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Shaping Communities Through Language Practices, Ideologies, and Mobility: The Diaspora language of the Arab-descent Communities in Surakarta, Surabaya and Jakarta.

Ph.D. Dissertation

Tutor:

Prof: Antonia Soriente

Prof: Aurora Donzelli

Prof: Riccardo Contini

Ph.D. Candidate:

Luigi Sausa
DAAM/126

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One day, I came home from school, buzzing with excitement about something new I had learned in class. Our teacher had explained that, as Sicilians, we were of mixed ancestry: descendants of Arabs and Normans. The idea fascinated me and I couldn't wait to share it with my older brother. Bursting into the living room, where he was lounging with a newspaper in his hands, I declared, "Did you know? Since I'm white and blond, I must be more Norman. And since you're darker-skinned with black hair, you're probably more Arab!" He put the newspaper down, revealing a wry smile that tugged at the corners of his mouth. "Yes... and we're both sons of unknown fathers."

Sicilian Popular Story on Cultural Heritage

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0.1 Introduction

Amid extensive scholarly discussions on Indonesia's Islamization and Arabization, the semiotic articulation of these indexical relationships has remained largely uncharted. This dissertation fills this gap by providing an ethnographic account of the semiotic register of Arab descendants in Indonesia, focusing on how language practices shape identity within this diasporic community.

This work explores the diverse identities within this community, which have been shaped by a history of migratory waves and interactions that have fostered connections among various local and transregional actors.

Engaging with broader discussions on cultural and linguistic transformations related to South-to-South migration, religious language, and standardization processes, this study challenges prevailing views that often limit the Arab diaspora in Indonesia to associations with prominent religious figures. Instead, it highlights a neglected aspect of Arab-Indonesian identity: the semiotic registers and language practices of Arab descendants. Additionally, it brings into academic discussion the impact of more recent migration flows that follow older genealogical ties and new transnational opportunities.

This dissertation is guided by the following key research questions: How do the language practices of Arab descendants—situated at the crossroads of Indonesia's complex linguistic ecology and the historical and ideological fabric of the Arabic language, which ties it closely to Arab identity—shape their diasporic identity? More specifically, how do these practices, particularly in relation to Arabic—a language highly valued in the national context and considered sacred, yet often regarded as non-native—contribute to social cohesion and self-representation within this community?

Based on long-term fieldwork in the urban Arab districts of Jakarta, Surakarta, and Surabaya, this research explores how people construct, build, and imagine a collective belonging to a distinctive locality through verbal interaction in informal gatherings, ceremonies, and music performances across various urban settings, where a constellation of signs associated with Arabic linguistic elements plays a significant role.

The people of Arab descent in Indonesia use the term Jamaah (group) to refer to their community. Although they are often described as Hadrami, reflecting their ancestral origins in the Hadramaut Valley in Yemen, the Jamaah rarely use the label Hadrami themselves, as it anchors a dynamic community to a fixed geographical origin, imposing a specific connotation that clashes with the diasporic nature of the community.

This labeling process compels the community to conform to an idealized notion that a group must inherently be tied to a specific location and language, whether Indonesia or Hadramaut. By contrast, Jamaah—which indexes descendants of the diaspora in Indonesia but is also used to refer to newer arrivals of Arab ethnicity—emphasizes self-identification through mobility and community engagement, core aspects of this group's diasporic identity.

The core idea of this work is that an indexical relationship exists between a language variant, the Hadramaut region, the Arab world, Islam, and a distinctive urban diasporic Indonesian locality. This relationship is unsteady, as it is continually negotiated in each conversational turn and stable in its association with a social unity. This semiotic register—framed as Bahasa Jamaah (Language of the Jamaah)—reflects a dynamic form of self-representation within the community.

Transcending a single setting, speakers draw from a constellation of signs that traverse both the geographical landscape linking Indonesia with the Arab world and the temporal and sociocultural landscape woven with the history of Islam, the Arabs, and the Arabic language. While these connections are relatively stable, they are also subject to continuous negotiation and situational adaptation, revealing an intermittent, context-dependent bond between Bahasa Jamaah and the Arab-Indonesian community. By weaving together insights from commentaries on language use, field observations, and analyses of spontaneous conversations, I examine the situational nature

of this indexical connection to grasp how this unsteady register, yet anchored to a social unity, is actively renegotiated in each conversational turn.

Methodologically, this study employs a fine-grained ethnographic approach, drawing on a collection of audiovisual and transcribed naturalistic data from spontaneous conversations in informal gatherings (majlas). My initial encounter with the community began in 2018, with formal research conducted over three years, from 2021 to 2024. This extended engagement allowed for an in-depth exploration of how, within specific interactional contexts, Bahasa Jamaah serves as more than a linguistic style; it animates a social persona, a social type, and establishes social cohesion through shared ways of speaking, dressing, and acting based on context, activity, and participants.

This dissertation offers a nuanced perspective on the roles of language and mobility in forming diasporic communities. It contributes to broader discussions on cultural identity, migration, and the interplay between contemporary society's local, global, and transregional forces. This work will be of interest to scholars in linguistics, diaspora studies, and anyone keen on understanding how language functions as a conduit for social cohesion and identity formation in diverse settings.

Figure 1: Hadramaut and Indonesia

Chapter 1

You're Arab, right?

1.1 Introduction

My first encounter with the Hadrami community occurred on a boat from Surabaya to Lombok in December 2018, on the night of the 24th to the 25th. The ferry journey takes approximately 20 hours, and traveling on the deck facilitates making new acquaintances. Not far from the sofa where my girlfriend and I were lying, Wowo and Wajdi were sitting on the floor. My interest was piqued when I noticed Wajdi reading a book by Derrida. They saw me looking their way occasionally.

After a few hours, they decided to approach me and spoke to me in colloquial Arabic, asking if I was Arab. Don't get me wrong, this is a common occurrence in Indonesia, likely due to my dark skin and beard. However, my reply was, *lā, wallah ana ītāli, lēsh?* 'No, not at all, why?'. The confusion that arose on their faces was amusing as I responded with 'no' in Arabic—a misleading hint, since Arabic was the language I used. The next question was immediately whether I was Muslim, phrased in a way that seemed to expect a positive answer: *enta muslim, ṣaḥ?* 'You're Muslim, right?'. Once again, my answer was disappointing to them, as I am not Muslim. I just happen to know Arabic, enough to hold a conversation, and I am Mediterranean.

But my next question was why these two young men—my age, 26 at the time—spoke colloquial Arabic, a language that, in my experience, was generally disregarded in Indonesia. There, many are proficient in Classical Arabic, especially for religious matters, but colloquial varieties are undervalued. Their response came immediately and was quite surprising: "We are of Arab descent! they said. "Originally from Yemen". "Like your parents are Yemenis?" I replied. "No, our ancestors—our great-grandfathers were" they clarified. "Cool... do you speak Arabic at home?" "No". I went through as if I was conducting a sociolinguistic interview, however, it did not feel at all that way, not for me, and not for them, I would say.

"So where did you learn it?" I asked. Wajdi explained he learned colloquial Arabic at the university and on his own because he really wanted to visit an Arab country and actually speak the language. I was fascinated. They had never been outside Indonesia, yet they could speak Colloquial Arabic—a language I struggled to learn—and they had Arab ancestry. The next question I asked was simply, "Why? Why did you decide to study Arabic?" We spent the entire night discussing the significance of Arabic not only as the language of Islam but also as the language of the Arabs. For them, as individuals of Arab descent, it was crucial to connect with the language of their ancestors. It held deep importance for them. These very simple ideas I found to prove obiquitous questions and themes among the Jamaah during my actual fieldwork.

The conversation lasted nearly the entire night, alternating between seeking refuge from the overly cold air conditioning and the sweltering heat. For the most part, we spoke Indonesian, but we sprinkled in some Arabic here and there, signaling that we all knew the language and,

admittedly, because it felt quite cool to do so. English was also part of the mix since my girlfriend didn't speak Indonesian or Arabic.

Explaining what an Italian guy who spoke Indonesian and Arabic was doing on a boat to Lombok caught their attention. Neither Muslim nor Arab, yet deeply interested in things related to Arabic—this combination elicited mixed reactions from many people during my field research when I began my Ph.D. two years later. I think this speaks volumes about intersectionality. It shows that one can align with various identities at once and also that these kind of ideas should not build walls between people, but rather help us climb them.

Being a researcher from an Italian institution during my time in Indonesia—European, Western, white, for sure meant something to the people I met. Yet, these categories did not apply straightforwardly to me; they were not self-evident. These labels were transcended because the context bound interaction I had. I came from Sicily, 'closer to Tunisia than to Rome, influenced by 200 years of Arab colonization. You can even detect it in a few words we use in our local dialect'. Sicily, much poorer than the rest of Italy and viewed as the backwater of Europe, is often misunderstood. Tourists come to Sicily wondering if we speak English, if there is rampant crime, or if we are truly civilized, and to some extent, they pity us because they know we come from a poorer place. Think about it: we are also inundated by tourists, which drives up prices and, if it doesn't destroy our way of life, at best turns us into an open-air Disneyland. Getting to know the Arabs of Indonesia, who initially were peers of my age seeking fun, exchange, and knowledge about Italy and the Middle East, was enlightening. Having direct knowledge of the Arab world—having lived in Egypt, Jordan, and Palestine—and being able to speak colloquial Indonesian (thus not being perceived purely as an academic) played a significant role in defining my identity in their eyes.

Anyhow, on that boat, we were all fascinated by each other. My fascination stemmed from my limited knowledge about Arabs in Indonesia; I knew that some merchant families were still present, identifiable by their family names, but I had no idea that the Hadrami—people from Hadramaut—had their lives so deeply entwined with Indonesia as they described that night. For their part, all they knew about me was that I didn't fit their expectations of a non-Arab or European.

This might sound naive, but I believe that focusing too much on structural differences—which are important for understanding macro-social differences and disparities—can make us lose sight of who we are as individuals to the people we encounter. And honestly, I don't identify as white or European, but as Mediterranean, with all the privileges and disparities that this often unrecognized cultural region of the world encompasses.

Having said that, it was Wowo who, two years later, introduced me to the Hadrami community on Jl. Pedati in Jakarta and helped me meet Adil, whose story you will soon read in Chapter 2. It was through Adil and Wowo that I met Nabiel Hayaze, who happened to be friends with Fadil—the first person who picked me up in Surakarta when I arrived and took me to Doeloerkoe, the guest house where I met friendly people who spoke a form of Arabic to each other and used many Arab-sounding terms in their Indonesian and Javanese speech.

Thanks to them, I ended up in Surabaya meeting Adil's father, who is a local authority for the Arab community in Ampel district. On more than one occasion, I encountered some of these people, who came from various parts of the island of Java, at ceremonies in other cities like Purwokerto, where the Hadrami—referred to as Jamaah by themselves—sometimes gather to celebrate.

While spending time with Wajdi in Jakarta, I began playing football weekly with a group of young people who had recently migrated from the Middle East, primarily Saudi Arabia. These individuals, who share genealogical ties with Hadramaut and the broader Diaspora in Indonesia, migrated to Indonesia for various reasons. All of them identify as Jamaah.

In this research, movement was a crucial element—arguably the most important. It encompassed my own travels across different communities, the movement of Jamaah members coming from various cities to meet, and my following these movements as people convened.

1.2 Research Questions and Methods

Is there a distinct way of speaking among people of Arab descent in Indonesia? Initially framed with a somewhat naïve perspective and echoing traditional linguistic efforts to uncover the "undocumented," this question marked the starting point of the research. It was grounded in the understanding that the use of Arabic in Indonesia is laden with complex meanings, often interpreted through the lens of Islam.

Wajdi and Wowo informed me that they were re-studying Arabic as part of their cultural heritage. Yet, the specifics of how this heritage connected with the Arabic language remained unclear.

- Were they studying it merely as a means to rediscover an identity?
- What type of Arabic were they studying?
- Furthermore, did their motivations aligned with the prevalent Indonesian practice of studying Arabic primarily for religious purposes?

Another question that immediately popped up was, "Are they all from Hadramaut or from Yemen?" Of course, while this was a new and fascinating world for me, the Arab diaspora in Indonesia is historically well-documented. Yet, as I immersed myself in the existing literature, I realized that their language practices were almost entirely unexplored. Contemporary literature tends to focus more on their ties with Islam in terms of religious authority and political Islam. However, my interest was in the language and its connection with Arab identity—a language so highly esteemed in a country that does not use it except for religious purposes had people who claimed it as "their" language, in a way to claim rights over it and responsibilities for it because, as I heard more than once, "as Arabs, we should know it, but we have forgotten it."

Thus, the initially naive question "is there an Arabic element in the language practices of the people of the Arab diaspora in Indonesia?" rapidly evolved into a multilayered project encompassing documentation, description, and ideological analysis.

Documentation became essential, as there were elements peculiar to and well integrated into the everyday speech of the Jamaah community that had not yet been formally documented. This necessity naturally led to description—a process I emphasize as natural, given my academic background in an institution that rigorously practices language documentation and description.

Accordingly, I engaged in language documentation practices with the Jamaah people, including recording, transcribing, and creating interlinear transcriptions. I also developed lexicons using tools such as Flex and ELAN-CorpA, and conducted numerous sociolinguistic interviews and elicitation sessions. However, as this process unfolded, questions concerning language authenticity, purity, belonging, and representation began to emerge, also from the community itself. Interestingly enough those questions where also similar to those that my more experienced collegues asked me at the Arabic study departement.

- Are the elements to be considered Arabic or not truly?
- Are these words right? Wrong?
- Is it really Arabic?

- Is it a language variety?

From the beginning of my research, I was fully aware of the religious bias in Indonesia regarding the Arabic language. The widespread belief that 'every Muslim should know Arabic" often leads to feelings of shame among those who struggle with the language, or alternatively, it can serve as a source of pride and symbolize piety. At the same time, I was aware of the profound connection between the Arabic language and Arabs as a people, which significantly influences both individual and community identities.

