Unveiling the Constructed Identity of Santris: A Stylistic Exploration

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Abstract

This article aims at finding how santris living at modern pesantren construct their identities. The study is conducted at MBI AU a pesantren in Mojokerto, East Java with 156 respondents, 79 males and 77 females. The data are taken from their chats in WhatsApp groups for private contexts and from book communication and their public performance for public context. Interview is also conducted to support the data. The study reveals that at the macro level, santris, both males and females are not different from teenagers in general. At the meso level, santris are differentiated into the speakers of the east Javanese dialect (EJ), Non-east Javanese dialect (NEJ), and Non-Javanese (NJ). In this level, male santris of EJ tend to show a stronger Javanese identity compared to the females who show more accommodating natures. The NEJ and NJ santris are showing a higher tendency of doing relation of adequation toward the East Javanese dialect suggesting the drives for social allegiances and instrumental attachment toward the East Javanese dialect. Unlike the NJ santris who tend to show their home language as their self-constructed identity, the NEJ santris are using more bahasa gaul to distinguish themselves from the EJ santris.

Keywords: *santris; identity; adequation; self-constructed identity; social allegiances.*

Introduction

Studies on identity construction can be viewed from various points of view; one of which is from the style features (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Sierra, 2023), because by taking a close look at how people use their language style, we can pinpoint the cultural values they adhere and therefore reveal their identity attachment. There have been various studies on identity construction for example Mango (2010); Yamaguchi (2005); Finnis (2014); and Dura (2021) elaborate on the emergence of self-constructed identity as the subjects in their studies feel the need to review their existing identity due to the awareness of the ambivalence and uncertainty of their positioning in the new culture. There are also some other studies focusing on the emergence of social-constructed identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Kurnia, 2020; Yang & Yi, 2017) because the subjects of the study experience identity displacement (Kurnia, 2020; Miled, 2020), or the fact that learning new language in the context of second language learning may result in deliberately identity change (Maican & Cocoradă, 2021; Yang & Yi, 2017). Much of such research focuses on how the subjects construct their identity due to their encounter with the new immediate cultures, as they are moving and living in new places. However, very few studies have been done on the construction of identity under the close environment of bilingualism and foreign language learning. This article takes a look at how teenagers construct their identity under the *pesantren* environment, whose students - familiarly called *santris* - come from many different regions with different vernacular languages and they are learning English and Arabic language as foreign languages.

Santris, who are living and studying in *pesantren*, are known as having a particular lifestyle that is based on the principles of teachings which are based on selflessness, brotherhood, simplicity in living, and self-sufficiency (Lukens-Bull, 1970; Wulandari et al., 2023). With such principles of teachings, *santris* are believed to hold a simple life and easiness toward others. Some also consider *santris* as the ones who resist the development of modernity and prefer to hold their self-sufficiency. However, *santris* are also at the age of teenagers living with their circles of friendship under different types of environments which may affect their lives to a certain degree (Wulandari & Noor, 2020). Therefore, it is interesting to see how *santris* with their strong Islamic teaching under different environments construct their identities.

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Such an environment applies to the modern type of *pesantren* where *santris* are not only learning Islamic teaching traditionally but also learning non-Islamic subjects in formal schools provided by *pesantren*. Madrasah Berbasis Internasional Amanatul Ummah (MBI AU) is an example of such modern *pesantren*. MBI AU, a *pesantren* in Mojokerto East Java, hosts more than 1000 *santris* coming from many places in Indo-nesia, including Java, Sumatra, Bali, Kalimantan, Madura, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, and Papua, and most of the *santris* are from East Java (72%) (Madrasah Berbasis Internasional Amanatul Ummah, 2021). With such demography, *santris* have a chance to interact with people from different places with different dialects and languages. With such background, this study is con-ducted at MBI AU to reveal how *santris* in such an environment construct their identities through their style features.

Literature Review

In general, style refers to any language variations uttered by language speakers, which is used as a "linguistic repertoire of linguistic forms associated with personas or identities" (Biró, 2020; D'Onofrio, 2020). From this definition, we can see that style is not only used as a linguistic marker but is considered as repertoire that is the speaker's whole knowledge of the language hence he can use it completely. The fact that style is a repertoire shows that a speaker of a language does have the ability to use the language and to choose how to use it. This refers to the concept that by using a particular style, a language speaker consciously shows how he understands himself and how he recognizes others, and thus shows his identity construction. Furthermore, it is also important to note that in order to sign identity markers, style features must be the ones repeatedly used and recognized at certain levels, hence such consistency will differentiate the speaker's association of self and others (Adachi, 2016; Sandow, 2022).

Style can take various features which include person reference (Chocarro et al., 2023), the use of particular forms of language or dialects involving grammatical, phonological, and lexical features (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), and particular usage (Smith-Hefner, 2019)). Style can reflect socially constructed identity or self-constructed identity. For example, when a language speaker is using a particular dialect, he is exposing his social identity (Atay & Ece, 2009; Khokhar et al., 2016), because he is referring himself to the collective utterances related to particular geographical areas or particular social contexts. The use of standard and non-standard language is also one of the inter-speaker variation forms which can also show social stratification (Burnett, 2019), and thus can be used as a clue for socially constructed identity.

On the other hand, how identity is projected is not limited to the social identification based on collective utterances, but it may also refer to the use of a range of linguistic forms or other semiotic practices that can reflect self-constructed identity (Bucholtz, 2009; Martono et al., 2022). The possibility to use a range of different linguistic forms will create an intra-speaker variation or style shifting (Burnett, 2019). A language speaker may shift his style when he wants to change the self-image that is projected to the hearers. Hence, style is a combination of several languages of social practices which in the end refers to the speaker's constructed identity or persona (Martono et al., 2022). To put it that way, style is a creative negotiation process occurring in a community of practice since people interact in a community, and are being socialized by the common practice of that community (Wenger, 1998). This negotiation process in-volves the understanding of social style and the urging of personal style to mark the identity reflected by the language speaker (Kiesling, 2009).

