

Local and International Language Rivalry in Islamic Boarding Schools of Madura

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Abstract

For the second language programmers and learners, an Islamic boarding school is the most effective place to teach and practice the so called global or international languages and the local ones. The term international language, in this study, refers to English and Arabic language meanwhile Madurese language is related to the local or native language. This study is about to describe three phenomena, *firstly*, how Islamic boarding schools develop English and Arabic languages to the students, *secondly* how it maintains the existence of Madurese language, and *finally* how the rivalry both sides in the use of communication in Islamic boarding schools. It is qualitative in design by maximizing the Schutz phenomenology The locus of study is spread through the Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep regioes of Islamic boarding schools. The research results that is that the use of Madura by kiai, boarding managers, and students is very intense and massive. The intensity is due to the high commitment to maintenance for the conservation and preservation of Madura culture, one of which is the Madura language. Meanwhile the Arabic and English languages are taught and used more formal occasions.

Key word: local language, global language, international language, rivalry.

Introduction

Language functions as a set of arbitrary auditory symbols utilized by a group of individuals to facilitate communication and collaboration. (Bloch and Tragger 1942). In earlier discussions, the primary focus on this definition of language revolved around its phonetic characteristics and its arbitrary nature (Lyons 1984) However, little attention has been paid to defining language from the perspective of its speakers. Language does not originate in isolation; rather, it evolves dynamically alongside the development of its speakers as social beings embedded in cultures and nations. Language goes beyond mere labeling, implying more than assigning names to nameless objects. It also profoundly influences the human psyche, shaping thought patterns, and each language encompasses a unique worldview (Gumpers and Levinson 1996).

Pesantren as an institution and symbol of defence of religious values, culture, and tradition is expected to be a stronghold of local culture, in this case the Madurese language. Islamic boarding schools that still practice traditional values in communication patterns, both communication between kiai/nyai with students and boarding school administrators, will be a strong site in the preservation of Madurese language that has begun to fade. Various opportunities and situations of Madurese language communication can be created and conditioned in activities at the boarding school. Language habituation of santri which originally focused on the obligation to speak Arabic and or English can be modified more locally with the habit of communicating in Madurese. Making Madurese as an alternative target language for translation besides Indonesian will make Madurese last longer as the language of communication in pesantren. Including Madurese language lessons in the language learning curriculum will be a serious effort in the preservation of the Madurese language. These preservation

efforts can be realised in pesantren in maintaining the tradition and local culture of Madurese.

This research investigates three language phenomena in pesantren, *firstly*, how Islamic boarding schools develop English and Arabic languages to the students, *secondly* how it maintains the existence of Madurese language, and *thirdly* how the rivalry both sides in the use of communication in Islamic boarding schools.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Globalization

The term "globalization" or its equivalents like "globality" originates from the Italian root "globus," which means globe. This term is then adapted into the adjective "global," denoting something that encompasses the entire world. Globalization, in essence, represents a complex human dynamic that spans across the globe. It is challenging to precisely define what "globalization" entails, but in essence, it involves the diminishing significance of territorial boundaries between nations to facilitate the flow of information, commerce, and ultimately, human movement due to the evolution of geographical constraints. (Kusumohamidjo 2014).

Creating avenues and pathways facilitates the exchange of information, particularly through electronic media, across national borders. This includes television broadcasts, gadgets, the internet, and other platforms, which have become increasingly accessible with advancements in communication and information technology. From this field came global TV shows, such as *American Idol*, *Indonesian Idol*, *Australian Idol*, *X-Factor*, *MTV*, and others. Globalization has additionally facilitated international trade by establishing trade corridors through global agreements such as WTO, AFTA, and MEA. These agreements assume that global communities can more readily market their products not only locally or regionally but also on an international scale. This era has also streamlined global mobility, introducing concepts like the common passport for citizens of the European Union, ASEAN, and select Scandinavian countries, enabling easier travel across borders.. As a result, the term global citizen or *global village* has emerged. An American doctor, lecturer, technician can and will easily find work in Indonesia.