The more time I spent among the Jamaah, the more I understood that although the overt concern within the community was about roots, etymologies and speculations on sociolinguistic phenomena-all really legitimate questions!-The focus was not merely on whether a word originated from older Hadramis who migrated to Indonesia or was an Arabic term that became commonly used for any reason. Rather, it was about how certain elements, linguistic and otherwise, linked to Arabic were employed to construct a social unity. These elements intersected not only with Arabic sociolinguistics, imbued with its ideologies, competing varieties, and registers, but also with the Indonesian sociolinguistic environment.

This does not imply that studying etymologies and language structures used by the Jamaah is insignificant or no longer central. Rather, it is to say that the way Arabic is utilized by the Jamaah not only reflects traces of an ancient diaspora but also represents a mode of engaging with Arabic within a broader array of signs and practices that signify belonging to the Arab diaspora in Indonesia. Thus, documenting and describing these phenomena requires foregrounding these elements as integral, not peripheral. In this way, the initial broad question evolved to ask:

- How is Arabic, an ancestral language not commonly used in daily interactions, relevant to the experience of being Arab among the Jamaah community in Indonesia?

This overreaching question increasingly fragmented into smaller and larger inquiries. This partly stemmed from a somewhat naive researcher's desire to "tell all," but also from the widespread presence of the Jamaah community throughout Indonesia and Java, who have remarkably similar language practices.

At the same time, the community identifies itself in varied ways, all under the loose label of Jamaah. This diversity prompts the question, "what makes you a Jamaah?" —a seemingly simple yet profoundly expansive inquiry. It spans a wide array of identities, including ancestors, diasporans, migrants, Indonesian national heroes, and, as they are widely recognized across Southeast Asia, religious preachers and the renowned figures associated with saints' shrines.

Moreover, one challenge I encountered was the pervasive focus on Arabic and Islam within scholarship on Indonesia—a tendency not only prevalent in Indonesia's geographical and academic contexts but also in the common imaginary. Scholarship on Indonesia suffers the need to link Islam and Arabic, a necessity that sometimes introduces bias, hence my use of "suffer."

Consequently, new questions emerged:

- How does the interaction between local languages and Arabic, viewed as a sacred yet foreign language, influence social cohesion and self-representation within the Jamaah community?
- How do the dynamics of the indexical relationships between Arabic, Islam, and the local urban landscape affect diasporic belonging and identity?
- How have colonial and postcolonial legacies, along with current socio-political conditions, shaped the perceptions and representations of Arabness and Islam in Indonesia?

However, my research was not an exhaustive survey of all Jamaah individuals in Indonesia. I focused on following individuals such as Wowo and Wajdi, and traveled between Jakarta, Surakarta, and Surabaya. This led to foundamental questions:

- How do the linguistic practices of Arab-descent communities in Jakarta, Surakarta, and Surabaya shape their diasporic identity within Indonesia's complex linguistic ecosystem?
- How do these communities experience tensions between ancestral connections and local integration through language use and cultural engagement?

Furthermore, elements typically associated with Arab identity became prominently visible during certain interactions, particularly in specific settings or during certain rituals and ceremonies, marking them as elements of a distinct register or style. This observation sparked other questions:

- In what ways do language practices of the Jamaah serve as a dynamic medium for self-representation and identity negotiation for Arab-Indonesians across various social contexts?
- How do informal gatherings, ceremonies, and musical performances create spaces for articulating and imagining a unique diasporic identity or social unity?

The diversity of backgrounds, social trajectories, and the varying locales of participants—including some who were recent migrants—underscored the importance of mobility. This consideration led to consider the element of mobility.

- What role does mobility—both physical and social—play in influencing linguistic practices and identity formation among Arab-descent communities in urban Indonesia?

1.2.1 Settings for Data Collection

This last element of mobility is not directly a research question I sought to address, but rather an underlying methodological and theoretical element that I kept in mind throughout the entirety of my research.

How do historical ties, transnational connections, and contemporary migration patterns influence the linguistic ideologies and practices of the Jamaah community? Moreover, how important is mobility within the island of Java, and how can I address this mobility within my research? People move across geographies that extend beyond an Arab district, a single city, or even Indonesia itself.

Figure 1.1: Major settings during fieldwork

Every Tuesday, a group gathers to play football in East Jakarta, comprising new migrants and Indonesians from various areas of Jakarta, all under the umbrella of being Jamaah. They are bound not only by genealogies but also by opportunities, tied together by different scales

of mobility. While friends in Surakarta loved attending Majlas (informal Jamaah gatherings) and *gambus* performances ('oud-like instrument) across Java (see image 1.5), Wajdi cherished playing football with his friends and practicing Arabic with them. Jamaah in Surabaya gathered around the area of Pasar Kambing in the district of Ampel (see image 1.2) As Jamaah people from different backgrounds living in different places met, Bahasa Jamaah was more likely to appear.

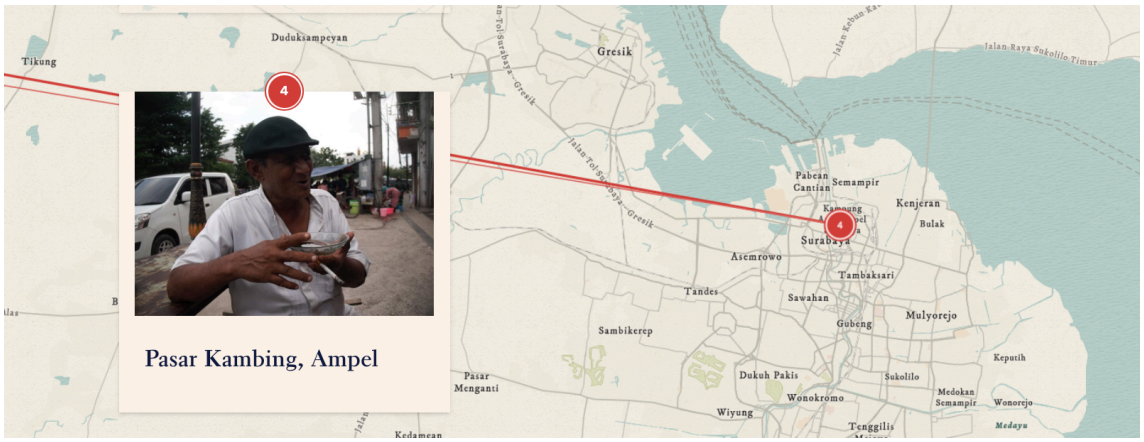


Figure 1.2: Farid drinking a coffee with ginger in Pasar Kambin, Ampel, Surabaya.

We tend to see mobility as something that happens on a macro-level, so for example stances like "people came from Hadramaut in a moment when the connections within the Indian ocean where vibrant" would not sound detached from reality. Scholarship often seeks to capture a snapshot of the present, framing it within the context of a dynamic past. However, the essence of mobility in everyday life reveals itself as a continuous process that intertwines with the daily routines of communities at various levels: national, regional, and local. This movement is not random but follows specific patterns and practices that are deeply embedded in trajectories of socialization.

In the context of my ethnographic research, I observed how mobility plays a crucial role in the social fabric of Arab-descend communities in Indonesia. People are drawn to specific places – be it coffee shops in their Arab district or someone's home terrace – to participate in informal *Majlas*, cornerstone gatherings of community life. These Majlas are not just social events; they are pivotal in maintaining and strengthening communal bonds. The absence of knowledge about the location of a Majlas, can lead to feelings of exclusion, highlighting the significance of these gatherings in accessing the community's social life.

Mobility is intricately linked with both methodology and theoretical frameworks, and I have chosen to specifically address it on a local scale. In my research, rather than concentrating on a single Arab district or merely comparing multiple Arab districts, I aimed to establish a field that was not confined to a specific location. Instead, my approach centered around two bases – Surakarta and Jakarta – and followed an orbit defined by the movements of the communities I engaged with.

Figure 1.3: A moment of data collection during a Majlas at Doeloerkoe, Pasar Kliwon, Surakarta.

Figure 1.4: A group of friends in jl. Pedati, Jakarta.

My observations extended beyond the confines of local neighborhoods. I noted that individuals were willing to undertake lengthy drives, spanning several hours from one Arab district to distant Indonesian cities, to partake in these gatherings. It's within these movements that the Majlas transform into vibrant hubs of cultural expression, showcasing a variety of *zaffin* – a traditional dance from Hadramaut – performed to the accompaniment of small orchestras. The instruments of choice include the *gambus*, viola, and *hadra*, creating a melodious backdrop for the dancers. Amidst the rhythmic beats and fluid movements, participants share coffee and *nasi mandhi*, a dish that enjoys widespread popularity in the Arab districts.

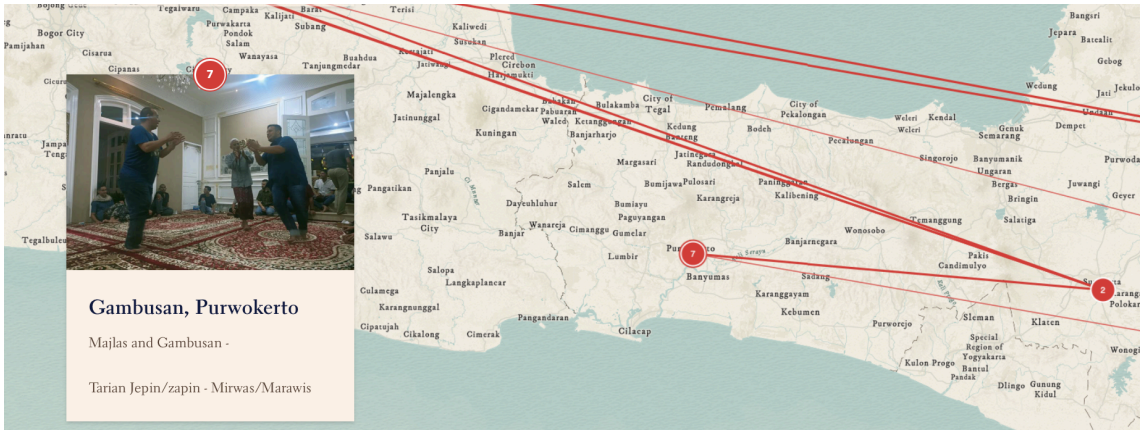


Figure 1.5: A Majlas featuring a *gambus* performance and traditional dances. Purwokerto.

This ethnographic account underscores the intricate layers of mobility within these communities, not merely as a means of physical movement but as a vital component of cultural identity and communal engagement. The Majlas, with their rich traditions of dance, music, and culinary delights, emerge as focal points around which the social life of the community orbits. Through this lens, mobility is reimagined as a multifaceted process that enriches the facets of community life, weaving together the threads of tradition, social interaction, and cultural expression.[1]

Mobility as an increase of speed in movement that shrinks space bringing people together, paired with mobility as a reiteration of slow practice that expands space and social practice. Mobility is the key to both the physical movement of people scattered across different places and the metaphorical movement through ideas that construe the understanding of the world.

During this ethnographic research, a fascinating pattern emerged regarding the origins and backgrounds of the participants, many of whom share a connection to the Arab Peninsula regardless of their Yemeni origins. This link is largely a consequence of their parents' decision to engage in circular or semi-permanent labor migrations to oil monarchies, a trend that was quite prevalent in the 1970s across the Indian Ocean region. Such migrations have had lasting impacts on the generations that followed, particularly influencing the linguistic landscape of these communities.

Among today's participants a notable number speak Arabic fluently, a testament to their familial roots and the transnational experiences that shaped their early lives. The pathways to learning and maintaining Arabic among participants vary widely, reflecting educational and migratory experiences. For some, this journey involved being sent to Yemen for religious studies, where Arabic language education was intertwined with religious education. Yemen was considered a place that offered a context that was both spiritually and linguistically enriching.

Others found their way to Cairo, a city renowned for its educational institutions and a popular destination for students from across the Muslim world. The choice between Yemen and Cairo often hinged on the availability of scholarships, underscoring the role of economic and educational opportunities in shaping migratory and educational paths.

Within Indonesia, Quranic schools have played a pivotal role in Arabic language education, representing the most common avenue through which many participants have encountered and learned Arabic. These schools not only serve as centers of religious learning, but also as vital spaces for cultural and linguistic immersion. They are also sites where knowledge about scholarships to go abroad can be accessed.

[1] Explore the data collection sites dynamically through the interactive map I developed using GIS. You can access it via the following visit the following link

A smaller subset of participants has more recently migrated from the Gulf region to Indonesia, bringing with them their Arabic varieties and adopting Indonesian as a second language. This group embodies the ongoing dynamics of migration and language acquisition, reflecting the fluidity and complexity of identity within these communities. However, a significant majority of the participants have never left Indonesia, yet they navigate a dynamic environment rich in linguistic and cultural exchanges. Living in such an environment, they are continuously exposed to a wide sociocultural space constructed by the ideas, experiences, and personal mobility trajectories. A sociocultural world shaped by different sociocultural styles. These styles can be understood as the dynamic interplay of a repertoire of symbolic means – languages, dialects, accents, clothes, and other forms of expression – that individuals and communities utilize in acts of affiliation, differentiation, and contestation. Such acts not only render these styles socially meaningful but also reflexively shape the repertoires themselves (Gal & Irvine, 2019).

From this perspective, sociocultural styles are essentially sets of symbolic means of expression that are interconnected through various co-occurrence restrictions, which may either facilitate or restrict their association. This concept aligns with Agha (2007) and Silverstein (2003)'s notion of 'semiotic registers', where a constellation of signs is so tightly interwoven that the use of one sign invariably evokes the others within the register.

In the realm of communicative practice, these styles are recognized and interpreted by competent members of a community through "contextualization cues" (Gumperz, 1982), carrying specific sociocultural meanings and standing in opposition to other social styles. As highlighted by Gal and Irvine (2019), these styles serve as everyday means through which speakers position themselves within a perceived social world, effectively navigating the sociocultural space. This intricate process underscores the profound impact of linguistic and cultural practices on the formation and expression of identity within the dynamic environments inhabited by diasporic communities. What I am saying is that to understand the Jamaah community one have to look also at this broader framework of interaction that goes also beyond Indonesia.

So "Am I incorporating this ubiquitous element of mobility in the research?" remains an underlying question, whether it is to be addressed as a methodological issue or a theoretical one. However, beyond language and religion, it was movement that brought people together, including me—a person just interested in Indonesia and Arabic, who happened to meet Wowo and Wajdi on a boat.

