



The Study of Parbhâsan Alos: Madurese Language Variation as Cultural Attitude by Santri Putri at Islamic Boarding School

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Abstract

This study examines the sociolinguistic phenomenon of parbhâsan alos, a variation of Madurese language that reflects respect, politeness, and cultural attitudes among santri putri of Islamic Boarding School. Although a number of studies have discussed Madurese language in general, studies that specifically explore the role of language as a reflection of cultural attitudes in the Islamic boarding school environment, especially among santri putri, are still very limited. This study aims to understand how language variations are used as a reflection of social and cultural values in everyday life in the Islamic boarding school environment. The method used is descriptive qualitative with a case study design. Data were collected through non-participant observation, documentation, and field notes for two weeks. The results of the study indicate that bhâsa èngghi-bhunten is used when interacting with the caretaker of Islamic boarding school, ustadz, and administrators of the Islamic boarding school; bhâsa engghi-enten is used in conversations between santri putri; while the bhâsa enjâ'-iyâ is used when interacting with younger people. The use of this language variation is influenced by the rules of the Islamic boarding school which require the use of polite and polite Madurese language in everyday life. For example, when one of a santri putri answer the call of the ustadz by saying, "Èngghi, ka'dinto Ustadz?" ("Yes, what's wrong Ustadz?"). while lowering the head and bowing slightly, a form of respect that reflects politeness verbally and nonverbally. This finding shows that language in Islamic boarding school not only functions as a means of communication, but also as a medium for cultural transmission that forms an identity based on respect and maintains the traditional hierarchical structure in Islamic education.

Keywords: *cultural attitude, language variation, parbhâsan alos*

Introduction

Language is one of the basic human needs because it plays an important role in everyday life. Through language, a person can communicate with others, both in the family environment, society, and in national and state life. In addition, language is also the main means of conveying opinions and views on various issues. It involves primary functions like speech perception and production, with ongoing studies exploring language acquisition and brain processes (De Haan & Johnson, 2015).

Language is not only seen as a means of communication, but also as an important instrument in the formation of social relations, group identity, and community culture. In a social context, language functions to build and maintain interactions between individuals or groups, while also conveying values, norms, and customs that live in society. This study discusses 'language in society' through a sociolinguistic approach and discourse analysis, with an emphasis on social indexicality, identity, and the communicative role of language. Thus, this study emphasizes that language not only reflects individual and group identity, but also forms social structures and becomes a means of passing on cultural and social values from one generation to the next. It explores how linguistic variation evokes and reconstructs social relations, highlighting the dynamic interplay between language and social values (National Research University Higher School of Economics et al., 2022).

The reciprocal relationship between language and society is at the heart of sociolinguistics, which explores how social factors shape language use and how language shapes social structures. Sociolinguistics focuses on the influence of social variables such as age, gender, social class, occupation, and place of residence on language variation, and how language becomes a marker of group identity and culture (TUITFB Assistant Teacher Uzbekistan & Abdumannovna, 2024). In this context, studying linguistic variation is essential to understanding the role of language in building and maintaining social structures and collective identities.

Language variation refers to the differences in language use that occur in various social interactions. These differences are influenced by factors such as geography, level of formality, culture, community, age, gender, occupation, place of residence, and situation and interlocutor. Therefore, each individual can use language differently according to their social context, even though they speak the same language. This research emphasizes understanding these variations without judgment, focusing on diatopic variation and regionalisms (Oliveira, 2024).

Based on the concept of linguistic variation, Madurese is an interesting example of how regional and social factors shape language practices. In Madurese society, language variation reflects differences in levels of politeness and social relationships between speakers. In general, there are three main variations in Madurese, namely *bhâsa èngghi-bhunten*, *bhâsa èngghi-enten*, and *bhâsa enjâ'-iyâ*. *bhâsa èngghi-bhunten* variation is used in formal and polite situations, especially

to older people, teachers, or community leaders. Meanwhile, *bhâsa èngghi-bhunten* is generally used in conversations with peers. Meanwhile, *bhâsa enjâ'-iyâ* is used in informal situations, especially to younger people such as siblings or nephews, which is considered the most rude and inappropriate Madurese language if used to more respected parties. This variation reflects the social structure of Madurese society while also showing how language becomes a means to express politeness and cultural identity.