Apart from the question of whether this "*globalization*" is a natural process or a process that is made, if it is natural, where is the source of this global culture, whether it benefits institutions or member countries, what is clear is that globalization is something that cannot be avoided, *you take it but you can never leave it*. Because from here terms emerge that enter our political associations, economic activities, educational activities such as democracy, modernization, and liberalization as if without it we would not be called global residents, would be called left behind, and could even be left behind. A person can not be called *well-informed* if he does not watch and listen to *mainstream* media, a country will be excluded if it is not a member or part of a global trade organization, the reputation of a lecturer will be questioned if he cannot publish funds to develop his ideas through international scientific periodicals.

Global Language

Every form of communication or interaction necessitates the use of language. In a global setting, the language commonly selected and utilized for communication is English. It is the language frequently heard daily on television, spoken by politicians and celebrities worldwide. Regardless of where individuals travel, they encounter advertisements and signs that either use English or provide English translations. Nearly every hotel and restaurant worldwide offers an English menu, and a majority of hotel staff and restaurant servers are proficient in English. Hence, English is widely recognized as the global language..

According to Crystal, a global language isa *language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country. The roles are: as the official language of a country and as a priority in the country's foreign-language teaching even though this language has no official status* (Crystal, *English as a Global Language* 2003). (Crystal, *English as a Global Language* 2003). This quote explains that the global language is a language that has a special role in every country. The role is the *first* role as an official language and the *second* role as a language that is prioritized to be taught as a foreign language or to be an introduction in the teaching-learning process even though it is not an official language. According to Kridalaksana, Official Language is the language used in official communication both oral and written such as in legislation, official correspondence, etc. (Kridalaksana 2001). Not much different from Kridalaksana, Holmes gives a similar definition *which is "An Official language is simply language which may be used for government business"* (Holmes 2001). (Holmes 2001)." And English is *best illustrated* for that role in the current context.

Why has English become a global language? Is it due to its vast number of speakers worldwide? Is it because the entire global population speaks and writes in English? Crystal argues otherwise. According to him, the reason lies in the tight nexus between language dominance, economic prowess, technological advancement, and cultural influence. This profound interconnection is vividly and convincingly illustrated throughout the history of the English language. Crystal delves deeper into several dimensions of English's ascendancy to global prominence, examining its historical, political, and cultural facets.

1. Historical aspects

Historical records show that the movement of English into a global language began with its historical adventures in the Americas, Asia, and *the antipodes*. The first expedition started from England and landed on an island called Roanoke Island which is now known as North Carolina, from here English spread throughout the Americas, Canada, the Caribbean islands, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa, southern Asia, southeast Asia, and the south Pacific. (Crystal, *English as a Global Language* 2003, 29-59)..

2. Political aspects

As previously noted, language and power are intricately intertwined. In the case of English, its rise as a global language was heavily influenced by political power. The British Empire once spanned a third of the world's landmass, with British subjects accounting for a quarter of the global population. This expansive reach of British civilization meant that its influence extended across nearly the entire globe, with English serving as a vehicle for this influence. (Crystal, *English as a Global Language* 2003, 78-80)..

3. Cultural aspects

As a result of political domination, cultural aspects became easier to spread. This is detected through:

a. Media

For nearly four centuries, English has dominated the media landscape, reaching its zenith in the 19th century, particularly through television and newspapers. During this period, a convergence of social and economic factors fueled a significant surge in advertising across mass media channels. Furthermore, English rapidly disseminated through popular entertainment mediums like music and films. (Crystal, *English as a Global Language* 2003, 86-100)..

b. International travel

There are many reasons for international travel, including business trips, holidays, religious trips, sports competitions, and military invasions. Each of these trips has linguistic consequences, starting from the process of translation and teaching. In

this context, English is most often involved (Crystal, English as a Global Language 2003, 104-106).

c. International security

One notable aspect of security involves the use of language to regulate international transportation, particularly across seas and in the skies. With global travel expanding, people and goods are being transported to diverse destinations at unprecedented speeds. Due to varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds, there arises a necessity for a universally accepted language of communication to ensure safety and efficient service. (Crystal, English as a Global Language 2003, 106-110)..

d. Education

As previously outlined, English serves as the primary conduit for the advancement of global knowledge, particularly in the realms of science and technology. Accessing this knowledge is intrinsic to the domain of education. When examining why numerous countries designate English as their official language, the rationale consistently revolves around educational imperatives (Crystal, English as a Global Language 2003, 110-119)..

