



## Arabic Slang Language Use in Pesantren: An Interpretive Case Study

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### ABSTRACT

Although research on the use of slang language has been widely studied, there is a paucity of studies that specifically looks at Arabic slang language among santri community in Indonesia. To fill such a void, the present study aims at examining the use of Arabic slang language among santri community in a modern pesantren in Southeast Sulawesi Province, Indonesia, and the factors that influence the use of such a language. Nested in an interpretive case study with data analyzed using Allan and Burridge's (2006) slang language framework, the findings of this study suggest emerging types of slang used among the santri, which are in the forms of overlapping, clipping, acronyms, word-for-word translation, and the addition of local enclise elements. Such a language use was exclusively influenced by habits, creativity, and simplification in communication. Implications of the study show that the use of certain Arabic vocabulary can signal how a foreign language is acquired outside of the class

## 1. Introduction

For the last decades, the discourse of slang language has drawn debates and controversies from language experts. The debates discussed the concept, function, and teaching of slang in the classroom. Conceptually, Bentley (1935), Frazer and Eble (1998), and Thorne (1997), regard slang as non-standard or informal language. This is in line with Comrie et al., (1995) views and Thorne (1997) who consider slang as an informal style of language. Several other linguistic scholars place slang in a substandard level of language formality. On the other hand, linguists define slang as a language full of creativity and full of identity representation. It is said to be full of identity and creativity as it is a linguistic phenomenon related to the language of teenagers whose socio-psychological problems are so complex. Klerk (1995) argues and does not agree with the definition of slang that has been expressed by these linguistic experts. Among these disputes, slang has been seen as a variation in language use.

Theoretically, Ding et al., (2019) define language variation as a result of social interaction activities carried out by certain communities or groups and the speakers who come from heterogeneous groups. Ding et al further added that language variations are classified into two aspects: language variations based on speakers and language variations based on usage. In this context, slang is in the position of language variation based on speakers as it is related to the status, class level, and social class of the speakers. Thus, slang should be defined based on who the users are and why it is used.

A myriad number of studies have been done to uncover the use of slang language among communities (Abdelwahab Eltom RahmtAllah, 2020; Boylu & Kardaş, 2020; Ulandari, 2018). However, to the best of our scholarly knowledge, little attention is directed to exploring Arabic slang language use among *santri* community in a modern *pesantren* in Indonesia. It is essential to carry out research in an Indonesian *pesantren* setting since the country has the largest population of Muslims in the world (Irawan, 2017).

Anchored by such conditions, the present study seeks to complement previous research by exploring Arabic slang language and factors influencing its practice. This study was situated in a *pesantren* and *santri* community based in Indonesia. Findings from the study contribute conceptually, empirically, and practically to the current body of knowledge. Conceptually, this study adds and complements the concept of slang proposed by language experts. Empirically, this study provides new insights into how the form of slang used by *santri* community and the factors that influence its use. Practically, the use of certain Arabic vocabulary can signal how a foreign language is acquired outside of the class.

Two research questions guide the present study: 1) What types of Arabic slang language was used by the researched participants? 2) What factors do influence the use of slang language in the *pesantren*?

### **1.1. Concepts of Slang Language**

The use of the term slang in this study refers to the concept of slang as coined by Bentley (1935) in A dictionary of slang and unconventional English and Frazer and Eble (1998) in Slang and sociability: in-group language among college students. They assert that slang refers to very informal words and expressions that are often considered "lower" than the standard form of a language. Slang is also considered as an informal vocabulary that is far from the standard vocabulary. Among the words that are classified as slang words are newly coined words, shortened forms, and standard words that are used playfully out of context. Slang is also used to identify language users in an age group or social group. Dumas and Lighter revealed that a word or expression can be considered slang if it meets at least two of the following criteria. First, the slang word lowers the formality of a serious speech or writing for a while. In other words, slang words can be observed in a context about the misuse of certain words in a very conspicuous way. Second, the use of slang word implies that the user of the language is familiar with the group of people who use the term. Third, slang is a taboo term in the perspective of people who have a higher social status or greater responsibility. Fourth, slang words replace conventional synonyms that are already widely known. This is done primarily to avoid the 'inconvenience caused by familiar terms (Dumas & Lighter, 1978). In summary, Dumas and Lighter (1978) and De Klerk (1995) define slang as a language that deviates from societal norms and attitudes.

