The Cultural Pluralism Reflected in Language Choice
(A case study of Girl dormitory of Nurul Huda)

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Abstract

This study aims to find out the language choice that is used by students (santri) in the girl dormitory (asrama putri)Nurul Huda Sukaraja OKU Timur and factors that support using these languages. This study is an ethnography that belongs to qualitative research. In this study, the researcher has a role as an instrument to collect the data. The data are collected through observation and field notes toward utterances produced by students in their daily life communication. The result shows that there are some kinds of language used by students in the girl dormitory. They are standard Indonesian and nonstandard Indonesian language, Javanese kromo and Javanese ngoko and Komering. Each language has its situation to be used by all students. And most of the students use nonstandard Indonesian and Javanese ngoko in most of the daily life communication.

Keywords: Language Choice, Girl Dormitory, Communication

INTRODUCTION

Language is the ultimate means to make communicate in a society or community. Wardaugh (2006:1) defines that language as what the members of a particular society speak. In the fact, the society may be plurilingual that is speakers use more than one language in their communication. There are three possible linguistic outcomes of prolonged contact of ethnic groups; that are language maintenance, bilingualism or multilingualism, or language shift (Dweik& Qawar,2015:1). Dweik&Qawar(2015:1) state in their research about language choice and language attitude that the Canadian Arabs of Quebec, who live in the multilingual community, can choose Arabic, English, or French according to the situation they find themselves in. Thus, the choice of language in communicating is an important thing that must be considered by the speaker. The idea or desire of the speaker is sometimes accepted based on the choice of language. The choice is triggered by several factors like purpose, topic, and preference.

In this study, the researcher took language choice to be investigated in the Islamic boarding school community. It is a narrower area than the above research.

Girl Dormitory (Asrama Putri) of Islamic Boarding School of Nurul Huda Islamic boarding school (PondokPesantren) of Nurul Huda located at Sukaraja village Buay Madang OKU Timur regency. PondokPesantren Nurul Huda is one of a religion, social and education institution inOganKomering Ulu (OKU) Timur regency.

At first, this institution was established for the farmer Javanese transmigrant communities in OKU Timur regency but in its development, the students (santri) in thisPesantrenare not only from Javanese but also from komering people. This pesantren has several management units, those are boy dormitory (asrama putra (MTs, MA, STKIP)), girl dormitory (asrama Putri (MTs, MA, STKIP)), SMKdormitory (Asrama SMK (Putra Putri)), dan kid dormitory (Asrama anak-anak (MI)) and also several education units, they are kindergarten unit (RA/TK), elementary school unit (MI/SD), junior high school unit (MTs/SMP), senior high school unit (MA/SMK/SMA)and college (STKIP). This study is focused on the students who stay in the girl dormitory.

Students in this dormitory are from many ethnicities are java, sunda, and komering.This causes language diversity in pesantren. For the Javanese student, they use java kromo, java ngoko and standard Indonesian language, and non-standard Indonesian language. It indicates that the students are multilingual in everyday communication.

The multilingual situation causes a diglossia process where there is a different function of the language usage based on the who person is talking to. Languages that exist in the girl dormitory are Indonesian, Javanese kromo, Javanesengoko, and komering. Looking at this phenomenon, the researcher is interested to find out about the language choice made by students in this dorm that involves language choice, interaction pattern in a particular context, when, where, and who are involved in communication/conversation.

Sociolinguistic discuss the relationship between society and language. It is derived from sociology that discusses society and linguistic that discusses language. If we defined a term related to the issue as Wardaugh (2006:1) defines Society as any group of people who are drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes. While language is what the members of a particular society speak.Holmes(2013: 1) confirmed that sociolinguistic is concerned with the relationship between language and the context in which it is used. This is clarified by his statement that sociolinguists study why people speak differently in a different social context, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the way it is used to convey social meaning. Based on the above view it can be said that society and language are two things that cannot be separated. People need language to be social, to socialize, to communicate and language can arise if there is a society.

The language that people use in everyday living is remarkably varied. It is impossible that the people speak in the same way every day to many people. There is a possible relationship between language and society (Wardaugh, 2006:10). One is that social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behavior. A second is directly opposed to the first, linguistic structure and/or behavior may either influence or determine the social structure. A third is that the influence is bi-directional: language and society may influence each other. A fourth is to assume that there is no relationship at all between linguistic structure and social structure and that each is independent of the other.