The Portency of Global Language Threats to Local Languages

As well as globalization on a broad scale that can crush traditional diversity, local uniqueness, local identity, and even local wisdom (Kusumohamidjo 2014, 367-368). The global language can also be a serious threat to the local language of a group of speakers. This is also anticipated by Crystal, that the presence of global languages makes people lazy to learn other languages and will also accelerate the disappearance of minority languages. (Crystal, English as a Global Language 2003, 14-15).. If people have begun to be lazy to use their own language, it will automatically have an impact on the reduction in the number of speakers of that language.

As a result, a language that is hegemonized and subordinated to a global language will experience a stage of the process of shifting and even the process of death. Basically, every language has the potential to experience the process of shifting (language *shift*) or even death (*language death*). Language shift and language are actually one process or series as signaled by Stefanie Jennedy et al. That if the language shift is experienced by native speakers by a language community then the next process that must occur in the language is language death (Jennedy 1994). (Jennedy 1994).

Language shift refers to a lasting alteration in an individual's selection of language for daily use, often arising from migration. This characterization closely aligns with David Crystal's description of the phenomenon. (Crystal, The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language 1994). Furthermore, Jennedy et al. argue that language shift occurs due to an attempt to deliberately discard a language by its native speakers to replace it with a new language due to the *unequal prestige* between the original language and the "new" language of speakers in a language community. Jennedy's version of this shift occurs because of the sense of linguistic inferiority of native speakers who consider their language as a *substratum language* to their newly learned *super-stratum language*. This phenomenon often occurs in the case of *pidgin* languages.

A more technical definition was released by Paina Partana and Sumarsono who argued that language shift means, a group (community) leaves the language completely to use another language. If this shift has taken place, then the language community collectively has a new language (Partana and Sumarsono 2004).

The most basic situation that causes language shift is the emergence of *societal bilingualism*. It is rare to find a language community where the speakers only use one language (*monolingual*). There are several factors that cause bilingualism or the phenomenon of *multilingualism*, namely politics, religion, education, economics and natural disasters.

The first factor that causes *bilingualism/multilingualism* is politics. Annexations, takeovers and military actions have a direct effect on linguistics. Displaced populations are sometimes forced to learn the language of the locality they are displaced from. Or after a military invasion the native population is forced to learn the language of the *invader*. This happened in most Asian and African countries during World War II.

The second Another influential factor is religion. Individuals adhering to specific religious beliefs may relocate or settle in another country to deepen their understanding of their faith, attracted by environments conducive to studying and practicing their religion more comprehensively.

The third factor is culture. The desire to emulate or belong to a particular ethnic or cultural group leads to *bilingualism*. The threat of foreign cultures in language shift is *inherent* because our society is open to other cultures, both those that come to us and those that we go to.

The fourth Another significant factor is education, where acquiring proficiency in another language becomes a gateway to knowledge. This factor drives English to be the most widely studied language among students in Indonesia, as much of the literature containing comprehensive scientific information is typically available in English.

The fifth Another factor is economic motivation. Many individuals in developing countries opt to migrate to seek better job opportunities and higher economic incomes abroad. Consequently, they often learn the language of the host country where they intend to work. For instance, Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI) frequently prioritize learning Arabic and Mandarin.

The sixth factor that causes bilingualism is natural disasters. Floods, volcanic eruptions and famines can cause population movements where they (refugees) become *bilingual*.

If we want to draw a common thread that causes shifts in a global context, the implied factor that is also the most hegemonic factor is the existence of an *adstrate language*. The phenomenon of *adstrate language* is a condition where two or more languages influence each other which have a degree of similarity in terms of influence and prestige associated with their speaker groups. However, in the context of *adstrate language*, because there is a hegemony factor, there will be a group of speakers who feel that their language is *superior (superstratelanguage)* and on the other hand the other group will be *infected* with an *inferiority complex* which causes their language to join the *substrate language* group. The "defeated" group will clandestinely or even overtly *borrow* the language either phonologically or morphologically of the "winning" group. (Jenedy 1994, 453).

In another section Crsytal argues that there are several stages of the language death process, namely: language speakers suffer from physical threats (illness) and cultural factors (Crystal, Language Death 2003). Another factor pertains to cultural dynamics. Even if the number of language speakers remains stable or grows, the assimilation of their culture into a more dominant one can lead to the erosion of their own cultural identity. This process of cultural dominance can result in demographic decline through cultural colonization, thereby threatening the continuity of the language itself when original cultural characteristics are lost.