On the other hand, (Namvar, 2014) also defines slang as an everyday word or phrase that is constantly changing to build or strengthen the social identity of the speakers or their cohesiveness in a group or fashion trends of society in general. Frazer and Eble (1998) more tend to focus on the social function of slang and observe that the vocabulary used by students can reflect the innovative character of slang. Wang (2016) and Batmang and Gunawan (2020) define slang from the perspective of social function.

They say that slang is a very informal and expressive product of student or student creativity, which is used to describe their cultural, academic, and social life.

In this case, slang is considered as a label that deviates greatly from the use of standard language, which students use to describe important things in their social and academic life. Slang can serve as code that excludes outsiders and can be seen linguistically as a sub-dialect that is hardly used at all in writing except for its stylistic effect. Slang terms are often known in a group or community. Bentley (1935) identifies a number of reasons why slang was created and invented. First, to express a different identity, or to state something surprising. This is reinforced by a research report by Widawski (2014) and Györfy (2016) which revealed that slang can shape the identity of language users as a community that is different from others. Second, to display a person's membership in a group. Third, to keep the identity of self or group member secret. Fourth, to enrich the language. Fifth, build friendly relations with other people. Sixth, to state a joke. Longe (1999) states that slang is a special language created to be disguised in meaning, incomprehensible to the uninitiated, and distinguishable from related and potentially confusing terms such as argot, jargon, and vulgarism.

## 1.2. Categorization of Slang Language

What has been described previously does not seem to have a clear operational system. To bridge this problem, Allan and Burridge (2006) classify slang into five types, namely (1) fresh and creative, meaning slang words in the form of new vocabulary to describe an event in informal situations, (2) flippant, namely slang words whose wording consists of two or more words and have no correlation with their denotative meaning; (3) imitative, i.e. slang words that are imitation or sourced from English words Standard; (4) acronym, which is a word composed of the results of a word formed by the first letter of each word in a phrase or initials made from a group of words or syllables and pronounced as a new word; and (5) clipping, namely slang words made by removing some of the longer words into a shorter form with the same meaning. Allan and Burridge (2006) also explain seven reasons for the formation of slang, namely (1) to greet, (2) to start a casual conversation, (3) to insult, (4) to form a familiar atmosphere, (5) to express an impression, (6) to express anger, and (7) showing intimacy.

## 1.3. Situating Previous Studies on Slang Language Use

There has been a growing body of research that examines slang language use in recent years. Anchored from online databases, we outline several research studies pertaining to the above-mentioned issue. First, Karatsareas (2021) explored the labeling of Cypriot Greek features as *slang* by young British-born speakers of Greek Cypriot heritage. Geared by data analysis from a Greek complementary school based in London, the study found that *slang* is employed to Cypriot Greek via a re-enregisterment process that redefines the contrast it constitutes with Standard Greek in the model of the *slang vs posh English* binary. Such a language use is local to the London context and is constructed along the lines of the ideological schemata of properness and correctness that also define the opposition between Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek in Cyprus.

Boylu and Kardas (2020) investigated teachers' and students' views on slang in teaching Turkish as a foreign language. They reported that the majority of teachers and students generally have positive opinions about learning and teaching slang

words in Turkish. The students learn slang to be able to communicate better with their peers. If the slang is not known, they will get social problems in their environment. In fact, this study recommends publishing a slang language book, while swearing words are taught in school lessons. Second, Baratovna (2021) in his research examined the relationship between the use of slang and modern student speech in Russia reported that slang has its own peculiarities that make students' speech emotionally abusive. In addition, slang also often transcends the boundaries of everyday discourse, making speech simpler without expression.

Third, Abdelwahab Eltom RahmtAllah (2020) investigated the intensity of internet slang use among female students majoring in English in Saudi Arabia. The results showed that the knowledge of the students about internet slang was quite limited. They are not familiar with internet slang. The results also revealed that some popular acronyms and abbreviations among students were used due to the high involvement of students with social media. This search shows that the slang used by Islamic boarding school students is still very limited. Therefore, this research is important to fill the gap of previous research. The use of slang among the youth community on social media has also been widely used. Fourth, Ulandari (2018) which studies slang in the Hallyu Wafe community reported that the slang often used by members of the Drakorindo Facebook group is short and concise language such as words and phrases. They are more likely to use a mixture of foreign languages from English and Korean. They also make a term from several words that are combined so that it becomes a new composition and produces a new term.