The differences in language varieties indicate a sense of respect and politeness in communication, where the use of *parbhâsan alos* such as *bhâsa èngghi-bhunten* not only reflects local culture, but also strengthens social and religious values that are typical in Madura, especially in the Islamic boarding school environment. One concrete form of politeness expression can be seen in the use of *parbhâsan alos* which has a strong social and cultural function in Madurese society.

Parbhâsan Alos is a variety of the first Madurese language, namely *bhâsa èngghi-bhunten*. *Bhâsa enghi-bhunten* is the most polite and refined form of sentence used to show respect for the person being spoken to or being talked to. The refined Madurese language, is used when speaking to parents, older individuals, teachers, community leaders, and respected figures. This level of language reflects high respect and politeness in communication within the Madurese community (Anwari & Eka Kurniawati, 2023). However, *Bhâsa engghi-enten* is also included in *parbhâsan alos* because it is a polite and formal sentence that is usually used to speak to peers as has been implemented in Islamic boarding schools in Madura which is a form of humility and respect for older people or peers. for example: "ta' langkong ka'dinto ustadz, abdhina ngaghungèh cabis pamator dâ' ajunan" (*Bhâsa Èngghi-Bhunten*). "Mba', ta' langkong kaulâ aghedhuen parlo ka sampèan" (*Bhâsa engghi-enten*). Based on the example, there are two sentences with different variations but have the same meaning, namely: "Excuse me ustadz, there is something I want to tell you."

Although there have been many studies on the use of language in Islamic boarding schools, studies that specifically discuss how *parbhâsan alos* shows politeness used by *santri putri* as a form of cultural attitude and respect are still very limited. Most of the existing studies focus more on the use of Arabic as a medium for religious learning or on the interaction between *santri putri* and *kyai* in certain contexts. In fact, the variation of language used by *santri putri* in everyday life reflects social and cultural values that are important in shaping the character of *santri putri*. Therefore, there is a significant gap in understanding how language functions not only as a means of communication, but also as an instrument for forming cultural identity and politeness in the context of gender-based religious education.

Based on this background, this study asks two main questions: (1) What language variations are used by the *santri putri* of Islamic Boarding School? (2) How is *parbhâsan alos* used by the *santri putri* as cultural attitudes in daily communication? The purpose of this study is to describe the forms of Madurese

language variations used by santri putri, especially parbhâsan alos, and to analyze the social meaning and cultural values contained therein. The novelty of this study lies in its focus on the use of Madurese language variations, namely parbhâsan alos as a form of cultural attitude by santri putri in Islamic boarding school life.

In research, a literature review is a section that functions to analyze sources that are relevant to the researcher's topic and provide an overview of previously existing research or theories. The first research was conducted by Mustofa & Moh. Abdul Kholiq Hasan with the title "Peran Bahasa Arab dalam Pendidikan Islam Di Ma'had Aly Ar-Rasyid Wonogiri: Terhadap Pembelajaran Bahasa Arab sebagai Media Akses Ilmu Agama". This research aims to describe the role of Arabic in Islamic Education at Ma'had Aly Ar-Rasyid Wonogiri, with an emphasis on learning Arabic as a medium for accessing religious knowledge. This research uses a qualitative approach with data collection methods through observation, interviews and document analysis.

The results of the study indicate that Arabic has a very important role in Islamic Education at Ma'had Aly Ar-Rasyid Wonogiri, namely Arabic is a bridge between santri and sources of Islamic teachings, helps santri understand and interpret religious texts, and Arabic plays a role as a medium of communication in religious practices. (Mustofa & Moh. Abdul Kholiq Hasan 2023). The second research was conducted by Heriyanto with the title "The Use of Èngghi-Bhunten Speaking Levels by Madurese Santri in Al-Azhar Islamic Boarding School: A Sociolinguistic Study" This research aims to examine the form, function, factors and context of the use of ML èngghi-bhunten at the Al-Azhar Islamic Boarding School in Situbondo. This research uses a qualitative approach with data collection methods through observation, and note-taking techniques. The results of the study indicate that santri use Èngghi-bhunten language only in the dhâlem family (Kyai and Nyai) as a reflection of the Salaf Islamic boarding school as a form of politeness in the Islamic boarding school there. (Heriyanto Nurcahyo et al., 2023).

