(No, thank you)

Visitor 1 : “Ben minggu tha cak sambang anake”

(Do you visit your daughter every week)

Visitor 2 : “Iyo, Cak. Arek cilik nek gak disambangi ben minggu yo...

Engko be’e gak kerasan.”

(Yes, I do, she is still a child. If I don’t visit her every week, I am afraid that she will not feel comfortable to stay here)

Visitor 1 : “ Engko bareng cak yo lek sowan neng Abah Yai. Jam yaene lak nang ndalem sih biasane.”

(Why don’t we go to Abah Yai together? I think at this moment he must be at home)

Visitor 2 : “Iyo”

(OK)

The above conversation takes place in the administrative office of pondok pesantren. The participants of this conversation are 2 visitors (males, aged about 40 years old). They come to this community to visit their daughters who are studying in this pesantren. In this case, they belong to the outer related society,

since they do not live in this community but frequently interact with the member of this community. Their statuses and positions within this community, then, can be said as the same.

One of the visitors (visitor 1) starts greeting the other visitor (visitor 2) by shaking his hand (see line 1). As explained earlier, this kind of attitude is a quite common phenomenon in our culture. This is performed to show politeness as well as to open social interaction. It is obvious that visitor 1 tries to be more intimate with visitor 2. In the beginning of the conversation, visitor 1 uses Javanese *krama madya* level, and visitor 2 replies him using Javanese of the same level (see line 1, 2, 3, 4). It indicates that they are still lack of intimacy. It is understandable because they have not known each other. Probably, this is the first time they meet. However, in the middle of the conversation, visitor 1 switches the level of his language into *ngoko* level (see line 5), and his interlocutor automatically replies him by using the same level (see line 6). Seemingly, they use this level up to the end of conversation. From this, we can see that there is an increase in the degree of intimacy. Since they are in the same position and the degree of intimacy is also quite high, it is clear that they are similar in the aspects of power and solidarity. None of them is more superior than the other. They are also equal in the aspect of power. From this, we conclude that the social relationship they held can be categorised as symmetrical.

Both participants in the above conversation are using *Cak* to address his interlocutor. This addressing term is taken from Javanese meanings *big brother*. This kind of addressing term is usually used to address someone who is older than

the speaker (to show the seniority of addressed person) and is attached before the name of the intended person. This is restrictly attributed to the male person. Apparently, this addressing term is used widely outside this community. In the above conversation, both of them simply call his interlocutor by this term without being followed by his name. The term *sambang* is chosen by the speaker (see line 7), as the intended person is his daughter. This term is taken from Javanese at *ngoko* level meanings “to visit.” In another part of the conversation, he chooses the term *sowan* (see line 9) rather than *sambang* when the intended person is the *kyai* (this term has been explained in the previous conversation). From this, we can see that the choice of certain term—refers to a certain activity—is usually based on the included person being attributed. Visitor 1 uses the term *sambang* when the intended person is more inferior than he is and has less power than he does (his daughter). Conversely, he chooses the term *sowan* when the intended person is more superior than he is and has more power than he does (the *kyai*). Still in line 9, pay attention to how the term *ndalem* and the addressing term *Abah Yai* are used (see conversation 1, 2, and 3).

### III.6. Conversation 6

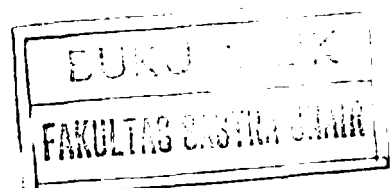
Santri 1 : “Mbak, kulo badhe mbayar syahriyah”

(Mbak, I want to pay my tuition fee)

Santri 2 : “Pirang ulan ?”

(For how many months?)