Next, Rosalina et al. (2020) in their research showed that the use of slang on social media Twitter is also widespread by the youth community. By using thematic analysis techniques, it was found that slang is in the form of abbreviations, funny speech forms, shortened forms, and interjection forms. The slang type found in this research are (1) common house slang and (2) community slang. Functionally, this slang is used for joking, showing the difference of the community from other communities, attracting attention, shortening, enriching the language, facilitating social relations, and friendliness and intimacy.

Furthermore, Budiasa (2021) who studied the use of slang on social media such as Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram, and Youtube reported that slang is used for various purposes, mainly as a joke, to make it look different and contemporary, to facilitate social relations, to reduce seriousness in conversation, to encourage deep intimacy. There are also other goals such as presenting oneself, avoiding small talk, showing excellence, and also doing something secretive. If the previous use of slang is related to certain communities on social media, the following is a review of the use of slang in certain communities in the real world among teenagers.

In another study, Setiawan (2019) reported that slang in the Ponorogo *angkringan* community, East Java Province, Indonesia, has both positive and negative impacts. It is said to be negative because the existence of Indonesian is increasingly marginalized by the emergence of slang, slang is the language used by a group of people (teenagers) to interact with members of their group, and can only be understood by the group or people understand the language in question (slang).

Suhardianto (2016) reported that the construction of the formation of slang language in the lives of teenagers in Batam city can be observed in seven ways, namely



(1) abbreviations such as PHP (Fake Hope Giver) and PJ (Made Taxes), (2) deletion such as *gi* which comes from the word “again”, (3) changes in letters and sounds (letter and sound change) such as *makacih* which comes from the word “thanks”, *cayang* which comes from the word “dear”, (4) adoption of the origin of basic words such as *binggow* which comes from the word “very much” and the word *jehong* which comes from the word “evil”, (5) abbreviations mixed in Indonesian or English such as *CoPas* which comes from the word “copy paste” and *LoLa* which comes from the phrase “loading old”, (6) language variations such as the word *loe* which comes from the Betawi language which means “you”, and (7) new word constructions such as the word *nyanting* which means “borrow” and *badi* which means “crazy person”. The reason for using slang is more because of the desire to be more slang and cool, to keep up with the times, follow-up, jokes, fame, and habits.

Findings from the above-cited studies have paid little attention on the use of slang language in the context of *pesantren*, an Islamic boarding school, and with *santri* community as the researched participants. Moreover, the use Arabic as a foreign language in *pesantren* has been common among *santri*. Their communications in Arabic language need to be studied in terms of how they use slang to mediate the communication with peers. Thereby, the present study was designed to uncover the use of Arabic slang language among *santri* community in a modern *pesantren* in Sulawesi Province, Indonesia, and the factors that influence the use of such a language.

## 2. Method

### 2.1. Design

The present study employed an interpretive case study. This design is used to examine phenomena in real-life contexts (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). In addition to studying naturally-occurring phenomena, this design is also used for theory-building through inductive thinking (Andrade, 2009; Yin, 2003). The present study aimed at revealing how Arabic slang language is operated by *santri* in an Indonesian modern *pesantren* in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia.

### 2.2. Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

Data for the study were obtained through participatory observation and in-depth interviews. Observations were carried out from October to December 2019 at the *pesantren* in Sulawesi, Indonesia. The observations focused on students' daily communications in Arabic slang in dormitories, mosques, and other places surrounding the *pesantren*. Furthermore, in-depth interviews were carried out on six participating students aiming at listening to their shared voices on the use of Arabic slang language. The interviews were also used to cross-validate the field observation among the *santri*. The use of observation and interview is directed to obtain salient findings from the study. It is also intended to reveal what is seen as empirical data in the field with the shared voices from the recruited participants. In analyzing the data, we use methodological considerations in the interview data analysis and Allan and Burrige's (2006) categorization of slang language and factors influencing its use. We first listened to the recorded data and transcribed it for multiple readings. Afterward, a global understanding of the transcripts was obtained. Lastly, we coded data based on slang language categorization.