The third research was conducted by Nafiatus Sholichah with the title "Penggunaan Bahasa Dalam Pelayanan Perizinan Santri di Kantor Keamanan Pondok Islamic boarding school Putri Utara Darussalam Blok agung Banyuwangi: Kajian Sociolinguistik". This research aims to describe the use of language by the waiter with the customer during the permit service and the factors that influence it. This research uses a qualitative approach with a data collection method through the free listening technique. The results of the study indicate that there are three languages used in the santri permit service, the languages used are Javanese, Osing and Mixed Languages (Nafiatus Sholichah, 2021).

Based on a review of several previous studies, it is clear that although there are similarities in the objects of study, the focus and approach of each study are still different. Research by Uctuvia & Suryadi examines variations of the Cerbonan language in Islamic boarding schools, not Madurese. Mustofa & Hasan highlight the role of Arabic in accessing religious knowledge, but do not touch on aspects of local

language variation as a cultural expression. Meanwhile, Heriyanto examines parbhâsan alos (bhâsa èngghi-bhunten) but is limited to its use by Kyai and Nyai in the context of Islamic boarding school families. There is no previous research that specifically examines the use of parbhâsan alos by santri putri as a form of cultural attitude in daily communication in Islamic boarding schools.

Therefore, this study fills this gap by highlighting variations of the Madurese language as an expression of politeness values and cultural identity among santri putri. The main objective of this study is to reveal how santri putri use parbhâsan alos in everyday interactions and what values are reflected in these linguistic practices. The novelty of this study lies in its focus on the use of language by santri putri in building respect and cultural identity in religious education. In addition, the direct involvement of researchers in observing the linguistic behavior of santri putri makes the data obtained more contextual and in-depth in the realm of sociolinguistics.

Method

This study uses a qualitative descriptive method with a case study design. Case studies are one of the qualitative research methods in organizational management that involves collecting data from various sources to critically analyze management situations (Cherkaoui & Oudrhough, 2024). The methods used in this study are observation, documentation and field notes. This type of observation uses non-participant observation, where researchers conduct observations without direct involvement (Weston et al., 2022) which was carried out for two weeks on the daily activities of santri putri, especially when interacting in the Islamic boarding school, class, and in the prayer room.

While documentation is a communication tool where documentation will later be carried out to avoid or prevent repeated information (Salim, 2020). which is taken in the form of videos and photos of the interactions of the santri putri. And for field notes, researchers will note important things such as time, place, and social conditions when the interaction occurs, because this information helps provide a more complete picture of the phenomenon being studied. To provide a clearer understanding of the data collection process in this research, the following is an explanation of each method used by the researcher:

Observation

Observation is an activity of observing certain objects directly at the research location. Observation as a method of data collection involves systematic planning and recording, allowing researcher to collect data through participation or release. This type of observation uses non-participant observation, where researcher conduct observations without direct involvement (Weston et al., 2022). It can occur in controlled or natural settings, but is subject to the observer's interpretive lens, affecting objectivity (Farid, 2022). The observations carried out focused on observing the language variations used by santri putri at the Islamic Boarding

School, especially in the context of the use of Parbhâsan Alos, which is seen as part of cultural attitudes.

During field observations, the researcher will observe verbal interactions that occur in various situations, both in daily activities and in the context of religious learning. Observations are carried out for two weeks separately due to the Islamic boarding school holidays, with a frequency of 6 days per week for approximately one hour per session, which are recorded in the form of videos, photos. Observations include activities at the prayer room, school, dormitory, santri putri delivery counter, and at the santri putri delivery location, so that they reflect the natural context of language use in the daily lives of santri putri.

