

## Sociolinguistic Study of Arabic Language Use in the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic Boarding School Environment

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**Abstract:** *This study aims to analyze the use of language in the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school, located in Pare, East Java. In this context, the phenomenon of the use of Arabic and Indonesian in the daily interactions of students is the main focus. This research method uses a qualitative approach with a case study in the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school, combining direct observation and surveys to obtain in-depth data on the use of Arabic and Indonesian in the daily interactions of students. The results of the study indicate that in the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school there is a pattern of bilingualism, where Arabic is used in formal contexts, while Indonesian dominates informal communication. This pattern supports Arabic language learning, strengthens religious values, and maintains the national identity and social ties of students. As many as 65% of students stated that they were interested in using Arabic in their daily lives. They believe that this language can deepen their understanding and increase their religiosity. The students believe that by interacting more often using Arabic, they can more easily absorb religious values and improve their spiritual quality. This study is expected to contribute to the understanding of language use in the context of religious education.*

**Keywords:** *Sociolinguistics, Language Use, Islamic Boarding School, Arabic, Indonesian.*

**Abstrak :** Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis penggunaan bahasa di pesantren Markaz Arabiyah, yang berlokasi di Pare, Jawa Timur. Dalam konteks ini, fenomena penggunaan bahasa Arab dan bahasa Indonesia dalam interaksi sehari-hari santri menjadi fokus utama. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan studi kasus di pesantren Markaz Arabiyah, menggabungkan observasi dan survei langsung untuk mendapatkan data mendalam mengenai penggunaan bahasa Arab dan Indonesia dalam interaksi sehari-hari santri. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa di pesantren Markaz Arabiyah terdapat pola bilingualisme, di mana bahasa Arab digunakan dalam konteks formal, sementara bahasa Indonesia mendominasi komunikasi informal. Pola ini mendukung pembelajaran bahasa Arab, memperkuat nilai religius, serta menjaga identitas nasional dan keterikatan sosial santri. Sebanyak 65% santri menyatakan bahwa mereka merasa tertarik untuk menggunakan bahasa Arab dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Mereka percaya bahwa bahasa ini dapat memperdalam pemahaman dan meningkatkan religiusitas mereka. Para santri menganggap bahwa dengan lebih sering berinteraksi menggunakan bahasa Arab, mereka dapat lebih mudah menyerap nilai-nilai keagamaan dan meningkatkan kualitas spiritual mereka. Penelitian ini diharapkan dapat berkontribusi pada pemahaman penggunaan bahasa dalam konteks pendidikan agama.

**Kata Kunci:** Sociolinguistik, Penggunaan Bahasa, Pesantren, Bahasa Arab, Bahasa Indonesia.



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## INTRODUCTION

As one of the oldest educational institutions in Indonesia, pesantren has a strategic role in shaping the character of students and strengthening religious knowledge. The tradition of Islamic boarding schools that focus on the study of the yellow book and moral values makes this institution a distinctive center of religious education.[\[1\]](#) However, with the development of the times and the increasing need for language mastery, the role of pesantren is no longer limited to religious aspects only, but also to language skills, especially Arabic.[\[2\]](#) Arabic, as the language of the Qur'an and hadith, occupies a privileged position in pesantren education, as mastery of this language is an indicator of success in understanding religious texts.[\[3\]](#)

The Markaz Arabiyah Islamic Boarding School in Pare, East Java, adopts a bilingual approach that combines Arabic and Indonesian in daily activities. This bilingual approach aims to accelerate Arabic language mastery among students who come from diverse social backgrounds.[\[4\]](#) Bilingualism at the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school not only facilitates communication, but also creates a conducive environment for students to integrate Arabic in their daily lives, thus encouraging the formation of more active and practical language skills.[\[5\]](#), [\[6\]](#)

This phenomenon of bilingualism also gives rise to the phenomenon of diglossia—where Arabic is positioned as a "high language" or formal language used in religious activities, while Indonesian is chosen as a "low or informal language" used in daily interactions between students.[\[7\]](#) According to the dylosia theory put forward by Ferguson (2023), dylosia occurs when there are two languages or varieties of languages in one community, where each language has a different social function (Zaimah & Rahmawati, 2023). In the pesantren environment, this division of functions is very pronounced, where Arabic is used in formal studies, lectures, and interactions, while Indonesian dominates informal conversations.[\[8\]](#), [\[9\]](#)