### 3. Findings and Discussion

Findings from this study are detailed into the types of Arabic slang used by *santri* community and what factors influence the use of the Arabic slang language. Previously, Allan and Burrridge (2006) classified slang into five types: (1) fresh and creative, (2) flippant or overlapping, (3) imitative, (4) acronym, and (5) clipping. Our investigation showcases that the Arabic slang used by the study's participants was in the forms of words and sentences.

#### 3.1. Slang-word employment

Slang in the form of words in this study was found in overlapping words, clapping, and acronyms as proposed by Allan and Burrridge (2006). The imitative and fresh and creative concepts were not found in this study. However, the concept of imitative experts is similar to the concept of word-for-word translation, and the concept of adding local enclitics is the embodiment of fresh and creative concepts. The following is a complete explanation of slang in the form of words.

##### 3.1.1. Flippant or Overlapping

This type aims to shorten a word that initially consists of two words. The dominant pattern that generally occurs in this type is that the last letter of the first word overlaps the letter of the first part of the second word. This overlap can be one phoneme or several phonemes. For example, the word *slanguage* comes from the word's slang and language. Another example is the word *cartoon* which comes from the words *cartoon* and *tune*. In the context of this study, slang words that use overlapping or flippant can be observed in the Table 1.

The word overlapping is found in the word *ainat*. The word *ainat* comes from two words, namely the words *aina* and *anta*. The initial syllable *ai* in the first word *aina* overlaps with the second syllable *nta* in the second word *anta*. The first word means where and the second word means you, so that it forms an interrogative question. The combination of these two syllables, *ai* and *nta*, then forms a new word called *ainta*. However, because the pronunciation is difficult to pronounce, the word *ainta* shifted to *ainat*. Islamic boarding school students often use the word *ainat* to refer to the meaning of where you are. Other overlapping words are found in the word *marjul* in Table 1. The word *marjul* comes from the words *mar'ah* and *rajul*. The word *mar'ah* which comes from the origin of the word *m-r-a* means woman or wife. This word has the same root as *muruah*, *mar'i*, *mar'u*, and *mir'ah*. The first word means nobility, generosity, honor, authority, and authority. The second word means seen, seen or seen. The word *mar'u* refers to the meaning of a person, while the word *mir'ah* means a mirror. Thus, a woman is closely related to beauty issues that always encourage her to use a mirror. Likewise, women are closely related to issues of honor and authority and what is seen. On the other hand, the word *rajul* which comes from the origin of the word *r-j-l* means man. This word originally comes from the word *rijlun* which means foot, *tarajjala* which means descending or landing. All of the derived forms of the word show the meaning of feet that always go wherever they want to go and travel for miles with a certain goal. Thus, it becomes natural that the one who travels by foot is a man. The combination of these two words then becomes *marjul* and is interpreted as a tomboy by the community. In this context, tomboy refers to a woman who has traits or behaviors that are assumed to be male gender roles. The word formation process overlaps the phoneme /r/ of the words *mar'ah* [women] and *rajul* [men].

Table 1. Overlapping

No	The origin of the word	Overlapping	Translation
1	من أين أنت؟ <i>Min aina anta?</i>	من أينت؟ <i>Min ainat?</i>	Where are you from?
2	مرأة رجل <i>Mar'ah rajul</i>	مرجل <i>Marjul</i>	Tomboy

## 3.1.2. Clipping

This pattern is not based on the jumble of two words into one but rather based on a different pattern. In this pattern, it is found that one or more parts of a word are discarded or ignored. Research data reports that the use of slang by Islamic boarding school students follows a clipping pattern. The pattern is classified into two, namely clipping where the first letter of the first word meets the last letter of the second word, and the first letter of the first word meets all parts or phonemes of the second word. It can be observed in the Table 2.