The researcher will carefully record the variations in language used by santri putri that reflect the influence of local culture or the Islamic boarding school. In this case, observations are carried out in a non-participatory manner, where the researcher only observes without being directly involved in the conversation, to maintain objectivity and avoid influencing the communication behavior of santri putri. These observations will be carried out in various settings, both in class, dormitories, and when carrying out other daily activities, to obtain a comprehensive picture of how language is used as a cultural attitude in the daily lives of santri putri. All these findings will be further analyzed to reveal the relationship between language variation and cultural attitudes that emerge by santri putri at this Islamic boarding school.

Documentation

Documentation is the process of collecting data in written, image, audio, or video form for reference or evidence purposes in research. Documentation is a communication tool where documentation will later be carried out to avoid or prevent repeated information (Salim, 2020). Documentation aims to obtain data directly from the research site that supports the research results obtained through interview and observation methods. Documentation during interviews and observations involves recording data systematically to capture stories and insights. This process includes reflection, discernment, and imagination to analyze the gathered information, ultimately transforming it into generalized accounts of social interactions and relationships (Mowat, 2022). Researcher will document every interaction and conversation that occurs during observation, including cultural attitudes that reflect humility and politeness directed towards older people.

Field Notes

Field notes are a very important component in various types of research, especially qualitative research, because they function to help researchers ensure the validity of research results. Field notes in this study were not always recorded directly in the field, but were carried out reflectively immediately after the observation session took place. Researchers reconstructed the situations and social

interactions that occurred based on memories, direct observations, and visual evidence in the form of photos and videos. Although not recorded in real time, the information collected through this approach still provides a rich contextual picture of the language and cultural interactions of the santri putri. This approach is considered adequate to complement data from observations and documentation as part of data triangulation.

As a researcher, Researcher will systematically take note all the information that Researcher observe and obtain during the observation process in the field. This process involves accurate take note of the situation, interactions, and social dynamics that occur between the research subjects, namely santri putri at the Islamic Boarding School. In addition, Researcher will take note important things such as the time, place, and social conditions when the interaction occurred, because this information helps provide a more complete picture of the phenomenon being studied. These field notes will include direct observations, interviews, and related documentation, all of which serve as empirical evidence to support further analysis. This inductive approach emphasizes meaning and context, making it suitable for exploring complex research questions in various educational settings (Haki et al., 2024).

Data were analyzed using thematic analysis techniques, namely by rereading observation and documentation notes, and recording (Fuchs, 2023). To ensure the reliability of the data in this study, the researcher used a method triangulation approach, namely by comparing and confirming data obtained through observation, documentation, and field notes. In addition, the researcher also applied data triangulation which includes triangulation of sources, techniques, and time, in order to increase the validity and accuracy of the findings.

Source triangulation was carried out by combining various observation locations, such as schools, dormitories, and prayer rooms, as well as from informants with different backgrounds, namely santri putri and dormitory administrators at the Tsanawiyah and Aliyah class. Technique triangulation was applied using various data collection methods such as non-participatory observation, visual documentation, and field note. Meanwhile, time triangulation was carried out by collecting data in several sessions on different days and times for two weeks, to capture the dynamics of the use of parbhâsan alos in varying contexts.

This study focused on 30 people consisting of santri putri and administrators of Islamic Boarding School, especially from the Tsanawiyah and Aliyah class. The selection of these subjects was based on the consideration that they have a broader level of knowledge and understanding of the use of parbhâsan alos in everyday life. In addition, representation between levels of education and active involvement in social interactions also became important bases in selecting samples. Thus, the data obtained are expected to reflect authentic language practices and the cultural values contained therein.

This study has obtained official permission from the Deputy Head of the Islamic Boarding School before the data collection was carried out. All participants were given a clear explanation of the purpose of the study, the methods used, and their rights as respondents. This includes the right to refuse to participate or withdraw from the study without any consequences. Researchers also ensure that the data documentation and publication process is carried out by upholding the principles of confidentiality, ethics, and participant comfort, especially in the context of the use of parbhâsan alos which are closely related to local cultural identity and values.