Santri 1 : “Kale ulan”



**(For two months)**

**Another santri comes and asks santri 1 the following:**

**Santri 3 : “Lapo?”**

**(What are you doing?)**

**Santri 1 : “Biasa bayar bulanan.”**

**(As usual, paying my monthly tuition fee)**

**Santri 3 : “Aku yo ape bayar imtihan”**

**(I want to pay for imtihan too)**

**Santri 1 : “Imtihan sek telung minggu engkas kok bayar sak iki se?”**

**(Imtihan is still three weeks away, why should you pay for this now?)**

**Santri 3 : “Pumpung aku nduwe fulus”**

**(Because I have some money)**

**This conversation occurs also in the administrative office of the pesantren. In the first part of this conversation, the participants involved are two female santris (santri 1, aged about 15 years old, and santri 2, aged about 22 years old). Obviously, there is an age difference between them. Santri 2 is more senior than santri 1. In addition, there is also a difference in the aspect of position within this community. Santri 2 is a member of the administrative staff in this pesantren, while santri 1 is just a common santri who does not have any structural position within this community. For information, each santri (either male or female santri) in this community usually spends at least 6 years time to study in this pesantren.**



However, he or she is allowed to study there longer than the acquired time. Seemingly, the longer he or she studies in this community, the higher his or her position is.

In the above conversation, santri 1 speaks using Javanese at *krama madya level* (see line 1 and 3), and her interlocutor replies her by using Javanese at *ngoko level* (see line 2). It is clear that the different status and position (as mentioned earlier) between them influences the language choice when they held social interaction. From this, we can see that there are differences in the aspects of power and solidarity. Santri 2 has higher position than santri 1, so that, she has more power than her interlocutor. This affects the solidarity aspect when two of them are directly involved in social interaction. They are lack of intimacy and their solidarity is low. Their relationship, then, can be categorised as asymmetrical.

In the middle of the conversation, another santri (santri 3, aged about 15 years old) joins this conversation. Seemingly, this santri has the same purpose with santri 1, that is to pay the tuition fee. Santri 3 asks santri 1 by using Javanese *ngoko level* (see line 4, 6, and 8), and she replies her by using Javanese of the same level (see line 5 and 7). In line 8, there is also a language switching when they are communicating (from Javanese into Arabic). This often occurs when the situation is informal and the participants involved are equal. In fact, they have the same status and position within this community. None of them is in subordinate position. As a result, the power aspect they maintain is equal and their solidarity

aspect revealed in their relationship is automatically high. From this, their relationship can be categorised as symmetrical.

The term *Syahriyah* (see line 1) is taken from Arabic meaning *monthly*. This term is adopted to denote an activity of paying monthly tuition fee by all santris who are studying in this pesantren. This term is widely used by anyone within this community either in formal or informal situation. However, in line 5, santri 1 switches this term into *bulanan* to refer to the same activity. This term is taken from Javanese of *ngoko level*. Santri 1 chooses former term (*syahriyah*) when her interlocutor is a person who has higher position. Conversely, she chooses *bulanan* when her interlocutor is a person who is of equal position. Apparently, when they are communicating, the choices of word and language level are much influenced by the status and the position of the participants.

### III.7. Conversation 7

Writer : “Assalamualaikum”

Santri 1 : “Walaikum salam. Eh... Mbak Salim. Tafadhol”

(The santri Taps the writer’s back and guides her to her seat)

(Walaikum salam. Eh...mbak Salim, come in)

Writer : “Syukron.”

(Thanks a lot)

Santri 1 : “Kif, Mbak!”

(How, Mbak!)

Writer : “Apane?”

(What?)

Santri 1 : “Kuliahe lho, Mbak! Semester piro sak iki?”

(Your study, Mbak! In what semester are you now?)

Writer : “Oh... semester 8”

(Oh... I am now in the eighth semester)

Santri 1 : “Bisur’ah, Mbak! Cek iso bagi-bagi karo liyane”

(Be quick! so you can share your knowledge with others)

Another santri comes and shakes her hand to the writer

Santri 2 : “Man, Mbak! Ahlu fi tha?” (Asking to her addressee, santri 1)

(Who is she? Is she an *Ahlu fi*?)

Santri 1 : “Duduk, Kalong.”