In addition to the phenomenon of diglossia, the mixing of languages that occur in Islamic boarding schools can also be seen from the perspective of language variation in sociolinguistic theory.[\[10\]](#) Language variation, according to Chaer (2021), arises due to differences in social contexts, topics of conversation, or relationships between speakers.[\[11\]](#) Pesantren, as a dynamic social space, reflects a wide variety of languages influenced by the social interaction of students, where Arabic is used in formal contexts, while Indonesian and its mixture are often used in non-formal contexts.[\[12\]](#) This study is relevant because it shows how language variations can be a mirror of the social identity of students in Islamic boarding schools, as well as revealing the role of pesantren as an effective Arabic language learning space.[\[13\]](#)

Sociolinguistics, as the study of connecting language with society, provides a theoretical framework for understanding this phenomenon.[\[14\]](#) Among the relevant sociolinguistic subfields is language accommodation, which highlights how speakers adapt to using language according to the context and interlocutor. According to Giles (2021), language accommodation theory explains that speakers tend to adjust their speaking styles based on social situations.[\[15\]](#) In Islamic boarding schools, students adjust the use of Arabic or Indonesian according to formal or informal contexts. This language adaptation is not only a reflection of the bilingual abilities of the students, but also a social strategy to strengthen solidarity between students and show respect in a formal context.[\[16\]](#)

This phenomenon is also closely related to the language attitude of the students towards Arabic and Indonesian. Language attitudes, as explained by Ilmaniya and Rachman (2021), are the feelings or views that speakers have towards a language or variety of languages. This attitude can be positive or negative and affects the pattern of language use in the community.[\[17\]](#) In the context of Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding schools, a positive attitude towards Arabic as a religious language often motivates students to use it more often in formal interactions. On the other hand, the Indonesian language still maintains its role as the main communication medium in informal interactions, reflecting the social identity of students outside of religious activities.

This study also examines social identities formed from language interactions in Islamic boarding schools. Social identity, in Haryanto's (2022) view, is the way individuals view themselves in the context of a particular social group. For students, the choice of using Arabic or Indonesian is not only communication, but also a means to show closeness to pesantren norms or show religious identity. In a sociolinguistic context, this phenomenon reflects that language is not only a means of communication, but also a symbol of social identity that reflects the attitudes and views of its speakers.

Sociolinguistic studies of the use of Arabic in the pesantren environment have become the object of attention in various linguistic studies in Indonesia. Most previous studies have focused on aspects of second language acquisition, the dynamics of bilingualism, as well as the social function of Arabic in religious and educational contexts.[\[18\]](#), [\[19\]](#) Research conducted by Mulyadi (2017) shows that the use of Arabic in Islamic boarding schools is not only a medium for learning classical books, but also as a symbol of religious identity and social authority. This is strengthened by the findings of Syahrul and Anwar (2019) which highlight the role of Arabic as a prestige language and a shaping of scientific ethos in Salafi Islamic boarding schools.

In addition, the linguistic ethnographic approach used in the study of Suharti (2020) reveals how the practice of speaking Arabic shapes certain social norms in the pesantren community, including in the interaction between students and ustaz. In this context, Arabic is not just a means of communication, but also part of a value system and social discipline.[\[20\]](#) However, most of the research still focuses on traditional pesantren and does not explore the use of Arabic in modern pesantren institutions that have a more integrative approach to learning.[\[21\]](#)

On the other hand, contemporary studies have begun to pay attention to aspects of language variation, registers, and switching codes in students' daily communication. For example, research by Fitria (2021) noted the tendency of students to use a mixture of Arabic, Indonesian, and regional languages in informal interactions, which shows the dynamics of dylosia and linguistic hybridity. However, these observations have not touched much on the aspects of social function and the symbolic meaning of the use of Arabic in the structure of pesantren life in more depth.