Results

The results of the research conducted by researchers for two weeks at the Islamic Boarding School showed that santri putri use various language variations in everyday communication. The use of these variations is seen in various interaction situations, both formal and informal. This finding answers the first problem formulation regarding the form of language variation used by santri putri in everyday life. Details of the use of the three language variations are presented in the following table:

1. What language variations are used by the santri putri of Islamic Boarding School?

Table 1. Language Variation by Santri Putri of Islamic Boarding School.

No.	Madurese Language Variation	Communication of santri putri	Meaning
1.	<u>B h a ^sa</u> <u>E`ngghi-bhunten</u>	<u>Syila : Ta' langkong ka'dinto ba'.</u> <u>Dormiory head : Ba^da^ apa Syila?</u> <u>Syila : Ajunan e` pakon ngimami</u> <u>sholat asar, karna Nyai</u> <u>me`vos samangke`n.</u> <u>Dormiory head : Ow h.. iya^la Syil</u> <u>kalangkong ya^.</u> <u>Syila : E`ngghi sami ba'.</u>	<u>Syila : Excuse me sister.</u> <u>Dormiory head : What's wrong</u> <u>Syila?</u> <u>Syila : You were asked to be the</u> <u>asar imam because Nyai</u> <u>is traveling now.</u> <u>Dormiory head : Oh... yes Syila,</u> <u>thank you.</u> <u>Syila : Yes, you're welcome.</u>
2.	<u>B h a ^sa</u> <u>Engghi-enten</u>	<u>Melly : Lisa, empe`van mangkatah</u> <u>sareng se`ra ka sakolaan?</u> <u>Lisa : Gula^ kadhibi' Mel. Anapa?</u> <u>Melly : Gula^ mangkatta sareng</u> <u>empe`van ghi?</u> <u>Lisa : Oh e`ngghi pon.</u>	<u>Melly: Lisa, who do you want to</u> <u>go to school with?</u> <u>Lisa: I'm alone Melly, why?</u> <u>Melly: I want to go with you,</u> <u>okay?</u> <u>Lisa: Oh yeah, it's okay.</u>
3.	<u>B h a ^sa</u> <u>Enja^iya^</u>	<u>Rina : Mayu mon nyassa'a</u> <u>kalambhi ka taman lek.</u> <u>Ela : Ghi tore` bak rin, sareng</u> <u>se`raan bak?</u> <u>Rina : Mayu ra, mare`na pagghun</u> <u>bennya' bha^renga dissa.</u> <u>Ela : Ow h.. e`ngghi tore`h.</u>	<u>Rina : Come on, if you want to</u> <u>wash clothes, go to the</u> <u>garden.</u> <u>Ela : yes, come on sis. Who do</u> <u>we wash with?</u> <u>Rina : come on, soon there will</u> <u>be lots of friends there.</u> <u>Ela: Oh... okay, let's go.</u>

The results in the table above show that santri putri of Islamic Boarding School use three forms of language variation, namely bhâsa èngghi-bhunten, bhâsa engghi-enten, and enjâ'-iyâ. These three variations reflect different levels of formality and social relations, depending on the interlocutor and the conversation situation. First, bhâsa èngghi-bhunten is generally used in very formal contexts or when speaking to older and respected figures, such as kyai, nyai, ustadz, and boarding school administrators. Second, bhâsa engghi-enten is used in semi-formal situations, used when speaking to peers and can also be used to younger people.

The use of the first and second types of language variation is influenced by the obligation of the boarding school which requires santri putri to use both language variations in daily activities. However, there are still a number of santri putri who do not fully follow the applicable language usage rules, and continue to use the third language variety, namely bha[^] sa Enja[^]'-Iya[^] (coarse Madurese), both in communication with juniors and with peers. Therefore, the three language variations are still used simultaneously in everyday life at the Islamic Boarding School.