(No, she is not. She is a *kalong*)

This conversation also occurs in the administrative office of the pesantren. In the first part of the conversation, the participants are the writer herself and one of her friends in the pesantren. Usually, all the visitors in this community should come to this office first before entering the inside building of the pesantren. In line 1, the writer starts the conversation by saying *assalamualaikum*. As stated earlier (see conversation 1), this kind of greeting becomes the rule in social interaction within this community. Seemingly, such rule is tightly applied by any member of this community. Her addressee replies her by saying *waalaikum salam* (see line 2) and at the same time she taps and guides her to have a seat. In this conversation, santri 1 addresses the writer by *mbak* which denotes the superiority

of the writer. This addressing term *mbak* is taken from Javanese meaning *big sister*. It seems that there is a difference in the matter of age among them. However, from their body movement (see line 1), we can see that both have recognized each other and they share high degree of intimacy. For additional information, the writer was a student in this pesantren and her interlocutor is one of her roommates. Therefore, it is understandable if they are very close since they share some similarities, such as experience, knowledge and so on.

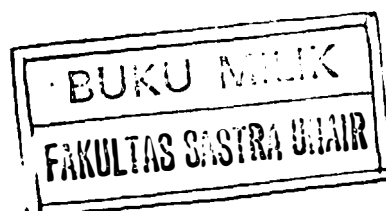
In this conversation, both participants use mixed languages, Javanese and Arabic. Even, they often switch from Javanese into Arabic or vice versa within the same sentences (see line 2, 4, and 8). From this, we can see that the situation of where the conversation takes place is informal. Besides, such phenomenon commonly occurs when participants of any conversation are in the same position. For this reason, the status of the writer as a guest in this community does not affect the language choice when they hold social interaction. Therefore, we can easily predict the power-solidarity aspects behind their relationship. Since they are in the same position (none of them have higher status than the other), the solidarity they maintain is high and the power they possess is equal. Their relationship can be categorised as symmetrical.

In the middle of the conversation, another participant (female santri, aged about 18 years old—santri 2) involves in their conversation. She shakes the writer's hand as a signal that she wants to join this conversation. Such a kind of body contact, once again, functions as a symbol that there is already an intimacy between them although she has not known the writer well. This denotes the

equality in the aspect of power and high degree in the aspect of solidarity. In this case, the relationship between santri 2 and the writer is symmetrical. While talking to santri 1, santri 2 also combines Arabic and Javanese (see line 9). From this, we can see that there is a high degree of intimacy between them. Since they are equal in the aspect of power, the solidarity they have is high. In short, their relationship can be categorised as symmetrical.

The addressing term *Ahlu fi* in the above conversation (see line 9) is attributed to santris who stay in *ndalem*. This term is taken from Arabic, which consists of two words, that are *ahlu* meaning *someone who has a right* and *fi* meaning *inside*, so that, *ahlu fi* means someone that has a right to stay in *ndalem*. Seemingly, this term is attributed to the senior santris. In daily life, they are treated differently and given different rights from the common santris. In this community, they have higher statuses than the common santris.

The term *kalong* (see line 10) is attributed to those who do not stay inside this community but are actively involved in the whole activities of the pesantren. They are usually the people whose residences are surrounding this community and want to study in this pesantren . This term is usually addressed to male or female santris without being followed by their names. In this community, these santris have equal positions with the rest of the santris. As a result, when there is a *kalong* enters this community, he/she is easily accepted by other members of this community.



### III.8. Conversation 8

Ustadz : “Ya... binti Kholik!Buka'en kitab kuningmu”

(Hey... Binti Kholik!open your book)

Santri 1 : “Inggih, pak!halaman pinten?”

(Yes, Sir!What page?)

Ustadz : “Halaman 318, nerangno Na'at, sing bhanter yo nduk macae!

(Page 318, notes about Na'at. Read it loudly, please!)

Ustadz : “Kholas, Nduk?” (Several minutes after his student read the  
book)

(Have you finished?)

Santri 1: “Sampun, Pak!”

(Yes, Sir. I have finished)

Ustadz : “Ayo, Arifah! Wacaen terusane”

(Arifah! Read the next part)

Santri 2: “Inggih, Pak!”

