Research Article

The Language Environment of Santri at Salaf Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon

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Abstract

This research delves into the linguistic intricacies within the Salafi Islamic boarding school situated in Babakan, Ciwaringin, Cirebon—a microcosm of diversity in social and linguistic backgrounds. Employing a descriptive qualitative design with a sociolinguistic approach, the study explores language maintenance and shift among the students, emphasizing the intricate interplay between language and social contexts. Through the Simak Bebas Libat Cakap 'observation' technique, questionnaires, and interviews, the data unveils a dynamic coexistence of language maintenance and shift, notably observed in Bahasa Cirebon, Indonesian, and regional languages. Native speakers exhibit resilience in using Bahasa Cirebon during interactions with diverse interlocutors, while language shift occurs when individuals with distinct linguistic backgrounds opt for languages other than the regional one in communicative events. This research not only provides insights into linguistic resilience within the Salafi *pesantren* community but also highlights the adaptability of regional languages in multifaceted linguistic environments. The incorporation of the Unified Regional Linguistic Resilience Theory enriches the theoretical underpinning, offering a comprehensive lens for comprehending language dynamics in Islamic boarding schools. This contribution extends to the broader discourse on language, identity, and communication, emphasizing the significance of regional languages in diverse sociocultural settings.

Keywords: Language situation; language shift and maintenance; Bahasa Cirebon; Salafi Islamic boarding school students.

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1. Introduction

Regional languages are more than mere linguistic entities; they stand as integral components of a nation's cultural heritage, embodying unique expressions, traditions, and historical narratives (Wardhaugh & M. Fuller, 2015). However, the dynamic nature of language introduces the potential for shifts or maintenance, shaped by the intricate interactions within speech communities (Fishman, 1991). Presently, a concerning reality confronts us, as a total of 136 regional languages stand on the precipice of extinction (Crystal, 2000). This alarming situation underscores the pressing need for concerted and tangible efforts to safeguard and preserve these endangered languages, ensuring their sustained existence for future generations. The potential loss of these linguistic assets not only represents a diminishment of cultural diversity but also poses a significant challenge to the collective heritage of these local communities (Zulaeha & Hum, 2017).

The dynamics of language shift and maintenance emerge as a multifaceted phenomenon within the context of ongoing language shift trends, particularly concerning regional languages. This

phenomenon encapsulates both a process and a noteworthy step in linguistic evolution. The intricacies of language dynamics manifest through the delicate balance between language shift and maintenance, influencing the linguistic landscape of a community (Farisiyah & Zamzani, 2018). The phenomenon of language shift and maintenance is fundamentally rooted in the conscious choices made by a linguistic community regarding their language preferences (Rosviana et al., 2019). This conscious selection of a language, often referred to as "language choice," significantly contributes to the observed shifts and preservations in linguistic patterns within a given community (Goffman, 1959). It serves as a reflection of the sociolinguistic dynamics at play, encapsulating the complex interplay of social, cultural, and individual factors that influence language practices (Chaer & Agustina, 2004).

The community residing within the confines of Islamic boarding school institutions is characterized by a rich tapestry of linguistic diversity, stemming from varied language backgrounds among its members (Rahman et al., 2023). This heterogeneity is notably pronounced as *santri* 'student' bring with them their distinct regional languages upon entering the boarding school. The linguistic dynamics within the boarding school setting, therefore, become a melting pot where these diverse languages converge, potentially undergoing shifts or steadfast maintenance contingent upon the intricate interplay during linguistic events (Herk, 2003). The linguistic landscape of the boarding school is shaped by the individual linguistic repertoires of the *santri* 'student' each rooted in their respective regional languages. The coexistence of these languages in the communal setting sets the stage for a fascinating sociolinguistic phenomenon (Hasyim, 2023). The outcome, whether a gradual shift or resolute maintenance of these languages, hinges on the intricate processes unfolding during various speech events within the boarding school.

The phenomenon of language shift, a nuanced process where one language gradually replaces another, or language maintenance, wherein a language is actively preserved, becomes particularly pronounced in the bilingual or multilingual discourse prevalent in the boarding school environment (Trudgill, 2014). The pervasive linguistic contact resulting from the convergence of diverse languages in speech events creates an environment where the fate of each language is subject to negotiation, adaptation, and potentially transformation (Herlina, 2018). The complex linguistic environment, shaped by the diverse backgrounds of the santri, highlights the dynamic nature of language in Islamic boarding schools. Understanding these dynamics is essential for comprehending the sociolinguistic intricacies and cultural dimensions influencing language practices within the boarding school community.

Border areas exhibit unique linguistic phenomena, especially when adjoining regions have distinct languages. In Ds. Babakan, Kec. Ciwaringin, Kab. Cirebon, most speakers use the Cirebon Javanese dialect, while neighboring Kabupaten Majalengka speaks Sundanese. This area is notable for its numerous educational institutions, including many Salaf-based Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), which attract students and foster linguistic and cultural interactions. This setting provides a unique opportunity to study how different languages coexist and maintain their presence in various speech contexts.

Islamic boarding schools or *pesantren* stand as communal hubs where students, known as *santri* 'student' converge from diverse geographical locations, united by a shared objective of acquiring formal education in mainstream schools and delving into religious studies within the serene environment of the boarding school (Isbah, 2020). Within this broader context of *pesantren*, Salafi Islamic boarding schools emerge as distinctive traditional educational institutions firmly grounded in the tenets of the Islamic faith (Komariyah, 2016). In this unique educational setting, the fusion of formal education in conventional schools and religious instruction within the *pesantren* creates a

dynamic learning environment (Setyabudi, 2019). The *pesantren*, therefore, serves as more than just an educational institution; it becomes a transformative space where students cultivate not only academic knowledge but also a strong ethical foundation rooted in Islamic teachings (Hefner, 2011).