1.2.2 The Term Jamaah

The term "Jamaah" contrasts with "Hadrami," which is more commonly used in both public discourse and academic settings, often reflecting specific political and academic agendas (see image 1.6). Hadrami is seldom used by the community itself as it implies an association of a dynamic, diasporic community with a static geographical origin. This label imposes a restrictive definition that conflicts with the community's inherently mobile and fluid identity, enforcing an idealized notion that a group must be intrinsically linked to a specific locale and language. Conversely, Jamaah facilitates self-identification and underscores mobility as a fundamental aspect of the group's identity. This term not only reflects the community's own perception but also highlights the fluid, non-geographically centered nature of their identity, suggesting a broader understanding of ethnicity that encompasses varied levels of Arab identity without the hegemonic or geographic connotations often associated with other terms.

Additionally, Jamaah signifies the ongoing use and protection of Hadrami clan names, reinforcing the perception of belonging to an imagined community as described by Anderson (2016). This imagined connection does not require face-to-face interaction; instead, it thrives on shared origins in the distant lands of southern Arabia—a region still visited by many Hadrami descendants. These visits reinforce their ancestral connections, with returnees often bringing back nar-

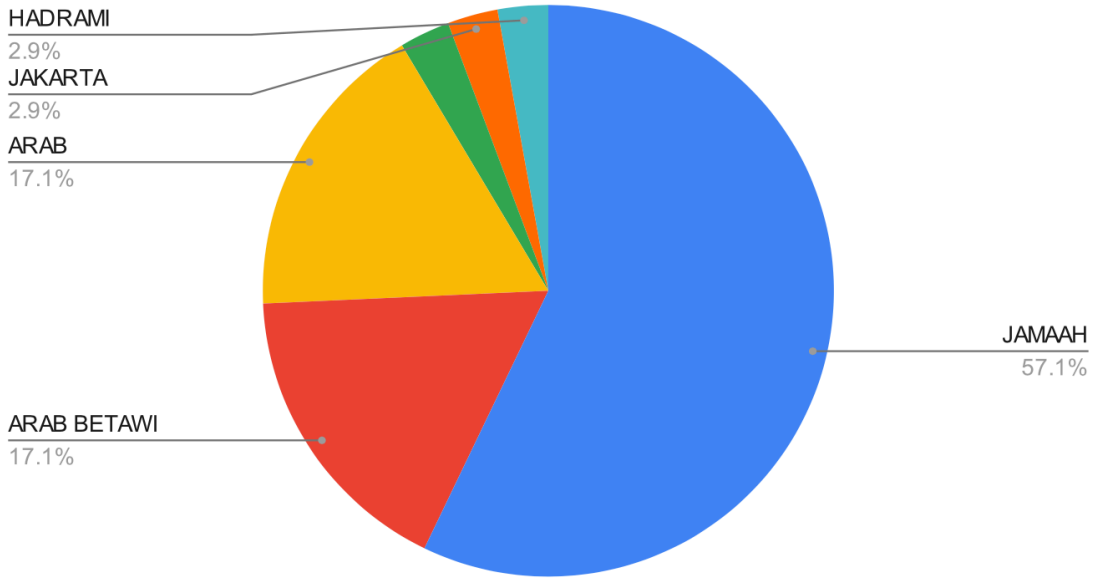
ratives and artifacts that enhance the community's collective desire to maintain and strengthen their ties to this idealized homeland (Istiqomah, 2020).

Furthermore, most members of the Jamaah community in Indonesia, often referred to as *muwallads*—descendants of Hadramis born in the diaspora—identify not only with people in Hadramaut but also with a broader Arab diaspora across the Indian Ocean, and the Arabs across the world. This expanded identification supports Berns-McGown's concept of diaspora as a space of imagination and multifaceted connections, extending beyond the mythical or physical homeland to include the broader societal context in their host countries. Besides, Susan Gal highlights how language, not just communities, must be imagined before their unity can be socially accomplished (Gal, 1989).

Despite this expansive identity, the significance of Hadramaut as a locus of transnational belonging varies among Hadrami descendants. And the term Jamaah encapsulate also that of Arab. In the sense that potentially any person of Arab ethnicity could be referred to as Jamaah.

The term Jamaah offers a more inclusive and accurate representation of the community's diasporic nature, challenging the conventional, geographically-fixed labels like "Hadrami." This term allows the community to embrace a more fluid identity that reflects their actual experiences and perceptions, moving away from the static, imposed definitions that fail to capture the complexity of their diasporic existence.

Figure 1.6: Distribution of ethnic terms that refer to the Jamaah community found in the Corpus



1.3 Data

The data I used in this dissertation are of a multiple nature. They are linguistic as they encompass a large dataset of colloquial conversations among Indonesian people of Arab descent, glossed, transcribed, commented on, and analyzed and stored through the instruments proper to linguistic documentation. But as well, the thesis is based on perspectives on language achieved through reinterpreting historical accounts, ethnographical observations, and interviews. In the last two senses, the data are both meta-linguistic comments and meta-semiotic commentaries on language practices. Drawing on this, while these data tap into actual language use, dealing with

issues of linguistic structure and their connection to social variables, they relate as well to the extra-linguistic world where intangible yet powerful processes of semiosis rule. The unifying perspective underling these data is to describe linguistic structures and meanings as they serve social goals in naturally occurring spoken, in a broad sense, conversational language.

However, at the core, this work is a partial view on language practices defined by my personal observation in the interactions I participated in during my fieldwork and my study of the Indonesian and Arabic language. This is the work of a student who has studied in Italy, where Middles-Eastern studies are rooted in a history of colonization and Indonesian Studies, although they have known great scholars, are a small niche and where analytical tools of North American Scholarship wide spread across the world along the lines of academic power inequalities are not always used, known, or problematized.

1.3.1 The Corpus

For my database creation and analysis, I utilized the ELAN-CorpA software, an extension of the ELAN software developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. This tool significantly enhanced my transcription efficiency by allowing for unlimited annotations on audio or video content. Annotations can vary and include orthographic transcriptions, glosses, specific utterance comments, translations, or descriptions of encountered aspects. These annotations are organized on multiple string or line levels, known as tiers, which can be hierarchically connected and associated with specific uses.

Annotations within tiers can be temporally associated with the analyzed file or linked to other annotation levels. ELAN-CorpA supports various viewing modes for annotations, ensuring that they remain synchronized with the multimedia file under analysis. The program also facilitates the creation of small lexicons or vocabularies and supports simultaneous work with multiple programs through different export modes, such as FLEX, CLAN, or PRAAT, from an ELAN-CorpA transcription. As an open-source tool, ELAN-CorpA helps overcome financial barriers often encountered in scientific research.

On average, transcribing a minute of audio takes about an hour, a requirement that would increase significantly without this software, especially for conversational analysis, which demands meticulous transcription (Wagner, 2020, p. 4). ELAN-CorpA also streamlines data navigation and the selection and counting of specific annotations. For instance, I used its functions to count interactional particles within the annotations and different verbal aspect markers.

When it comes to orthographic transcription, the interlinear and the partiture/score transcription systems were particularly useful. Assigning each speaker a continuous, uninterrupted tier, along with another tier for annotating characteristics linked to the speaker's tier, simplifies segmentation and transcription by reducing the number of analytical decisions required. Unlike conventional transcription systems, which require transcribers to continuously separate turns based on specific criteria, the intuitive score system of ELAN-CorpA reduces the frequency of such decisions. The challenge arises when data must be presented in formats other than those supported by ELAN-CorpA. For this dissertation, I exported the transcribed files as traditional transcriptions and adapted them to conventional text pages using a transcription system similar to that proposed by Jefferson (2004). Therefore, it is crucial to note that the transcriptions in the following chapters are designed and adapted for page display for explanatory purposes, while my analysis was conducted using ELAN-CorpA transcriptions.

I created a template—a basic structure applied to each file- composed of a set of tiers that are *time associated* with the audio and independent from all others, and another set dedicated to the speakers. The first set included a tier named *section* for selecting conversation excerpts, which I named according to the topic or intuitive information considered usefull during the transcription process. A *note* tier was used to annotate specific characteristics related to the *section* tier.

The second set of tiers, dedicated to individual speakers, includes those tiers already present in the CorpA version of ELAN and tiers dedicated to themes, used with a controlled vocabulary for tagging:

- individual identity claim (IIC)
- Group-level identity claims (GIC)
- Community description (COM)
- Other correction (OTHCOR)
- Self correction (SELFCOR)
- Islamic exclamation (ISLM_EXLM).

Initially, I created a tier called *LINGUA* to tag each token according to the language used, where I also tagged ill-formed, hyper-corr, and corr-AJ-MSA. These tags are still found in the first fields and remain useful, although not implemented in the rest of the transcription as the extension CorpA and the new tier *themes* with controlled vocabulaty were more convenient and fast.

ELAN-CorpA is an extended version of the ELAN software developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. ELAN-CorpA has been further developed by various researchers under the direction of Christian Chanard from the CNRS research laboratory LLACAN. It was initially created for the ANR CorpAfroAs research program, which focuses on creating a spoken corpus for Afro-Asiatic languages. ELAN-CorpA incorporates additional features and modifications tailored to the needs of linguistic research in the CorpAfroAs project.

This version contains an additional tab 'Interlinearize', which allows the management of an XML lexicon (of extension .eafl) and the interactive segmentation into morphemes and words from a tier. Those morphemes are then annotated on 2 additional tiers (gloss and category), with the contents of the lexicon.

On the tier *rx*, with its associated type *rx*, I decided to annotate the language, which I divided into the following categories:

- IND (Indonesian);
- JAV (Javanese);
- JKT (Colloquial Jakartan);
- MSA (Modern Standard Arabic);
- VAR/VRB (Colloquial Arabic).

Note that these distinctions posed many issues as a lot of terms overlap and also because this thesis does not support the idea of seeing languages as separate entities. However, in these cases, I decided to tag them all. For what concerns the glosses, I tagged each term with a the Simple Part of Speech label and a lexical gloss in English. Variation in pronunciation when added as variant though the in ElanCorpA 'add variant' tool.

Below, find the tree of tier dependences of each speaker

- SPEAKER_S1
  - SPEAKER-S1_tokens (for word boundries. lx in CorpA)

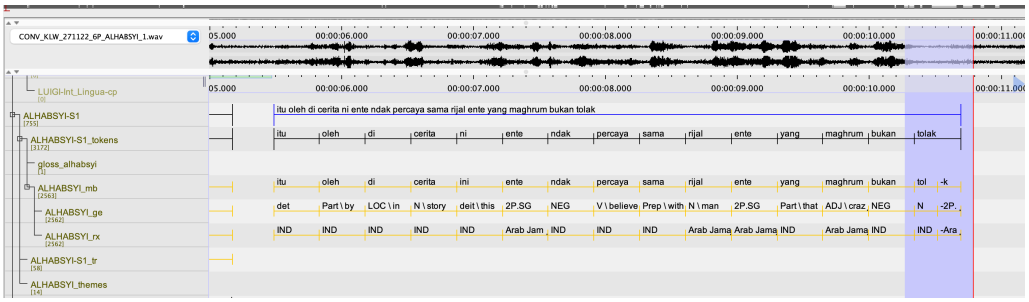
    - SPEAKER-IPA_S1 (IPA trasncription)
    - SPEAKER-Lingua_S1 (substituted by themes)
    - SPEAKER_mb (morpheme boundries, CorpA)
        - SPEAKER_ge (glosses, CorpA extenction)
        - SPEAKER_rx (language tags, additional tier in CorpA)
- SPEAKER-S1_tr (translation)

Although each speaker was associated with one of these tiers, I did not always use all the tiers I created, such as the one for translation or themes. However, their presence within the system allows the corpus to be used for various future analyses. I believe that one of the main features of ELAN-CorpA is its portability. With ELAN-CorpA, I can easily create or import corpora for different purposes and share them with other researchers. The corpus created as a result of this research fits into a broader data corpus related to colloquial Indonesian, and sharing it in its entirety not only facilitates the correction or discussion of our conclusions but also allows it to be used for different purposes by other researchers. A fundamental principle of conversational analysis, language documentation and almost any social study is that the evidence of the analysis should also be evident to other researchers, emphasizing the importance of sharing the collected data and not just the results. ELAN-CorpA enables us to share audiovisual materials, transcriptions, comments, and the structural framework used for analysis, thus supporting scientific advancement. Sharing only the results would not allow this to the same extent.

Image 1.7 presents a screenshot of an ELAN transcription interface, showcasing a section of a speaker's Intonation Unit (IU) transcription. The figure displays multiple annotation tiers, including tokens, glosses, and morphological breakdowns, aligned with the corresponding audio segment. The tiers demonstrate linguistic features such as word segmentation, glossing, part-of-speech labels, and morpheme analysis for the utterance. Additionally, it highlights the integration of different layers of annotation for a comprehensive representation of the linguistic data.

Semi-automatic annotation in ELAN-CorpA often generates issues, as highlighted in the second image. When ELAN-CorpA encounters a term that is not directly found in the lexicon but can be broken into morphemes that match subentries, it automatically annotates those subentries. In the example shown, the term *tolak* (refuse) is incorrectly divided into two elements, with *=k* being treated as a possessive clitic. This segmentation is erroneous and highlights the challenges of relying on semi-automatic annotation. Corrections for such cases are currently underway to ensure the accuracy of the annotations.

(a) First ELAN screenshot.



(b) Second ELAN screenshot.

Figure 1.7: Two ELAN screenshots showcasing transcription and annotation details.