Moore and Podesva, (2009) show how the dichotomy of social and personal style is seen in a community of practice by using the framing levels stated by Coupland, (2007) and Yazan et al., (2023); macro, meso, and micro. By using such framing, Moore and Podesva, (2009) distinguish the different genders and ages as the categories differentiated speakers on macro level, then by looking at the interaction in the community of practice, that is the students of Midland High School in England they can distinguish different categories of popular townie, geek, and village on meso level. The micro level is distinguished by looking at a particular form of language used in each of the meso categories.

Research Method

This study is conducted at MBI AU Mojokerto. It is a high school within the area of *pesantren* Amanatul Ummah, hence *santris* there are not only studying high school subjects under the national curriculum, but they are also studying Islamic subjects un-der the Al Azhar curriculum, a curriculum established by Al Azhar University on Islamic subjects. The *santris* are also required to study *kitab kuning* 'the yellow book', the books commonly used in traditional *pesantren* to learn Islamic values. *Santris* MBI AU lives on one campus with separate gates for male and female *santris*. The campus comprises school areas, dormitories, a mosque, and some sports fields. The male *santris* takes the classes and other activities separately from the female *santris*. Only on particular occasions such as during flag ceremonies or performances are they together. Daily, they are required to speak English and Arabic language everywhere on campus except on Sundays.

The participants are the *santris* of grades XI and XII, with 79 male *santris* and 77 females. The gender differences are used as the basis of their macro positioning level. The participants then are grouped based on their language background, and this is used as the basis of their meso positioning level, that is *santris* who speak East-Javanese dialect (EJ), *santris* who speak non-East Javanese dialect (NEJ), and *santris* who speak Non-Javanese language (NJ). Thus, there are six categories, those are male of East Javanese Dialect (MEJ), female of East Javanese Dialect (FEJ), male of Non-East Javanese Dialect (MNEJ), female of Non-East Javanese Dialect (FNEJ), male of Non-Javanese Language (MNJ, and female of Non-Javanese Language. At the micro level, *santris* are examined from their language use both in private and public contexts.

The data for private context are taken from the language they use in their WhatsApp groups. These *santris* are not taking their mobile phones to *pesantren*, hence the data are only gathered during their holidays or breaks. The WhatsApp group is exclusively for males or females only, so there are no interactions between male and female *santris* in the WhatsApp group. The WhatsApp groups examined are the whole batch groups of males only and of females only. Meanwhile, the data for public context is taken from their performance as master of ceremony on several occasions, from their narratives of their experiences, and their books of communication; books used by male and female *santris* to communicate. As male *santris* live separately from female *santris* and have separate activities as well, they need books of communication to communicate the upcoming events that they arrange together. The interview is also conducted with the participants to support the data.

The sampling used is purposive sampling by focusing on the words, phrases or clauses showing their style features. There are 509 data taken. The data then are qualitatively analyzed by taking a look at their forms, and their function in the given context so that how these style features confirm *santris*' constructed identity can be pinned point.

Results and Discussions

The Forms of Style Features (SF) Used by Santris MBI AU

What comprises style features in this study is the use of person reference (Djenar et. al., 2018), the use of a particular dialect which covers its grammatical structures, phonology, and lexical forms (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), and also particular usage (Smith-Hefner, 2019). To ease the classification, the use of a particular dialect refers to the use of East Javanese dialect, formal *Bahasa Indonesia* and informal *Bahasa Indonesia*. The main reason for such classification is because *santris* use mostly those dialects as the repertoire they share at that community of service. The use of particular lexicons and dialects other than those three mentioned above are classified as particular usage. The style features used by *santris* MBI AU fall into six categories as described in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The Style Features Used By Santris MBI AU

No	*Santris* MBI AU	Forms of Style features (SF)											
		Person Reference		Formal *Bahasa Indonesia*		Informal *Bahasa Indonesia*		East Javanese dialect		Word formation		Particular usage	
		Pr	Pu	Pr	Pu	Pr	Pu	Pr	Pu	Pr	Pu	Pr	Pu
1.	MEJ	36	23	1	2	0	9	38	6	14	1	13	2
2.	FEJ	39	9	1	12	1	7	26	2	14	5	28	7
3.	MNEJ	11	12	0	5	2	3	16	0	0	1	10	0
4.	FNEJ	25	4	0	1	3	2	9	0	1	3	2	0
5.	MNJ	26	2	0	5	0	1	11	0	3	0	5	0
6.	FNJ	12	4	0	2	7	8	2	1	3	0	12	1

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As can be seen in Table 1, the highest numbers are data from males and females who speak the East Javanese dialect (MEJ/FEJ) because they are the most participants. In most cases, male and female *santris* use approximately similar features, in the sense that what is highly used by male *santris* are also used by female ones. This shows that in general, there is not very much difference in the use of style features by different genders. For example, compared to the other styles, person reference, and East Javanese dialect are the most features used by all *santris* MBI AU, both males and females. However, when it is viewed in detail, the male Javanese speakers, both those who speak the East Javanese dialect and non-Javanese dialect use fewer personal references than female *santris* in a private context, but they use more person references in a public context.

The high occurrence of person references is likely caused by the fact that using person references drives people closer (Djenar et. al., 2018), and because *santris* in this context have close relationships, hence it is easier for them to use person references in various forms. The message texted to the WhatsApp group also leads *santris* to use more person references because they need to address particular persons clearly. The absence of gestures, or other direct communication mimic creates the need to clearly call the interlocutor by using person reference.

East Javanese dialect in private context is also the most style features used by *santris*. The fact that these *santris* are talking in WhatsApp groups serves as the reason for the prominent use of the East Javanese dialect due to its appropriateness to be used in a relaxed and easy manner. Male s*antris* use more of this feature than female *santris*, but female *santris* also use Bahasa Indonesia more, both the formal and informal styles.