Due to the heterogeneous nature of the *pesantren* community, particularly the *santri* within the research area, the researcher aims to elucidate the linguistic situation among the *santri* community in the locality of Babakan, Ciwaringin, Cirebon. The examination focuses on the aspects of language maintenance and shift. The investigation into language maintenance and shift in Babakan, Ciwaringin, Cirebon, falls within the broader scope of sociolinguistics.

The subsequent researcher concentrated on the Ar-Ridwa Islamic boarding school situated in Bekasi, where students are actively encouraged to employ foreign languages such as Arabic and English on a regular basis. Findings indicate that while Indonesian remains the predominant language of communication, intermittent instances of code-mixing with Arabic or English expressions occur. These occurrences are attributed to institutional guidelines advocating for multilingualism within the school community (Ainunnisa & Maulana, 2021). The subsequent scholarly inquiry into Islamic boarding schools pertains to a study conducted in Banyuwangi, concentrating on the linguistic milieu. This research scrutinizes expressions, phrases, and sentences articulated in the Javanese dialect within the confines of both pesantren. (Nugraha & Prasetiyo, 2022). The research conducted in the identical locale (Ds.Babakan Kec.Ciawringin Kab.Cirebon) has antecedent precedents. This particular investigation delves into the variations exhibited in the Cirebon language as spoken in Babakan Village, Ciwaringin District, and Cirebon Regency. It underscores the linguistic differentiations stemming from the community's segmentation into Islamic and non-Islamic boarding school groups. The findings elucidate three conspicuous variations observed in the Cirebon language within the researched vicinity, namely dialectal distinctions, variations in lexicon, and divergences in speech patterns (Uctuvia & Suryadi, 2022).

This research is situated in the border area between Cirebon Regency and Majalengka Regency, where linguistic tensions exist between Javanese and Sundanese languages. Given this context, it is essential to review previous studies on linguistic conditions between Javanese and Sundanese. Noteworthy studies include research on language shift within the Samin speech community, which aimed to describe the process of Javanese language shift in the region. Findings indicated a shift from the Javanese ngoko language to the krama language, with ngoko limited to neighborly and familial contexts, while krama became more prevalent in other aspects of life (Mardikantoro, 2013). Hartanti et al. explored language preservation and shift in Pentingsari Village, Yogyakarta, examining the linguistic dynamics of the local community (Hartanti et al., 2019). Another study by Suharyo and Nurhayati investigated language preservation through language selection by women in the coastal area of Rembang (Suharyo & Nurhayati, 2020).

This research specifically explores how language is utilized, encompassing language choices and language attitudes within the *pesantren* community in Babakan, Ciwaringin, Cirebon. The goal is to ascertain the extent to which the preservation of the Cirebonese Javanese dialect, which is the native language of the research area, is pursued and maintained. The study seeks to delve into the intricacies of language dynamics within the *pesantren* community, shedding light on language preferences, attitudes, and actions taken toward the preservation of the Javanese language, particularly the Cirebonese dialect, within the specified region.

Furthermore, the primary objective of this research is to provide a detailed portrayal of the ongoing processes of language preservation and shift in the identified research region. The intricate examination of language dynamics in this context is essential for understanding how linguistic

practices evolve, adapt, or undergo transformations within the sociocultural fabric of a heterogenous community. By unraveling the complexities of language maintenance and change, the study aspires to contribute to the broader understanding of linguistic phenomena in diverse social settings and facilitate informed insights into the factors influencing language dynamics over time.

Unified Regional Linguistic Resilience Theory (URLRT) is ideal for analyzing the discussed phenomena. This theoretical framework explores language preservation and shift within regional contexts, emphasizing the interconnectedness of language and cultural heritage. URLRT examines how communities navigate language choices in response to social, cultural, and individual factors, aiming to understand efforts to sustain regional languages. It offers a holistic, context-sensitive approach to analyzing language dynamics, providing insights into the interplay between language, culture, and societal changes. URLRT's comprehensive approach aligns well with the study's aim to explore language preservation and shift in a diverse cultural context.

2. Methods

This research uses the Unified Regional Linguistic Resilience Theory (URLRT) within a qualitative descriptive approach to examine language preservation and shift among the *santri* at the Salafi Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon. URLRT, which highlights the connection between language and cultural heritage, focuses on linguistic resilience. It facilitates the analysis of efforts by the *santri* community to preserve the Cirebonese Javanese dialect, considering the adaptability of language, sociocultural influences, and the broader implications of linguistic resilience. This theoretical framework supports the qualitative exploration of regional linguistic dynamics in the Salafi pesantren of Babakan, Ciwaringin, Cirebon.

The qualitative descriptive approach emphasizes naturalistic settings, descriptive analysis, process focus, and inductive data analysis inherent in qualitative research. URLRT enhances this methodology by providing a theoretical framework to understand the resilience and dynamics of regional languages in linguistic communities. In this study, the researcher acts as the primary instrument, using passive observation with the Simak Bebas Libat Cakap (SBLC) technique within the pesantren setting. This method, aligned with URLRT, ensures attentive listening to spoken discourse, highlighting the nuances of the Cirebonese Javanese dialect (Mahsun, 2005).

URLRT informs researchers in grasping the intricacies of language maintenance or shift across diverse linguistic events, guiding informant selection based on gender and educational level for comprehensive representation. This echoes URLRT's focus on understanding linguistic resilience within specific sociocultural contexts. Interviews and questionnaires, structured to explore language choices, participants' roles, and conversation topics, reflect URLRT's emphasis on linguistic preservation. Triangulation, comparing data from interviews, questionnaires, and direct observation, enhances data validity, ensuring a thorough understanding of linguistic patterns within the pesantren community. Data analysis under URLRT utilizes methods like Bagi Unsur Langsung (BUL), Pilah Unsur Langsung (PUL), and Pisah Unsur Langsung (Sudaryanto, 2015).