1.3.2 Transcriptions

I decided to transcribe the conversation using the orthographic conventions of the Indonesian language, including terms that are not standard Indonesian or are of Arabic origin. Intonation units that are entirely in Arabic have been transcribed following IPA rather then common conventions used for Arabic. Some characters are also adapted to Indonesian conventions. Here fallows a list of variants

- ء = ’ [ʔ]
- ث = ṯ / th [θ]
- ج = j, [d͡ʒ]
- ح = ḥ [ħ]
- خ = ḫ / kh [x]
- د = d [d]
- ذ = ḏ / dz [ð]
- ر = r [r]
- ز = z [z]
- س = s [s]
- ش = š / sy / sh [ʃ]
- ص = ṣ / sh [sˤ]
- ض = ḍ / dh / d [dˤ]
- ط = ṭ / th [tˤ]
- ظ = ẓ [ðˤ]
- ع = ‘/ 3 [ʕ]
- غ = ġ / gh [ɣ]
- ف = f [f]
- ق = q [q]
- ك = k [k]
- ل = l [l]
- م = m [m]
- ن = n [n]
- ه = h [h]
- و = w [w]

- ى = á [aː]
- ا = ā [ɑː]
- ي = i [iː]
- و = ū [uː]
- و = aw [aw]
- ي = ay [aj]
- و = uww [uww]
- ي = iyy [iyy]
- ا = an [an]
- ة = a/at / ah [a] / [at]

1.3.3 Data Dissemination

The dissemination of the research data is currently ongoing. To facilitate access to the findings, I have developed an open-access dictionary application for Android using the LIS app builder, complemented by a web-based dictionary. Both resources are designed to provide comprehensive insights into the linguistic aspects explored in this study and are accessible via the dedicated website I created on my personal website: https://bahasajamaahdictionary.luigisausa.me/. Additionally, the raw data and interlinearized data from ELAN and FLEX will be stored in a repository as soon as a suitable one is found, such as The Language Archive or Paradisec. I am committed to making the research as accessible as possible and would be happy to share all the data with anyone interested. Please feel free to contact me for access to these resources.

1.4 Conclusion

Analyzing the linguistic material collected in light of these research questions is crucial. This analysis involves gathering linguistic data with an appreciation of the underlying complexity. Such an approach facilitates the construction of a substantial linguistic corpus that extends beyond mere formal investigation to include a symbolic exploration of the material.

It is essential to address the primary research questions within the context of the broader theoretical issues of this dissertation, integrating them rather than treating them as distinct, despite their origins in different accademic traditions. The central premise of this thesis is that ideologies shape language and link it to ethnicity. This ideological influence necessitates deconstruction. The notions that "an Arab is a person who speaks Arabic" and "Arabic is the language of the Arabs" are deeply embedded in lengthy theological debates, nationalist agendas, and personal experiences.

The interaction between Arabic and Indonesian within the Jamaah community operates on multiple levels. This complexity leads to the core questions of this study: "What is the ancestral language of the group? And if it is Arabic, in what sense is it so?" Arabic, as perceived by the community, represents an "idea" of what the language should embody, more an imagined construct than a practical everyday language. This perspective necessitates caution when identifying Arabic as "the language of the community". Moreover, in any multilingual context—here involving Arabic, Indonesian and a peculiar register—there is the perennial challenge of viewing it as a composition of two, or more, distinct languages rather than a single integrated code.

A fundamental aspect of my research involves understanding the nature of the data and the insights it provides. These data are also constructions that may or may not offer empirically valid descriptions or evaluations of the diaspora language of the community. Moreover, they are not intended to provide comprehensive descriptions of language or community; rather, they should be viewed as partial perspectives on a topic. However, this does not lessen their importance in addressing the definition and role of language in diaspora, nor does it diminish their validity in exploring diasporic identity.

The question of what is considered a language, or in other words, which codes are recognized as independent languages with their own rights, and which are not, is central to the diasporic conceptualization of identity. Ultimately, this research seeks to bring visibility to aspects of the Jamaah community that remain overshadowed by what political agendas and sociological studies typically emphasize.

Chapter 2

Everything, Everywhere, All at Once

> This is one of those Hazramaut adventurers so common in all the countries bordering upon Arabia: they are the Swiss of the East, a people equally brave and hardy, frugal and faithful, as long as pay is regular. Feared by the soft Indians and Africans for their bareness and determination, the common proverb concerning them is, "If you meet a viper and a Hazrami, spare the viper." Natives of a poor and rugged region, they wander far and wide, preferring every country to their own; and it is generally said that the sun rises not upon a land that does not contain a man from Hazramaut.
>
> *Firt Footsteps in East Africa, Burton (1894, p. 23)*

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the historical background of the Hadrami diaspora in Indonesia, aiming to outline the key aspects that are commonly referenced in the literature on this topic.

Like the rest of this research, the chapter is based on the concept of diaspora as an active practice, starkly contrasting with the notion that being part of a community is inherently tied to one's place of origin or disconnected from people's actions within communities. Rather than viewing diaspora as a static or homogeneous entity that merely links people to their places of origin, it is understood as a dynamic and evolving process. This process is shaped by the ideas, interactions, and movements of people, both within and across boundaries that through history prove vary in their permeability. Diasporic experiences are thus influenced by ongoing developments and the diverse, often hybrid, interactions of individuals within their social environments. In this way, diaspora is perceived as an active, lived experience rather than merely a condition defined by displacement or attachment to the place of origin.

2.2 A Hope Without Edge

In early December 2022, I met Adil, a young man of Hadrami descent in his 30s, and we quickly became friends. We often gathered in a coffee shop near his home, located close to Jl. Pedati in the Arab district where I was conducting my fieldwork. Our discussions frequently centered on issues of identity, his heritage, and my research interests. Adil introduced me to many of the people mentioned in this dissertation.

Adil shared his complex feelings about his Arab identity, often using *Arab*, *Hadrami*, and *Jamaah* interchangeably. He expressed a sense of detachment from the community, for different reasons, for instance he did not speak "Bahasa Jamaah". He knew I was studying language practices, and was well aware that Jamaah use a *Bahasa Jamaah*, a Jamaah language, as he called it stressing that he did not speak it at all. He went to school in a different district than the place he lived, as his father wished him to experience life outside the walls of their community, contributed to this feeling of alienation. Consequently, his friends were not from the Jamaah community, intensifying his sense of not belonging. Despite these challenges, Adil identified himself as Arab when viewed from an external perspective. However, he confessed that the implications of this identity were ambiguous to him. At school, his darker skin tone made him a target of teasing, which bordered on racism.

Adil resides in Jakarta but hails from Surabaya, a city he often visits to see his family. In Jakarta, he plays a significant role at the Menara Center, a modest yet active organization dedicated to studying Indonesians of Arab descent. The center, though small with only three members — Adil, Wowo, and Nabiel — is vigorously engaged in gathering narratives, reports, and books about Arab migration to Indonesia and fostering connections with similar institutions like the Al-Irsyad Center in Bogor. In Surabaya, Adil is part of a cooperative that manages a co-working space and library, the "C2o". While not exclusively focused on Hadrami topics, it is one of the rare places where materials about Hadrami heritage are readily accessible.

During one of our meetings, Adil mentioned a story he had written. He shared it with me a few days later but asked me not to divulge any excerpts. Therefore, I will only provide a synopsis here and some comments.

2.2.1 Adil's Story

Adil explores a profound emotional and psychological journey of a Syeikh and another character who is the narrator, who are confronting the challenges and existential dilemmas brought on by weeks of travel through the Indian Ocean. As they approach one of their destinations after a grueling sea voyage, the narrative dives deep into themes of nostalgia, identity crisis, and the search for a better future while grappling with the pain of leaving behind the familiar.

The Syeikh, in particular, is depicted as a man caught between his desire for a new destiny and the pull of his past. He is tormented by the worsening situation in his homeland, Hadramaut, where his family remains amidst ongoing conflict. This internal conflict is mirrored in his fluctuating resolve about the journey; he wavers between hope for new opportunities and despair over what he has left behind.

The journey itself serves as a metaphor for life's irreversible decisions and the sacrifices they entail. It highlights the idea that migrating from one's homeland involves not just a physical relocation but also an emotional and psychological transition. The reflections of each character reveal their individual struggles with this reality. The narrator grapples with the changes migration imposes on personal memories and relationships, fearing becoming a "stranger" upon returning home. While the Syeikh is overwhelmed by guilt and fear, concerned about his family's safety and whether he will ever be able to return or if he has abandoned them forever.

As they prepare to disembark, the narrative emphasizes the transformative potential of their journey. Despite the hardships and uncertainties, migration is seen as a path to new possibilities where "The sea is not what we imagined it to be. It is not a wide separation between lands, nor a bottomless void. It is the hope without edge, the path to salvation for those whose memories have blurred their dreams". This suggests that while the journey is fraught with challenges, it also holds promise of new beginnings and opportunities that might not have been possible had they stayed in their original circumstances.

Adil's story encapsulates the emotional complexity of the diaspora, illustrating the tensions

between places and the mix of hopes, fears, and personal turmoil. Most importantly, the passage reveals how Adil engages with his origins, imagining stories and narratives about his ancestors moving through a space —a diasporic one— connected by the sea. As we will see in the next paragraph, movement through space, both metaphorical and physical, is a central theme in diasporas.

2.2.2 Movement and Space

When we discuss communities and diaspora, we travel into a complex fabric of stories, practices, and identities that are often difficult to frame, frequently described in terms of geographic dispersion or shared cultural practices. For example, the concept of a diaspora language or heritage language, within anthropological and linguistic discourse respectively, is commonly used to denote a language used by communities whose members, though dispersed across different locations, share a common origin, thus delineating the boundaries of diasporic communities (Adachi, 2020).

The place of origin, often geographically localized, becomes a static reference point in contrast to the dispersion of the diaspora. Spatial metaphors such as departure, exile, return, discovery and rediscovery are commonly employed both in academic studies of the diaspora and by the communities themselves. Community members use these rhetorical figures to articulate their identity in a discourse where language becomes a prominent factor in connecting with the place of origin. J. Rosa (2019) argues that to fully understand the linguistic practices of speakers of diasporic languages, it is essential to explore the linguistic ideologies inherent in the communities themselves, namely the beliefs and conceptions that speakers have about languages and their historical development. These ideologies, interpreted as "partial points of view", are dynamic and change in a dialogical relationship with economic, political, religious, and social beliefs.

The discourse on diaspora language navigates through phases of detachment and reattachment, alternating between periods when the ancestral language is abandoned in favor of the language of the place of arrival and others when it is rediscovered and reclaimed in relation to its place in the broader landscape. For instance, the symbolic value of Arabic in Indonesia confers a certain religious legitimacy on the Hadrami community, but when this does not match the Quranic standard, the expectations of this legitimacy are somewhat unmet. Phases of detachment and reattachment are not necessarily tied to the language nor to an actual physical movement towards the land of origin. Detachment and reattachment can be linked to any act attributable to identity and, in some cases, even to fortuitous conjunctures (I. F. Alatas, 2021; I. F. Alatas & Slama, 2022; Walker & Slama, 2021).

Movement is fundamental to understanding diasporas, both as a slow process that happens through generation and a postmodern phenomenon that unfolds through a globalized world. Diasporas and their intersection with the increase in mobility is a paramaunt aspect. People from diverse backgrounds increasingly meet thanks to technological advances that facilitate faster movement from one place to another, in a world that is economically more integrated. In this way, diversity is configured as a product of globalization, understood as the economic structure of the world where society is seen as a discrete set of distinct national identities, far removed from ancient forms of globalization where travel was a discovery, a promise for a bright future, was an individual act that did not necessarily depended on the strength of a passport. In this sense, contemporary cosmopolitan identity, with a note of economic disparity, encompasses what has just been said, intersects with diasporas, but does not necessarily transform this diversity into a shared consciousness or into communal identity concerns and questions.

On the contrary, in a diaspora, issues of distance from the place of origin and existence in the place of arrival never disappear; they are part of the dialogue between old and new generations converging into a discourse that creates identity as a shared set of ideas. In this sense, movement

should also be understood as a metaphorical action conducted within a sociocultural space or world, in a bond that is not necessarily physical (Auer & Dirim, 2003). Indeed, it is precisely the sharing of these issues, the open debate on them without the heavy intervention of a formal authority that creates a society that could be defined as a diaspora and that, moreover, makes those who approach these debates diasporic. I stress the absence of formal authority because, eventhough diasporas intersect with institutions that try to frame them as fixed, one for all Nation States with passports, boundaries, migration policies, and stereotypical views on identity, diasporas is embodied through shared practices. As Ho (2006) argues, in this view, a diaspora is not dissimilar from a religion and is very different from Nationalism, where tradition is often a common myth imposed from above, or from cosmopolitanism, where diversity is a cocktail of economically privileged travelers.

Diasporas are invariably intertwined with influential global narratives and the utopian/dystopian dichotomy inherent in political ambiguity. However, modern diaspora activities are not merely by-products of the nation state or global capitalism. Although shaped and limited by these frameworks, they also transcend and critique them: both historical and contemporary diasporas provide resources for developing new forms of "postcolonialisms". (Clifford, 1994)

As Adil told me with his story, people left Hadramaut by boat looking for fortune, not straight to Indonesia, which at that time was the Dutch east Indies, but to the Indian Ocean diasporic space, creating what Walker and Slama (2021) farmed as a place understood "not simply as a geographic area, nor simply as a cultural and economic space, but as an instrumental space, as a medium of mobility in and through which diasporas come into being, grow, survive and reproduce themselves, and through which they exercise a certain agency: this is the Indian Ocean as a diasporic space".

It is necessary asking who belongs to a diaspora. How do we define people that are in a diaspora? Surely we have to move along lines that encompass mobility through geographical regions, ideas, and practice. Lines that draw a continuum between communities made of people that in a moment in life have moved. To one extent there are (1) those that have fully assimilated to a point at which diasporic identity is less evident and differences between groups are no more significant. Yet, they might become salient and visible if individuals in the community try to do so.

To the other extent are (2) those that politics consider migrants. Those people that the dominant community thinks as clearly identifiable by their practices. Those people who might not feel themselves as belonging. When they decide to remain there where they migrated, Slama and Walker suggest that they can be defined as "pre-diasporic", specifically if they have joined members of an ethnic group already living in diaspora. Slama and Walker suggest that diasporans are precisely those "that establish connections in the places they reside, assimilating into local cultures and languages, and integrating socially" (Walker & Slama, 2021).