In detail, the process of language death is reflected in the table of danger levels below (Crystal, Language Death 2003, 20-21):

Hazard Level	Impact of hazards
<i>Viable</i>	Large population of speakers and search without threat
<i>Viable but small</i>	Has more than 1000 speakers, spoken by a limited community
<i>Endangered</i>	Spoken by the community to simply survive
<i>Nearly extinct</i>	It has started to not survive, used only by elderly speakers.
<i>Extinct</i>	Many of its speakers have died and there is no sign of survival.

Methods

The approach in this research is qualitative (qualitative approach). One of the features and strengths of the qualitative approach is that the data is obtained from natural and natural events without any outside intervention. The researcher will observe and interview the santri, the board of the pesantren/ustad, and the kiai.

Creswell classifies four types and designs he found in social and human sciences research, namely Ethnographies, Grounded Theory, Case Studies and Phenomenological studies. As previously explained, this research uses phenomenological research type. A phenomenological researcher focuses on explaining the similarities of experiences experienced by all participants called phenomena. In the context of this research, the researcher wants to reveal the meaning conveyed by kiai, santri, and boarding school administrators about the use of Madurese language in pesantren.

Results and Discussion

Developing the Use of International Languages in Islamic Boarding School

In today's era of globalization, it is important to master international languages, especially in Islamic boarding schools. Islamic boarding school is an educational institution that grows and is recognized by the surrounding community, where *santri* (Islamic boarding school students) settle and live to get religious education directly taught by a caregiver or *kyai*.¹ Islamic Boarding school not only has a purpose for religious interests. However, the purpose of Islamic boarding school is also to develop the interests and talents of its students.² Especially how Islamic boarding school can be a forum or support system for students in their achievements, especially in the international arena. The steps taken are adjustment efforts in various aspects of education. First, by facilitating it through various programs or activities. As well as accommodating foreign language institutions. Such as English and Arabic Language Institutions. The institution was held to develop international languages so that student can develop not only inside the Islamic boarding school but also outside the Islamic boarding school. Second, the development of permanent communication media. From this, it can establish relationships with various institutions outside the Islamic boarding school that support the development of international languages. From this relationship, the Islamic boarding school will more easily get information related to competitions held outside the Islamic boarding school related to language.

Foreign Language Development Institute

Various Madurese Islamic boarding schools have developed and implemented foreign language institutions so that their students can master international languages. Such as Puncak Darussalam Islamic Boarding School.³ In this Islamic boarding school, to develop foreign languages such as English, the teaching method used is active learning by prioritizing collaborative interaction between teachers and students. Routine activities carried out are singing auxiliary verbs before the lesson begins, requiring members to practice, and memorize English vocabulary in front of the teacher. In addition, students

¹ Mujamil Qomar, *Pesantren: Dari Transformasi Metodologi Menuju Demokratisasi Institusi* (Erlangga, 2002), 2,

https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=_u6ouXge9JcC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Mujamil+Qomar,+Pesantren:+Dari+Transformasi+Metodologi+Menuju+Demokratisasi+Institusi,+&ots=2seZHvGRqw&sig=scW9Peh_ZOXREMy0xY7TIBWKPbg.

² Kholis Tohir, *Model Pendidikan Pesantren Salafi* (Scopindo Media Pustaka, 2020), 101, <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=c2ABEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA2&dq=Kholis+Tohir,+Mode+Pendidikan+Pesantren+Salafi,&ots=QExxnSnbsq&sig=6-hxDaZxkXs64fapQARDJcSD-A>.

³ Mohammad Muchlis Solichin, "Inovasi Pembelajaran Di Pesantren: Pengembangan Pembelajaran Bahasa Inggris," *NUANSA: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Sosial Dan Keagamaan Islam* 10, no. 1 (2013), <https://ejournal.iainmadura.ac.id/nuansa/article/view/168>.

are asked to find as much information as possible about the material to be learned. Thus, when the class starts there is a basic understanding that can be obtained to be able to continue active learning such as discussions in English.