These methods systematically reveal patterns and themes within linguistic data, in line with URLRT's focus on identifying linguistic resilience factors. The presentation integrates both formal and informal methods. In conclusion, this methodology, enriched by URLRT, provides a robust framework for exploring language dynamics within Salafi pesantren in Babakan, Ciwaringin, Cirebon. The incorporation of URLRT enhances the theoretical foundation, offering valuable insights to sociolinguistics.
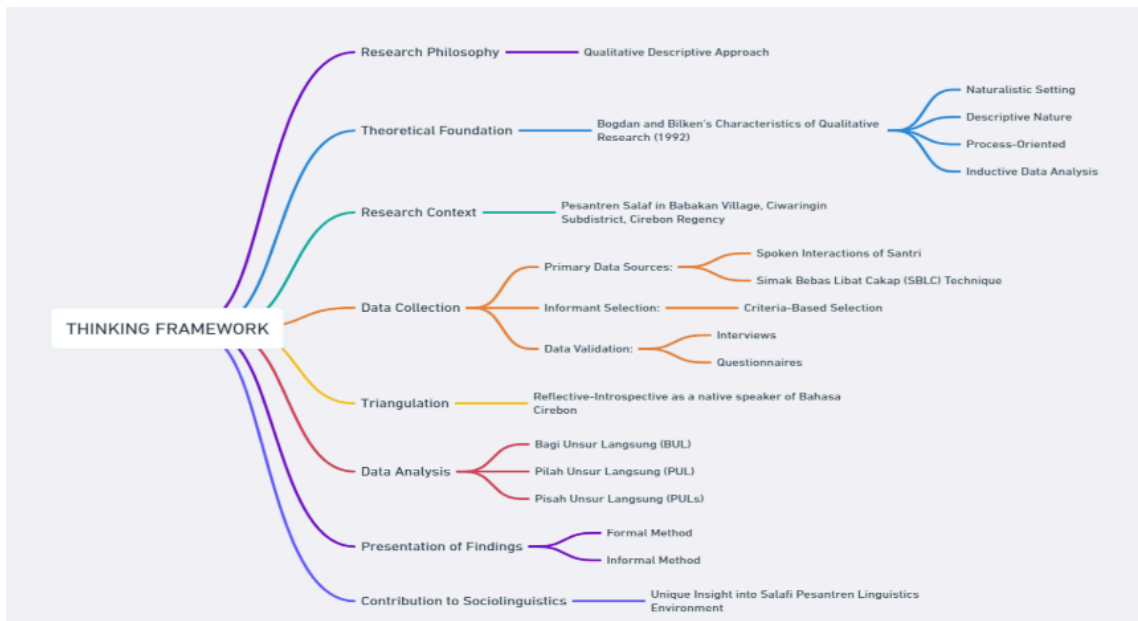
Figure 1. Thinking Framework of The Methodology

The study's data primarily consist of utterances by *santri* in Bahasa Cirebon, Bahasa Sunda, and Bahasa Indonesia, along with questionnaire responses. A mixed-methods approach is used, employing Simak Bebas Libat Cakap (SBLC) for observational data and questionnaires to assess language preferences. Data analysis utilizes the Unified Regional Linguistic Resilience Theory (URLRT), Bagi Unsur Langsun (BUL), Pilah Unsur Langsung (PUL), and Pisah Unsur Langsung (PULs) techniques. Validation is ensured through in-depth interviews and self-reflective methods to enhance data accuracy. This comprehensive approach aims to understand language variation in santri utterances within the specified linguistic settings.

3. Results

Results from the distributed questionnaires among male and female *santri*, categorized as Cirebonese speakers (hereafter BC) and Non-Cirebonese speakers (hereafter BBC), are presented in Table 1, focusing on the usage of Cirebonese language based on the situational background of speech events. In formal settings, male BC students employing Cirebonese for communication constitute 46.67%, whereas their BBC counterparts exhibit a usage rate of 33.33%. In contrast, within informal settings, male BC students using Cirebonese make up 53.33%, while BBC students utilizing Cirebonese in informal contexts amount to 66.67%. It is noteworthy that the percentage distribution differs between male and female students. Among female BC students, 26.27% employ Cirebonese in formal situations, while their BBC counterparts exhibit a usage rate of 20%. In informal settings, female BC students using Cirebonese constitute 73.33%, while the BBC students using Cirebonese in informal situations amount to 80%.

Table 1. Percentage of Bahasa Cirebon Usage Based on Setting and Situation

No.	Setting and Situation	Male *Santri*		Female *Santri*	
		Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Non Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Non Bahasa Cirebon Speaker
1.	Formal	46.67%	33.33%	26.67%	20%
2.	Informal	53.33%	66.67%	73.33%	80%

Table 2 presents an analysis of male and female *santri* who are speakers of Bahasa Cirebon (BC) and non-speakers of Bahasa Cirebon (BBC), examining the interlocutors involved in communicative events. For BC speakers engaging in communication with fellow BC speakers, the utilization of BC is observed at 73.33%. Conversely, male BBC *santri* employing BC to communicate with other BBC counterparts amounts to 80%. The instances of male BBC *santri* using BC to communicate with BC speakers are at 26.27%, while BBC speakers choosing BC to converse with their BBC counterparts' amount to 20%.