However, this integration does not preclude the existence of a diasporic identity, as even well-assimilated individuals can maintain or rekindle a sense of belonging to their cultural or ancestral origins. Thus, a diaspora isn't just about people originating from a place and residing together elsewhere; it's also about functioning as a community that maintains a shared sense of identity and purpose across generations and locations. This dynamic also includes individuals who may never have visited their ancestral homeland or intend to do so, highlighting that diasporic identity is as much about being situated and belonging where one lives as it is about historical or cultural origins. In essence, diaspora is a complex set of connections and identities, woven through the interactions of individuals who navigate their belonging in multiple contexts, creating communities that are as varied as they are interconnected (Walker & Slama, 2021).

Migration and diaspora share a great deal; however, crossing a border does not necessarily make one diasporic. Borders are characterized by a presupposed territory delineated by a geopo-

litical boundary: two sides are arbitrarily divided and monitored, yet are also linked through both lawful and unlawful crossing and communication activities. Diasporas typically involve greater distances and resemble a form of exile: an inherent prohibition on returning, or a deferred return to a distant future. Diasporas also link various communities of a scattered population. While systematic border crossings can play a role in this connection, diaspora cultures span multiple locations and are not necessarily confined by a single geopolitical line. It is important to acknowledge the historical and geographical distinctiveness of these two concepts, while also recognizing that the practical situations described by the terms border and diaspora often overlap (Clifford, 1994, p. 304).

From my perspective, within the aforementioned continuum, diasporic individuals are those who actively engage in the places where they live and for whom cultural differences from the dominant group are salient and become a basis for forming connections with others who share a common sense of origin. Whether they are migrants or not, or ethnically distinct or not, is a constructed distinction that is not always productive.

Adil shares with me tales of his fictional ancestors who roamed the sea leaving to an eternal quest for belonging. He tells me that he doesn't feel connected to the Jamaah linguistic community, having grown up distant from it. His education was at schools different from those attended by individuals in the Arab districts. Nevertheless, for his wedding, he used traditional Hadrami clothes, writes stories about his mythical past, and is deeply involved in a study center dedicated to gathering material about the Arab community in Indonesia. He expresses a strong desire to participate in discussions about the identity of Indonesian Arabs. Yet, to some extent, he remains totally indifferent. Learning from him, I will try to keep from all definitions that are not stipulative with my interlocutors — specifically, the people I've spoken to. Definitions thrown on people often serve as material for the political agendas of nation-builders.

Even though we have stressed over and over that Diaspora is not just about places we cannot proceed without spending a few words on Hadramaut, since after all is the place the first migrants came from and is often considered the mythical land the Jamaah came from. Note that, as we will see in chapter 4, the ethnonim Jamaah could, and often does refer to a general idea of Arabness, not necessarily to the land of Hadramaut.

2.3 Homeland in Yemen

In Adil's story, the fictional characters set sail from the land of Hadramaut. During my fieldwork, people described Hadramaut as a mystical land—a place where sincerity and piety prevail, and where Islam permeates every aspect of life. The region's harsh geographical conditions have sculpted its inhabitants into resilient and upright individuals.

Hadramaut, located in the southern Arabian Peninsula and adjacent to the vast al-Rub al-Khali desert, is renowned for its challenging landscape that has shaped its inhabitants into a resilient People (Mobini-Kesheh, 2019). Early in the 1900s, Meulen and Wissmann (1964) described it as a rugged and impenetrable region, shaped by the frequent clashes among tribesmen and the harsh natural environment. Today, as the largest province of unified Yemen, Hadramaut is divided into three primary regions. The coastal area includes key port towns like al-Mukalla, al-Shihr, Sayhut and al-Qishn, which are pivotal to access to the Indian Ocean and endure harsh climatic conditions, including sparse rainfall and extreme heat (see images 2.1 and 2.2).

The second key area comprises the inland wadis, notably Wadi Hadramaut, which is densely populated and runs parallel to the coast. This valley hosts historically significant towns such as the pre-Islamic Shibam, and Tarim —recognized as an ancient center of religious learning — and the relatively recent Sey'un, established in the sixteenth century (Jacobsen, 2009). The region features a mountain range that transitions into a dry plateau extending about 150 miles

northward, divided into more habitable southern and harsher northern areas (Salman, 1974). The wadis, although smaller, are vital as they contain important urban centers like Shibam, Sa'yun, and Tarim, underscoring the region's complex geographical and cultural facets.

Socially, Hadramaut's structure is heavily influenced by lineage, with descendants of Prophet Muhammad at the top, called the Sāda, followed by descendants of religious scholars, the *Mashaykh*, and the tribesmen, *Qaba'il* and the economically deprived individuals, the *Masakin* (Boxberger, 2002; Freitag, 2003; Istiqomah, 2020; Salman, 1974). The Sāda and Mashaykh restricted scholarly access to maintain their authority, setting a spiritual and intellectual standard for the community (I. F. Alatas, 2007; Jacobsen, 2009). Their role as intercessors cultivated a saint veneration culture, as evidenced by numerous shrines erected after them both in Hadramaut and across the Indian Ocean.

Despite efforts to dismantle the traditional social hierarchy with the rise of the socialist state in 1967, the ascriptive system remained entrenched, significantly influencing political dynamics into the first decade of socialism (Istiqomah, 2020; Salman, 1974). Historically, Hadramaut has been plagued by political instability, lacking a central government and characterized by relentless tribal conflicts. These ranged from a series of both successful and unsuccessful conquests by small dynasties in the 13th century to the Kathiri sultanate in the 16th century, which eventually gave way to British colonial intervention and the formation of the People's Republic of South Yemen in 1968 (Jacobsen, 2009, p. 8). From the 19th century until the establishment of the People's Republic of South Yemen in 1968, the political landscape was dominated by ongoing conflicts between the inland-dominating Kathiri sultanate and the coastal Qu'ayti sultanate. Furthermore, economic difficulties and political upheaval have propelled the Hadrami diaspora toward the Indian Ocean region, maintaining economic connections that date back to the fifth century BC and were revitalized with the advent of Islam in the seventh century. These historical routes have become vital pathways for labor migration in the nineteenth century, highlighting the enduring and complex socioeconomic challenges of Hadramaut (Ho, 1997a; Mobini-Kesheh, 2019).

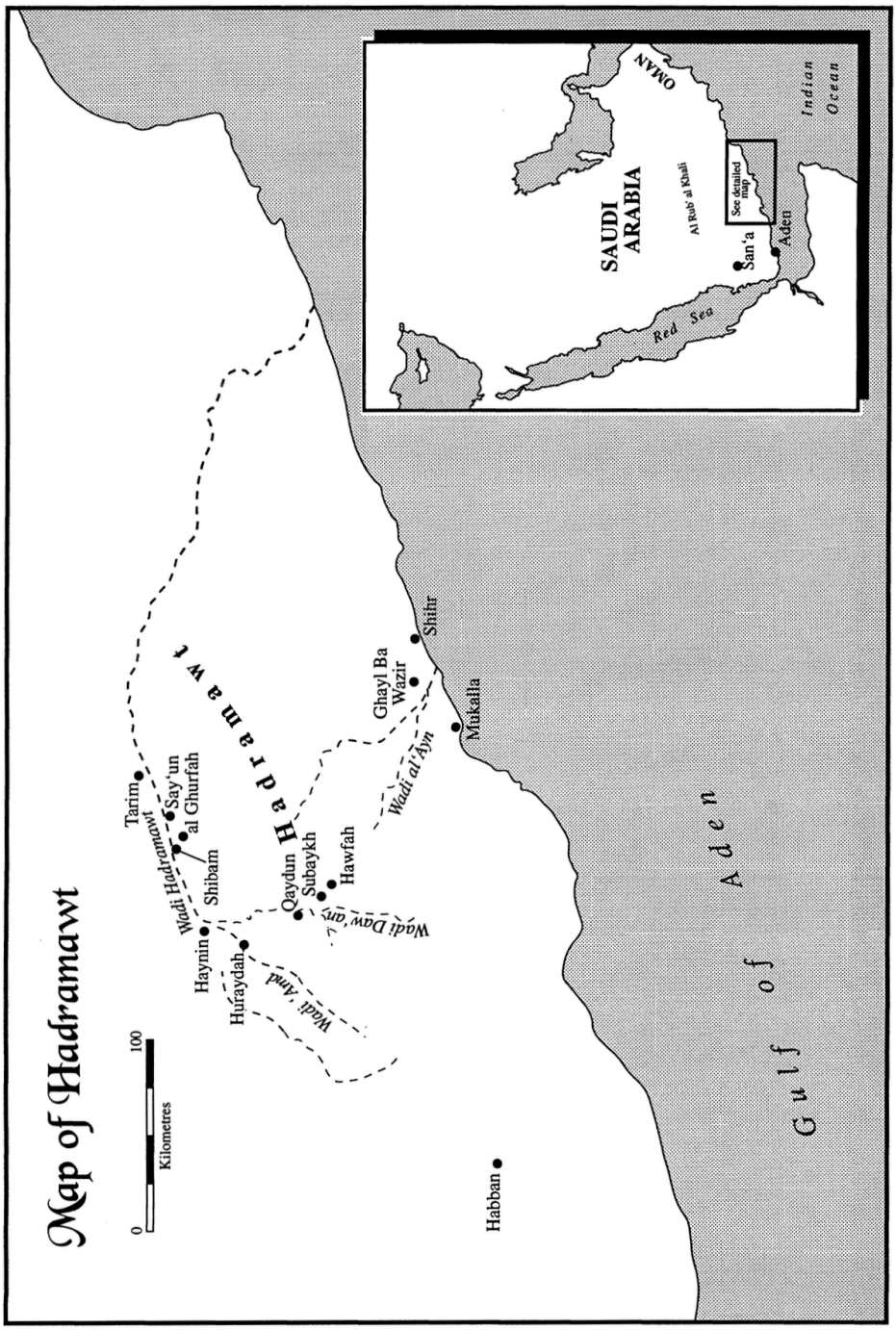


Figure 2.1: Hadramaut: readapted from Mobini-Kesheh (2019, p. 11)

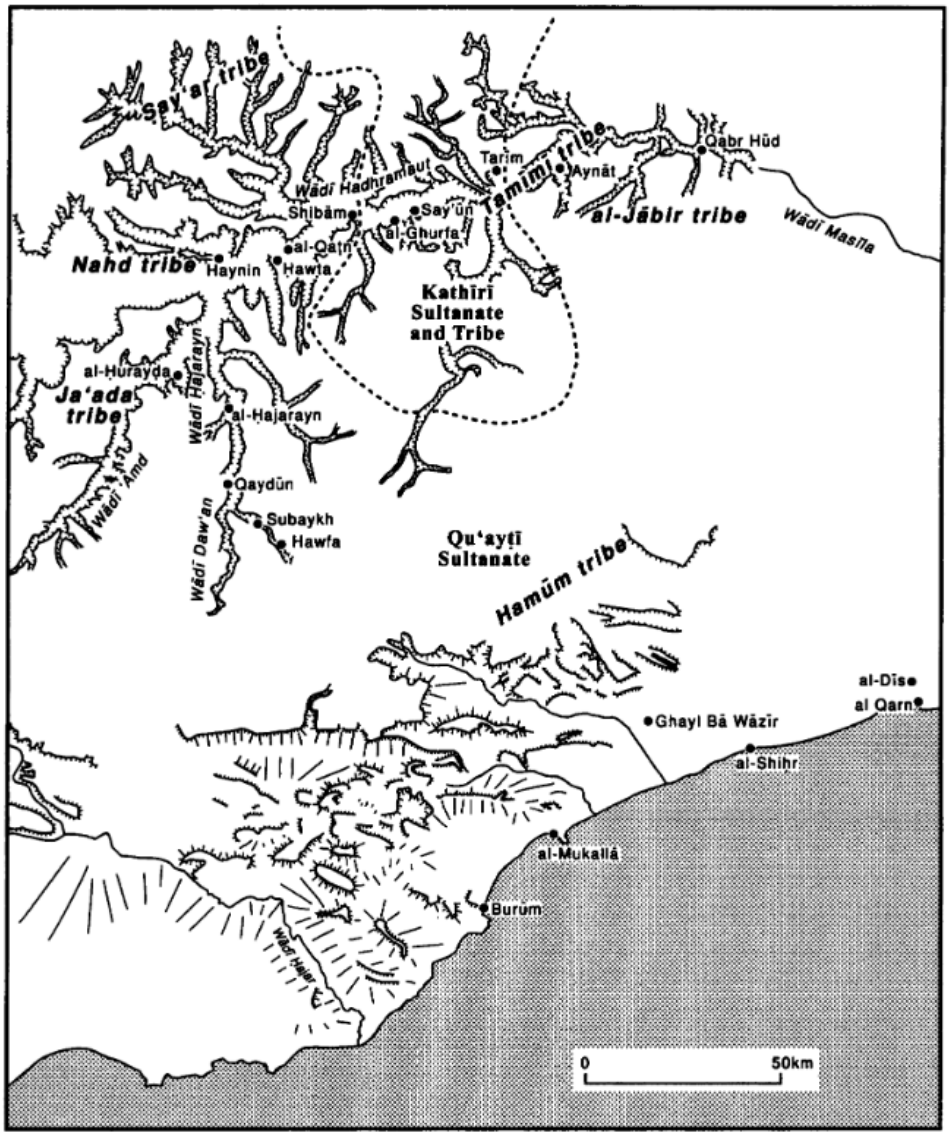


Figure 2.2: Hadramaut: readapted from Freitag et al. (2021, p. 39)

2.3.1 Who Travelled? And Who Are They Now?

Rifat was probably feeling quite bored that day, and it seemed he was in the mood for drawing. I was sitting at the table in his house, transcribing a conversation I had recorded the previous day, when he approached to inquire about my activity. Rifat is the caretaker of Doeloerkoe, a residence that might appear to be just a charming guesthouse to those unfamiliar with Hadrami history. This two-story colonial-style house features a large majlis (an Arabic guest room) at the entrance, adorned with Javanese furniture, and rooms overlooking a beautiful garden. However, it is more than just a guest house; it is the home of an old Kapten Arab, a man appointed by the Dutch colonial authorities to represent the Arab community in an Arab district. This is the story Rifat shared with me that day while sketching the genealogical tree of his grandfather2.3.