Another Islamic Boarding School is Pondok Pesantren Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata Pamekasan.⁴ In this Islamic boarding school, foreign language development efforts are carried out through formal and non-formal education. First, in formal education under the auspices of the Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata Islamic Boarding School implementing foreign language development innovations in the form of programs and class forms such as the junior high school, Vocational High School also senior high school. The foreign languages taught consist of three languages, namely Arabic, English, and Mandarin. At the junior high school and senior high school, there are special foreign language classes, namely, bilingual classes (Arabic and English). In addition, Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata Islamic Boarding School has a target that must be realized by 2035, which is the acceptance of Bata-Bata student alumni at elite world campuses such as Oxford University, Harvard University, Standford University, and so on. For this reason, students who have the desire to achieve this target will be selected and put into a special class full of English which is specially guided by professional tutors. Second, in non-formal education that is carried out outside the dormitory-based school (basecamp area). The foreign language education system carried out is using a course and acceleration system with more activities than formal classes. The strategy used in the development efforts of both is to increase the capacity of tutors and managers on an ongoing basis.

In Annuqayah Islamic boarding school in the Lubangsa Putri Sumenep area there is Foreign Language Institute called English Club (EC).⁵ Several things are done before the activity process is carried out. First, there is a selection for students who want to be part of the English club. The selection carried out is in the form of a test. There are two forms of tests given, namely test writing and test speaking. Test writing includes grammar and translation tests. The speaking test includes an interview using English. Then, after the test is carried out and the election results have been announced, students who have successfully passed to become members of the English club will stay in a special English room. After becoming a permanent member, the first activity carried out is repetition, which includes routine classes and games. For class material that is filled is about grammar, listening, reading, expressing, and also idioms. In addition, there is also an evening performance activity which is held every Tuesday night. Evening performance aims to train and prepare students to plunge into competitions held inside and outside the Islamic boarding school. The exercises carried out include speech, reading poetry, reading news, etc. The English club management also requires all members to write a diary for one week. Then, the English club management who is responsible for Education will check and give feedback on the diary written by all English club members. In the English club, there is also a punishment for any EC members and administrators who are caught deliberately not using English. At the end of the period, there is a decrease in members.

Speaking of punishment, other Islamic boarding school also apply it as well based on the policy and rule that have been made. Like in at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School, there are conversational activities in foreign languages like Arabic and English, overseen by *mudabbir* (supervisor), where students must practice according to prescribed materials; failure to use the required language results in penalties such as memorizing vocabulary and performing cleaning duties.⁶ Similarly, at Dlwī Madura

⁴ Zainollah Zainollah, "Pendidikan Bahasa Asing Di Pondok Pesantren Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata Pamekasan," *Kariman: Jurnal Pendidikan Keislaman* 9, no. 1 (2021): 85-102.

⁵ Faiqur Rizqi Ikmilia, Alumni of The Students of The Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School, interview by direct message (6 July 2024).

⁶ Anis Safitri, "Strategi Pengembangan Bahasa Asing (Bahasa Arab-Bahasa Inggris) Untuk Peningkatan Mutu Santri Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Amien Prenduan Sumenep Madura" (PhD

Islamic Boarding School, Arabic is mandated for daily communication, and the use of local languages is prohibited; violations incur punishments like palm strikes with a ruler.⁷ Also at Darussyahid Sampang Islamic Boarding School, language use is regulated based on weekly schedules.⁸ Arabic and English are mandatory on designated weeks for old students, Indonesian on for new students for everyday except Fridays which for Madurese. Violations of this obligation will be subject to sanctions in stages. The first violation will result in a warning from the boarding school administrator, called *Muallim*. If a second violation occurs, the offender is required to memorize new vocabulary. The third violation will be reported to the person in charge of language, namely the *ustadz*, while the fourth violation will be subject to physical sanctions in the form of being bald.

Developing Communication Media for Islamic Boarding School

Another initiative made by Islamic boarding schools in the use of international languages is through qualified communication media. Mohammad Arif mentioned that information is a "primary commodity" that people need, along with increasingly sophisticated information and communication technology.⁹ Therefore, currently, many modern boarding schools have made communication media a tool for disseminating information related to internal and external matters of the boarding school. This is done so that education in pesantren becomes better and can compete with the outside world.¹⁰

Based on the author's personal experience while studying at the Annuqayah Lubangsa Putri Islamic boarding school, the efforts made by the pesantren to develop the use of international languages are through communication media by sharing activities carried out in the international language development program. Every activity carried out is documented by the pesantren press media. Then, the documentation is shared on the pesantren's social media pages. It aims to introduce the programs and activities carried out so that many people outside the pesantren know the existence of pesantren in developing the use of international languages. In addition to this, the number of relationships between pesantren is a benefit that can be taken.