Table 2. Clipping Model 1

No	The origin of the word	Clipping	Translation
3	بكم ثمن هذا <i>Bikam tsamanu hāzā?</i>	بكمذا <i>Bikamzā?</i>	How much is this
4	غير مفهوم <i>Gairu mafhūm</i>	غمغم <i>Gamgam</i>	Do not understand

Data number 3 in Table 2 refers to the sentence *bikam saman u haza*. This sentence consists of three words, namely the words *bikam*, *samanu*, and *haza*. Literally, the word *bikam* comes from the particle *bi* and the word *kam*. The particle *bi* sometimes refers to the meaning with and sometimes it is not translated. The word *kam* which functions as a question word means how much? how many? quantity and quantity. In this context, *bikam* means how much. The word *tsamanu* in Arabic refers to the meaning of price, value, cost, medium of exchange and buyer's tool. The word *tsamanu* has the same root as *tsammana* which means to assess, assess, evaluate, appreciate, determine value, and determine price. Meanwhile, the word *haza* means this. In the process of communication between the students, these three words are combined into one so that it becomes *bikamza*. This word formation process can be observed from the combination of the first word *bikam* and the final phoneme /za/ from the third word *haza*. The phoneme /ha/ in the third word is discarded as is the word *samanu* as the second word. Data number 4 is found in the phrase *gairu mafhum*. This phrase consists of two words, *gairu* and *mafhum*. The word *gairu* which means polysemy is translated with other than, other, not the same as, not, without, not, and but. The word *mafhum* is a form of derivation of *ism maf'ul* from the word *f-h-m*. The word *mafhum* means what is understood, understood, thoughts, concepts, and intentions. The students when communicating with their friends to show their intimacy, they are more likely to use the word *gamgam*. This word comes from the combination of the first phoneme /ga/ in the first word *gaira* and the final phoneme /m/ in the second word. However, another phoneme, /m/, /fa/, /h/, /u/ in the second word are discarded. The word *gamgam* refers to the meaning of not understanding. As already mentioned, in addition to the clipping pattern, which uses a combination of the initial letters of the first word and

the final letters of the second word, another pattern uses a combination of the initial form of the first word and all the phonemes of the second word. This can be observed in the Table 3.

**Table 3.** Clipping Model 2

No	The origin of the word	Clipping	Translation
5	كيف خالص <i>Kaifa khalas</i>	كفخلص <i>Kafkhalas</i>	How's it been
6	لكي مذا <i>Likai maza</i>	لمذا <i>Limza</i>	What for

Data number 5 *kafkhalas* refers to two words, *kaifa* and *khalas*. What does the word *kaifa* mean in Arabic? In what way? How? This word is an interrogative word that functions to ask about circumstances and things. This word that comes from the origin of the word *k-y-f* has many forms of inflection. For example, the word *kayyafa-yukayyifu* means to adjust, to do, to match, to accommodate. *Takayyafa-yatakayyafu* means to adjust, to do, to accommodate. *Kaffa-yakuffu* an means to hold back, deny, stop, subdue, leave, decide, and give up. In addition to the inflectional form, there is also a derivation of the word *k-y-f*. For example, the word *kaifiyy* which means arbitrary. *Kaifiyyah* means way, fashion, style, way, method, quality, and condition. *Takyif* means adjustment and adaptation. In the process of daily communication, the students do not use the formal language of *kaifa khalas*, but rather use the informal language that they make themselves in their community. The phrase *kaifa khalas* is then shortened to one word, *kafkhalas*, by using a combination of words. The phonemes /k/ and /f/ in the first word *kaifa* are combined with all the phonemes in the second word, *khalas*, so that they become *kafkhalas*. The same thing also happened to data number 6. The word *limza* comes from the phrases *likai* and *māzā*. The word *limzā* comes from the phoneme /l/ in the word *likai*, and the phonemes /m/ and /z/ are taken from the word *māzā*. Almost all phonemes are used except the phoneme /a/.

### 3.1.3. Acronym

An acronym refers to a shortened meaning in the form of a combination of letters or syllables or other parts that are written and pronounced as natural words such as *sidak* which is an acronym for sudden inspection or major general which is an acronym for major general. The results of interviews with several students found that four Arabic slang words were used by students, as shown by Table 4.