The Functions of Style Features (SF) Used by Santris MBI AU

The Use of Person Reference

Person reference is one of the style features that has the highest frequency of use. Person references are all of the forms used by language speakers in indexing him/herself and their interlocutors (Djenar et. al., 2018). For Indonesians, there is a wide range of variety in using person references, which can be in the form of personal pronouns, or pronouns that refer to name-calling, kinship, or particular titles (Djenar et. al., 2018). The person pronoun used by *santris* bears its context and serves a particular function as seen in Table 2. below.

Table 2. The function of person pronoun used by *santris* MBI AU

Santris MBI AU	Indexicality	Positioning context	Freq	Relationality					
	SF			Adeq	Dist	Authe	Denat	Autho	Ille
A. Santris with East Javanese dialect (EJ)									

Male *santris*	Person reference	Private	36	21	3	9	-	1	2
		Public	23	1	-	21	-	1	-
Female santris	Person reference	Private	39	23	7	8	-	1	-
		Public	9	2	1	5	-	1	-
B. *Santris* with Non-East Javanese dialect (NEJ)									
Male santris	Person reference	Private	11	9	-	2	-	-	-
		Public	12	2	2	3	2	3	-
Female santris	Person reference	Private	25	11	7	7	-	-	-
		Public	4	-	-	1	2	1	-
C. Santris with Non-Javanese Language (NJ)									
Male *santris*	Person reference	Private	26	10	1	3	-	1	1
		Public	0	-	-	2	-	-	-
Female santris	Person reference	Private	12	9	1	2	-	-	-
		Public	4	-	-	4	-	-	-

Note:

Ade: Adequation   Dist: Distinction

Authen: Authentication   Denat: Denaturalization

Autho: authorization   Ille: Illegitimation

As can be seen in Table 2, in the use of person reference, both MEJ and FEJ use more relations of authentication compared to the other *santris* from NEJ or NJ, although overall, the use of relations of adequation is more prevalent in all the categories. The authentication of person reference used by MEJ refers to the person reference related to being East Javanese such as *kamu* 'you', *rek, cuk, co/konco* 'fren', or calling *mas* for the older friend and *pak* and *bu* for calling their teachers in private context and *saya* 'I', *aku* 'I', *kalian* 'you-plurals', *kamu* 'you', *awakmu* 'you', and clitics *-ku* in a public context. The FEJ, likewise, use person references such as *kamu, amu, awakmu, hee, cuk, aku, mbak* for calling the older friend to address their authentication as East Javanese dialect speakers.

As the center of the community of practice, these MEJ and FEJ are those who not only share the knowledge of the accepted signs in the first sense, but they are also the active users of those signs and are considered the authentic members of the community (Goebel, 2012). Due to this, the NEJ and NJ *santris* are doing more of the relation of adequation as they are not sensed as the authentic members of the community, and being adequate helps these *santris* to smoothly become the sign users so that they are no longer considered as newcomers or novice users (Agha, 2012). The person reference of *rek/arek, cak, cuk, heee, kamu* are often used by NEJ and NJ *santris* both males and females showing that they are crossing to the center of the community of practice, that is the EJ *santris*. At this point, there is a drive for socially constructed identity that forces them to sound like the authentic members of the community (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

The non-east Javanese speakers (MNEJ/FNEJ) authentic use of person reference is the common terms such as calling the names, using the word *putra* or *putri* to refer to *santris'* gender, *fren*, and calling *pak* and *bu* for calling the teachers. The same case occurs on the non-Javanese speakers (MNJ/FNJ)' person references. In addition, the MNJ/FNJ also use *gue/gw/gua*, 'I', *nyokab* 'mother', *bokap* 'father' and *lu* 'you' as part of their person references showing their relation of authentication of the people coming from Jakarta. Thus, though the MNJ/FNJ are adequating to embrace the repertoire of the community of practice, they are at particular points eager to show their self-derived identity by using pronouns heavily characterized by people from that region representing the modern, city life, *gaul* community (Smith-Hefner, 2019).

The sense of *gaul* community is also highly presented by the use of many other relations of adequation. Some of the MNEJ particularly also use the pronoun *gw* ' I' and *lu* 'you' both in private and public settings, crossing to the form particularly used by people from *Betawi*/Jakarta. All *santris* use various types of other words to address others which shows that they are aware of the use of such words in various contexts. For example,

they commonly use bro which is creatively modified into *bree* or *brody* by female *santris, beb*, guys/*gais*, and *fren* suggesting that they are also accustomed to the person references used by the teenagers worldwide. The person references popularly used in informal marketing are also commonly used by *santris* such as the words *lur*/*lurd*/*lord*/*slur, gan*, and *bosku* which are used by male *santris*, and the words *bunda*/*bund, kak*/*kakak*, and *yang*/*sayang* which are commonly used by female *santris*, as can be seen in the following example.

Datum 1.

Context: Fadia is offering their friend to buy tampons she is selling

- Fadia: open order *pembalutnya ya* 'open order for tampon *ya*'

- Wiwid: *aku haidhku sekarang* 'I am on my period now'

- Fadia: *waaa di pondok juga bisa haid kak* 'waa you can also get your period at *pondok*, sist'.

In line 3 of the above example, Fadia is using the word *kak*, as it is commonly used by sellers to address their future buyers. Although not necessarily expressing selling activities as in the example, all *santris* are also using the words *gan, lur, yang*, and *bund* in a similar tone as it is used by communities of sellers.

Another popular relation of adequation applied by all *santris* is the use of the word *ngab* which is a very popular slang created by young people from Malang in the 1980s, which means bang 'older brother' (the reversed letters of the word *ngab*). Malang is a part of the East Javanese dialect, and this slang is heavily marked by the use of reversed letters of the intended words (Setyanto, 2016). Although not many words are used today, *santris* MBI AU acknowledge the importance of such type of slang as part of being genuine East Javanese speakers. The fact that all *santris* regardless of their language background use this slang shows that there is a sentimental attachment towards it and reinforces the social construction of their identity (Eastman, 1983).