However, because the main focus of this study is to analyze parbhâsan alos as a form of cultural attitude, a more in-depth discussion is directed at parbhâsan alos, in accordance with the second problem formulation, as presented in Table 2 below:

2. How is parbhâsan alos used by the santri putri as cultural attitudes in daily communication?

Table 2. Parbhâsan Alos as Cultural Attitude Used by Santri Putri of Islamic Boarding School

No.	Date of data collection	Parbhâsan Alos	Meaning of Parbhâsan Alos	Words	Meaning of words
1.	Data 1, 23-02-2025	Emba' ta' langkong nyo'on e'dhi kaloara, abdhina ngaghunge'h pamator da^' ustadz e' sakolaan.	Excuse me sister, I would like to ask permission to go out. I need to see ustadz at school.	- Ta' langkong - Nyo'on e'dhi - Abdhina - Ngaghungeh - Pamator	- Excuse me - Ask permission - I - Have - Need something
2.	Data 2, 24-02-2025	Ustadz ta' langkong. Kelas musyawarah bedeh e' ka'dimma e'ngghi?	Excuse me ustadz, where is the class for deliberation?	- Ta' langkong - e' ka'dimma - Engghi	- Excuse me - Where - Yes
3.	Data 3, 25-02-2025	Ta' langkong ka'dintoh nyai, abdhina ngobengna sorat izin santreh.	Excuse me nyai, I wan't to buy a santris permit.	- Ta' langkong - Ka'dintoh - Abdhinah - Ngobengnah	- Excuse me - This - I - Buy
4.	Data 4, 26-02-2025	Ta' langkong emba', abdhina sareng sasarengan nyo'on pangaporana.	Excuse me sister, my friends and I want to apologize.	- Ta' langkong - Abdhinah - Sareng - Sasarengan - Nyo'on - Pangaporanah	- Excuse me - I - With - Friends - Apologize
5.	Data 5, 27-02-2025	Ta' langkong ka'dinto ustadz, kanca abdhina ngaghunge' cabis pamator da^' ajunan.	Excuse me ustadz, my friend has something to say goodbye to you.	- Ta' langkong - Ka'dintoh - Abdhina - Ngaghunge - Cabis pamator - Da^' - Ajunan	- Excuse me - This - I - Have - Need something - For - You

6.	Data 6, 28-02-2025	Mba', ta' langkong abdhina nyo'on e'dhi e'ntara ka kantin.	Excuse me sister, I want to go to the canteen.	- Ta' langkong - Abdhina - Nyo'on e'dhi	- Excuse me - I - Ask permission
7.	Data 7, 21-04-2025	Nge're'ng e' atore', ka'dinto palorot epon nyai.	Let's eat, this is leftover food from nyai.	- Nge're'ng - e' atore' - ka'dinto - palorot epon	- Let - eat - this - Leftover food
8.	Data 8, 22-04-2025	Ustadz, kadhi ponapa manabi vina se' nge're'ng lomba ba'taan ke'tab ustadz?	Ustadz, how if vina joins the kitab reading competition?	- Kadhi ponapa - Manabi - nge're'ng	- How - If - Join
9.	Data 9, 23-04-2025	Emba' ta' langkong, ajunan e' dhikane' wakil pimpinan.	Excuse me sister, you were called the deputy leader.	- Ta' langkong - Ajunan - e' dhikane'	- Excuse me - You - called
10.	Data 10, 23-04-2025	Ta' langkong emba', sampe'an e' pakon nyarengi e' dha'lem.	Excuse me sister, you were ordered to accompany Nyai at her house.	- Ta' langkong - Sampe'an - e' pakon - nyarengi - e' dha'lem	- Excuse me - You - Ordered - Accompany - at Nyai's house
11.	Data 11, 24-04-2025	Nge're'ng ba', kaula^ se abha'ktaaghina rang bha'tanga.	Come on sister, I'll carry the stuff	- Nge're'ng - Kaula^ - Abha'ktaaghina	- Come on - I - Carry
12.	Data 12, 25-04-2025	Kadhi ponapa manabi kantor BESAN ka'dinto e' pel saos ba'?	How about if we mop this BESAN office, sister?	- Kadhi ponapa - Manabi - Ka'dinto - Saos	- How - If - This - just

The results of this analysis also show that parbhâsan alos is most often used in situations when speaking to ustadz during teaching and learning activities at the madrasah and to the administrators of the Islamic boarding school when carrying out daily activities at the islamic boarding school.