This conversation takes place in a class of *diniyah* school. The participants of this conversation are ustadz (male teacher, aged about 40 years old) and santri (female santri, aged 17 years old). Besides there is a difference in age, there are also differences in status and position. In this community, ustadz occupies a position as a teacher whose function is to educate the santri. Moreover, all *ustadz* or *ustadzah* in this community are treated respectfully by the santris. In the above conversation, it is visible that the intimacy between them is very minimum.

Both participants in the above conversation are communicating by using Javanese of different levels. Ustadz uses Javanese *ngoko level* (see line 1) and santri 1 replies him by using Javanese *krama madya level*. It is understandable because they are different in status. Santri 1 is absolutely more inferior than her ustadz. However, ustadz tries to be more intimate by addressing santri 1 as *binti Kholik* (see line 1). This addressing term is taken from Arabic meaning *a daughter of Kholik*. This addressing term is preferred by ustadz (instead of addressing her by her name) as a signal that there is a close relationship between the ustadz and the santri's father (compare this with the way he addresses santri 2 using her name---see line 6). From this, we can see that the degree of intimacy between santri 1 and Ustadz is higher than that between santri 2 and ustadz.

In line 4, ustadz asks a question to his santri using Arabic. He combines Arabic and Javanese although the situation is formal (teaching in the class). In fact, in the class he is the person who has the highest position, so that he controls the situation during the class. Certainly, there is a social distance between ustadz and santris either inner or outer the class. As a result, there are also differences in the aspects of power and solidarity. The aspect of power possessed by Ustadz is certainly higher than any other santris and the solidarity aspect is always low when he is interacting with the santries. In short, the relationship is categorised asymmetrical.

*Kitab kuning* in the above conversation (see line 1) refers to a book used as the santris' textbook. It is given such a name because it is written on yellow papers. In daily life, this term is used in formal situation, such as in the class, in

the formal conversation and so on. Seemingly, the santris have their own term to refer to this book such as *kitab gundhul* and *kitab bebas*. The use of the term *kitab kuning* once again denotes the aspects of power and solidarity of the participants involved in the conversation.

### **III.9. Conversation 9**

Santri 1 :”Wis sinau, Rin?” (Moving closer to her friend)

(Have you studied, Rin?)

Santri 2 :”Sinau apane, durung blas.”

(Directly showing and giving her book to her interlocutor)

(No, I have not studied at all)

Santri 1 :” Lha, engko nek dikongkon maca, kif?”

(How if you were asked to read?)

Santri 2 :” Kitabmu sik Gundhul Tha?”

(Is your book still clean)

Santri 1 :” Yo... wes tak jabari titik-titik.”

(No, I have put some vowels on it)

Santri 2: “Ijlis neng kene, ndang isma’I yo...!”

(Sit down here, please! And listen to me)

Santri 1 :”Dungaren, limadza?”

(It is not usual, why?)

Santri 2: “Embuh, nek atek wayai pak iki... mesti aku fisyiddatil khouf”

(I do not know, every time he teaches us, I’m always very afraid)



This conversation takes place in the class. The situation is informal, since the teacher is not there during the conversation. For information, students' talk is prohibited when the class is in progress. The participants of this conversation are two female santris (santri 1 and santri 2, each are aged about 17 years old).

In line 1, santri 1 addresses her interlocutor (santri 2) by her name '*Rin*' without being followed by any attribute. She uses Javanese *Ngoko level*. Santri 2 replies her also using Javanese *Ngoko level* (see line 2). In the next part of the conversation, she switches from Javanese into Arabic (see line 3). Moreover, in the rest of the conversation, both participants mix two languages, Javanese and Arabic (see line 6, 7, and 8). As stated earlier, mixing two languages in this community is a common phenomenon. For most outsiders, this mixing language is quite confusing. Even for those who know Arabic, because santris usually use some Arabic words without any modification.