Meanwhile, there are only two data of relation of illegitimation, a situation in which *santris* do not accept the utterances stated by the other *santris*. The first one is the word *sayang* 'honey' uttered by male *santris* as in the following example

Datum 2.

Context: Aldi feels reluctant to work as the secretary for the committee and Wardhan is trying to understand that but still insisting that Aldi is one of the secretaries of the committee.

- Aldi: *Sekretaris e ganti beni ae yo, aku muales dadi sekretaris eg…*' let's make Benny the secretary of the committee, I feel so lazy ..'
- Payyadh: *Sekretaris* 2 'secretary 2'

- Wardhan: *Iya aku tau km itu berjuang sayang* 'I know you are fighting honey'

- Aldi: *Hahaha Ngge mercon sek slurrr. Cek rame riyoyone* 'I make firecrackers first *slurr*, so the Id Fitr' will be uproarious'

Although male *santris* also commonly use the word *beb* 'baby' as a person reference, they are not responding similarly with the word *sayang* 'honey'. The datum above shows that the word *sayang* is used in a way that is mocking, joking, or stating untrue feelings. When Aldi mentioned his objection to working as the secretary of the committee, Wardhan replied in line 3 with a joking statement, commonly said by a girl-friend to her lovers. Thus, his word *sayang* referring to Aldi is ignored by Aldi who in line 4 then talks about something else - making fire-crackers- something that is related to men's work. The illegitimation of such affective

reference suggests the manly interaction among males (Keener & Kotvas, 2023; Kiesling, 2009; Upenieks & Bonhag, 2024). On the other hand, female *santris* commonly use *sayang* as an expression of love as well as a person reference in informal marketing.

Another illegitimation is shown by the use of the word mas by male *santri* to re-fer to his friend who is using Sundanese language while he is actually a Javanese, as can be seen in the following example.

Datum 3.

Context: Mask, as an East Javanese dialect speaker, is speaking Sundanese, and Asropi rejects his use of Sundanese.

- Mask: *Teu tiasa males diajar* 'you may not be lazy studying'

- Asropi: *Sok* 'show off'

- Mask: *Sanes kuring pura*" 'I am not pretending'

- Asropi: *Tahi sapi* 'cow dung'

- Mask: *Abdi tiasa* 'I can (speak)'

- Asropi: *Lek jowo, jowo ae mas. Berbanggalah* 'if you are Javanese, be Javanese bro. Be proud of it'

In line 6 of the above datum, Asropi rejects Mask speaking Sundanese claiming that Mask should be proud of being Javanese. He uses the word *mas* to refer to Mask in an annoyed tone as these *santris* are not referring to their friends who are the same age as *mas*.

Closely similar to the relation of illegitimation, in public context *santris* MBI AU also shows the relation of denaturalization on the use of person reference. As *mas* in datum 3 is used to address their same-age friend, *santris* are also using the word *mbak* 'sist', *bu 'ma'am'*, and *bapak* 'sir' to address such friends. The example below shows the relation of denaturalization of such references.

Datum 4

Context: Fintaz is writing in the communication book to male *santris* about the need for sharing any information obtained from the teacher.

- Fintaz: *Informasi apapun yang Bapak dapatkan ketika setelah konsul ke Pak Hadi tolong disampaikan juga, biar tidak ada miskom ya pak ..*'any information that you get after consulting Mr Hadi, please let us know, so that there will be no miscommunication sir..'
- Vic: *Oke Bu..* 'Ok Maam'

- Datum 4 shows the use of the word *pak* and *bu* referring to the same age friends of the opposite sex. They use the word *pak* and *bu* as made-up references, a reference that is not genuinely used by these *santris*. Although not being annoyed as in the illegitimation case, this relation of denaturalization shows that there is also a tone of up-set in it, as previously they had a miscommunication. The use of these references shows denaturalization because with such use they create subjectivity and bring the interlocutors away (Djenar et. al., 2018). On the other hand, the authentic use of person references applied by *santris* both males and females show the tendency to bring the interlocutors closer, as in the use of the words *awakmu, kamu, cuk, amu, hee*, and so on. Other denaturalization data supporting the idea that *santris* prefer to create a closer relationship is in the use of the word referring to one's own mother, that is *mbokmu* and *makmu* which is commonly uttered

by male *santris* and female *santris* respectively. Both words are an old type and no longer common words used by present day people, and even if they are still used, their use reflects the unrefined type of culture. However, *santris* use them as a sign that they do not need to create any good image among themselves and that they are willing to be evaluated and seen in what-ever condition. This finding differentiates such types of *santris* from the ones from Wulandari's (2013) study which shows that different types of moslem teenagers use *pak* and *bu* to authentically call their opposite sex, therefore creating an intended distance between male and female *santris*. These santris also call their teachers *ustadz* and *ustadzah*, unlike *santris* MBI AU who call their teachers *pak* and *bu* just like other high school students in Indonesia.

The Use of East Javanese Dialect

East Javanese dialect is the central dialect of this community, as *santris* are mostly from East Java, and the location of the *pesantren* is also in East Java. Therefore, communication among *santris* is mostly carried out in this dialect, which is focused on the specific forms of East Javanese dialect, such as the use of the question mark of *aa* at the end of a statement, which then changes that statement into a question sentence. Other focuses are on the use of particular lexicons such as *mari* 'finish', *kon* 'you', *gak* 'no', *rek/arek*, *gak opo* 'it's alright', *kate/ate* 'will', *cek/cekne* 'so that', *sepurane* 'I am sorry', *ancen* 'indeed', *cuk/cok*, *bekne* 'probably', *gopoh* 'hurry', the use of interjection *tah* or *tah lah*, and the use of intensifying forms by adding extra vowels and lengthen them as in the following examples of *suuuangar, nuuiat*, or *kuweereen*, which originally says *sangar* 'great', *niat* 'intention', and *keren* 'cool' respectively. Because of the different contexts, the use of such words may function differently as can be observed in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The functions of East Javanese dialect used by *santris*.