Table 2. Percentage of Bahasa Cirebon Usage Based on Interlocutor

No.	Interlocutor	Male *Santri*		Female *Santri*	
		Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Non Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Non Bahasa Cirebon Speaker
1.	Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	73.33%	80%	60%	53.33%
2.	Non Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	26.67%	20%	40%	46.67%

Analyzing the language choice patterns based on gender and interlocutors reveals nuanced variations. Female BC speakers employing BC in communication with BC counterparts are represented at 60%, whereas female BC speakers using BC when communicating with BBC speakers are at 65.33%. For BBC speakers opting for BC in communication with BC speakers, the percentage stands at 40%, while those using BC with other BBC speakers amount to 46.67%.

Table 3. Percentage of Bahasa Indonesia Usage Based on Setting and Situation

No.	Setting and Situation	Male *Santri*		Female *Santri*	
		Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Non Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Penutur Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Non Bahasa Cirebon Speaker
1.	Formal	86.67%	73.33%	53.33%	60%
2.	Informal	13.33%	26.67%	46.67%	40%

Table 3 illustrates how the Indonesian language (hereafter abbreviated as BI) is employed in formal and informal contexts by male and female *santri* in Salaf Islamic boarding schools within the research area. Male *santri* who are speakers of Cirebonese (BC) and utilize BI for communication in formal settings account for 86.67%, while male *santri* from non-Cirebonese backgrounds (BBC) using

BI in formal situations comprise 73.33%. In contrast, male BC speakers utilizing BI in informal situations constitute 13.33%. For male BBC *santri* using BI in informal settings, the percentage is 26.67%. There is a notable difference in the percentage distribution between male BC and BBC speakers and female *santri* in the use of BI for communication. Female BC speakers utilizing BI in formal situations represent 53.33%, while female BBC *santri* using BI in formal settings constitute 60%. Moreover, female BC speakers employing BI in informal situations account for 46.67%, whereas female BBC *santri* using BI in informal contexts make up 40%.

Table 4. Percentage of Bahasa Indonesia Usage Based on Interlocutor

No.	Interlocutor	Male *Santri*		Female *Santri*	
		Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Non Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	Non Bahasa Cirebon Speaker
1.	Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	13.33%	26.67%	33.33%	40%
2.	Non Bahasa Cirebon Speaker	86.67%	73.33%	66.67%	60%

Table 4 presents the language choices of male and female *santri*, both native Cirebonese (BC) speakers and non-Cirebonese speakers (BBC), in relation to their interlocutors during speech events. BC speakers using Bahasa Indonesia (BI) for communication with fellow BC speakers account for 13.33%, while male BBC *santri* employing BI to communicate with other BBC *santri* constitute 26.67%. Among male BBC *santri* communicating with BC speakers, 86.67% use BI, while those using BI with fellow BBC interlocutors make up 73.33%.

In terms of BI usage among female *santri*, BC speakers communicating with BC interlocutors in BI make up 33.33%, while those using BI in communication with BBC speakers account for 40%. Among female BBC speakers, 66.67% use BI when communicating with BC speakers, and those using BI with fellow BBC speakers constitute 60%.

4. Discussion

The language used by santri in Salafi Islamic boarding schools in Cirebon Regency is crucial for community communication. The Cirebonese dialect predominates, providing a common linguistic foundation. This dialect serves as a benchmark for assessing language use, compared to Indonesian and other regional languages spoken by the santri. Understanding these language dynamics helps unravel the sociolinguistic complexities within these schools and their impact on Cirebon Regency's linguistic environment.

4.1. Linguistics Practices and Language Utilization Patterns among Santri in Salafi Islamic Boarding School

The Salafi Islamic boarding school in Ds. Babakan, Kec. Ciwaringin, Kab. Cirebon, exemplifies linguistic diversity, with students from various Indonesian regions primarily using the Cirebonese Javanese dialect. This multilingual environment fosters complex sociolinguistic dynamics and language contact, where students navigate language choices, maintain their native languages, and experience sociocultural influences on their language use. Additionally, language acculturation is evident as linguistic influences blend and adapt. This setting offers valuable insights into language contact, maintenance, choice, and acculturation, as captured in the students' speech data.

4.1.1. Cirebonese Resilience and Sociolinguistic Dynamics

The findings from Data 1 illuminate the resilience and vitality of Cirebonese within a shared linguistic community of *santri*. The absence of language shift or contact signifies the robustness of Cirebonese, emphasizing its unthreatened existence when used among proficient speakers. This observation aligns with sociolinguistic theories emphasizing linguistic identity and solidarity, as speakers consciously choose to engage in practices that contribute to the preservation of their regional language. The sociolinguistic analysis provides nuanced insights into language choices, identity, and preservation dynamics, contributing to a deeper understanding of language sustainability.

Data 1

P1 : *"Kang Ali jare Kang Bisri miyang meng pasare jam wolu."*
'Ali. Bisri mentioned [to me] that [both of you] will go to the traditional market at eight o'clock'

P2 : *"Duh biyang! Jam wolu kita ana jadwal setoran Alfiyah."*
'Oh! At eight o'clock, I have a schedule [for] submitting [memorization of the book] Alfiyah'

P1 : *"Kang Bisri ngajak jam wolu kuh soale ambir kebagian sayur bayem ning wong dagang langganane Mimi. Baka luwih jam semono biasae entok"*
'Bisri invites [you] at eight o'clock to procure spinach from the customary vegetable vendor at the direction of the Islamic boarding school. If [you] depart for the market after that time, usually [it] is already sold out.'

P1 : *"Oh, yawis. Kita kanda ning Kang Kholil dikit, asale blenak minggu wingi kita durung setoran. Bokat digulati"*
"Oh, alright. I will tell Kholil first because I feel uneasy as I haven't submitted [the memorization of the book] last week. Perhaps [I] will be sought after [by Reza] later.'