How Islamic Boarding Schools Maintain the Use of Local Languages

In order to maintain and preserve the use of local languages which in this case is Madurese, Madurese Islamic boarding schools apply efforts and methods in the form programs, policy and rules created by *kyai*, *ustadz*, and boarding school administrator for students to follow includes aspects of daily regulations, academic learning, and religious learning, so that they always use Madurese. Such as at Darussahid Sampang Islamic Boarding School, several efforts were made to maintain the use of the Madurese language.¹¹ One of the main efforts is the mandatory Madurese language program which is implemented every Friday. This program requires the entire boarding school community, including students, ustad and other staff, to use Madurese fully throughout the day. The implementation of this program is carried out very strictly, where violations of this obligation will be subject to sanctions in stages. The first violation will result in a warning from the boarding school administrator, called *Muallim*. If a second violation occurs, the offender is required to memorize new vocabulary. The third violation will be

Thesis, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2023), <http://etheses.uin-malang.ac.id/id/eprint/56815>.

⁷ Yusuf Mustofa, "Analisis Metode Pembelajaran Bahasa Arab Di Pondok Pesantren Dlwī Madura," *Al-Akmal: Jurnal Studi Islam* 2, no. 3 (2023): 1-11.

⁸ Zainal Abdi, A santri who has lived in Darussahid Islamic boarding school for 3 years, Direct Interview (July 10th, 2024)

⁹ Mohammad Arif, "Perkembangan Pesantren Di Era Teknologi," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 28, no. 2 (2013): 308.

¹⁰ Imam Tabroni et al., "Peran Pesantren Modern Dalam Pengembangan Keterampilan Menjadi Generasi Bertalenta," *Journal of Social Work and Empowerment* 2, no. 2 (2023): 88.

¹¹ Zainal Abdi, A santri who has lived in Darussahid Islamic boarding school for 3 years, Direct Interview (July 10th, 2024)

reported to the person in charge of language, namely the *ustadz*, while the fourth violation will be subject to physical sanctions in the form of being bald. This program aims to ensure that all boarding school residents are accustomed to using Madurese in daily conversations, so that the regional language remains alive and maintained among the students.

Apart from that, the Darussahid Sampang Islamic Boarding School also maintains the use of the Madurese language through learning the *kitab kuning* (Classical Arabic Islamic literature) which is translated and explained into refined Madurese (*Engghi Bhunten*). This learning is carried out by the *Kyai* of Islamic boarding school and *ustadz*, aims not only helping the students understand the contents of the *kitab kuning* but also enriching their vocabulary and fine Madurese language skills. By teaching the *kitab kuning* in refined Madurese, Islamic boarding schools try to maintain and strengthen the use of Madurese among students, especially in religious and academic contexts.

Another effort to maintain the use of the Madurese language at the Darussahid Sampang Islamic Boarding School is by holding Madurese language lessons in formal classes, both at the junior and senior high school levels. Madurese is taught as a formal subject at one meeting a week for two class hours, using Madurese language textbooks and taught by teachers who are experts in Madurese language stratification. These lessons ensure that students receive formal education in Madurese, so that they are not only able to communicate in the language, but also understand its structure and grammar well.

With these various methods, this Islamic Boarding School tries to systematically maintain and develop the use of the Madurese language among students and the boarding school community. The approach applied includes aspects of daily regulations, academic learning, and religious learning, so that the use of the Madurese language becomes an integral part of life at the Islamic boarding school. These efforts reflect the theory of language maintenance expressed by Sumarsono (2013), that language maintenance involves efforts to ensure that the language does not experience language death after previously experiencing language shift.¹² According to language maintenance theory, Islamic boarding schools have great potential to play an active role in maintaining regional languages. Islamic boarding schools can become a stronghold of local culture, including the Madurese language, by creating opportunities and situations for Madurese language communication in daily activities.