Looking at the possible relationship between language and society, it can be concluded that people can choose code in any situation and condition depending on the people's intention.

Language choice is a careful selection of words, phrases, clauses, or sentences of another language within the speaker's repertoire. Coulmas (2005) stated that for bilinguals, the occurrence of language choice seems natural, automatic, and unplanned. However, this also happens to mono-dialectal speakers who also face a wide range of linguistic choices. In line with that, according to Dweik&Qawar (2015:4), the occurrence of language choice for bilinguals and multilingual seems natural, automatic, and unplanned. Speakers choose an appropriate register, genre, style, medium, or tone of voice about the interlocutor (who), topic (what), context (where), and medium (how) in every talk. It statements is supported by Wardaugh (2006:5) who states that the individual knows what language (variation) she/he chooses and that knowledge is both very precise and at the same time almost entirely unconscious. The language choice made by a speaker can be motivated by some factors such as social status, gender, educational attainment, ethnicity, age, occupation, rural and urban origin, speakers themselves, topic, place, media, and formality of the situation (David 2006, and Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001). This section specifically reviews the factors that influence language choice. So that, it's crucial to provide a good understanding of the linguistic situation for a bilingual or multilingual country (Joshua Fishman 1972 in Lee Mei, Tam et al 2016:21). Which language an individual chooses to use may depend on who is the interlocutor, and the situation in which the conversation takes place.

Lee Mei, Tam et al (2016:21) stated that in a multilingual society, individuals constantly have to make a choice of which language to use for which situation and this depends on the interlocutors who are also constrained by their linguistic repertoires. Some people view this as a problem since it could cause barriers and difficulties in communication. Nonetheless exercising a choice in language use in different contexts can be a complex task. This is because the speaker often has to decide constantly which languages are appropriate to use for what purposes, and the decision is often instantaneous. Besides, the speaker might be influenced by the characteristics of the interlocutor,

such as ethnicity, age, gender, educational level, proficiency level, and domains in which the particular communicative event takes place. However, people who live in a bilingual or multilingual country inevitably face more decision makings in choosing what language to use all of the people speak more than one language. It is also common that all of them do not speak the same language.

According to Gal (1978) in Dweik(2015:4), the analysis of language choice in bilingual and multilingual settings remains a crucial endeavor in sociolinguistic research. Theoretically refined tools are needed to explain why language X is used in situation x, and why language Y is used in situation y. contrary to the widely assumed belief that language use is unsystematic, sociolinguistics has held as axiomatic that " A speaker's choice between varieties is also structured. It is systematically linked to social relationships, events, or situations. Gumperz in Wardaugh (2006) found, in his sociolinguistic investigation as a well-known fact, that correlation between language and society shows only a relationship between two variables; it does not show ultimate causation. To find X and Y are related is not necessarily to discover that X cause Y or Y cause X.Therefore, the fundamental issue here is why a given linguistic variety is chosen to be used in a particular array of situations, while another variety is preferred in other circumstances.

Moreover, David (2006) in Dweik (2015:4) argues that language choice is triggered by factors such as social status, gender, educational attainment, ethnicity, age, occupation, rural and urban origin, speakers, topic, place, media, and formality of the situation. His findings are similar to Coulmas's findings that people make the linguistic choice for various purposes. It depends on their various needs concerning the communication of ideas, the association with and separation from others, the establishment or defense of dominant. In line with that, Ansah, A.M (2014:37) stated that language choice is informed by the kind of participants in a communication situation, the topic, social distance, and also location.

According to Dumanig, F.P (2010:31), Language choice is a careful selection of a word, phrase, clause, or sentence of another language within the speaker" linguistic repertoire.

Fishman (1972) in Lee Mei, Tam, et al (2016:21) Language choice is defined as the language, variety, or code utilized by a particular speech community for a particular purpose or function in verbal interaction.

Meanwhile, Dewi, U. P., &Setiadi, C. J. (2018:370) stated: "Language choice is a reflection of speakers' attitude toward a language". It meant a positive language attitude will promote encouragement to the language use and the other way around. In other words, the status of the language in a particular society also influences the attitudes of speakers as well as non-speakers. It shows that language attitudes provide an explanation to determine the factor influencing language choice.