Santris MBI AU	Indexicality Style Features	Positioning context	Freq	Relationality					
				Adequ	Dist	Auth e	Denat	Auth o	Ille
A. *Santris* with East Javanese dialect (EJ)									
Male santris	East Javanese dialect	Private	38	-	1	37	-	-	-
		Public	6	-	-	6	-	-	-
Female *Santris*	East Javanese dialect	Private	26	-	1	25	-	-	-
		Public	2	-	-	2	-	-	-
B. *Santris* with nonEast Javanese dialect (NEJ)									
Male *santris*	East Javanese dialect	Private	16	13	3	-	-	-	-
		Public	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female *santris*	East Javanese dialect	Private	9	9	-	-	-	-	-
		Public	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
C. *Santris* with NonJavanese Language (NJ)									
Male *santris*	East Javanese dialect	Private	11	10	1	-	-	-	-
		Public	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female *santris*	East Javanese dialect	Private	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
		Public	1	-	-	-	1	-	-

In Table 3, it is obvious that *santris* with East Javanese dialect will authentically use this form, as shown by the high number of uses in relation of authentication, not only in the private context but also in the public context. Thus, *santris* with East Javanese dialect are encouraged to use this vernacular dialect in the public domain suggesting that the dialect is acceptable regardless of the interlocutors. These *santris* consider that using the East Javanese dialect is not only easy, but it is also a reflection of their pride as the speakers of that

dialect (Wardhan - interview). The fact that more males EJ use the East Javanese dialect shows that males tend to show a strong Javanese identity and with that, they enact cool solidarity (Manns, 2015).

An interesting fact of the data is that other *santris*; the non-East Javanese (NEJ) and non-Javanese (NJ) are also using East Javanese dialect considerably, especially in private context. As the East Javanese dialect is not the dialect they are accustomed to using previously, such use reflects the relation of adequation, in which *santris* are trying to cross to the center of the community (Goebel, 2010). Some *santris* confess the need to be able to communicate better, suggesting an instrumental attachment towards the East Javanese dialect (Eastman, 1983)). This attachment also shows that the NEJ and NJ *santris* need social allegiances to be accepted as part of the community of practice (Lippi-Green, 2001). It is worth noting that *santris* NEJ and NJ are also aware of the honorific system of the East-Javanese dialect, and they use them improperly showing the relation of denaturalization in public context, as can be seen in the following example.

Datum 5.

Context: Zawe (female *santri*) is writing in the communication book letting Yudistira (male *santri*) know the problem with the Ig account he created.

Zawe: *untuk yang bernama* Yudistira, *monggo diperbaiki IG nya, gimana cara kulo lihat foto kostum yang panjenengan kirim wong akun panjenengan mawon tulisannya* "Instgram User" 'for the one with the name Yudistira, please fix the Ig account, how would I look at the pictures of the costumes you have sent, when your Ig account is read as Instagram user'

In datum 5, Zawe, being upset, uses the high level of Javanese language (Javanese *krama*) mixed with informal *Bahasa Indonesia* to emphasize her uneasiness. The use of a high level of Javanese language shows the relation of denaturalization because it is used to address the same-age interlocutors and it is used to express uneasiness. By doing this, Zawe is expressing her negative politeness strategy (Holmes, 2013). However, other *santris* utter Javanese *krama* to the same age interlocutor only in private context, and such uses suggest the relation of distinction, not necessarily to pay some respect in the same way as they are using krama to the elders. The following example explains the relation of distinction in using Javanese *krama*.

Datum 6.

Context: Wardhan asks their friends' opinions on the design he created.

- Wardhan: *Rek saran*! "*Rek*, any advice?

- Payyadh: *pasti kalo aku* 'surely, it is my opinion'

- Aqil: *Yo'i* 'yes'

- Farandd: *Manut pun* 'I agree'

The example in datum 6 shows that Farrand agrees with the design popped by Wardhan by saying *manut pun*. *Pun* is a particle in Javanese *krama* which strengthens the consent. Farrand intentionally uses such form to make his utterance different from the usual responses as mentioned earlier by Payyad and Aqil in lines 2 and 3 respectively.

The use of Formal Bahasa Indonesia

Formal *Bahasa Indonesia* is not commonly used by *santris* MBI AU. This may be because there is not much chance for *santris* to use it. Ideologically, formal *Bahasa Indonesia* is the use of *Bahasa Indonesia* which complies with the correct and appropriate forms in accordance with the formal context (Martin, 2017). Due to this

formal context, therefore, there is not much data can be found. The detailed function of the use of formal *Bahasa Indonesia* can be seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4. The function of Formal *Bahasa Indonesia* used by *santris* MBI AU

Santris MBI AU	Indexicality	Positioning context	Freq	Relationality					
	Style Features			Adequ	Dist	Authe	Denat	Autho	Ille
A. *Santris* with East Javanese dialect (EJ)									
Male santris	Formal *Bahasa Indonesia*	Private	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
		Public	2	-	-	2	-	-	-
Female *santris*	Formal *Bahasa Indonesia*	Private	0	-	-	0	-	-	-
		Public	12	-	-	12	-	-	-
B. *Santris* with nonEast Javanese dialect (NEJ)									
Male *santris*	Formal *Bahasa Indonesia*	Private	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Public	5	-	-	5	-	-	-
Female *santris*	Formal *Bahasa Indonesia*	Private	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Public	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
C. *Santris* with Non-Javanese Language (NJ)									
Male *santris*	Formal *Bahasa Indonesia*	Private	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Public	5	-	-	5	-	-	-
Female *santris*	Formal *Bahasa Indonesia*	Private	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Public	2	-	-	2	-	-	-

All formal *Bahasa Indonesia* forms are used to express their authentication in using language for formal context. This shows that santris are aware of the need for public and formal context in using formal *Bahasa Indonesia*. Therefore, most of the data are found in public context. There is only one datum suggesting the denaturalization use of formal Bahasa Indonesia in private context as explained below.