Other Islamic boarding schools also employ various efforts and methods in order to preserve Madurese like in Al-Hikam Kemayoran Islamic Boarding School, Darunnajah Panyeppen Sampang Islamic Boarding School, Puncak Darussalam Palengaan Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School, and Annuqayah Guluk-Guluk Sumenep Islamic Boarding School.¹³ Like in terms of learning and translating *kitab kuning*, at the Al-Hikam Kemayoran Bangkalan Islamic Boarding School, there are translation activities using *engghi-enten* and *engghi-bhunten* for *kitab kuning* such as *Fathul Qarib fiqh*, *Bulughul Maram hadith*, and *Nahwu Imrithi*. The process involves reading or dictating the texts, which are then translated by *kyai* and *ustadz*, with the translations written directly into the students' books, either word-for-word or in a general translation format. This approach aims to deepen students' understanding and connection to their cultural Madurese language. Similarly, Darunnajah Panyeppen Sampang Islamic Boarding School utilizes this method in both book and non-book learning activities, covering subjects like *fiqh*, *nahwu*, *sharrof*, and *tajwid Al-Qur'an*. At An-Nuqoyah Sumenep Islamic Boarding School, particularly in the Diniyah education within Latee 2 An-Nuqoyah, there are learning activities focused on interpreting *kitab kuning* into Madurese, emphasized in higher classes (*Mustho* and *Mumtaz*) to uphold the Madurese language.

¹²Sumarsono, Sociolinguistics, (Student Library: Yogyakarta, 2013), 231.

¹³ Mulyadi et.al, "Penggunaan Bahasa Madura di Pondok Pesantren", Research Report, (2023), 1-79.

The method involves listening and translating, contributing to the preservation efforts of Madurese language and cultural heritage.

In communication, it is stratified by language use, students typically employ *Bhasa Maba* (*enje'-iyeh*) in daily interactions with peers, while some use *Bhasa alos* (*Engghi-enten*) or standard Madurese (*Engghi-Bhunten*) when interacting with peers they are close to or unfamiliar with. When addressing *ustadz* or *kyai*, students consistently use *Bhasa tengghi* (*Engghi-Bhunten*) out of respect. Additionally, there's a stratification for personal pronouns: *bhasa mapas* for informal use and *bhasa kraton* for formal contexts, such as between *ustadz* and *kyai*. At Sabielul Faizin, announcements are made without loudspeakers after evening prayers, using soft language (*Engghi-Bhunten*) starting with "de' sadhejenah santreh...".¹⁴ Darunnajah Panyeppeen and Latee 2 An-Nuqoyah also use Madurese in announcements to preserve the language. Darussyahid Sampang mandates Madurese use on Fridays, with students using all three language levels freely and adopting *Engghi-Bhunten* when addressing *ustadz* or *kyai*. Announcements are delivered in either international languages or Madurese based on the day's program.

In terms of learning Madurese in classes, At Sabielul Faizin Islamic boarding school, local language education is not a standalone subject but occurs through direct interactions between students and *ustadz* during class. Ustadz use Madurese *enje'-Iyeh* and *engghi-bhunten* depending on teaching context, facilitating two-way communication where students seek clarification and guidance on vocabulary use. Meanwhile, Al-Hikam Kemayoran Bangkalan has Madurese as an extracurricular taught by Ustadz Muh. Nashir, S.Pd., focusing on vocabulary across all three levels. Darussalam Palengaan Pamekasan mandates Madurese use during formal activities on Thursdays for all, including non-native students guided by teachers. The teacher who teach the class are prohibited to speak other than Madurese during that day. Darunnajah integrates Madurese from students registration throughout academics and extracurriculars. Latee 2 An-Nuqoyah, speaking soft Madurese is used, but not in all aspects such as *diniyah* education where language that used for learning depends on the ustadz teaching. At Miftahul Ulum Bettet, female students learn bherbesan (soft Madurese) through structured vocabulary memorization led by an organization called "BESAN." (a students council that focuses on language development).

In terms of *Muhadarah* activities, Sabielul Faizin Islamic boarding school conducts them monthly on Thursdays following evening prayers. During these sessions, several students and ustadz are selected as MCs, prayer leaders, and speakers for opening remarks and prayers. This platform allows students to participate in committee roles to develop their public speaking skills and courage. They are required to use soft language while delivering their speeches. Similarly, at Al-Hikam Kemayoran Bangkalan and Darunnajah Panyeppeen Sampang Islamic boarding schools, *Muhadharah* activities and speeches by MCs are conducted using Madurese, employing *engghi-enten* and *engghi-bhunten* styles respectively. In contrast, Darussyahid Islamic boarding school holds *Muhadoroh* activities on Monday nights after Isha, where international languages are used during these sessions.