**Table 4.** Acronym

No	The origin of the word	Acronym	Translation
7	لأي شيء <i>Liayyi syai'in</i>	لشيء <i>Lisyaiin</i>	What for
8	إلى الحمام <i>Ilal hammām</i>	الحام <i>Ilhām</i>	Bathroom

The word *lisyai'in* in data number 7 is an acronym of the words *liayyi* and *syai'in*. The phoneme /li/ comes from the word *liayyi*, while *syai'in* comes from the word *syai'in*. This word combination does not actually use word formation patterns such as overlapping and clipping. There is no fixed rule regarding which phonemes and syllables will be combined, therefore overlapping and clipping are also word combinations. This word literally means for what. For the *santri* community, the use



of the word *lisyai'in* is commonplace to shorten their speech to their friends. The word *ilham* in data (8) is an abbreviation of the word *ila al-hammām*. The first syllable /il/ of the word *ilā* which is combined with the syllable /ham/ in the ultimate position of the word *al-hammām* is the basis for the formation of the acronym. This word is used when someone intends to go to the bathroom. The word *ilham*, of course, is known to a limited extent within the community and is not known outside the community even to the wider community. This word may lead to misunderstandings in society if it is interpreted outside the context of the community. Therefore, these slang words are only known and understood among the *santri* community. In addition to overlapping and clipping patterns, other patterns that are much different from the previous pattern were also found. The pattern is classified into several parts, namely (1) the pattern of word-for-word translation, and (2) the addition of local dialects. It can be observed in the following description.

#### 3.1.4. Word For Word Translation

Word for word translation is the way someone translates the source language into the target language by using the meaning word for word. This method is commonly used for translators who are just learning or are called novice translators. This is understandable because they are *pesantren* students who are learning. The use of slang by the *santri* also uses this media to create new words in their own community. The full description can be seen in the Table 5.

**Table 5:** Word for word translation

No	The origin of the word	Word for word translation	Translation
9	قلب قلب <i>Qalbun qalbun</i>	<i>Hati hati</i>	Caution
10	لا ماذا <i>Lā māzā māzā</i>	<i>Tidak apa-apa</i>	It's okey

The word of caution can be found in data number 9. This word is a word for word translation of the words *qalbun-qalbun*. In the context of this study, the students used these slang or informal words to show their cautious attitude towards something. But because they do not know the Arabic vocabulary from the word careful, they are more likely to use the word *qalbun-qalbun*. It's not only easy, but also practically spoken. In contrast, the formal Arabic of the word caution is *ha-za-r-*. Data number 10 also shows the same thing. The word it's okay in Indonesian translates to *la māzā-māzā* in Arabic. This translation is considered a word-for-word translation because the word *la* is translated into no, while *māzā* is translated with what word. The word *maza* is actually an interrogative word that functions to ask "what". However, in this context, the use of word-for-word translation is easier to do when communicating with colleagues. In fact, the word construction is okay in formal Arabic known as *lā ba'sa*.

#### 3.1.5. Local Enclitic Addition

The addition of enclitics is one of the characteristics of the use of slang among the *santri* community. Clitics is a bound element attached to the words that follow it (Mustary et al., 2018). These clitics are classified into two, proclitics and enclitics. Proclitic is a bound element that is located at the beginning of a word and its writing is tied to the words that follow it such as *ku-* and *kau-* (Lestari et al., 2021). For example, prolytic [ku] in the sentence I bought you this book, and prolytic [you] in the sentence

you just received a gift from him. In contrast to proclitic, enclitic is a bound element that is located at the end of a word and its writing is bound by the following words such as enclitic [mu] and [nya] in Indonesian (Lestari et al., 2021). For example, the shoes are hers or I managed to find you. Enclitics [nya] and [mu] can be seen at the end of these two sentences. In the context of this research, the clitics found are clitics in the form of enclitics. There are two enclitics used in the slang language of *santri* children, namely *enklitik ji* and *kah*. It can be observed in the Table 6.

**Table 6.** Addition of clitics

No	The origin of the word	Addition of clitics	Translation
11	مفهوم <i>Mafhum</i>	ji مفهوم <i>Mafhumji</i>	Understood
12	أنت لماذا <i>Anta limaza</i>	kah أنت لماذا <i>Anta limazakah</i>	Why?