Rifat explained that his grandfather was the son of a *wulaiti*, a first generation immigrant from Hadramaut, or Hadramaut-born Jamaah. His grandfather had three wives, each living in separate

halls within the house. His mother, who still resides there, followed her husband to Jeddah in the 1960s in search of new opportunities. Over the decade they spent abroad, they also moved to Dubai and spent several years in Kuwait. It was during this period of circular migration that Rifat was born in Jeddah. When I asked him if his father had ever been to Hadramaut and for what purpose, he simply responded *What for?*

His family tree maps the more recent phases of Hadrami migration from Hadramaut, encompassing those who left Hadramaut in search of opportunities in the 20th century Dutch East Indies, those who stayed and became Indonesian, and those who embarked on labor migrations.

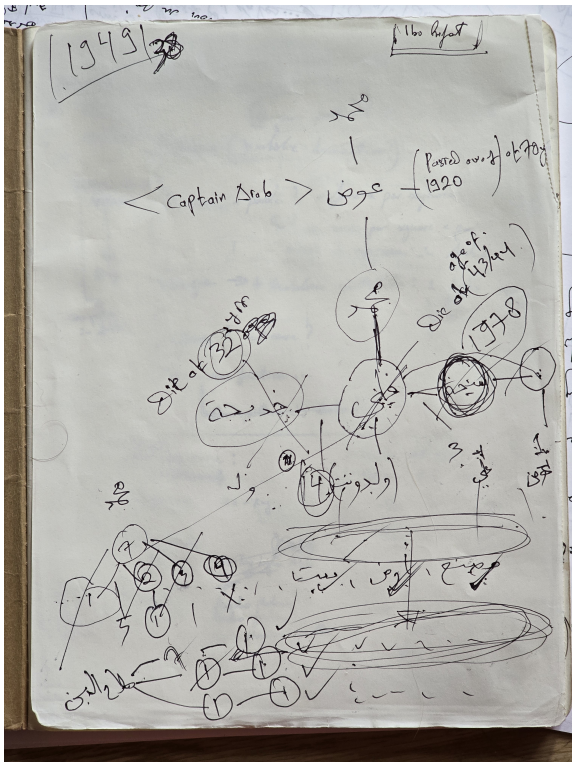


Figure 2.3: Rifat's sketch

S. F. Alatas (1997) characterizes the Hadrami diasporas in the Indian Ocean as a transnational group that successfully merged into local societies while maintaining their distinct cultural identities, which were anchored in kinship rather than ethnic or national origins. He argues that their identity was primarily defined by lineage rather than language, establishing a unique form of *'asabiyya*.[1] This notion of identity evolved over time, influenced by the socio-political changes across three historical periods: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial.

In the pre-colonial period from the 9th to the early 19th century, Hadrami migration involved increasing integration into Southeast Asian economies through trade and diplomatic engagements, concurrently with the spread of Islam. This religious and cultural assimilation fostered strong communal bonds with local populations, often sealed through intermarriages with local elites, enhancing the Hadramis' influence and integration. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 marked colonial period boosting migration due to easier travel. This period was characterized by

[1] *'Asabiyya* is a concept from Arabic philosophy, particularly associated with the historian Ibn Khaldun, that describes social solidarity or group cohesion. It is considered essential for the formation and stability of societies and states. Ibn Khaldun suggested that 'asabiyya is strongest in simpler, kin-based societies and tends to weaken with urbanization and the rise of individualism. The concept helps explain how groups achieve collective goals, maintain power, and experience social integration or disintegration.

a stronger assertion of Hadrami identity, driven by increased interactions with their homeland and a sharper differentiation enforced by Dutch colonial racial classifications. These developments deepened the Hadramis' communal distinctiveness. The post-colonial period saw a redefinition of roles and identities as national borders and governments were redrawn, affecting the socio-economic and political engagements of the Hadrami people. As De Jonge (2004) argues, in a period of less than ten years, the Arab community moved from a preoccupation with problems mostly relating to social identity and feelings of being discriminated against by the *Sāda* (the Ba'Alawi), to confronting basic questions of national identity whether or not to choose Indonesia as their motherland, as we will see in paragraph 2.4.3. Arai (2004) highlights that the history of Hadrami migration starts not with these transoceanic movements but with internal migrations within Hadramaut itself. His research underscores that these internal movements, driven more by population growth than by crises, were crucial in shaping the patterns and impacts of subsequent overseas migrations. This internal dynamic established the groundwork for the Hadramis' far-reaching influence throughout Southeast Asia and beyond.

2.3.2 Today

In recent times, following a prevalent Southeast Asian migratory trend that began in the 1950s after the oil boom in the Gulf region, many Indonesians engaged in circular migration between the Gulf and Indonesia. Among these migrants were individuals of Hadrami origin. This trend saw men and women of Arab descent, whose grandfathers or great-grandfathers had traveled from Hadramaut to Indonesia, making their way back to the Arabian Peninsula, though not necessarily to Yemen. Some remained in the Gulf long enough to have children. For instance, Adil, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, represents Indonesians of Hadrami descent born in places like Jeddah. Just like his father, Adil was born in the Gulf during one of these migration cycles (see image 2.4).

These sons and daughters of circular migration, catalyzed by the neoliberalization of the labor force due to oil drilling and economic expansion in the Gulf, intersected with the older Hadrami diaspora across the Indian Ocean. Some stayed in the Gulf long enough to be educated there and, upon returning to Indonesia, were fluent in both Arabic and Indonesian. The family that hosted me during my fieldwork in Surakarta exemplifies this pattern.

Additionally, there is another type of migration that has been somewhat overlooked, although it was more prevalent earlier. Students who win scholarships often travel to the Arab world for religious studies, typically to Yemen, especially to cities like Seyun and the holy city of Tarim. These students usually spend three to five years abroad, attending religious and language classes. When asked why they chose Tarim, one former student explained that it was where their ancestors had gone. As many of the already cited scholars have noted, Tarim and Yemen were traditionally the primary destinations for the descendants of the Sāda, the Ba'Alawi. However, nowadays, it is often not families but scholarships obtained through Quranic schools in Indonesia that determine where these students go, complicating the earlier trend. Moreover, the pattern of mainly Ba'Alawi students studying in the Middle East no longer holds as strictly as before.

My fieldwork suggests that many Muslim students are eager to study religious matters in the Middle East. I also met students who had studied in Amman, Jordan. An interview with a member of the Impuan Mahasiswa Indonesia at the State University of Amman conducted in 2021 confirmed that there are students of Hadrami origin who choose to attend that university, particularly in the Islamic Studies program. This was corroborated by one of those students I met during a celebration in Purwokerto, Indonesia. Furthermore, Al-Azhar in Cairo remains a traditional and popular destination for students from the entire Islamic world.

This discussion is not intended as a dissertation on migration but rather to suggest that individuals who have spent time in the Middle East, especially those perceived as native speakers

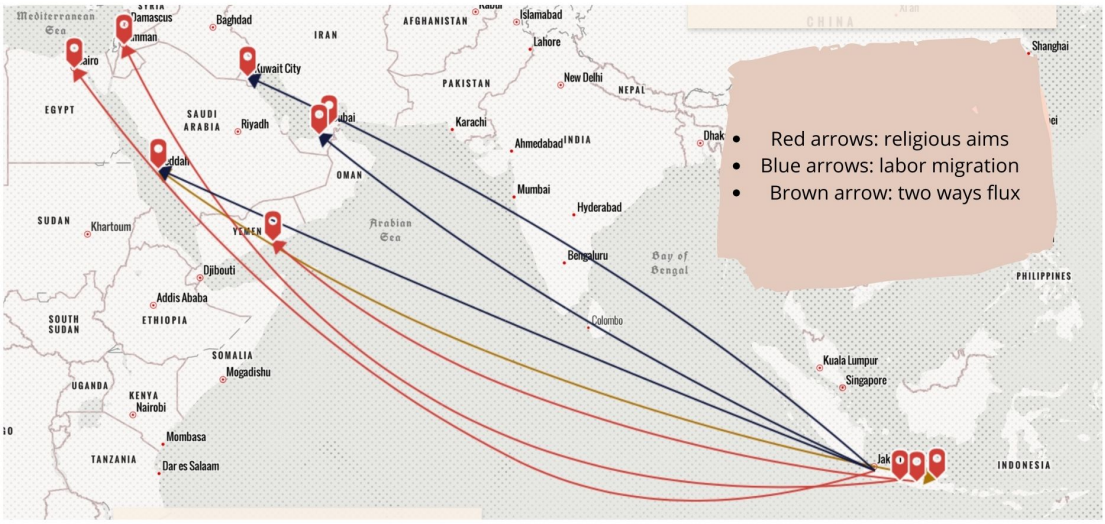


Figure 2.4: Movement across between Indonesia and Middle East. Resources: Map created by the author

and those who have studied there, are often seen as sources of knowledge about the Arab world. They are frequently consulted on matters of tradition and language practice. Specifically, these individuals are often the ones approached with questions such as, "Does this word exist in Arabic? Is it correct?" These issues will be explored in more detail in later chapters. It is crucial to recognize that the Hadrami diaspora is not static and does not follow clearly discernible lines; rather, it now intersects significantly with broader migratory trends.

2.4 Arabs in Indonesia

Because they originate from the birthplace of Islam, Arabs are often perceived as practitioners of its most authentic form. In contrast, in regions considered peripheral —such as the Malay-Indonesian world — Islam is frequently described as syncretic, interwoven with the pre-existing cultural substrate before its arrival in these areas. This dichotomous view has profoundly influenced perceptions of Arabs and Islam globally: on one hand, Arabs have been associated with a nearly caricatural stereotype of a Muslim, typical of Orientalist views, and on the other, they are credited with a particular influence on other Muslim populations worldwide. While "authentic" Islam, positioned at the center of this center-periphery opposition, is viewed as monolithic, static, and asynchronous, in a perspective that ideally rejects, or at least fails to consider, the simple fact that religion is always the result of its relationship with the preceding cultural substrate. In this way, when Islam at the center is associated with rigid or fundamentalist views, the Arab influence elsewhere is deemed dangerous. It is amidst the nuances of this dichotomous division that the story of the Hadramis in Indonesia is situated.

The history of the Hadrami diaspora has witnessed massive migratory waves that brought the community to Europe, North America, and the coasts of Africa and Southeast Asia. Although there are historical records of settlements in various areas around the Indian Ocean, the origins of the earliest settlements in Southeast Asia remain somewhat unclear. What is certain is that between the 18th and 19th centuries, the Hadramis were part of prestigious religious and commercial networks founded on familial ties that extended across the diasporic space of the Indian Ocean

(Ellen, 1996). The Hadrami community had been present in Indonesia since before the 16th and 17th centuries, but the majority of migration occurred from the 19th to the 20th centuries. This migration was significantly boosted by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which redirected the main migration routes from India, East Africa, and the Red Sea region to the Netherlands East Indies.

While only the wealthiest individuals from Hadramaut could afford to migrate, technological advancements such as steam travel, alongside the telegraph and print media, later enabled a more diverse cross-section of Hadrami society to migrate. These innovations played a crucial role not only in facilitating movement but also in disseminating new ideas and stimulating social and political developments. Moreover, these technologies reestablished and strengthened connections between Hadramis in the East Indies and those in Hadramaut.

By 1930, about twenty to thirty percent of the population of Hadramaut lived outside the homeland, and the Hadrami population in Indonesia had reached 71,355, with 41,730 residing in Java and Madura. This number grew to approximately 80,000 by the time of the Japanese occupation in 1941 (De Jonge, 2004; Freitag, 2003; Freitag et al., 2021). In 1934, the British colonial official Harold Ingrams estimated the total remittances pouring into Hadhramaut from abroad at 630,000 pounds sterling annually (Boxberger, 2002, p. 41) . This renewed network of movement supported the exchange of goods but also ideas, which brought Islamic reformismf throughout the Islamic world.[2].

In 1866, the Dutch colonial authority, for different administrative reasons, mainly dictated by the idea of "divide et impera", and also a perceived threat from merchant routs controlled by others, categorized residents of their colony into three legal groups: Europeans, Foreign Orientals, and the indigenous. Additionally, they implemented the quarter and pass systems which forced Foreign Orientals, including the Arabs, to live in designated quarters and carry passes for travel. These policies significantly effected the integration of Hadramis with the indigenous population.

The racialization policies of the Dutch colonial authorities imposed physical and social separations, creating a sort of "official alternative reality" in which differences were emphasized and crafted, justifying and reinforcing colonial control and European supremacy (Mandal, 2018). These processes manifested both administratively and narratively, were elements such as censuses played a key role in shaping and legitimizing these oppressive colonial narratives and practices. In 1872, the wearing of clothing not aligned with one's ethnic group was prohibited; for instance, Chinese had to wear traditional braids and Arabs their turbans. The adoption of the label "foreign Orientals" represents another integral part of the racialization policies in colonial Indonesia: distinguishing "foreigners" from those considered indigenous paved the way for categories that, over time, have helped shape the image of these communities in 20th-century Indonesia, an image still tangible in contemporary Indonesia.

These policies, on one hand, represent the organizational nature of the Dutch colonial hand aimed at controlling the population, which acted through clear separations of spaces, the establishment of specific ghettos, and also laws aimed at preserving and imposing perceived cultural differences; on the other hand, it also reflects a certain Eurocentric Enlightenment view of ethnic and national identity incapable of recognizing the foundation of the Archipelago's identity in diasporic practices and regional mobility.

In addition to the creation of inappropriate ethnic categories, the systematic cataloging established demarcations that betrayed the reality of the social fabric. In this system boundaries could be shifted with extreme ease. Entire categories could disappear in one census and reappear in the next. Not to mention that the Dutch authorities also used professions of faith as distinguishing features, blurring the distinctions between Bengalis, Tamils, and Arabs. In doing so, they not

[2] At that time, Cairo was a hub for Islamic reform and enlightenment, significantly influencing the Hadrami diaspora (I. F. Alatas, 2007; Mobini-Kesheh, 2019)

only failed to recognize the differences between various diasporas but also imposed incorrect categorizations. Such practices exemplify the arbitrary nature of these categories and the conflation of a vague notion of Arabness with Islam (Mandal, 2018). Bazher (2020) also points out that the *kampung arab*, as the Arab Districts are known in Indonesian, should not be seen solely as areas imposed by the Dutch on the Arab community. Rather, they also functioned as sites of spontaneous gathering, given that migration often followed established social networks.