Discussion

Based on the results of the study in the first table, it can be concluded that in the Madurese language variation there are three types of language variations, namely: Bhâsa èngghi-bhunten, bhâsa engghi-enten, and bhâsa enjâ'-iyâ. First, Bhâsa Èngghi-bhunten is the most refined and formal language variation. Usually bhâsa èngghi-bhunten here is used to speak to older people and people of higher rank, such as kiai, nyai, teachers, parents, dormitory heads, and so on. Second,

Bhâsa engghi- enten is a variation of the Middle Level Language, which is neither too rude nor too polite. This language is generally used to communicate with peers or younger people, as is commonly used by santri putri. And third, Bhâsa Enjâ'-iyâ is the coarsest Madurese language variation compared to the two previous language variations usually used when speaking to younger people, such as juniors.

Based on the research results presented in Table 2, 12 data were found that represent the form of parbhâsan alos and reflect the cultural attitudes prevailing in the Islamic boarding school. The first data shows a santri putri asking permission to go out from the dormitory chairman by pointing towards the school using the thumb of his right hand, because he has business with the ustadz. In the second data, a santri putri asks one of the ustadz where the deliberation class is located while placing his right hand on top of his left hand and bowing slightly as a form of politeness. The third data shows a dormitory administrator politely handing over money with both hands to the deputy leader to buy a santri putri permit.

Furthermore, the fourth data describes five santri putri who apologize to the dormitory chairman at the santri putri delivery counter by kissing his hand with both hands. The fifth data shows a santri putri who sends his friend off to say goodbye to the ustadz by pointing towards his friend using the thumb of his right hand. In the sixth data, two santri putri are seen asking permission from the delivery counter officer to go to the canteen while pointing towards the canteen using their right thumb. The seventh data shows a dormitory caretaker who uses his right thumb to invite other caretakers to finish Nyai's leftover food, in the hope of receiving blessings. Meanwhile, the eighth data depicts a santri putri who gives advice to the ustadz regarding a candidate for a yellow book reading competition from his class with polite intonation and attitude.

In the ninth data, a santri putri conveys information to the dormitory caretaker that he has been called to meet the vice head of the dormitory, while pointing in the direction using his thumb. The tenth data shows a santri putri who delivers a message from another caretaker that he is assigned to accompany Nyai in her house, and delivers the message while bowing slightly as a form of respect. Furthermore, the eleventh data shows a santri putri who offers to carry the dormitory caretaker's belongings by extending both hands. Finally, the twelfth data shows a santri putri who politely suggests to the head of an organization that the organization's office be cleaned by mopping, while pointing towards the organization's office using his thumb.

From these findings, it can be seen that the linguistic practices carried out by santri putri not only demonstrate politeness, but also have a broader meaning, especially in the context of preserving regional languages. This finding has important implications for efforts to preserve the Madurese language, especially in the context of modern education. Amidst the flow of globalization and the dominance of national and foreign languages, the use of Madurese in the daily lives of santri putri, especially the form of parbhâsan alos, shows that Islamic boarding

schools are still an active living space for regional languages.

The practice of using a variety of refined language accompanied by symbolic gestures such as kissing the hand with both hands, pointing with the thumb, bowing the head, or bowing the body, is a form of cultural transmission that occurs naturally in this traditional educational environment. Thus, Islamic boarding schools not only function as religious institutions, but also as a fortress for preserving local languages and cultures that are increasingly marginalized. The existence of Islamic boarding schools is clear evidence that educational institutions based on traditional values are able to play a strategic role in maintaining the existence of regional languages. Therefore, it is important for other educational institutions to make Islamic boarding schools a model in integrating the preservation of local culture into a broader learning system.

In the hierarchical social structure of Islamic boarding schools, language plays an important role in affirming and maintaining the boundaries of status between individuals. Madurese language variations such as *bhâsa èngghi-bhunten* not only function as a form of politeness, but also as a marker of social status that reflects a person's position in the Islamic boarding school order. Santri putri use this language selectively to figures who have higher authority, such as *kyai*, *nyai*, or *ustadz*, and use a lower language variety to peers or juniors.