In Data 1, a linguistic scenario unfolds where both Speaker 1 (P1) and Speaker 2 (P2) are *santri*, sharing a common linguistic background in Cirebonese. Remarkably, there is an absence of any linguistic crossover or language contact within the speech segment of Data 1. This observation underscores the resilience and robustness of the Cirebonese language, revealing that its existence remains unthreatened when communicative events involve interlocutors proficient in Cirebonese. In this instance, P2 consciously opts to reciprocate in Cirebonese, showcasing a deliberate choice to uphold the linguistic integrity of their shared vernacular. Interestingly, P2 possesses the linguistic flexibility to respond in Indonesian, yet the decision to maintain the interaction in Cirebonese suggests an intrinsic value and prestige associated with the use of their native language.

This linguistic phenomenon aligns with sociolinguistic theories emphasizing the significance of linguistic identity and solidarity within speech communities. The persistence of Cirebonese in Data 1 is a testament to the inherent social value attached to this regional language, with speakers actively choosing to engage in linguistic practices that contribute to its preservation. This adherence to Cirebonese, even when an alternative linguistic choice is available, reflects the linguistic loyalty and pride within the community. Such observations resonate with sociolinguistic frameworks that posit language maintenance as a dynamic interplay between individual agency, societal norms, and language vitality.

In conclusion, Data 1 substantiates the vitality and prestige of Cirebonese, especially when spoken within the context of a shared linguistic community. The absence of language shift or contact in this instance supports the theory that languages thrive when individuals within a community consciously choose to use and perpetuate them. This sociolinguistic analysis highlights the nuanced interplay between linguistic choices, identity, and language preservation, contributing to a deeper understanding of language dynamics within diverse communities. It underscores the resilience of regional languages

and the agency of speakers in maintaining linguistic heritage, thereby enriching the broader discourse on language sustainability and sociolinguistic phenomena.

4.1.2. Transient Language Shift and Endangerment Implications

In conclusion, Data 1 substantiates the vitality and prestige of Cirebonese, especially when spoken within the context of a shared linguistic community. The absence of language shift or contact in this instance supports the theory that languages thrive when individuals within a community consciously choose to use and perpetuate them. This sociolinguistic analysis highlights the nuanced interplay between linguistic choices, identity, and language preservation, contributing to a deeper understanding of language dynamics within diverse communities. It underscores the resilience of regional languages and the agency of speakers in maintaining linguistic heritage, thereby enriching the broader discourse on language sustainability and sociolinguistic phenomena.

Data 2

P1 : *"Teh Dian jadi antre mandi abis aku nggak?"*

'Dian, will you wait in line to take a bath after I'm done?'

P2 : *"Iya, jadi. Aku mau beli odol dulu ke bu Yop, abis itu nyusul ke goa"*

'Yes, that's right. I want to buy toothpaste first from Mrs. Yop's shop, and then I will catch up at the cave.'

P1 : *"Yaudah. Aku duluan ya"*

'Alright. I'll go first, then.'

P2 : *"Eh! Nitip anduk sekalian. Bawain Nur"*

'Oh! I'll also leave a towel. Please bring it for Nur.'

P1 : *"Sok, mana sini"*

'Sure, where is the towel?'

P2 : *"Makasih, ya"*

'Thank you.'

In Data 2, a temporary language shift occurs due to the different native languages of the interlocutors, with both speakers opting for Bahasa Indonesia instead of their regional languages. This choice highlights the diminished prestige of their regional languages when communicating outside their linguistic community. However, this shift is contextual, as speakers are likely to revert to their native languages within their own community, mitigating the risk of language endangerment.

The use of Bahasa Indonesia by non-native Cirebonese speakers underscores the potential for language shift, which can reduce the vitality and prestige of regional languages. Such trends, if persistent, could lead to the gradual erosion of these languages. Nonetheless, the temporary nature of this shift suggests that speakers will continue to use their regional languages in appropriate contexts, preserving their linguistic heritage.

These findings align with sociolinguistic theories on language vitality and the impact of interlocutor backgrounds on language choice. They offer valuable insights into language dynamics, highlighting the need for strategies to address language endangerment and promote revitalization.

4.1.3. Language Maintenance and Adaptability

Data 3 showcases the complex dynamics of language choices, highlighting both the resilience of Cirebonese and the adaptability of speakers to alternate between languages based on communicative context. P1's deliberate choice to stick with Cirebonese for effective communication, despite P2's preference for Indonesian, illustrates the intricate interplay of awareness, comprehension, and communicative effectiveness in language maintenance scenarios.

Data 3

P1 : *"Kita jaluk tulung, sih! Ngko baka mba Leli gulati kita warakaken kita ana ning kamer sor"*

'Sure, please! Later, if Leli is looking for me, tell her I'm in the downstairs room.'

P2 : *"Iya, mba. Kamar Arofah, kan?"*

'Yes, sister. It's the Arofah room, right?'

P1 : *"Iya Fi. Ngko warakaken bae lagi mangan dikit konon"*

'Yes, Fi. Just let her know I'm going to have my meal first.'

P2 : *"Emang mba Leli lagi kemana sih mba?"*

'The question is, where is Leli now?'

P1 : *"Mau sih jare pengen meng sekolah dikit numpuk tugas"*

'Earlier, she said she would go to school first to collect school assignments.'

In Data 3, Penutur 1 (P1) is a speaker of Cirebonese, while Penutur 2 (P2) is not a speaker of Javanese. The speech event in Data 2 reveals a phenomenon of language maintenance exhibited by P1, where P1 continues to use Cirebonese while the interlocutor opts for Indonesian. This speech event showcases the stable existence of Cirebonese, even in the face of language encounters with other linguistic varieties.