Thus, it can be concluded that previous studies have provided an important foundation in understanding the sociolinguistic dimension of the use of Arabic in Islamic boarding schools. However, there have not been many studies that have specifically examined the use of Arabic in the context of modern Islamic boarding schools such as Markaz Arabiyah, which

places Arabic not only as a means of communication and learning, but also as a cultural and religious symbol in a dynamic social space. Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap by further examining the practice of Arabic in the social interaction of students and teachers, with a sociolinguistic approach that examines aspects of the function, context, and ideology of the language that develops in the Markaz Arabiyah environment.

This research aims to explain how the social environment of pesantren affects the pattern of language use, as well as identify the challenges faced by students in mastering Arabic as a formal and religious language. Thus, this research is expected to contribute to the understanding of language variations and social dynamics in the pesantren environment, as well as enrich sociolinguistic theories in the context of religious education in Indonesia (Al-Abdullatif & Alsubaie, 2022).

Through a qualitative approach, this research will reveal in-depth insights into the dynamics of language in Islamic boarding schools and its implications for Arabic language teaching and social interaction patterns among students. The results of this research will be a consideration for educators, researchers, and pesantren managers in improving the quality of Arabic language education, as well as supporting the creation of a more inclusive and effective learning environment for students.

## **METHOD**

This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study design at the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic Boarding School. [\[22\]](#) Data were obtained through observation techniques and direct surveys. The research subjects consist of students and teachers in pesantren who are purposively selected to obtain representative information about the use of language in the context of pesantren. The number of students involved is 20 people with various social and educational backgrounds. Observations were conducted in a variety of situations, including classroom learning, dorm interactions, and daily activities, over a period of one month to obtain accurate and in-depth data. The researcher recorded each interaction involving the use of Arabic and Indonesian and the situation and context of those interactions. The direct survey was conducted using questionnaires designed to collect data on language use from a broader perspective, including the frequency of Arabic and Indonesian language use, difficulties faced in language learning, and attitudes and perceptions towards language mix. Data from the survey were analyzed quantitatively to complement the findings of the observations. The combination of observation and direct surveys is expected to provide a comprehensive picture of the use of language in the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school and become a consideration for educators, researchers, and pesantren managers in an effort to improve the quality of Arabic language education and create a more inclusive and effective learning environment.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

After researchers conducted research in Markaz Arabiyah, it was found that the pattern of language use was quite clear between Arabic and Indonesian. In everyday life, Arabic is

used intensively, both in informal and formal communication. Arabic is the main language of communication applied in various pesantren activities, such as conversations between students, dialogue with teachers, to instructions in routine activities in the pesantren environment. In addition, Arabic is also used as the main language of instruction in the learning process in the classroom and in the organization of various official events such as studies, seminars, and lectures.

One of the main goals of the consistent application of Arabic is to encourage students to make it a daily habit. Through this approach, the pesantren seeks to build an environment that supports a deeper mastery of the Arabic language, both in terms of speaking skills (*muhadatsah*), listening (*istima'*), reading (*qira'ah*), and writing (*kitabah*).<sup>[23]</sup> The use of Arabic is not only limited to academic contexts in the classroom, but is also integrated in social interactions outside the classroom. This aims to provide a more holistic learning experience, where students can hone their skills in more natural and contextual situations.<sup>[24]</sup>

With this consistent practice of using Arabic, students have the opportunity to overcome obstacles in language learning, such as awkwardness or lack of confidence, because they are used to hearing, speaking, and thinking in Arabic. This gives them a more *authentic* experience, where Arabic is no longer just a subject, but becomes an integral part of their daily life in the pesantren environment. Thus, the bilingual environment created in Markaz Arabiyah is an important factor that supports the achievement of the goal of pesantren education in producing a generation that is proficient in Arabic, both for academic needs, *da'wah*, and global interaction.<sup>[25]</sup>

Indonesian, as the mother tongue of the majority of students, provides a sense of comfort in self-expression, because they do not need to be burdened by grammatical rules or formalities that are often attached to the use of Arabic. On the other hand, the use of Indonesian also shows the need for students to balance their academic demands and social needs. This phenomenon illustrates the duality of the unique use of language in the pesantren environment, where Arabic functions as a language of habituation in formal and academic contexts, while Indonesian remains a more practical, flexible, and familiar medium of communication in daily life.<sup>[26]</sup>