Datum 7.

Context: Wardhan asks Beni as the secretary to take notes of Whatsapps online meeting, although some of the members of the meeting are using voice notes instead of chatting.

- Wardhan: *Ben, apakah anda bisa mengetik vc saya*? 'Ben, can you type my voice note?

- Pacet: *Beni serba bisa. Gausah khawatir* 'Beni can do anything, no worries'

- Beni: *Laptopku wes tak* shutdown 'I have turned my laptop off'

The use of formal *Bahasa Indonesia* in private context is considered as a mockery as it is shown by Wardhan in datum 7. As he realizes that his request for Beni to take note of his voice note is too much to ask, Wardhan uses formal Bahasa Indonesia to make it sound like a joke, which in the end makes Beni feel even more reluctant to do the task. Such practice shows the relation of denaturalization because it is not common for

santris to feel happy over their friend's misery (interview - Abiyu, Mufid), as one of their basic principles in learning is brotherhood (Lukens-Bull, 1970).

The use of informal Bahasa Indonesia

Informal *Bahasa Indonesia* is one of the style features commonly used by teenagers in Indonesia (Goebel, 2010; Martin, 2017; Smith-Hefner, 2019). *Santris* MBI AU also use this type of style, especially in public context, as shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5. The function of informal Bahasa Indonesia used by *santris* MBI AU

Santris MBI AU	Indexicality Style Features	Positioning context	Freq	Relationality					
				Adequ	Dist	Authen	Denat	Autho	Ille
A. *Santris* with East Javanese dialect (EJ)									
Male *santris*	Informal Bahasa Indonesia	Private	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Public	9	1	-	8	-	-	-
Female *santris*	Informal Bahasa Indonesia	Private	1	1	-	8	-	-	-
		Public	7	-		7	-	-	-
B. Santris with Non-East Javanese dialect (NEJ)									
Male santris	Informal Bahasa Indonesia	Private	2	1	-	1	-	-	-
		Public	3	1	-	2	-	-	-
Female *santris*	Informal Bahasa Indonesia	Private	3	3	-	-	-	-	-
		Public	2	1	-	1	-	-	-
C. *Santris* with Non-Javanese Language (NJ)									
Male santris	Informal Bahasa Indonesia	Private	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Public	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Female *santris*	Informal Bahasa Indonesia	Private	7	1	-	6	-	-	-
		Public	8	-	-	8	-	-	-

Table 5 above shows that compared to male *santris*, female *santris* are using more informal *Bahasa Indonesia* both in private and public contexts, especially in private contexts. Male *santris*, however, use more East Javanese dialect in private context as can be seen in Table 3 as they tend to show a stronger Javanese identity, compared to females who are lighter in this sense and embrace the more accommodating type of speaking (Holmes, 2013). Hence, almost all of the utterances show authentication as *santris* shows the genuine forms of how it is used based on the context of the situation.

The use of informal *Bahasa Indonesia* is marked by the use of words commonly found in an informal context such as *emang bener* 'true indeed', *disamaain* 'to be considered similar', *kayak* 'like', *mikir* 'think', *kok enak banget sih* 'how easy it is', and the use of clitic *ku* 'my' and *mu* 'your' on nouns, as can be illustrated in the following example.

Datum 8.

Context: Nabil is writing in his narration about his self-perception as a *santri* by com-paring it with other teenagers.

- Nabil: *Terkadang aku mikir, aku loh bisa menerima banyak beban tanggung jawab yang diberikan, terus kenapa dia ga bisa, lemah? Kadang juga aku mikir, kok enak banget sih hidup-nya, tidur-tiduran sambil baca novel tiap hari, kayak ga punya beban hidup* 'sometimes I think, I can take so many responsibilities, how can't they? Being weak? Sometimes I also think, how easy their lives are, lying down reading novels every day, like there is no life burden.'

Datum 8 above shows santri's choice of words referring to informal Bahasa Indonesia. According to Ewing et al., (2010), there are three forms of *Bahasa Indonesia* commonly used, formal, informal, and the colloquial *Bahasa Indonesia* which refers mostly to the use of the Jakarta dialect. The informal *Bahasa Indonesia* in the above context shows a friendly footing (Smith-Hefner, 2019). *Santris* understand that informal *Bahasa Indonesia* is used to mark friendliness and to ease them to express what they think, and it can eliminate awkwardness as well (interview - Nabil, Ilham). Thus, *santris* understand that in public context which is not official, the use of informal *Bahasa Indonesia* is more preferable.

On the other hand, *santris* also use colloquial Bahasa Indonesia referring to the use of the Jakarta dialect, as can be illustrated in the following datum

Datum 9.

Context: Kenting and Kempong announce that soon there will be the next performance

- Kenting: *wes ndak pake lama ya'* then, without further due'

- Kempong: *gak pake lama. Iki lo wes ana reog e* 'without further due. We have the *reog*'

In datum 9 above, Kenting and Kempong are uttering in the Jakarta dialect mixed with the Javanese language. The demonstration of crossing to such dialect shows that *santris* are aware that the Jakarta dialect which is called *bahasa gaul* is one of the social styles suggesting trendiness, coolness, and fashionable (Smith-Hefner, 2019).

The use of word formation

There are three forms of word formation commonly used by *santris* MBI AU; acronym, word-play, and abbreviation. Acronyms and abbreviations are used to ease the pronunciation and the identification of its meaning. The data in Table 6 below show that almost all of word formations created by *santris* are the expression of their authentication which means that such forms are common and typically used by *santris*.