2.4.1 Ba'Alawi, and The Rest?

In this regard, it is necessary to outline two fundamental trajectories within the Hadrami diaspora in Indonesia: the first, and also the most discussed academically, is that of the Ba 'Alawi, those who claim a genealogy tracing back to the prophet of Islam; the second consists of those who do not fall into the first category, namely those who do not claim any prophetic descent.

Ba' Alawi, are the descendants of 'Ali, the grandson of Ahmed bin Issa (Al-Muhajir — the Emigrant). The latter came from Iraq to Hadramaut in 952 AD. He claimed to be the descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, through the Prophet's daughter, Fatima. All the descendants of Ahmad bin Issa are called Sadah (sing. Sayyid) and claim descent from the Prophet. The term 'Alawi thus refers only to Sadah (Salman, 1974). The distinction between the non-Ba 'Alawi and Ba 'Alawi, commonly referred to as *Habib* (pl. *Habaib*, english *beloved*) in Indonesia, is crucial for understanding the symbolic social capital associated with the Habaib, and also because it is the Habaib who have received more academic attention. However, today this distinction is much less marked, and above all, it has not been a decisive parameter in the conduct of this research. On the contrary, when differentiation between the two categories was brought up in interviews, it was immediately downplayed.

However we need to spend a few words on the subject as for the Ba 'Alawi often cover prestigious religious positions and have had a different integration path still visible today. Their prestigious genealogy and scholarly credentials accelerated their integration into local elite kinships, forming a creole cultural nexus in the archipelago. The assimilation process, however, was asymmetrical (Mobini-Kesheh, 2019).

All migrants from Hadramaut arrived in Indonesia without wives or female relatives. Upon settling, while the Ba'Alawi did marry local women, they specifically refrained from marrying their daughters to non-Ba'Alawi, citing the doctrine of *kafâ'a* (parity in marriageability) as justification (I. F. Alatas, 2007). Consequently, from the second generation onward, there has been a marked trend toward ethnic endogamy. This pattern has been documented by Fredrik Barth in Singaraja (Barth, 1998), Roy Ellen in the central Moluccas (Ellen, 1996), and through a survey conducted in Surabaya in the early 1980s (Freitag, 2003, p. 51) . Such marriages allowed the Ba 'Alawi to integrate into local kinship structures while maintaining their distinctiveness through well-defined lines of descent (I. F. Alatas, 2007). Therefore, the majority of second-generation migrants, born from unions between a *Wulaiti* — the term for first-generation migrants—and local women, known as *Ahwal*, typically married other *muwallad* (Indonesia-born hadrami). As a result, nearly all Hadrami Arabs in present-day Indonesia are considered *muwallad*.[3]

As pointed out by Jacobsen (2009), at the time when *wulaitis* were more prevalent, their social differentiation from *muwallads* was significant. This distinction prompted Berg (2010 [1887]) to dedicate an entire chapter to what he termed "half-cast Arabs" (Mobini-Kesheh, 2019, p. 129). In Berg (2010 [1887]), the loyalty of the *wulaiatis* to their original region was described as unwavering, leading them to steadfastly adhere to Hadrami norms and values, which they regarded as superior to those in Indonesia (De Jonge, 2004, p. 379). These values included traditional practices from Hadramaut such as kissing the hands to show respect, as well as virtues like thrift,

[3]See Ho (1997b) for a description of the term *muwallad* in the Hadrami diaspora across the Indian Ocean

industriousness, and business savvy. *Wulaiatis* enjoyed higher salaries, greater political influence, and were more sought after as business partners. They were also perceived as more cultured compared to their Indonesian-born counterparts (Mobini-Kesheh, 2019). During the pre-colonial era, marked by the ascendancy of Islam and Muslim civilization in the core regions of the Muslim world and the extensive Islamization of the Malay world, the indigenous populations began to regard all Arabs, regardless of their origin, as the rightful heirs to the wisdom of Islam, and particularly viewed the Sāda (Ba 'Alawi) as individuals of unparalleled piety and religious virtue. Probably for this image, and also for the religious authority they were given, they considered themselves natural religious leaders (I. F. Alatas, 2007). The Ba 'Alawi community in Indonesia continues to have a substantial following, although this prominence could have been accentuated by recent academic studies as Alkatiri and Karim Hayaze (2022) pointed out. However, historically they have been pivotal in founding mosques and Sufi centers across the Indian Ocean. Additionally, some are revered as saints, with annual celebrations held at their mausoleums. In Indonesia, these events are referred to as *hawl* and *mawlid*.

2.4.2 Clashes and Modernization

In the early 20th century, the Hadrami diaspora in Indonesia was significantly influenced by the sweeping changes brought about by the advent of modernity, which increased the speed of travel and the circulation of ideas. These changes were particularly pronounced in the Middle East, with Egypt emerging as a pivotal center of modernist Islamic thought.

This period marked a critical transformation in the perception and practice of Islamic traditions among the Hadrami community, particularly the Ba 'Alawi, whose Sufi teachings and historical prestige were both challenged and reshaped by the new economic and social dynamics facilitated by colonial modernity's expanding trade networks.

The Ba 'Alawi in Indonesia, known for their deep-rooted spiritual traditions, faced critiques from newly formed modernist Islamic organizations that questioned their traditional practices and interpretations of Islam. Among these organizations, Al-Irsyad, established in 1914, was particularly influential. Composed mainly of Hadramis not belonging to the Ba 'Alawi lineage, Al-Irsyad advocated for a progressive education system and promoted social equality among Muslims. This platform was in direct contrast to the hierarchical and genealogically-based social structures upheld by the Ba 'Alawi. Al-Irsyad's stance against practices such as the veneration of saints, which were seen as enhancing the Ba 'Alawi's prestige due solely to their lineage, sparked significant debates and divisions within the Hadrami community in Southeast Asia (De Jonge, 2019). These debates not only reflected the local tensions but also connected to broader discussions back in Hadramaut, intertwining with the rising nationalist and anti-colonial movements within the Indonesian archipelago. As de Jonge argues, while exponents of al-irsyad also tried to export their ideas to the homeland Hadramaut and faild, in indonesian they pretty much won the ideological battle (De Jonge, 2004). However, in 1927, the Ba 'Alawi founded their own organization called al-Rabita al-'Alawiyya (I. F. Alatas, 2007).

The challenges faced by the Ba'Alawi in Indonesia were closely linked to the broader currents of modernity sweeping across the Middle East and the Islamic world. This era of rapid European advancement triggered significant anxiety among Muslims in these regions. In response, the Ottoman Empire initiated the *Tanzimat*, or renovation policies, aiming to achieve Western technological modernity. Among other outcomes, this period of reform gave rise to the pan-Islamic movement as a unifying force against the spread of colonialism and imperialism.

These developments were part of the larger *Nahda*, or Arab Renaissance, a cultural revival that fostered a flourishing of literature, science, and political thought across the Islamic world. The Nahda played a crucial role in shaping modern Islamic identity and thought, influencing not only the Middle East but also Muslim communities globally, including in Indonesia. The influx

of these new ideas from the Middle East aided Indonesian Muslim communities in navigating their encounters with modernity and colonialism, fostering a deeper transnational connection in their struggle for identity and autonomy (M. Laffan, 2004).

Jamaluddin al-Afghani was a central figure in the emergence of modern Islamic movements, using his journal, *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa*, to call for resistance against European colonial dominance over Islamic lands. His advocacy was not merely a defense against imperialism but also a call for intellectual and spiritual renewal within the Islamic world. Continuing al-Afghani's legacy, Muhammad Abduh advocated for significant reforms in Islamic thought and practice, promoting the adoption of modernity as crucial for the development of the Muslim community.

The early 1900s also saw the Hadrami community's involvement in broader social and educational reforms. The founding of *Jamiyyat al-Khayr* by Hadrami community members in 1901 marked an essential development. This organization aimed to establish modern Arab schools and strengthen Arab identity, efforts that included launching a community newspaper that helped sustain a pan-Java Arab imagination (I. F. Alatas, 2011). Additionally, the Hadrami community's support for modern Islamic movements like *Sarekat Islam* underscored their role as "natural leaders" among the indigenous populations (I. F. Alatas, 2011). These activities contributed to the evolution of a modern Hadrami identity, which strategically merged traditional views of kinship and leadership with the modern colonial framework of race and ethnicity.

2.4.3 From Nationalists to Indonesians

Between 1912 and 1934, Arab identity in Indonesia underwent significant transformation, heavily influenced by global and local nationalist movements. This era saw lower-ranking Arabs challenging the entrenched hierarchy of the upper class from Southern Arabia, leading to a social revolution within their communities. The dismantling of this hierarchy facilitated a crucial transition from Arab to Indonesian identity, reflecting broader changes in social roles.

De Jonge (1997)'s analysis provides detailed insights into these changes, particularly highlighting the dispute over the title "sayid", previously reserved for the upper class. The challenge to this title by the lower strata symbolized their broader fight for equality and the rejection of the established social order.

Internationally, Arab identity was reinforced when the Hadramis, affected by Dutch discriminatory policies, sought support from global powers. Before the Ottoman Empire's fall, they appealed to the Turkish Sultan, asserting a right to intervention due to his nominal authority over Hadramaut. After the fall of the empire, some Arabs claimed Turkish nationality on similar grounds. When Hadramaut fell under British control, the Arabs sought British support, who recognized them as "protected British subjects", leading to eased restrictions on Arab immigration in 1919. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire fueled Arab nationalism, deeply influencing the Arab community in the Netherlands East Indies. This connection highlights the dynamic nature of Arab identity, tightly linked to wider nationalistic trends in the Middle East, crucial for understanding Arab identity in Southeast Asia and beyond.

However, because of this ethnic exclusivity, patronizing views towards local Muslims, and persistent ties to a remote homeland, the Hadramis in Indonesia became estranged from the nationalist movement. This estrangement resulted in their exclusion from nationalist groups such as Sarekat Islam and other political activities (M. F. Laffan, 2003). Simultaneously, the Hadrami communities became the focal point for initiatives aimed at bridging these divides.

In 1934, led by A.R. Baswedan, young Hadramis established the *Persatoean Arab Indonesia* (Indonesian Arab Union), which eventually evolved into the *Partai Arab Indonesia* (PAI, Indonesian Arab Party). A.R. Baswedan notably criticized the older Hadrami generations who opposed the creation of an organization to represent their community within the burgeoning nationalist movement.

The PAI aimed to integrate the Hadrami community fully into the Indonesian nationalist struggle and the nascent national identity. By advocating that diaspora Arabs, as much as any other ethnic group, were inherently Indonesian, the PAI challenged both the old genealogical and theological boundaries that had defined Hadrami identity and the colonial racial categories that had segregated them from the broader political and social movements in Indonesia.

The PAI played a key role in facilitating the full integration of the Hadramis into the Indonesian independence movement and, subsequently, into the newly formed nation. After 1945, the party dissolved and its members dispersed among various political parties in Indonesia, predominantly joining those inspired by Islam. Moreover, the Party specifically aimed to modernize the Hadrami identity not through genealogical and theological solutions, but by defining it through Indonesian nationalism. In other words, it advocated that the Arabs of the diaspora, especially as such, were Indonesians with equal rights as other ethnic groups. The PAI propagated its ideas in pro-nationalistic newspapers such as Sin Tit Po, Soeara Oemoem, and Matahari, and until the 1936 it published two journals, *Sadar*, (Awarness) and *Insaf*, (Realization). In this way, as Alatas states, it fostered an pan-Java Arab imagination.

The ideological stance of the PAI and its subsequent political activities laid the groundwork for a redefined Hadrami identity centered on Indonesian nationalism. This redefinition was not a rejection of their historical Arab identity but a reconfiguration that aligned with Indonesia's broader political and social aspirations. By the time Indonesia declared independence, the Hadrami community, through the efforts of the PAI and other nationalist movements, had markedly shifted from being seen as foreign Orientals to being integral members of the Indonesian nation. Moreover, for the PAI, it was not enough to be Indonesian; one also had to be a nationalist Indonesia (Suratmin, 1989).

However, as I. F. Alatas and Slama (2022) have pointed out, despite ideological differences, these various Hadrami factions, during a period of intense political fervor, shared the movement through Indonesian networks that extended and reaffirmed connections with distant places. In this way, they asserted their diasporic identity through activities that were locally engaged in their new homeland while simultaneously being tied to their ancestral homeland. Participating in Indonesia's internal struggles became an integral part of the diasporic condition, consistent with the concept of diasporization as a practice.

In this way, although issues related to distance from the place of origin are fundamental for a diaspora, they were seen as secondary elements. For the PAI, distance was supposed to lighten the burden of tradition: it introduced new elements, new languages, and generated new ideas. Most importantly, it produced children born with the right to belong to a new nation without this implying absence from their place of origin.

Despite this notion, their belonging to that nation could indeed be questioned, especially at times when their lives intersected with national construction projects, a time when being something else could be viewed with suspicion. The achievement of independence, indeed, placed nationalism at the top of the agenda and led to viewing diasporization and the birth of the new state as mutually exclusive, making being Indonesian an imperative.

As the Japanese occupation neared its end in 1941, the Hadrami community in Indonesia began to shed their colonial label of "Foreign Orientals". Thanks to the efforts of the PAI, their status was not only stabilized post-independence but they were also warmly embraced as citizens of the newly independent nation. This contrasted sharply with the experiences of their counterparts in other regions; for instance, in 1948, approximately 7,000 Hadramis were expelled from Hyderabad and repatriated to Aden as the region was integrated into India.