Haslett in Giles and Robinson (1990) in Dumanig, F.P(2010:31) stated that one factor that influences language choice is the speaker" social status which is associated income, education, occupation, wealth, religion, age, role, and race. Social status serves as an indicator of a person"s rank in society such as upper class, middle class, and lower class. Social categorization is considered to be influential in a speaker"s language choice because it helps in maintaining and identifying the individual"s status in the community. In other words, language choice can be a basis for status symbols, especially in multilingual and multiracial societies.

Thus, Wardhaugh (1992) in Dumanig, F.P (2010:31)stated that the notion that language choice is influenced by a speaker"s social status also supports the claim that the choice of words, ways of speaking, and rules in conversation are determined by certain social requirements. In addition, language choice also proves that interlocutors vary in their code choices or language preferences in various domains.

Spolsky (2004) argued that in many groups, different linguistic choices are influenced by different role relationships which are evident in all types of talk. When dealing with people of higher social status, formal language is commonly used but when dealing with people of lower status, informal language is used. It meant that speakers choose the language that is appropriate to their

social status.

Studies conducted by Tan (1993), Wardhaugh (1992), Fasold (1996), Nor AzniAbdullah (2004), Bonvillain (1993), and Mugambi (2003) have proven that social status can be an influential factor in a speaker"s language choice. Based on their findings, speakers use language to accommodate others who have a different status. For example, every interlocutor chooses a language in a certain communicative event that would fit the linguistic need of another interlocutor like an interaction between customer-seller, superior(manager)-subordinate (ordinary employee), or master-house help. The aforementioned studies show that social stratification and language choice are evident in some multilingual societies. Thus, people of the lower, middle, and upper statuses are aware of their role in society because their identity is revealed through their manner of speaking, behavior, manner of dressing, etc. In some societies, language choice can be considered as a determining factor of the speaker"s status. This is possible because the choice of codes varies according to the status and role of the interlocutors involved in communication.

Language choice varies in different domains of communication which can be triggered by the idea of "we code", "the code" and "code-in-between" (Dumanig, F.P, 2010:37).

Furthermore, Ferrer and Sankoff's research (2004) results that the language preference of a speaker is influenced by dominant languages. Hence most bilinguals and multilingual may choose a dominant language as a medium of communication because it provides them a greater advantage, economic benefit, social networks expansion, and better opportunities. In line with that, Dumanig, F.P (2010:37) stated that bilingual or multilingual speakers vary their linguistic choices depending on their attitudes towards the language they use. However, powerful or dominant languages have more chances to be chosen and used by many speakers. The decision to use what language in a particular situation arise bilingual or multilingual in a community so that diglossia is applied in that community by using code-switching in the process of interaction.

Dominant language influences the language choice of a speaker. More prestigious language is usually favored as the medium of communication in various domains because of its wider social functions. In addition, dominant languages can be used in formal and informal domains of communication (Pillai, 2006).

Wardhaugh (2006:89) states that a diglossic situation exists in a society when it has two distinct codes which show clear functional separation; that is, one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set. Similar to Wardaugh, Ferguson (1995:244) cited in Wardaugh defined diglossia as a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. In diglossia, code is differentiated into a high variety (standard) and low (nonstandard) variety.

Diglossia has been used both in a narrow sense and in a much broader sense (Wardaugh, Holmes, 2013:27). In the narrow and original sense of the term, diglossia has three crucial features:

1.   Two distinct varieties of the same language are used in the community with one regarded as a high (H) and the other a low (L) variety.

2.   Each variety is used for quite a distinct function; H and L complement each other.

3.   No one uses the H variety in everyday conversation.

Diglossia refers to the society or community rather than the individual. If it refers to an individual, it can be called bilingualism.

Bilingualism and multilingualism as the opposite of monolingualism, that is, the ability to use only one language, refers to the ability to use two languages and more than two languages. Such ability is not at all remarkable in many parts of the world. In Indonesia, children at a young age have become bilingual because when they get in kindergarten they use the Indonesian language in school

and their mother tongue at home. Wardaugh(2006:96) states that in many parts of the world it is just a normal requirement of daily living that people speak several languages. One or more at home, another in the village, another in the school, and for the specific purpose of trade. These various languages are usually acquired naturally and unselfconsciously, and the shifts from one to another are made without hesitation.