P1, in Data 3, consistently chooses to employ Cirebonese despite the interlocutor not being a speaker of Cirebonese. In the context of Data 3, P1's decision to stick with Cirebonese is grounded in the awareness that the interlocutor comprehends Cirebonese. This deliberate choice signifies an interesting linguistic phenomenon wherein the speaker maintains the use of their regional language for effective communication. Contrastingly, P2, who is not a speaker of Cirebonese in Data 3, sheds their regional language and opts for Indonesian. This phenomenon reflects a language shift from P2's regional language to Indonesian. Although P2 responds to P1 using Indonesian, it can be inferred that P2 possesses passive proficiency in Cirebonese, given their ability to understand and engage in communication using this language.

This unique interplay of language choices in Data 3 illustrates the complexity of language dynamics, showcasing both the resilience of Cirebonese in the face of linguistic diversity and the adaptability of speakers to alternate between languages based on their communicative context. In conclusion, this linguistic phenomenon aligns with sociolinguistic theories emphasizing the role of awareness, comprehension, and communicative effectiveness in language maintenance and language shift scenarios.

4.1.4. Code-Switching and Language Dynamics

Data 4 unveils an intriguing linguistic phenomenon where speakers strategically employ code-switching and code-mixing to negotiate linguistic identity and accommodation. P2's deliberate effort to sustain Cirebonese, coupled with code-switching nuances, emphasizes the role of interlocutor

linguistic preferences in shaping language choices. This aligns with sociolinguistic theories on language maintenance as a dynamic process influenced by sociocultural interactions and individual agency.

Data 4

P1	:	*"Mba besok jadi ujian lisan buat kitab Safinah nggak?"*
		'Mba, is the oral exam for Safinah tomorrow still taking place?'
P2	:	*"Sida. Jangan lupa dihafalin, Sil"*
		'Yes, don't forget to memorize it, Sil.'
P1	:	*"Biasane sampe faslun apa, mba?"*
		'Biasanya sampai bab apa, mba?'
P2	:	*"Sampe tengah-tengah pokoke Sil, dihafalaken kabeh bae"*
		'Until the middle part of the book, Sil, just memorize everything.'

In Data 4, an intriguing linguistic phenomenon unfolds as the interaction between Speaker 1 (P1), a non-speaker of Cirebonese, and Speaker 2 (P2), a fluent Cirebonese speaker, is examined. Notably, a concerted effort to preserve the use of Cirebonese is observed, albeit with a nuanced code-switching element. The presence of code-switching is not exclusive to P1; P2 also exhibits this linguistic adaptation.

Within P2's discourse, an interesting occurrence surfaces with the utterance 'jangan lupa dihafalin,' where Indonesian language is seamlessly integrated. This reflects an attempt at language alignment by P2, incorporating a code-switched element into Cirebonese. Furthermore, language convergence is evident in P1's speech, as seen in the code-mixing within the utterance *Biasane sampe faslun apa Mba?*. Both speakers navigate their language choices based on the linguistic preferences of their interlocutors, employing a strategic lexical substitution of certain terms to align with the language of their conversation partners. This phenomenon sheds light on the complex dynamics of language maintenance and shift within the communicative practices of these individuals.

The observed linguistic dynamics in Data 4 underscore the intricacies of language maintenance and shift. P2's deliberate effort to sustain Cirebonese, coupled with code-switching nuances, highlights the negotiation of linguistic identity and accommodation within the speech community. The reciprocal code-mixing by both speakers reflects a shared adaptability, emphasizing the role of interlocutor linguistic preferences in shaping language choices. This aligns with sociolinguistic theories that posit language maintenance as a dynamic process influenced by sociocultural interactions and individual agency. The unique blend of code-switching and code-mixing in this context enriches our understanding of how speakers navigate linguistic choices within multilingual environments, contributing to the broader discourse on language vitality and change.

4.1.5. Sundanese Resilience in a Multilingual Setting

The linguistic behaviors observed in Data 5 underscore the resilient preservation of Sundanese as a unique linguistic phenomenon within the salaf *pesantren* community. This adherence to native language use amidst linguistic diversity not only highlights the importance of language as a marker of identity but also offers insights into the intricate dynamics of language maintenance. The findings resonate with sociolinguistic theories emphasizing the social significance of language, contributing valuable nuances to the ongoing discourse on language dynamics in diverse sociocultural settings.

In the specific context of Data 5, it is noteworthy to examine the linguistic dynamics between Penutur 1 (P1) and Penutur 2 (P2), both of whom are speakers of Sundanese, belonging to the *santri* community of the salaf *pesantren* in Ds. Babakan, Kec. Ciwaringin, Kab. Cirebon. Despite being situated in an environment where the predominant language differs from that of P1 and P2, an intriguing linguistic phenomenon unfolds. In the discourse event observed, P1 and P2 consciously maintain the use of their regional language, Sundanese.

Data 5

P1 : *"Kabeh jalan nu ka sakola keur dibenerkeun, kudu nguriling heula, cape pisan euy"*

'All roads to the school are under construction, so we have to take a detour. It's quite far.'

P2 : *"Iya heh! Jebol lami-lami ieu sapatu jalan tebih pisan"*

'Yes, that's correct. Over time, these shoes will wear out if used for walking long distances continuously.'

P1 : *"Iraha nya beres na perbaikan jalan teh? Teu sabar ningali jalan beuki lega"*

'When will the road repairs be completed? I can't wait to see the road become wider.'

P2 : *"Ceunah tilu belas poe deui geus tiasa kaliwat"*

'They said it will be passable again in thirteen days.'

P1 : *"Duh Gusti! Lila pisan euy!"*

'Oh God! That's so long.'

This linguistic behavior reflects a trend in language preservation, indicating the preservation of linguistic prestige as observed in P1 and P2's active engagement in upholding their native Sundanese heritage even amidst a prevailing regional language. This phenomenon underscores a unique manifestation of language maintenance, where individuals prioritize their regional language in multilingual settings, aligned with sociolinguistic theories emphasizing language's significance as a marker of identity and prestige.