Data number 11 shows the addition of enclitic [ji]. Enklitik [ji] is not only used in the Makassar area, but also in general in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, including in Bugis-speaking areas, including Kendari. Enclitics [ji] have different functions depending on the context in which the utterance is spoken. For example, the enclitic [ji] in the sentence *ke Yogya ji* means *only*, so it can be interpreted only to the city of Yogya and not to other cities. Enclitics [ji] can also mean affirmation and why or yes. In the context of this research, when a student asks his friend, "do you understand the material the *ustadz* (teacher) has given you", he will answer, "*mafhumji*" or understand. This means that the students can understand the material well. In contrast to enclitics [ji], the word [kah] is classified as a particle. The particle depends on the word that precedes it to have meaning, cannot stand alone, and is separate from other words. When viewed from its function, the particle or task word consists of five types, namely prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, articles and affirmations (Pandean, 2018, Setyadi, 2018). In this case, the particle [kah] functions as an interrogative sentence. The writing can be separated or spliced according to its function and use. Particles are written separately when they are placed after a noun or adverb and connected if they are placed other than that. The use of particles can be observed in the sample data (12). In data (12), the sentence *anta limaza* is classified as a question sentence. The question sentence can be identified through the particle [kah] and the question word *limaza*. This can happen because this sentence is classified as oral speech.

### 3.2. Slang-sentence employment

In addition to taking the form of words such as overlapping, clipping, acronyms, word-for-word translation, and the addition of local enclitics, the use of slang by the participants was also in the forms of sentences. Findings document slang sentences such as declarative, imperative, and interrogative.

#### 3.2.1. Declarative Sentence

Declarative sentences function to provide a statement of information (Adiantika, 2020; Kasriyati & Rosidah, 2020) so that their speech does not require a response from speakers of other languages. Some words that are often used by students in the form of declarative sentences can be observed in the Table 7.

**Table 7.** Slang in the form of Declarative Sentences

No	Slang Language	Translate	Formal Language
13	غم غم <i>Gamgam</i>	Do not understand	غير مفهوم <i>Gair mafhum</i>
14	مفلس <i>muflis</i>	No money	مافى فلوس <i>Mafi fulus</i>

At points 13-14, it can be seen that the use of slang is the result of translating a word in Indonesian into Arabic. For example, to say that they do not understand the lecture material of the lecturer, for example, they will be more likely to use *gam gam* than the formal language, *gair mafhum* (13). Similarly, to state that they do not have any money, they use the word *muflis* "no money" as a simplification of the *mafi fulus* phrase "no money" in the data number 14.

### 3.2.2. Imperative Sentence

Imperative sentences are sentences that contain the meaning of an order by using a command verb (Aziez, 2019), such as *uktub* which means write or you should write. This sentence serves to ask or forbid someone to do something, such as the word *rhino* or after you. This word is also a simplification of the word from the formal language, *ba'daka*. Based on observations, slang that uses command sentences is rarely used by student children. They tend to use formal Arabic vocabulary such as *ijlis* to indicate the command to "sit".

### 3.2.3. Interrogative Sentence

Interrogative sentences are sentences that contain questions (Huda, 2018) This sentence is used to ask someone for information. For example, to ask and confirm something such as the use of the question word "for what", students use *lisyai'* instead of using *liayyi syai'in*. The question sentence "how much does this cost" is also more dominant and the word '*bikamza*' is used instead of using *bikam haza* as the formal language. Here, they do simplification or simplification of vocabulary. Likewise, when they ask: "are you done", they use the language *kaf khalas*, even though the formal Arabic is *khalasta*. Briefly, the use of several sentences that indicate questions can be seen in the Table 8.

**Table 8.** Slang in the Form of Interrogative Sentences

No	Slang Language	Translate	Formal Language
15	لشيء <i>Lisyai'in</i>	What for	لأي شيء <i>Liayyi syaiin</i>
16	كيف خلص <i>Kaifa khalas</i>	Is it done?	خلصت <i>khalasta</i>

## 3.3. Factors Influencing the Use of Arabic Slang Language

The present study also details findings from interview sessions with the participants. The questions probed in these interviews were related to the factors that influence the use of the Arabic slang language.