In terms of penalty to those who do not use Madurese, at Al-Hikam Kemayoran, If the students are found not using Madurese, they will be subject to sanctions in the form of a reprimand or light punishment. At the Darunnajah Panyeppeen, there are no sanctions for students who violate them, however, the boarding school still carries out supervision consisting of boarding school administrators, *ustadz* and senior students to monitor their choice of words according to their strata, manners and discipline. Meanwhile at Darussalam Palengaan, if the students are caught not using Madurese, they will be subject to sanctions in the form of donating to Market Day activities which are held on Friday

¹⁴ Ainur Rohis, An alumni of Sabielul Faizin Islamic Boarding School, Direct Interview, (July 7th, 2024)

mornings. At the Latee 2 An-Nuqoyah Islamic the punishment is by giving constructive warnings from the management. All of these efforts are in order to preserving Madurese language and Islamic boarding school is a perfect place for that.

Local and International Language Rivalry in Islamic Boarding Schools

Based on the efforts of Islamic boarding schools in implementing international language programs while maintaining local languages, it can give rise to rivalry between local and international languages. Rivalry according to the Oxford dictionary is a state in which two people, companies, etc. are competing for the same thing in this case, language mastery. This language rivalry occurs both in the policies implemented and in the practice of daily use in Islamic boarding schools. This section will explain the form and analysis of the rivalry between the two languages. Is this rivalry positive in nature that can enrich students' mastery of linguistics or is it negative in nature that actually causes a language shift that leads to language death?

Based on the data findings above, it can be seen that there is a complex dynamic between the rivalry of international languages and local language which in this case Madurese. This rivalry not only reflects the competition between the two languages to get the attention and mastery of students, but also reflects the policy and use of language in the educational environment.

In the case of the Islamic boarding schools above, on the one hand, the students are required to learn and communicate international languages, in this case English and Arabic, so that they can prepare themselves optimally in facing increasingly tight global competition. Mastery of these languages not only opens the door to access to higher education at leading universities around the world, but also gives them an advantage in careers in various sectors of the global economy. In addition, this proficiency not only broadens their horizons about the world and international culture, but also improves their ability to communicate effectively in an increasingly connected multicultural environment. Thus, international language education in Islamic boarding schools is not only academic preparation, but also an investment in the future that allows students to contribute significantly on a broad global scale.

On the other hand, the students are also required to learn and communicate the Madurese language, which is an integral part of efforts to maintain cultural identity and traditional values. It is a cultural identity and a reflection of the good *akhlaq* or morals of its speakers, especially at the *engghi-enten* and *engghi-bhunten* levels. Understanding and using Madurese not only allows students to communicate effectively and appropriately according to their strata with the surrounding community, including fellow students, *ustadz*, *kyai*, and *pondok* administrators, but also gives them deeper access to local cultural heritage. Education in Madurese also prepares students to be actively involved in community activities and socio-cultural activities that take place in the language. More than just a means of communication, mastery of Madurese reflects students' commitment to building a strong identity in the context of Madurese culture, showing respect for ancestral traditions, and being ready to face future challenges by integrating local values into their daily lives and professional careers. This rivalry not only covers policy aspects but is also manifested in various forms of sanctions or penalties imposed on students who violate language usage rules.

Islamic boarding schools that require the use of international languages such as English and Arabic often impose strict sanctions on students who do not comply with these rules. For example, students who are caught not using international languages and are caught using Madurese and Indonesian are required to memorize new vocabularies, clean the boarding school environment, or even be subject to physical sanctions such as being hit with a ruler or being bald. The sanctions are given not because of prestige and the like so that they are intended to deny Madurese and Indonesian, however so that students can really focus on mastering their international languages fluently and correctly.

On the other hand, to maintain the Madurese language as a cultural identity, Islamic boarding schools enforce rules that require the use of Madurese in everyday communication. The sanctions given for violations of these rules may be lighter, such as verbal warnings or light punishments. Therefore the imposition of sanctions here is not to deny the international language but as a form of maintaining the Madurese language as a cultural identity. In this context, it is important for Islamic boarding schools to take a balanced and integrated approach in teaching international and local languages. Thus, students will not only be able to compete on a global scale by mastering international languages, but also remain connected to their cultural identity through mastery and use of Madurese in daily life and socio-cultural activities.

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