In the part of the world bilingualism and multilingualism is normal condition, and even it becomes a necessity to be bilingualism or multilingualism so people are usually to select a particular code whenever they want to speak and they may also decide to switch from one code to another code or to mix codes even within even very short utterances and thereby create a new code. This process is called Code-switching. Code-switching can occur in a conversation between speakers' turns or within a single speaker's turn (Wardaugh,2006:101). Code-switching can arise from individual choice or be used as a major identity marker for a group of speakers who must deal with more than one language in their common pursuit. As Gal (1998:247) says that code-switching is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligation.

Back to the Hudson basic definition of a language, that is essentially a set of linguistic items such as sounds, words, grammatical structures, and so on (Hudson, in Wardaugh,2006:10). On the other hand, social theorists, particularly sociologists explain that the discussion of sociology is how societies are structured and how people manage to live together. It indicates that language is used by people to show the people's role in life. The language used can be the identity of the user of the language.

As everybody knows, most people use more than one language or bilingual for example in Indonesia, the students in the kindergarten are bilingual. They use their mother tongue at home and they use the Indonesian language in their school. So at a young age, Indonesian children are bilingual.

When people from different mother tongues gather they can rise multilingual community. Multilingual refers to a situation in which there are speakers of more than one language (Wardaugh& Fuller, 2015:83). As a societal phenomenon, multilingual is a normal situation where people speak several languages in their daily living. Like in ASPI Nurul Huda, students speak Indonesia in the School environment, java (kromo) in dormitory environment especially when speaking to their teacher and kyai and the older students, their mother tongue (java ngoko, komering, or ogan) when speaking to their friends. Fuller (2012) cited in Wardaugh (2015:84) states that many of the children speak two languages at home.

This research focused on the language choice made by students in the girl dormitory of Nurul Huda. Language choice is related to the variation that occurs in the girl dormitory.

METHODOLOGY

This research is ethnography research. Creswell (2007:68)explain that ethnography is a qualitative design in which the researcher describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviors, beliefs, and language of a culture-sharing group. As both a process and an outcome of the research, ethnography is a way of studying a culture-sharing group as well as the final, written product of that research. The researcher uses realist ethnography. In realists, an emphasis is placed on taking field notes and observing the cultural scene. Observation and record field notes are used to collect the data.

The instrument of this research is the researcher. In collecting the data, the researcher stays at the research site for a long time to do observation and record field notes. The researcher reciprocates for gaining the data that suit the study. The data source is utterances produced by students (santri) in Asrama Putri PP. Nurul Huda in several situations.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The result of the study describes the language choice made by students are affected by the status social in dormitory, educational attainment, age, speakers, topic, place, media, and formality of the situation.

The structure of the girl dormitory consists of pengasuh, advisor, Pembina, chairperson. The hierarchy of the structure describes the social status, gender, educational attainment, age, and occupation. Those are the factors that influence language choice.

Dialog 3

S1   :" ayok mangkat"
S2   : " engko disek to, nunggu Sinta"
S3   : " nduk, sampean arep podo neng endi?"
S1   : " ajenge berangkat sekolah bu"
S3   : "Pean timbalne, mbak Wafi kon neng ndalem"
S1   : " jeh, bu".

The above dialog occurs in front of the dormitory office. S1 and S3 are friends. They are the same age preparing to go to school and waiting for their friend who does not come soon. They talk in Javanese ngoko. Then Ibunyai (S3) comes and involves in the conversation. She also useJavanesngoko but S1 gives a response in Javanese Kromo. From that dialog, it can be seen that S1 does the code-switching. At the first, she uses Javanese Ngoko talking to her friend then switches to Javanese Kromo talking to ibunyai. From this description, it can be concluded that factors that influence language choice are **status social (students and teacher), age (S1 younger than S3), and education (S3 higher than S2 and S1 in education).**

Dialog 2

S1   :" Mbak, sopo neng jero? Aku ngantri yo!"
       "Mbak, siapa di dalam? Aku ngantri ya"
S2   : "Enek antrine, Hayu kamar D1"
       "ada antriannya, Hayu kamar D1".
S1   : "Bar Hayu sopo?"
       " Setelah Hayu, siapa?"
S2   : "Aku gak reti, takoko Hayu".
       " saya tidak tahu, Tanya aja keHayu"