The maintenance of Sundanese amidst linguistic diversity demonstrates the social and cultural resilience of P1 and P2, contributing to discussions on language vitality, identity, and the intricate interplay between language and social context. This observation highlights language's role as a marker of identity and resonates with sociolinguistic theories, enriching the discourse on language dynamics in diverse sociocultural settings.

The observed linguistic behaviors underscore the resilient preservation of Sundanese within the salaf pesantren community, offering insights into language maintenance dynamics and emphasizing language's social significance. These findings contribute to the development of a nuanced theoretical framework, emphasizing the multifaceted nature of language dynamics and the interplay between linguistic choices and sociocultural contexts.

This collective analysis provides insights into language endangerment and revitalization, shedding light on transient language shifts and the impact of interlocutor backgrounds on language choices. Overall, the synthesis of these findings enriches understanding of language vitality, preservation, and change, offering a foundation for future research endeavors exploring language dynamics within diverse sociolinguistic settings.

4.2. Language Selection among Santri in Salafi Islamic Boarding School

The exploration of Language Selection among Salaf Students in Babakan, Ciwaringin, Cirebon unravels a nuanced phenomenon characterized by the dual processes of language preservation and language shift. This linguistic intricacy involves navigating the dynamic interplay between Cirebonese, serving as the predominant daily language, other regional languages, and Indonesian, positioned as the national language. The deliberate Language Choice exhibited by salaf students in this context becomes a focal point for understanding the intricate dynamics of linguistic preferences within the Islamic boarding school setting.

This study categorizes *santri* salaf's language choices based on their linguistic background and gender, considering their conversation partners and situational contexts. Informed by sociolinguistic theories, this approach recognizes language selection as socially embedded, influenced by individual agency, societal norms, and context. The findings, represented quantitatively in tables, complement qualitative insights, enhancing understanding of linguistic preferences in salaf Islamic boarding schools. The observed Language Choice phenomenon aligns with sociolinguistic theories, highlighting language's role in identity and prestige. Engagement with Cirebonese, regional languages, and Indonesian reflects negotiation between linguistic diversity and pragmatic national language considerations, showcasing adaptability in response to multilingual realities among salaf students.

4.2.1. Language Sociolinguistic Preservation: Language Choice Patterns among Santri in Salaf Islamic Boarding School

The data gathered reveals intriguing patterns in language choice among male and female students in both BC and BBC categories. Language choice theories highlight the influence of formality, gender-based linguistic preferences, and the sociolinguistic context. The higher usage of Cirebonese among male BC students in informal settings aligns with sociolinguistic theories that emphasize situational context in language selection. This suggests that socio-cultural dynamics within male peer groups significantly impact their language choices.

Gender-based distinctions among female students indicate unique sociolinguistic norms within this demographic. The higher usage of Cirebonese in informal situations among female students, regardless of their linguistic background, suggests significant gender-specific linguistic practices and sociocultural dynamics. In formal settings, male BC *santri* show a higher preference for Cirebonese (46.67%) compared to their BBC counterparts (33.33%), likely reflecting a desire to maintain regional identity and cultural heritage in structured interactions. Conversely, female BC *santri* show slightly lower usage (26.27%) in formal settings, suggesting different motivations in language choice between genders.

In informal settings, male BC students use Cirebonese more frequently (53.33%) compared to BBC counterparts (66.67%), indicating a casual, familiar use of the regional language in less structured environments. The higher usage among female BC students (73.33%) in informal situations underscores the importance of the regional language in fostering community among female *santri*. The variations between male and female students, particularly in informal settings, offer insights into gender-specific language dynamics. The consistent use of Cirebonese by female BC *santri* signifies a strong attachment to regional language and tradition, while the flexible use by female BBC santri suggests different influences on language choices. Overall, the percentage distribution highlights the complex interplay of linguistic, situational, and sociocultural factors influencing language choice, offering valuable insights into language dynamics within the salaf pesantren community.

4.2.2. Interlocutor Dynamics: Language Choice Paterns among Male and Female Santri in Salaf Islamic Boarding School

The presented data (See Table 2) underscores the influence of interlocutors on language choice, reflecting a dynamic interplay between linguistic preferences, identity considerations, and the social context of the communicative event. These findings align with existing sociolinguistic theories that highlight the role of interlocutors in shaping language choices and underline the intricate nature of language use within diverse linguistic communities. The observed variations shed light on the nuanced ways in which speakers navigate language choices based on the characteristics of their communication partners and contribute valuable insights to the broader discourse on sociolinguistics and language choice theory.

The significance of the percentage results in Table 2 lies in the nuanced variations and patterns observed in language choice among male and female *santri*, both speakers of Bahasa Cirebon (BC) and non-speakers of Bahasa Cirebon (BBC). The data provide insights into the dynamics of linguistic interactions within the specific context of the Salafi Islamic boarding school in Cirebon. Firstly, the high percentage (73.33%) of BC usage among male BC speakers in communication with fellow BC speakers suggests a strong preference for using their native language within the BC-speaking community. This indicates a tendency among male BC *santri* to maintain and preserve their linguistic heritage in formal and informal settings. Conversely, the relatively higher percentage (80%) of BC usage among male BBC *santri* when communicating with other BBC counterparts suggests a significant engagement with the BC language, possibly influenced by the linguistic environment of the boarding school. This could indicate a certain level of language adaptation or accommodation among male BBC *santri* in their interactions with BC speakers. The lower percentage (26.27%) of male BBC santri using BC to communicate with BC speakers, compared to the high BC-to-BC communication percentage, hints at a potential language barrier or a less frequent choice of BC in interactions with BC-speaking peers.