Table 6. The use of word formation by *santris* MBI AU

Santris MBI AU	Indexicality	Positioning context	Freq	Relationality					
	Style Features			Adequ	Dist	Authen	Denat	Autho	Ille
A. *Santris* with East Javanese dialect (EJ)									
Male *santris*	Word formation	Private	14	1	-	13	-	-	-
		Public	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Female *santris*	Word formation	Private	14	-	1	13	-	-	-
		Public	5	-	-	5	-	-	-
B. Santris with Non-East Javanese dialect (NEJ)									
Male *santris*	Word formation	Private	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Public	1	-	-	1	-	-	-

Female *santris*	Word formation	Private	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
		Public	3	-	-	3	-	-	-
C. *Santris* with Non-Javanese Language (NJ)									
Male *santris*	Word formation	Private	3	-	-	3	-	-	-
		Public	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female *santris*	Word formation	Private	3	-	-	3	-	-	-
		Public	0	-	-	-	-	-	-

Like other teenagers in general, *santris* MBI AU also commonly use acronyms and abbreviations. The examples of acronym created by *santris* are *ketapel* (*ketua pelaksana*) 'committee leader', *ketgen* (*ketua generasi*) 'the head of the generation', *mabar* (*main bareng*) 'play together', *perjasu* (*perjalanan suci*) 'sacred journey', *korlap* (*koordinator lapangan*) 'event coordinator', *pa pi* (*putra putri*) male-female', *balpon* (*balik pondok*) 'return to *pesantren*', *pubdok* (*publikasi dan dokumentasi*) 'publication and documentation' *mabal* (*malas belajar*) 'feel lazy to study' and so on. Likewise, examples of abbreviations are common terms such as GC (grand closing), GO (grand opening), RD (Run down), and PC (private chat).

Aside from the authentic use of word formation as shown above, *santris* also create distinction by creating the acronym *askum* (*assalamualaikum*), the most common greeting for Moslem as shown in the following occurrence.

Datum 10.

Context: Santi is greeting their friends in the group, without really saying anything

- Santi: *askum brody* 'assalamualaikum, brody'

- Santi: *numpang lewat* 'just passing by'

In datum 10 above, Santi shortened the phrase *assalamualaikum* by taking parts of that phrase into the utterance *askum*. This is one of the examples of how *santris* is creatively using acronyms. Such a case shows how *santris* are as common as other teenagers in general, in the sense that their most creative style feature is the formation of acronyms (Calvert, 2005; Smith-Hefner, 2019). Such formations show that *santris* and teenagers, in general, tend to simplify their utterances, and thus create their own ways to communicate.

The use of particular usage

Particular usage refers to the use of particular lexicons that reflect the use of other dialects or languages, the creation of particular words, or the use of particular words with specific meanings created by *santris*. The data shows that *santris* are using particular usage mostly to show the relationality of authentication, distinction, and adequation, as can be observed in the following table.

Table 7. The use of particular usage by *santris* MBI AU

Santris MBI AU	Indexicality	Positioning context	Freq	Relationality					
	Style Features			Adequ	Dist	Authen	Denat	Auth o	Ille
A. *Santris* with East Javanese dialect (EJ)									
Male *santris*	Particular usage	Private	13	2	1	10	-	-	-
		Public	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
Female *santris*	Particular usage	Private	28	9	11	8	-	-	-
		Public	7	4	1	1	-	-	1
B. Santris with Non-East Javanese dialect (NEJ)									
Male *santris*	Particular usage	Private	10	1		9	-	-	-
		Public	0	-	-	-	-	-	-

Female	Particular	Private	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
santris	usage	Public	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
C. *Santris* with Non-Javanese Language (NJ)									
Male	Particular	Private	5	1	2	2			-
santris	usage	Public	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female	Particular	Private	12	1	1	10	-	-	-
santris	usage	Public	1	-	-	-	1	-	-

The data show that *santris* EJ are using their sub-dialect like the interjection *leh*, and *santris* NEJ are using their own dialect as well, such as the use of interjection *begh, peh, beh-beh*, or other words such as *harang* 'as well', *laik* 'you better watch out', and *gah* 'no'. Likewise, *santris* NJ are uttering words of their own language such as using Sundanese language. Such use of linguistics forms is the reflection of their relation of authentication, although at many times *santris* NEJ and NJ are crossing towards the use of East Javanese dialect. *Santris* are also using particular forms of language popularly said by teenagers such as *yoi, coy, bestie, kece, yuhuuu*, krik krik or popularly said by moslem such as *in sya Allah, safakillah, istighfar*, and all of which are considered as in the relation of authentication due to its popularly used by teenagers and moslem in general. Another specific form of greeting is used by santris by uttering *mlekum* and *kumsalam*, a typical way for people from Jakarta to utter *assalamualaikum* and *waalaikum salam*. This is a mark of the relation of adequation as *santris* are crossing towards others' utterances to show the trendiness in using *bahasa gaul*. By using such utterances *santris* also show their coolness and solidarity as such utterances create a particular sense of joke (interview- Aqil)

Another type of particular usage is the creation of particular words such as *astaganaga*, sharing caring which shows the relation of distinction as *santris* use such phrases to distinguish themselves from the common utterance of *astaghfirullah*, and sharing is caring respectfully. Another relation of distinction is used by *santris* in uttering words with their own created meaning, such as the word *gass, ngueng, budal* as the synonym for *ayo* 'let's go'. Another example is on how *santris* use the word *umroh* 'short pilgrimage to mecca' to refer to a two-week punishment to serve at the house of *Kyai* 'the leader of the *pesantren*'. Though the expected result is similar, that is to be a better person, the two-week punishment is distinct heavily from the real *umroh*, as nobody will try to volunteer to do so (interview - Agim).

A form of relation of adequation is also applied by *santris* in using foreign words to intensify their meaning. The data show that *santris* tend to repeat the use of foreign words to show the intensity of meaning as in how Javanese language speakers repeat words to show the intensity of the words' meaning (Poedjasoedarmo et al., 2013). The following datum shows an example of such a case.

Datum 11.

Context: Kenting is eager to know who the performers are, and he is asking Kempong to let him know.