Both participants in the conversation above are classmates. They are now in the second year of senior high school, indicating that they have been studying in this pesantren for five years. From this fact, we know that they have similarities in several aspects. They share more or less the same experience, knowledge, and position (since they are common santris). Furthermore, from their body movements (see line 1 and 2), we can see that they are close to each other. They maintain high degree of intimacy when they contact in social interaction. This closeness denotes the high solidarity aspect behind their relationship. The power aspect is then equal for they are in the same position within this community. None of them has higher status. Their relationship is then categorized as symmetrical.

The term *kitab gundhul* (line 4) refers to *kitab kuning* (see conversation 8). This term consists of two words: *kitab* (taken from Arabic meaning book) and *gundhul* (taken from Javanese meaning bald). This santris' textbook is given such a name because it is not written completely. There is no article like punctuation, vowel, etc. this term is mostly used by santris in less formal situation.

### III.10. Conversation 10

Santri 1 : “Ya Allah....Gutha’anmu kok rusuh kabeh”

(High speech intonation)

(Oh my God. How can your room be that dirty)

“Lha...iki Ramayana ngaleh” (Pointing to hanging dress lines in the room)

(It seems that Ramayana moves here)

Santri 2 : “Ah... tenang, mariki tak resik’i”

(Calm down! I will clean it later)

Santri 1 : “Ngene lho, tahun wingi kok dhadhi kamar terbersih, teko endhi?”

(How can it be chosen as the cleanest room in the competition last year)

“Gak isin karo Annadhofatu minal iman seng nang tembok iku”

(Don’t you be ashamed of *Annadhofatu minal Iman* on that wall)

Santri 2 : “Gak usah iri, salahe wayae dinilai kok onok segoh nang ndukur lemari.”(Laughing loudly)

(Don't be jealous! Why there should be a bowl of rice on the cupboard during the assessment process)

“Iki nanda’no nek areke abdul buthun kabeh”

(It indicates that the inhabitants are all *Abdul buthun*)

Santri 1 : “Eh... durung mesthi”

(No, it is not true)

This conversation also takes place in the room of the santri. The participants of this conversation are two female santris (each aged about 14 years old). Both of them are in the second year of junior high school. This indicates that they belong to the same generation (entering pesantren in the same year). However, they are living in different rooms. For information, pesantren building (building occupied by santris) is divided into some smaller rooms consisting of 20 to 25 santris each. Santris, whose origins are near, are located in the same room. Since the number of santri in this community is quite a lot, sometimes it is understood why they do not know each other although they belong to the same generation.

Both participants in the above conversation use Javanese *Ngoko level* (see line 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6). This denotes high degree of intimacy between them. It is understood for they are living closely (their rooms are near one to another), so that they are frequently involved in social interaction. Furthermore, they share some similarities—experience, knowledge, and length of stay. Their intimacy is also supported by non-verbal aspect, such as speech intonation (see line 1) of santri 1

and her body movement (see line 2) showing that there is no social distance behind their relationship. At the end of the conversation, she also mixes Arabic and Javanese, denoting that the situation is informal (see line 7).

From all the indicators that have been mentioned, we can see that the solidarity aspect they possess is high. Thus, the degree of intimacy they share when involved in social interaction is also high. Since they are equal in status, the power aspect they have is also equal. None of them is more inferior than the other. Their relationship is then categorized symmetrical.

The term *Abdul buthun* (see line 7) is taken from Arabic. This term consists of two words: *Abdul* meaning *follower* and *buthun* meaning *stomach*. Shortly, this term refers to a person who eats a lot of food. This addressing term is used widely and is predicated to anyone who has bad eating behavior. This predicate is quite annoying, but if it is given by those who have had a close relationship, it is then acceptable. From this we can see that the degree of intimacy gives great influence toward emotional sensitivity of the participants during the social interaction.

### III.11. Conversation 11

Santri 1: “Yuk, piring!”

(Yuk, Plate!)

Yuk : “Siji tha loro?”

(One or two?)

Santri 1: “Loro”

(Two)

Yuk : “Biasane tha iki?”

(Is it as usual?)

Santri 1 : “Iyo”

(Yes, it is)

She turns her head and asks her friend

Santri 1 : “Hey, koen ayam tha bandheng?”

(Hey, do you want chicken or Bandheng?)