This duality created the conditions of bilingualism that were distinctive in the Markaz Arabiyah. Students are required to be able to adapt in using both languages according to the social context and situation they are facing. In classrooms and official activities, students learn to think and communicate in Arabic, which is part of an educational strategy to hone their language skills. However, when in an informal environment, such as when joking with friends or sharing stories, they prefer Indonesian as a more loose and pressure-free medium of communication.<sup>[27]</sup>

This condition of bilingualism has its own challenges, because students must be able to manage language switching (code-switching) well, so that there is no overlap or excessive code mixing.<sup>[28]</sup> Nevertheless, the use of these two languages actually provides advantages in the development of students' linguistic and cognitive abilities. They not only learn to master Arabic as a *da'wah* and academic tool, but also stay connected to their local identity through the use of Indonesian. Thus, the bilingualism built in this pesantren is one of the characteristics

that not only strengthens the language skills of students, but also shapes them into adaptive individuals in communicating across cultures.[29]

The phenomenon of bilingualism in the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school is also closely related to the concept of diglossia, as explained in the theory of diglossia by Ferguson (1959). This theory distinguishes between the roles of two languages in a community: the "high language" (H) used in formal and formal contexts, and the "low language" (L) which is more often used in informal interactions and daily life. In the pesantren environment, Arabic functions as a high language, while Indonesian plays a role as a low language. This division of roles is seen not only in the way both languages are used, but also in the rules that govern their use.[30]

In Markaz Arabiyah, the use of Arabic is strictly regulated with a special schedule that aims to familiarize students with the use of this language in their daily lives. In the first week, students are required to speak in Arabic from waking up until 19.00. Over time, the duration of use of Arabic is gradually extended. In the second week, students are required to speak in Arabic until 20.00, then until 22.00 in the third week, and finally reach 23.00 in the fourth week. This rule applies from Monday to Friday, which covers most of the active time of students at the pesantren.

This system is not only designed to improve students' Arabic language skills, but also to create a deep mindset in the language. By making Arabic the main medium in formal and academic activities, pesantren seeks to create an environment that supports comprehensive language mastery. However, the implementation of this rule is closely monitored, and violations of the Arabic language policy will be subject to sanctions. The sanctions are given based on the number of violations committed, with the aim of disciplining students and encouraging them to comply with the rules.

Meanwhile, on weekends, namely Saturday and Sunday, students are given the freedom to use Indonesian. Indonesian, which serves as a low language, is more commonly used in informal interactions, especially in dormitories, canteens, or when they are resting. This language allows students to communicate more casually and freely, without having to be fixated on the rules of formality that are often inherent in Arabic. Students feel more comfortable expressing their feelings or ideas in their native language, which is the main tool for building social relationships between them.

This condition shows that there is a clear division of roles between Arabic and Indonesian, which reflects the dynamics of diglossia in practice. Arabic, as a higher language, has an important role in official activities, such as learning, formal discussions, or official events of Islamic boarding schools. On the other hand, Indonesian is the main medium in the social life of students, giving them space to communicate flexibly and familiarly. This combination of bilingualism and diglossia creates a complex environment, but it is also rich in opportunities for students to develop their linguistic abilities and social skills simultaneously.

In addition to the phenomenon of diglossia, the bilingual environment at the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school also creates a code-mixing phenomenon between Arabic and Indonesian. This code mix often appears in students' daily conversations, especially when they want to convey concepts or terms that are easier to understand in Arabic or that are

difficult to translate correctly into Indonesian. In this context, students often use words such as "ta'lim" (teaching), "muhasabah" (introspection), or "barokah" (blessings) as part of their conversations. This integration occurred not only because of the limitations of translation, but also because of the preference to use Arabic terms that were more common and familiar in the pesantren environment.

Mixing codes is also seen in the students' efforts to refine their communication. For example, some students prefer the word "syukron" to express gratitude, or "afwan" as an expression of apology, compared to the equivalent of the word in Indonesian. The use of this vocabulary not only reflects the influence of Arabic in their lives, but also shows that students are trying to establish a distinctive linguistic identity as religious learners. In many cases, this code mix creates a unique language style, where Arabic and Indonesian elements complement each other.