Kenting : *Iya.. sebut.. spill, spill, spill, sapa ae neg kene. Sak eruhku iku ana* Mardhotillah *-kiwil .. kiwil iku ya mardhotilah iku ya*. 'yes, mention it, spill, spill, spill, who are they. I only know Mardhotilah-kiwil… Kiwil is Mardhotilah yes.'

In datum 11 above, Kenting repeats the word spill three times showing that he eagerly wants the interlocutors to do what he says. There are also other utterances such as ok ok, and no no uttered by *santris* in the same manner as they repeat utterances in the Javanese language. Such occurrence shows the relation of adequation in which *santris* are applying their native language structure while using foreign vocabulary.

Santris' Reflected identities

MBI AU as a community of practice is a place for *santris* to set on their macro positioning as female and male and locally as *santris* of East Javanese dialect, of non-East Javanese dialect, and of non-Javanese language

speakers. At the macro level, male and female *santris* are not very different in their use of style features in the sense that all the style features uttered by male *santris* are also uttered by female *santris*. Both genders are also acknowledging and using various forms of person references suggesting the fact that they are familiar with different types of registers used by different com-munities (Smith-Hefner, 2019). They are also accustomed to creating acronyms to simplify their utterances and create trendiness at the same time (Smith-Hefner, 2019). At this level, *santris* are typically similar to other teenagers of their age. This similarity is also highlighted by their use of person references addressing their teachers and the opposite genders in public context which are similar with non *santris*-teenagers (Wulandari, 2013).

 The differences between males and females *santris* are seen at the meso level, the local level persona, where the application of community of practice can be seen. Hence *santris* can differentiated into the EJ, NEJ, and NJ, based on their language background. At this level, *santris* shows differences, particularly on *santris* with East Javanese dialect (EJ). In private context, male *santris* of EJ are persistent in using East Javanese dialect regardless of who the interlocutor is. This suggests not only that they encourage the use of east Javanese dialect, their vernacular language, but they also tend to show strong Javanese identity, and show sentimental attachment towards the East Javanese dialect (Eastman, 1983). The prevalent use of East Javanese dialect also enacts cool solidarity among their friends, that at particular case shows a manly interaction. This findings confirms the earlier finding on male teenagers' language (Manns, 2015). This cool solidarity is also supported by the fact that male *santris* tend to drive interlocutors closer by not necessarily keeping a good image. On the other hand, although female EJ *santris* are also using the East Javanese dialect heavily, they are also using informal Bahasa Indonesia in private context to accommodate the interlocutor who might have difficulties speaking the Javanese language, suggesting female more accommodating nature (Holmes, 2013).

The NEJ and NJ *santris* acknowledge that the East Javanese dialect is the shared repertoire of their community of practice, and therefore they show a high tendency of adequation towards that dialect, suggesting the need for social allegiances as these *santris* considered the need to be accepted as part of the community of practice (Goebel, 2010; Lippi-Green, 2001). This also suggests the existence of instrumental attachment toward the East Javanese dialect, as these *santris* feel that it is through the East Javanese dialect they can build up their social identity (Eastman, 1983). Hence, they under-stand that it is common sense and also a good thing to be able to use the East Javanese dialect.

On the other hand, the NEJ and NJ *santris* are also showing their relation of authentication to their home language by expressing particular usage. The NJ *santris* particularly use their own vernacular (Sundanese language and Jakarta colloquial dialect). Such relation of authentication suggests that they are expressing their self-identity, something that they want to be acknowledged distinctively. Although NEJ *santris* are using their own dialect in particular usage, most of such usages refer to the use of interjections and particular words that are slightly different from the words in the East Javanese dialect, thus suggesting that such particular usage is a matter of familiarity usage, and it is not necessarily the expression of self-identity. Some of the words uttered by NEJ *santris* refer to the use of Jakarta's colloquial dialect, suggesting that they are taking the position of being trendy by using *bahasa gaul* (Smith-Hefner, 2019). This way, NEJ *santris* are trying to distinguish themselves from the same Javanese language speakers of different dialects. Thus, the need for social allegiances drives these NEJ *santris* to use the East Javanese dialect, at the same time they also choose to use Jakarta's colloquial dialect, expressing their trendiness.

The use of person references in private and public contexts supports this finding elaborating that person references used in public context are the ones commonly used, while the person references used in private context are more creative and encompass a wide range of registers. *Santris* are also aware that the public context requires the use of *Bahasa Indonesia*, be it formal or informal. The informal *Bahasa Indonesia* is used in public context where it is possible as it eliminates awkwardness. The formal *Bahasa Indonesia* is only used in formal situations and its use in private context suggests a relation of denaturalization showing that *santris* use it for joking or mocking their friends. The same ways also applied to the use of *Krama* Javanese language; when it is used for their peer, even though in the public context, it implies that the speakers are joking, to mark the differences or are upset to mark the unnaturalness.

Conclusion

How *santris* MBI AU interact by using languages shows their positioning in their community of practice. At the highest level, the macro level, in which different gender is outlook, suggests that in general, both genders are using similar style features and that they construct their identity in the same ways as teenagers in general, the non-*santris*-teenagers. At the meso level, *santris* with different language backgrounds show different constructed identities. The EJ male *santris* show a stronger identity of East Javanese dialect and at the same time, they show higher cool solidarity compared to females of EJ *santris* who tend to be more accommodating to their interlocutors. The NEJ both male and female *santris* are doing a lot of relation of adequation by using East Javanese dialect as part of their social allegiance strategies, and keep their *gaul* identity as their self-identity, by not showing much of their home language. The NJ *santris*, however, keep their relation of authentication by using their own language, and similar to the NEJ *santris*, they also build their social allegiances by using the East Javanese dialect. *Santris* are more creative in using languages in private context, and are aware that *Bahasa Indonesia* is used in public context. The use of formal *Bahasa Indonesia* and *Krama* Javanese mark the relation of distinction and unnaturalness.

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