Santri 2 : “Aku ayam.”

(I am chicken)

Santri 1 : “Hah... koen ayam, tak kurungi lho yo...”

(Hah... you are a chicken. I will put you in cage...)

Santri 2 : “Maksude, aku iwak ayam.” (Pulling her friend’s arm)

(What I mean is I want chicken as my meal)

This conversation takes place in the canteen of pesantren. In the first part of the conversation, the participants are the seller of the canteen (lady aged about 35 years old) and female santri (santri 1, aged about 20 years old). This lady is not the owner of this canteen, because all canteens belong to kyai’s family. There are some canteens in this community, and each is located near santris’ building and serves santris within this building. She operates this canteen by the help of some senior santris. In this case, she belongs to outer related society, for she is not living permanently within this community but actively involved in social interaction with the members of this community. Everyday, she spends almost all

of her time working at this place to serve santris' need. Thus, she is frequently involved in social interaction within this community, especially with santris.

In line 1, santri 1 starts greeting this lady by *yuk* without being followed by her name. This addressing term is taken from Javanese meanings *big sister*. In this community, this addressing term is commonly used by santris to address someone working in this canteen. This term is usually attributed to a mature lady whose job is to sell something in market. In addition, in some areas, this term is used to address bigger sister by her younger brother or sister. In this conversation, santri 1 uses Javanese *ngoko* level, although she is younger than her interlocutor (see lines 1 and 3), and her interlocutor replies her using Javanese of the same level (see lines 2 and 4). Furthermore, this lady can easily understand what santri 1 needs although she does not say it completely (see lines 1 and 4). From this, we can see that there is already a high degree of intimacy behind their relationship. This is probably because they are frequently involved in social interaction. Although there are differences in status and age, the solidarity aspect they maintain is high and the power aspect they possess is equal. None of them is more superior than the other. From this, we can conclude that the category of their relationship is symmetrical.

In the middle of the conversation, there is another participant involved (santri 2, aged about 20 years old). She is a companion of santri 1. For this reason, we can see that they must have shared some similarities such as knowledge, experience, and position. In this conversation, santri 2 uses Javanese *ngoko level* and santri 1 replies her using Javanese of the same level (see line 6, 7, 8, and 9).

Moreover, from their body movement (see line 9), we can infer that they are close to each other. The high degree of intimacy has already developed between them. From all these indicators, it is visible that the solidarity aspect they have is high and the power aspect they possess is equal. There is almost no social distance behind their relationship when they interact in social setting. The relationship they hold, thus, can be categorized as symmetrical.

### III.12. Conversation 12

Santri 1 : “Bu! Kulo nedha ten meriki”

(Bu, I want to eat my lunch here)

Bu : “Siji tha loro, Mbak!”

(One or two)

Santri 1 : “Setunggal”

(One)

Bu : “Sampeyan lungguh sek, Mbak!”

(You may sit down first, Mbak!)

: “Sampeyan anyar nggih, Mbak? Gak tau ngerthi sak durunge”

(Are you a new santri, Mbak? I have never known you before)

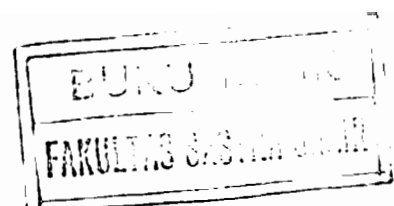
Santri 1 : “Inggih”

(yes, I am)

Another santri comes (santri 2)

Santri 2 : “Wis mari pesen, Dhek?”

(Have you ordered, sister?)



Santri 1 : “Wis”

(Yes, I have)

Bu : “Adhekmu tha, Mur?”

(Is she your sister, Mur?)

Santri 2 : “Iyo, miripkan?”