The phenomenon of code mixing in the Markaz Arabiyah pesantren can be seen in the form of a combination of Arabic-Indonesian and Indonesian-Arabic. Students often combine words, phrases, or sentence structures from both languages to convey their message more effectively. For example, in everyday conversation, here is a real example of Arabic-Indonesian code mixing that often occurs:

Excerpt 1: Arab-Indonesian Code Conversation

Santri A: "Hey kaifa hadza? ana la astati."

Santri B: "Kholas, na'kul awwalan yuk?"

In the conversation above, Santri A started by using the Arabic phrase: "kaifa hadza?" which means "how is this?" followed by "ana la astati" which means "I can't." However, he also mixes the informal Indonesian word, "Hey," as a conversation starter, suggesting that Indonesian is still used in informal elements or greetings.

The reply from Santri B also showed a similar code mix. He uses the word "kholas" (already) and the phrase "na'kul awwalan" (let's eat first) in Arabic, but adds "yuk" from Indonesian, which is an informal invitation expression. This combination not only shows the adaptation of Arabic into the everyday social context, but also shows that students feel comfortable combining the two languages as needed.

This code mix often occurs in a variety of conversational contexts, ranging from light discussions to more serious interactions. This phenomenon indicates that students are not only learning Arabic as an academic skill, but also as part of the practical communication they use every day. By mixing Arabic and Indonesian, they create a unique linguistic space, where the two languages do not compete with each other, but complement each other according to the context and communication needs. This also strengthens the identity of the pesantren as a bilingual environment that harmoniously blends religious traditions and local culture.

The results of a survey conducted at the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school show that the majority of students have a very positive attitude towards the Arabic language. For them, Arabic is not just a means of communication, but is also seen as a religious language that has high spiritual value. As part of the scientific and worship tradition, Arabic is considered a deep medium and has an emotional affinity with the teachings of Islam. As many as 65% of students stated that they felt interested in using Arabic in their daily lives, because they believed that this language could deepen their understanding and improve their

religiosity. They consider that by interacting more often using Arabic, they can more easily absorb religious values and improve their spiritual qualities.

This positive attitude is also reflected in the willingness of students to try hard to improve their Arabic language skills. Many of them feel that the more proficient they are in Arabic, the greater their chances of gaining a deeper understanding of religious teachings and the closer they are to the blessings of knowledge in the language. Thus, the Arabic language in the Markaz Arabiyah pesantren is not only seen as a subject matter, but as a bridge to achieve a deeper understanding of religion and as a means to strengthen their spiritual relationship with God.

Although the majority of students at the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school have a positive attitude towards Arabic, some students revealed that they still face difficulties in mastering Arabic grammar. They mentioned that the structure and rules of the Arabic language are considered more complex when compared to Indonesian, especially in terms of sentence formation, verb changes, and the use of more diverse punctuation. These difficulties are often an obstacle for students in expressing ideas or communicating fluently using Arabic. As a result, some students tend to be more comfortable using Indonesian, especially when they feel less confident or feel that their confusion is getting greater in the use of Arabic. In some situations, they feel that Indonesian is easier and more practical to convey messages without getting bogged down in complicated grammar rules.

However, despite these challenges, the pesantren environment that supports the consistent use of Arabic plays a role in helping students to continue practicing and improving their proficiency. The Markaz Arabiyah Islamic Boarding School has a system that strictly regulates the use of Arabic, such as a mandatory schedule of speaking Arabic from morning to night, which provides an opportunity for students to become familiar with the language in a daily context. The encouragement to use Arabic in formal and informal activities in the pesantren environment, as well as the interaction that takes place between fellow students, provides space for them to continue to practice, correct mistakes, and develop their Arabic language skills.

Although there is often a lack of confidence, the supportive atmosphere in the pesantren is an important factor that helps students to keep trying. With constant habituation and practice, the difficulties they experience can be overcome little by little, and they begin to feel more confident in using Arabic. In this way, they not only master Arabic as an academic skill, but also integrate it into their daily lives as part of their religious identity and practices.