This practice not only shows social sensitivity, but also strengthens the existing hierarchical structure. Language becomes a social mechanism that reflects, as well as maintains, the values of respect in the Islamic boarding school community. Through the practice of polite language, full of symbolic meaning, and accustomed to daily interactions, santri putri gradually form their cultural identity as individuals who uphold manners and politeness. This process takes place collectively and continuously, making language not just a means of communication, but also a means of internalizing the values and cultural heritage of Islamic boarding school.

This research is in line with sociolinguistic theory which emphasizes that language variation is influenced by social context and relationships between speakers. In this case, the use of *bhâsa èngghi-bhunten* by santri putri to older or higher status figures reflects a form of register used to show respect and maintain social harmony. Language not only functions as a means of communication, but also forms the structure of social interaction and the values adopted in the community. In accordance with the theory (Rahimova, 2023), language shapes social reality and is essential for understanding the relationship between individuals and their cultural environments in international education. Therefore, understanding language variation like this is very important in the context of culture-based education such as in Islamic boarding schools.

When compared with previous studies, these findings also show similar patterns as well as differences that reflect local cultural characteristics. The findings in this study are similar to the results of the study by (Heriyanto Nurcahyo et al., 2023), which showed that santri putri use *bhâsa èngghi-bhunten* only in the

dhalem family (Kyai and Nyai) as a reflection of the Salaf Islamic boarding school as a form of politeness in the Islamic boarding school there. However, in the context of the Islamic boarding school, the use of the engghi-bhunten language appears to be broader, not only directed at the kyai and nyai, but also to ustadz, boarding school administrators, and figures who are older or have higher status. This difference shows that although the value of politeness is the main principle in traditional Islamic boarding schools, its linguistic implementation can vary depending on the local culture and social norms that apply in each Islamic boarding school environment.

From the explanation above, it can be seen that the use of parbhâsan alos not only functions as a means of communication in everyday life, but also reflects the cultural attitudes upheld by santri putri at the Islamic Boarding School. Language serves as a crucial medium for expressing cultural attitudes, beliefs, and practices. It shapes social realities and influences how individuals perceive and interact with their cultural environment, making language learning incomplete without understanding its cultural context (Ramirez & Gómez, n.d.). This language variation has an important role in expressing respect, especially to those who are older or have a higher position. Language variation, such as euphemism and politeness strategies, serves to show respect in political discourse, particularly towards older or higher-ranking individuals. This approach emphasizes clarity and courtesy, fostering positive communication and maintaining social harmony within hierarchical relationship (Putrayasa, 2021).

Although the results of the study above show that the use of parbhâsan alos is quite dominant among santri putri, this study has limitations in the data collection process. The informants involved are groups that are known to have a better understanding of the language form, so they do not necessarily represent the entire population of santri putri in Tsanawiyah and Aliyah class. This is due to limited access and willingness to participate from other santri putri who may have different levels of mastery. Therefore, further research is recommended to include informants with more diverse backgrounds in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture.

Conclusion

This study reveals that santri putri of Islamic Boarding School use three forms of Madurese language variations in daily interactions, namely bhâsa engghi-bhunten, bhâsa engghi-enten, and bhâsa enjâ'-iyâ. These three forms represent different levels of politeness, which are adjusted to the age and social status of the person they are talking to.

However, the main focus of this study is directed at the use of parbhâsan alos, especially bhâsa engghi-bhunten, because this form reflects the cultural attitude of santri putri towards older and more respected parties, such as kyai, nyai, ustadz, and other authoritative figures in the Islamic boarding school environment.

These language variations not only function as a means of communication, but also as instruments for forming cultural identity and affirming social and religious values that live in the Islamic boarding school environment. This study shows that the use of polite language has been internalized in the lives of santri putri as part of the norms and social ethics of Islamic boarding schools.

Thus, the findings of this study provide an important contribution in understanding the role of language varieties, especially parbhâsan alos, as a form of expression of cultural attitudes and respect. In addition, the use of this language also plays a role in strengthening religious and social values in the daily lives of santri putri in the Islamic boarding school environment.

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Khofifatul Qulub, Jaftiyatur Rohaniyah, Dinar Vincy Yunitaka Bahrudin
The Study of Parbhâsan Alos: Madurese Language Variation as Cultural Attitude by Santri
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