(Yes, she is, do we look similar)

Bu : “Ayu adhekmu” (laughing)

(your sister is more beautiful than you are)

This conversation also occurs in the canteen of Pesantren. However, it is located in different area from that of conversation 11. In the beginning of the conversation, the participants are a lady (aged about 30 years old) and a female santri (aged about 16 years old—santri 1). Santri 1 uses Javanese *krama madya level* when she communicates with her interlocutor (see lines 1, 3, and 6) and addresses her by *Bu*. As explained previously, this addressing term is attributed to a mature lady who is older and has higher status and position than the speaker (see conversation 1). Her interlocutor, the lady, replies her using Javanese *ngoko level* (see lines 2, 4 and 5). From this, we can see that there is a social distance between them when they are involved in social interaction.

There are also differences in status and position. The lady is much older than santri 1 and she must have been recognized widely by other members of this community. Her position is higher than santri 1. Furthermore, santri 1 is a new member of this community. All these differences indicate that both share no



similarities. As a result, they are not intimate when they meet in social interaction. There is a low solidarity behind their relationship and the power aspect they maintain is not equal. The lady is more superior than santri 1. From this, we can infer that the category of their relationship is asymmetrical.

In the middle of the conversation, there is another participant involved (a female santri, aged about 19 years old—santri 2). Seemingly, she is the sister of santri 1. They use Javanese of the same level (Ngoko level) when they communicate (see lines 7 and 8). Santri 2 addresses her by *Dhek*, indicating that she is older (see line 7). This addressing term is taken from Javanese word *Adhi* means *little sister* or *brother*. This term is widely used in many areas in Java. Since they are sisters, they certainly share some similarities (such as experience and status as common santri) and have high degree of intimacy when they meet in social interaction. From this, we can see that the solidarity aspect they maintain is high and the power aspect they possess is equal. None of them is more superior than the other, although their ages are different. Their relationship is, then, categorized symmetrical.

In line 9 up to 11, the participants involved are santri 2 and the lady. In this part, both use Javanese of the same level—*ngoko level*. Although there are differences between them (age, experience, knowledge, and status), there is still a high degree of intimacy when they hold social interaction. This is perhaps because they frequently interact one to another in social setting. In fact, santri 2 stays in this pesantren longer than santri 1. This length of stay influences the closeness with other members of this community, including with the lady. Santri 2 is more

intimate with the lady than santri 1. Apparently, the degree of solidarity aspect they maintain is higher than that between the lady and santri 1. The power aspect they possess is equal. Their relationship can be categorized as symmetrical.

### III.13. Conversation 13

Santri 1 : (Knocking the door of the bathroom loudly)

“sopo iki?”

(Who is this?)

Santri 2 : “Hem...em...”

(Hem...em...)

Santri 1 : “Sopo sih iki seng adhus?” (Knocking more loudly)

(Who is taking a bath?)

Santri 2 : “Aku” (Answering with low voice intonation )

(It is me)

Santri 1 : “O...Sampeyan, Mbak!Adur...wes tambah awan”

(O...you are! Be quick, please! It is late)

“Ana bakdaki yo...!”

(I will be after you, OK!)

Santri 2 : “Sek sabunan”

(I am still cleaning my body)

Santri 1 : “Engko sekolahku telat, Mbak!Wes jam pitu warrub’ lho...”

(I am afraid I will be late going to school. It is 07.15 ...)

Santri 2 : “Sek tha...dhiluk engkas”

(Be patient, I will finish after a moment)

Santri 1 : “Khomsa daqoiq gak mari, tak leboni lho yo!” (talking with  
joke)

(You have to finish within 5 minutes or I will enter your  
bathroom)

Santri 2 : “He...e...wanine”

(He...how dare you are!)

This conversation takes place in the bathroom area. This area consists of several rooms for bathing and a wide opened area used for washing clothes. Each santri building is always equipped with this kind of area. The size of this area and the number of bathrooms vary according to the size of the santri building. The participants of the above conversation are two female santris (santri 1, aged about 16 years old, and santri 2, aged about 18 years old).

Santri 1 starts the conversation by firstly knocking the door of the bathroom. Later on, she speaks and, at the same time, knocks the door to find out who inside the bathroom is. She uses Javanese *ngoko level* although she has not known to whom she is talking to (see line 1 and 3). It is probably because this area is exclusively provided for santri, so that, she surely knows that the user is also santri who has the same status and position as she. Her interlocutor replies her using Javanese of the same level (see line 2 and 4). In the rest of the conversation, both participants combine Arabic and Javanese (see line 5, 6, 8, and 10). As

explained earlier, this mixture of languages denotes the close social distance between participants.