### 3.3.1. Habit

The tradition of using Arabic slang among students is inseparable from the habitual factors that have been formed since studying Arabic and becoming *musyrif* in Islamic boarding schools. These habits are then supported by a community where the

majority of them come from the same group, ethnicity or class. In addition, the stereotype of slang in everyday communication has been embedded in their minds so that they think that Arabic slang is easier and elegant to use compared to formal language which can make them stiff in communicating. A student, who uses Arabic slang at the *pesantren*, revealed that:

“We are used to using Arabic slang in dormitories or other places that are not supervised by *Jawwas*” (Interview, ZA, 14 July 2019, 2:15 pm).

In line with ZA, one of the companions or official, AM, when accompanying students to Aceh in order to take part in the santri olympiad said that:

“... students who took part in the Arabic debate competition from Kendari failed to advance to the next stage, because they used Arabic slang unconsciously. Unawareness of the use of this language is caused by habits that have been created by themselves with their social groups. In fact, the arguments they presented were very good and could amaze the jury” (Interview, AM, August 2019).

### 3.3.2. Creativity

The creativity factor is an indicator that can generate ideas and interest in using Arabic slang. In fact, they are able to combine the dialectics of the local/regional language with Arabic. They break away from linguistic rules that are considered complicated and difficult to use in communication interactions, so they create Arabic words or sentences by shortening or simply using the meaning of vocabulary that is combined to form new sentence structures. AT, a senior santri, when met at the *pesantren* mosque revealed that:

“Santri in our *pesantren* is famous for its Arabic language skills. Therefore, they like to create new words that are not known other than their own group, such as translating the phrase it's okay into literal Arabic with *la maza maza* which means it's okay. In fact, *la maza maza* is not found in Arabic literature. To express the phrase that it is okay, Arabs use the term *la ba'sa*, not *la maza-maza*” (Interview, AT, December 2019, 12:05 am).

In line with AT, one of the Arabic slang users, KAR, emphasized that:

“The use of slang has indeed created new words among the students. Not only that, this creativity is also quite easy for students to understand Arabic, such as the use of the particle *ji* at the end of a word as a Kendari accent, such as *la ba'sa ji* which means *kok* (Interview, KAR, Masjid, 2020).

### 3.3.3. Simplification

This simplification factor also occurs when students are lazy to pronounce Arabic sentences that are long and full of rules. They also abbreviate two or more words into one word. For example, the word *muflis* is a combination of two words, *mafi* and *fulus*. Likewise, the word *bikam haza* is shortened to *bikamza* as a form of simplification of the word. Efforts like this are recognized by one of the users of Arabic slang. SD, for example, on one occasion said:

“What I've ever gotten is usually why they can create new languages because it is caused by several things. Maybe the first is that they want to



find things that are simpler or easier to say, they don't want to say long things but only short ones. Then the second one is usually they want to find sensation, most of them just want to find sensation, upload to the media, want to be known, or to be able to make other people laugh, among them also basically they are creating something new that has never been created by others, but usually they also fall into the trap that it turns out to be wrong (Interview, elementary school, dormitory).

A similar confession was expressed by a student, IN, that “the simplification of words in Arabic slang does not have a regular form or pattern. It all depends on the collective agreement of the group members” (Interview, IN, January 2020).

The description above shows that the habitual factor of using Arabic slang when they are still in Islamic boarding schools has an effect on communication practices. The community that has been formed in the Islamic boarding school for several years continues in its new place with relatively the same patterns and practices. Likewise, creativity and the simplification of certain words indicate that among them there is a desire to make it easier to use Arabic slang. In fact, they not only collaborated with Indonesian and Arabic to be used as new vocabulary but also adopted some words from the regional/local language into new words in their daily communication practice.

#### 4. Conclusion

The present study documents that the types of slang language used by the participants are overlapping, clipping, acronyms, word-for-word translation, and the addition of local cliches. Likewise, this research shows that the factors that influence the emergence of the use of Arabic slang language include habit, creativity, and simplification. We argue that linguistic production with diverse speakers in different settings of a language use had been evident to yield creativity in communication. It is in line with the idea of linguistic creativity that should be further investigated (Siffrinn, 2021). Although the findings shed insights into the use of Arabic slang language in the context of *santri* community. Generalizations of the findings may not be achieved since the study only recruited male participants. Future research agenda should include female participants using different research methods in order to obtain equal gendered perspectives and varied findings from diverse angles.

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