The use of language in the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school is not only seen as a means of communication, but also as a symbol of the social identity of students. For most students, Arabic is not only a language used in religious learning, but also a symbol of their commitment to studying religious knowledge. Students who are more active in using Arabic in daily conversation are often considered to have greater dedication in learning the teachings of Islam. This is reflected in how students who are fluent in Arabic, especially in verbal interaction, are often identified as students who are more religious or more diligent in learning. Those who are more fluent in Arabic are considered closer to religious values because the language is used in the holy texts of the Qur'an and hadith. Therefore, mastery of Arabic provides added value for students in building a religious and spiritual self-image in the

pesantren environment, as well as further emphasizing their identity as highly dedicated religious students.

However, the Indonesian language also continues to play an equally important role in shaping social identity in Islamic boarding schools. Indonesian serves as a unified language that connects students from various regions with diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. In daily interactions, Indonesian is used to facilitate communication between students without linguistic barriers, considering that not all students have the same level of Arabic language proficiency. In addition, the Indonesian language serves as a bridge to maintain social equality and mutual understanding among students. By using Indonesian, they can more easily share their experiences, stories, or opinions, without having to feel burdened by more complex Arabic grammar rules.

In a sociolinguistic context, this phenomenon shows how students use language as a tool to shape and express their social identity according to the situation they are facing. In religious-related situations, they tend to prefer Arabic to reflect their religious identity. Meanwhile, in more relaxed social interactions or outside the academic context, Indonesian is the main choice to create social equality and maintain relationships between others. Thus, the two languages function as a mirror of two different identity dimensions, namely religious identity through Arabic and national identity through Indonesian, which complement each other in the daily lives of students at Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school.

Bilingualism at the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school has a very positive impact on learning Arabic and strengthening the religious identity of students. An Islamic boarding school environment that emphasizes the use of Arabic in formal contexts, such as in religious learning, official activities, and worship practices, provides opportunities for students to develop their Arabic language skills more quickly. This process does not only occur in the classroom, but also extends into the daily lives of students who are increasingly accustomed to using Arabic as the main means of communication. With the habit of speaking in Arabic, students are able to enrich their vocabulary and improve their sentence structure naturally, because they often interact with friends and caregivers who use Arabic.

In addition, the opportunity to use Arabic in everyday conversation enhances students' practical experience in using the language actively, especially in informal contexts outside the classroom. Students are not only taught language theory, but they are also trained to use it in more real social situations, so that they can experience firsthand how Arabic is used in flowing social interactions. This process has a double benefit, because in addition to improving Arabic language skills, it also helps students deepen their understanding of the religious texts they are studying, most of which are written in Arabic.

However, even though Arabic is the main language in academic and religious contexts, Indonesian still plays an important role in daily social life. As the main language in informal interactions, Indonesian provides students with a space to express themselves more freely and comfortably. In a more relaxed everyday conversation, Indonesian allows students to express their ideas, feelings, and thoughts more smoothly without being hampered by the complexity of Arabic grammar structures. Thus, the use of Indonesian in informal interactions also helps students maintain a balance between the academic demands of mastering Arabic and their social needs to communicate practically and efficiently.

Overall, bilingualism at the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school creates an environment that supports the development of the Arabic language of students while giving them the freedom to maintain a balance between academic and social needs. This not only improves their Arabic language skills, but also strengthens the religious identity of students who can be identified through the use of Arabic, as well as ensuring that they remain connected to national identity and social similarities reflected in the use of the Indonesian language.

## CONCLUSION

In the Markaz Arabiyah Islamic boarding school, there is a pattern of language use that combines Arabic and Indonesian in accordance with formal and informal contexts. Arabic is positioned as the official language for academic activities and formal activities, and is applied in a structured manner in students' daily lives, which helps them improve their language skills significantly. Meanwhile, Indonesian remains the main choice in informal interactions outside of official activities, allowing students to communicate freely and creating a sense of unity. This environment gave rise to a distinctive phenomenon of bilingualism, where students formed a religious identity through the use of Arabic and maintained their national identity with the Indonesian language. This bilingualism is strengthened by the existence of diglossia—Arabic as a "high language" and Indonesian as a "low language"—and a mix of codes that integrate Arabic terms into everyday conversation. Overall, this language pattern supports intensive Arabic language learning, strengthens religious values, and maintains the social attachment of students in the pesantren environment.

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