Santri 1 addresses santri 2 by *mbak* indicating that there is an age difference between them (santri 2 is older than santri 1). However, this does not influence the choice of language level when they communicate to each other. This is perhaps because they belong to the same position as common santris within this community. As there are some similarities they share, the degree of intimacy they have is high. Apparently, in line 1, 2, and 10, we can see how nonverbal aspects (body action and voice intonation) they produce may support the high degree of intimacy and closeness they possess.

From all indicators that have been mentioned, i.e: choice of language level, switching from one language into another, and nonverbal aspect, we can see that there is a high degree of solidarity behind their relationship. They are very close when they meet in social interaction. None of them dominates the conversation for the power aspect they have is equal. Thus, their relationship can be categorized symmetrical.

#### **III.14. Conversation 14**

Santri 1: “Sikel sampeyan wes gak popo?” (Touching the right foot of  
santri 2)

(Is your foot getting better?)

Santri 2 : “Alhamdulillah, wes lumayan sa’iki, gak koyok wingi rasane”

(Alhamdulillah, now it is better than yesterday)

Santri 1 : “Lapo sampeyan wingi sa’i, dalane nang kono lunyu”

(Why were you running, the path over there is slippery)

Santri 2 : “Aku wingi gugup, wedi telat jama’ah”

(Yesterday, I was in hurry. I was afraid of being late for jama’ah)

Santri 1 : “Wedi telat tha wedi di ta’zir?”

(Were you afraid of being late or of being punished?)

Santri 2 : “Wedi di sosial aku asline”

(Actually, I was afraid of being punished)

Santri 1 : “Opo wae sih ta’zire nek telat?”

(What are the punishments for being late?)

Santri 2 : “Ngosek jedhing ambi mbayar limangewu”

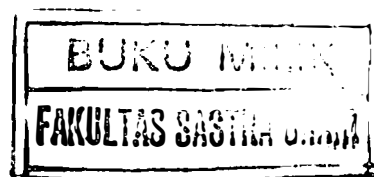
(Cleaning the bathroom and paying Rp. 5000)

This conversation takes place in the room of the santri. The participants are two female santris, each is about the same age. Both participants use Javanese *ngoko level* (see lines 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8). In line 3, santri 1 mixes Arabic and Javanese, within one sentence and santri 2 understands her well. As explained previously, santris in this community usually adopt Arabic words without any modification. In this conversation (line 3), it is visible how they use Arabic word in such a way. The word *sa’i* is adopted from one of the pilgrimage activities, that is to run from *shofa* to *marwa* for seven times. In the above conversation, this word is directly adopted by santris, meanings *to run*.

From the language they use, we can see that there is already a high degree of intimacy behind their relationship. They are close to each other when they meet in social interaction. Their closeness is also visible from their body movement

(see line 1)—touching the right foot of santri 2. Furthermore, in this community they belong to the same position as common santri. As a result, they share some similarities such as knowledge, experience, age, and position. From all indicators we can see that the solidarity aspect they maintain is high and the power aspect they possess is equal. None of them is more inferior than the other. Thus, their relationship can be categorized as symmetrical.

The term *ta'zir* (see line 5) is taken from Arabic meaning *punishment*. This term is widely used in either formal or informal situation and understood by all members of this community. This punishment is given to those who break the regulations enforced in this pesantren, such as being absent in *jama'ah* prayer, leaving the pesantren without permission and so on. This punishment may be in form of activities—cleaning the bathroom, for instance—or in form of paying some money. Among santris, there is another term which may replace this term, that is *disosial*. This term refers also to *punishment* and is used exclusively among santris. Once this term is applied, the speaker can then be easily predicted. From this we infer that the choice of word will denote the power-solidarity aspects of the speakers.



# **CHAPTER IV**

## **CONCLUSION**