For female *santri*, the observed patterns reveal similar dynamics. The higher percentage (60%) of BC usage among female BC speakers in communication with BC counterparts aligns with the trend observed among male BC *santri*, indicating a prevalent use of BC within the BC-speaking community. The elevated percentage (65.33%) of female BC speakers using BC when communicating with BBC speakers suggests a relatively higher willingness or tendency among female BC *santri* to engage in BC language interactions with their non-BC-speaking counterparts. This points towards a more inclusive language choice pattern among female BC speakers. The percentages related to BBC speakers, both in communication with BC and BBC counterparts, reflect distinct language choice patterns. The choice of BC by BBC speakers in communication with BC speakers (40%) signifies a considerable level of engagement with the BC language, while the percentage (46.67%) of BBC speakers using BC with other BBC speakers suggests a balanced language choice within the BBC-speaking community. In summary, the results emphasize the intricate nature of language choice among male and female *santri*, highlighting variations influenced by gender and interlocutors. The observed patterns contribute valuable insights into the sociolinguistic dynamics of language use within the Salafi Islamic boarding school, offering a nuanced understanding of language resilience and adaptation among the diverse linguistic backgrounds of the *santri* community.

4.2.3. Navigating Language Identities: Patterns of Bahasa Indonesia Utilization among Santri in Salaf Islamic Boarding School

The observed patterns reflect intricate language choice dynamics influenced by speakers' linguistic backgrounds, situational contexts, and formality. The higher prevalence of BI usage in formal contexts among male *santri* with Cirebonese backgrounds suggests a tendency to adopt a more standardized language in formal settings. The variations in BI usage among male and female *santri* highlight the complexity of language choice within Salaf Islamic boarding schools, necessitating further analysis of the sociocultural factors influencing these patterns.

The results in Table 3, depicting BI usage among male and female *santri*, provide a nuanced understanding of language dynamics within the research area. The data reveals language choices in formal and informal settings, showing the complex interplay between linguistic and sociocultural factors. The predominant use of BI among male *santri* in formal settings indicates a common preference for standardized language in structured communication, with higher usage among male BC speakers (86.67%) compared to male BBC speakers (73.33%). This suggests regional linguistic backgrounds influence language preferences during official events.

In informal settings, lower BI usage among male BC (13.33%) and male BBC speakers (26.67%) indicates a shift toward regional languages in casual interactions. Among female *santri*, higher BI usage in formal situations among BC speakers (53.33%) compared to BBC speakers (60%) contrasts with male trends, highlighting gender-specific language choices. In informal settings, lower BI usage among female BC speakers (46.67%) compared to female BBC speakers (40%) suggests different dynamics in casual interactions. These patterns offer insights into the sociolinguistic dynamics within Salaf Islamic boarding schools, crucial for developing targeted language preservation initiatives that consider linguistic preferences and sociocultural nuances.

4.2.4. Linguistic Landscape Dynamics: Interplay of Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Cirebon in Salaf Islamic Boarding School

This data reveals distinct patterns in BI usage based on the linguistic backgrounds of speakers and their interlocutors. The findings reflect dynamic language choices influenced by linguistic preferences and shared backgrounds. The variations in BI usage highlight the interplay between language choice theory and sociolinguistic dynamics within the diverse *salaf pesantren* community, suggesting strategies of language alignment, identity negotiation, and accommodation. Further analysis is needed to understand the social, cultural, and individual factors driving these language choices.

Table 4 shows nuanced patterns of language choices among male and female *santri*, considering their Cirebonese (BC) or non-Cirebonese (BBC) backgrounds and specific interlocutors. The findings highlight BI's role in different communicative contexts within the *pesantren community*. The preference for BI among BC speakers with BC interlocutors (13.33%) and male BBC santri with other BBC *santri* (26.67%) suggests a linguistic shift or adaptation, emphasizing BI's significance as a shared language even within the same linguistic background.

For female *santri*, similar trends are observed. The use of BI among BC female speakers with BC interlocutors (33.33%) and BBC speakers (40%) reveals nuanced language choices. The substantial use of BI among female BBC speakers with both BC speakers (66.67%) and fellow BBC speakers (60%) underscores BI's importance in various conversational settings. These results indicate a complex interplay of linguistic choices influenced by interlocutor characteristics, gender, and linguistic background, offering insights into language dynamics within the *pesantren* community and

highlighting the need for further exploration of sociolinguistic factors in this unique educational setting.

5. Conclusions

This research explored language dynamics among *santri* in Salaf Islamic Boarding Schools in Babakan village, Ciwaringin Sub-district, Cirebon Regency, focusing on language selection patterns and contextual factors. It revealed compelling phenomena within the unique sociolinguistic context of Islamic boarding schools. Firstly, a resilient language preservation phenomenon was observed among BC-speaking *santri*, especially in informal settings, emphasizing the importance of maintaining linguistic heritage and fostering language loyalty. Secondly, the study highlighted how interlocutor background influenced language choice, with *santri* consistently choosing shared languages when interacting with speakers of the same language, echoing existing theories on language maintenance. Additionally, the research revealed gender-based variations in language selection, emphasizing the need for a nuanced understanding of language dynamics within specific demographic groups.

Moreover, the study explored the predominant use of Bahasa Indonesia (BI) in formal settings within the *pesantren* context, highlighting its role as a language of formality and authority. This observation contributes to understanding how linguistic choices are influenced by contextual factors and power dynamics within the *pesantren* environment. Overall, this research advances comprehension of language choice and maintenance within Salaf Islamic Boarding Schools, enriching sociolinguistic discourse and providing practical implications for language educators and policymakers seeking to understand and support language diversity within diverse educational settings.

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