The dialog occurs in the bathroom.Speaker1 (S1) and speaker 2 (S2). S1 does not know exactly who is in the bathroom. Soshe calls S2 using "mbak" because it can be ascertained that inside the bathroom is a girl but S2 does not know about the age. "mbak" is used to make the general reference to all the population in dormitory either younger or older than the speaker without knowing the definite age. S2 answer that Hayu will take a bath after her. She calls Hayu by her name because S2 knows that Hayu's age is same as her age. They use Javanese ngokoin in their conversation. Javanese ngoko is used in communication. From this explanation, if the speakers involved in the conversation in the same age, they prefer to use Javanese ngoko than kromo. Here the language choice is influenced by **age**.

Dialog 4

S1   : "Berbaris di sana!", kenapa terlambat?"
S2&   S2   : "Tadi pagi piket kebersihan di asrama pak".

S1 : "Jam berapa waktu piket di asrama?" bukannya itu bisa di mulai jam 5.30 dan kamu masuk kelas jam 7. Itu waktu yang panjang untuk menyelesaikan piket di asrama.

S2 & S3 : " Iyapak.

S1 : "Baca surat Ad dhuha dan Al lail" hafalan

S2 & S3 : " baikpak"

The above dialog occurs in the school environment. S1 is a counselor teacher and S2, S3 are students who come late. In the dialog, all speakers use standard Indonesian because of the **place and formality of the situation**.

Dialog 5

S1 : "Bu dalem ngaturaken sedoyo kalepatan, dalem nyuwun agunge pangapunten".

S2 : " Yo podo ugo, ibu duwe kalepatan dingapuro.

The dialog is in the Idul Fitri situation. In this situation, all of the students (santri) do sungkeman tradition. In this situation, all of the students are asked to use Javanese kromo. Here, the language choice is influenced by the **formality of the situation**.

Dialog 6

S1 : "kitanakmasak apo mbak?"

S2 : "kata ibuikannilambak, digoreng".

S1 : "Di mano gorengnyo?"

S2 : "Di dapurluar, biar gak panas"

S1 : " untukapolahikansebanyakini?"

S2 : "Tar malemkanYasinanbapak-bapak"

S1 : " Menunya apo bae? kitosiapkedarisekarang"

S2 : " TanyaajasamabuFitrimbak?"

S1 : " Bulek, apo bae yang nakdisiapkantuknantimalam?"

S3 : " Nasi, lauk, lalapan dan buahsep" mbakYuni mana? Suruhkesiniya?"

S2 : "Pripunbu?"

S3 : "Semongkone pun pean pundut?"

S2 : " Sampun"

The dialog above occurs in the kitchen. S1 and S2 are in the same age. S1 uses local language (komering) because she is Komering person and cannot speak Java language then S2 responds using non-standard Indonesi because she is Javanese person and cannot speak Komering. As everybody knows that Komering is almost the same as Indonesa language because they both are Melayu language so some words in komering are easy to understand by students (santri). Actually S2 can respond using Java language but S2 chooses to use Indonesia language in order to avoid miscommunication between them. Then S2 switch the language into Java Kromo language when talk to S3 because S3 is caregiver's (pakyai) daughter and S3 also responds in Java Kromo because she wants the students be accustomed to Java kromo. S3 also uses Indonesia language to respond S1 speech. It can be concluded that conversation happen between S1 and S2 is influenced by the **speaker**. S2 uses Indonesia because she look at S1 (komering person) as well as to S3, S1 uses Java kromo because she is Javanese and different **social status**. If we look at S3 side, she uses java kromo as an instruction **media** in language also character.

CONCLUSION

Some of students in the girl dormitory are bilingual and some of them are multilingual. The bilingual students are students who use komering and Indonesia in the dorm and students who use Java and Indonesia language. While the multilingual are the students who use komering, Java, and also Indonesia language. They are native Komering but can speak java. Most students use Java language in most of their daily activities. They use standard-Indonesia language only informal situations such as in the teaching-learning process. Factors that influence language choice found in the girl dormitory are status social, age, speaker, place, media, and formality of the situation.

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