Indonesian anti-colonial struggle and indipendence in 1946, fallowed by the solidification of the Indonesian state and the crystallization of its national identity marked the decline of the cosmopolitan Hadrami identity that had spanned the Indian Ocean. Nation-state politics forced those

with diasporic backgrounds into more localized identities funded on nationalistis loyalties (I. F. Alatas, 2011). What was once celebrated as cosmopolitan began to be seen as unpatriotic, reflecting a global shift in how diasporic communities were perceived and integrated. The Hadramis in Indonesia, facing the constitutional failure to secure their integration, had no choice but to fully assimilate into Indonesian society. Additionally, as hilighted at the beginning of this chapter, this era saw the rise of Islamic reformism and modernism, which started to redefine the religious landscape in Indonesia, challenging the traditional religious authorities and their long-held practices of the Hadrami sufi and scholars.

In conclusion, the transformation of the Hadrami diaspora in Indonesia during the early to mid-20th century highlights a significant period of socio-political change influenced by global movements of Islamic reform, colonial modernity, and national independence. These changes not only redefined the Hadrami identity within Indonesia but also reshaped their role and integration within an evolving Indonesian society, illustrating a dynamic interplay between local and global influences, traditional values, and modern ideologies.

2.5 Conclusions

Following this discussion, it is crucial to emphasize the role of nationalism as an integral component in shaping identity. The Hadrami community in Indonesia, as Mandal (2018) notes, largely adhered to this nationalist approach to integration well into the 1990s, by which time their place within Indonesian society could no longer be contested. At the same time, it's important to acknowledge that the association between the Middle East, perceived as the Arab world, and Islam, continues to be a significant part of the Hadrami's symbolic capital.

Scholars like Alatas and Slama have detailed how prominent political and religious figures such as Baswedan and Habib Luthfi have been reintegrated into the Indonesian diaspora through specific strategies that leverage this symbolic capital. This approach not only reaffirms their Islamic identity but also aligns it with nationalist sentiments within Indonesia. On the other hand, the example provided by Bamualim (2011) illustrates how this capital has been exploited by proponents of radical Islam, such as Habib Riziek, to further their own agendas. This dual use of symbolic capital highlights the complex and sometimes contentious role that Islamic identity plays within the broader narrative of nationalism and integration in Indonesia, showcasing the nuanced ways in which the Hadrami navigate their place within this dynamic socio-political landscape.

Milner (2008), discussing the Malay-Indonesian world, argues that although the colonial origin of certain categories is recognized, these tend to be reproduced uncritically. Within the community of Arab origin, linguistic self-descriptions and meta-semiotic commentaries on what it means to be part of the community and what the criteria for belonging are, although they use a vocabulary typical of the colonial period and partly draw from ideas proposed during that time, reveal more dynamic and varied features.

For example, overlaps between the Arabic language and artificially imposed political entities, specific to the linguistic standardization processes of the last century (for instance, Arabic as the official language of Arab countries), parallel the narrative of colonial racialization in Indonesia and elsewhere, is sometimes reiterated in some arguments, but the language itself is not identified as the main element of identity constructions. In other words, the legitimacy gained by the Arabic language as a founding element of post-colonial nation states as single entities, and as a bonding language of their union into broader supranational entities (for instance, the Arab League and the Islamic umma), is an integral part of the construction of identity discourse, but in a dynamic and nonexclusive way (Suleiman, 2013). In this way, conceptualization about Arab ethnicity, and as we well see in the following chapter, the Arab language, developed in the Middle East are

productive also among the Arabs of Indonesia, although in different ways.

In this way, and not only, Arabic as the language of the diaspora is constructed in relation to a much broader ideal space than that geographically localized with Hadramaut. Arabic does not simply correlate to specific images, but intersects with these same historical trajectories, with which the members of the community dialogue. The Indonesian Arab community engages with elements of Arabic in its global, national, and local context. It is not detached from standardization processes external to the Indonesian national context.

In this regard, the discourse I want to develop seeks to critically look at and distance itself from racialized visions and representations of colonized societies established in the 19th century, which, although criticized by more recent academic production, lead to associating well-defined political entities with likewise more fluid linguistic entities.

Chapter 3

The Indonesian Language

In order to explore the questions mentioned in the first chapter, I investigate language as a product of the here and now, constructed by people during interactions that have their own wishes and ways of displaying – or not displaying – their identities; However, these practices are situated at the intersection with institutionalized uses of language which in turn are bounded by projects of nation building.

This dissertation is far from being a study of language standardization. However, I want to give some background information on standardization, which I believe provides valuable insights into questions about the nexus of language and belonging, both as I perceive it and as it is experienced by my interlocutors.

The Indonesian language standardization process is significant because it is deeply tied to ideologies about what a language should be and what it should represent. This intersection of informal linguistic practices and formal national projects is particularly complex, as the two exist in tension. While nation-building endeavors aim to define and categorize languages and groups to foster differentiation and homogenization, community practices often challenge and resist such rigid definitions.

For instance, naming languages and groups is a focus for projects of nation building that impose frameworks that erase fluid and diasporic identities.

Definitions can be very dangerous and counterproductive. Naming things and drop such definitions onto communities frames them, and at the same time it may obscure those identities that are not fixed like the diasporic ones. "Loose labels" are often the norm in community self-definitions. With the term loose I intend to counter that idea of being fixed, in no way I intend simplistic.

In Indonesia, ethnic groups frequently use metaphors of belonging to define their identities: the Tidung of Borneo refer to themselves as *ulun pagun* (people of the village), the Batak of North Sumatra as *halak kita* (our people), and those of Arab descent as *orang Jamaah* (person of the group). These terms refer to practice, sociability, and interaction, and do not point to fixed abstract entities, as the term Italian, French, Arab or Indonesian often do. In these contexts, not naming a language is also a practice. A more communitarian one, where language and identity are linked within interaction and not imagined as a given natural fact as in Nationalism.

Rarely in my fieldwork I have seen people trying to define the Jamaah community language practices. Sometimes the term *Bahasa Jamaah* (language of the jamaah) was used but further explanation was always needed, as it may mean Arabic to some extent. Moreover, what kind of Arabic would it refer to is an open question. Often, I've heard *bahasa kita-kita nih* (the way we speak here), *kayak bahasa majlas* (the language of majlas) referring to the specif contexts where this language is used. It was either the language that people speak, or the language of gatherings, inclusive and interactional, both in its instrumentality and social value. However, when we try

to deconstruct and dig into the meaning of things, we end up constructing them.

In my quest to understand the meaning of Bahasa Jamaah and its echoes of the Arab world, I encountered a world woven with labels, contradictions, and ideological disjunctions. In the group identity, although not formally or directly linked to a language, the Jamaah way of speaking emerged as an index of ethnicity, both supported and contested. When people attempt to define these concepts, they often gravitate around official discourses. Their explanations to me, a researcher eager to assign labels to various practices, reveal the reliance on official labels steeped in notions of nationalism and rigid definitions of ethnicity. This highlights the importance of emphasizing the connection between language and identity in the processes of nation-building.

In this context, Jamaah has come to be identified in relation to Arabic, becoming a "dialect" much like Egyptian Arabic is to the Arabic language. It has turned into a fragmented version of what was once the language of Hadramaut. 'The language we speak here' has thus become bound to Arabic, indexing both ethnicity and language. It has also taken on the form of *bahasa se-hari-hari kita* (our everyday language), reflecting a distinctly Indonesian sociolinguistic differentiation. In the following chapters I will go deeper into the intricate task of deconstructing informal practices. Here, my goal is to lay the groundwork for understanding how the Jamaah are positioned at the crossroads of the Indonesian linguistic ecology, which has undergone significant historical transformations, and the historical and ideological fabric of the Arabic language that associates it with Arab identity. To do this effectively, we must examine how standardization impacts the social value and practical utility of language in ideological terms.

Standardization gives language the appearance of being intrinsic to the fabric of society. This holds particularly true for languages with a longstanding history of standardization, such as Arabic, or those where language planning has been central to national cohesion like Indonesian. In both cases, the constructed nature of language, be it mystified by the past or glorified by the state, is inherently ideological. Milroy and Milroy (2012, p. 19) define the process of standardization as "an ideology" and standard language as "an idea in the mind" or "a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent".

It's noteworthy that no Arab country officially recognizes its colloquial varieties as having official status. Instead, these vernaculars are often stigmatized as "incorrect" usage. This tendency is also seen with colloquial varieties of Indonesian. The Jamaah community and its linguistic practices mirror the situation of Arabic dialects, both in how some of its speakers describe them and in its relationship to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Being non-standard can, in some instances, offer advantages. As Dominique Caubet observed with respect to Moroccan Arabic, "there are no mistakes in darija (colloquial Moroccan Arabic)" (Bassiouney, 2017). This perspective suggests a kind of informal linguistic liberty within one's repertoire, though it does not imply an absence of norms. Certain practices are deemed acceptable, others are not, and certain individuals are granted access to these practices and have the power to change them, while others do not.

This interplay between informal linguistic authority and formal standardization processes reflects how nation states influence and control discourses about acceptable and unacceptable practices, leveraging identity politics, seeking validation through standardization processes, and obscuring the constructed nature of language.

This constructed nature of language is acknowledged differently across communities. For instance, Arabic speakers often overlook the deliberate shaping of their Standard Arabic by planning and ideological forces, viewing it as an inherent symbol of ethnic and national identity Suleiman, 2013. In contrast, Indonesians recognize their national language as a deliberate creation, tied to independence and state-building. Despite these differences, the idea that Arabic has not been subjected to construction, so the general view that it is the result of an almost miraculous birth untouched by standardization and construction is quite common in Indonesia as well.

3.1 Standardization of the Indonesian Language

In 2022, Malaysian Prime Minister Ismail Sabri Yaakob proposed using Malay as a secondary language of the ASEAN alongside English, which is the official language among ASEAN members. He asserted that Malay is already utilized in various ASEAN nations, including Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore, southern Thailand, the southern Philippines, and parts of Cambodia and because of this it was the most suitable. Responding to this, Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi suggested that the Malaysian Prime Minister's proposal warranted further discussion with ASEAN members.

In contrast, Indonesian Education, Culture, Research, and Technology Minister Nadiem Makarim unequivocally dismissed Malaysia's suggestion. He argued, "Considering the historical and linguistic significance of the Indonesian language and its international recognition, I believe it is more suitable as the primary language of communication for official ASEAN meetings (than Malay)". This debate underlines the potent linguistic infrastructure of the Indonesian state, bolstering the argument for the adoption of Indonesian due to its suitability and political visibility. Intriguingly, when the Malaysian Prime Minister first promoted Malay as the language of ASEAN, he emphasized its widespread use across various regions such as Brunei, Thailand, Singapore, and Indonesia. However, the Indonesian response highlighted that while Indonesian is fundamentally Malay, it stands out due to its standardization and global recognition. At the back of this simple political claim are 100 years of debate and language planning.

The first significant effort at standardization in Indonesia traces back to van Ophuijsen's *Kitab Logat Melayu: Woordenlijst voor de spelling der Maleisiche taal met Latijnsch karakter* (1901). This work, which lists over 10,000 Malay words in a Dutch-based orthographic system, aimed to standardize Malay for administrative purposes, moving away from various lingua franca. This standardized Malay, later reformed, became the foundation for modern Indonesian.

Over time, linguistic resources like writing systems acquired social value, becoming markers of identity and affiliation. Reforms to these resources often sparked ideological debates. For instance, van Ophuijsen's work countered the Arabic-based Jawi script, criticized by Dutch scholars for its perceived ties to Islamic militancy and unsuitability for Malay phonology (Algadri, 1988).

An illustration of such evolution is the First Indonesian National Language Congress held in Surakarta, Central Java, in June 1938. This congress took place a decade after the Second Indonesian Youth Congress and the Sumpah Pemuda, where Indonesian was informally acknowledged as the national language. Alisjahbana, the mind behind the congress, sought to forge a modern Indonesian culture, with the language being a central aspect of this vision. He drew inspiration from the West and its supposed dynamic individualistic society, positing that there is a symbiosis between thought processes and grammatical structures. He asserted that a culture leaning towards science, economics, and technology, with its distinct logic, concepts, and reality, will inevitably shape grammatical norms Sneddon (2003). In this way, modern Indonesia, for modern concepts needed a modernized and modernizing language. At this congress, Amir Sjarifoeddin, who would later become Prime Minister, presented a discourse on incorporating foreign terms, and the congress ratified the adoption of the Malay spelling system, that malay spelling system introduced in the early 20th century by van Ophuijsen. The assembly concurred on the creation of a new grammar that would mirror the evolving conditions of the language. A resolution was passed urging intellectuals to collaborate in refining the language and advocating for the establishment of a faculty of arts. Furthermore, there was a unanimous call for Indonesian to be designated as the official language and the medium for governmental affairs. The First Indonesian National Language Congress was a significant precursor in the national language planning program, signaling a growing awareness of the need for a deliberate national language policy.

In this way aspects that seem to be born as merely functional, or that are in some ways presented as mainly functional become salient in group identity. In this case what was a problem of

administration becomes as well grounded in a new vision of what connects the land administrated. Anderson (2016) has highlighted this interplay between nationalism and the way language mediates the idea of community. Anderson claims a direct link between extensive processes of literary communication under standard education and print capitalism, resulting in expanding publics of co-readers, and the emergence of national consciousness.

The value of a linguistic code depends on what it gives access to, and very often on whether it can give access to political, economic and social power (Bassiouney, 2017; Gal, 1989; Gal, 1978; Heller, 2011; Hymes, 2015). In Indonesia the national language promoted by the state as the unifying language for the country, symbol of technological advance, intellectual life and a new sense of political involvement became a stigmatized, authoritative way of communicating connected to the new military officials in power during the time of Suharto's regime. This way of speaking, "over corrected" or "manufactured Indonesian" to the extent of being considered "broken Indonesian" was opposed to the emergent bourgeoise and intellectual personae of urban Jakarta. At the same time, Indonesian was proposed and promoted, and eventually became a needed tool for bureaucracy, State apparatus and interethnic dialogue (Errington et al., 2011; Errington, 2022; Goebel et al., 2020; Sneddon, 2003).

The ways people talk, the registers they use, is the outcome of a convergence of characteristics from normative centers of varying strength and reach, spanning national, regional, local, and in some instances, international levels. In the multiethnic context of Indonesia, speakers navigate through hierarchies of registers ranging from standard Indonesian to the colloquial Indonesian of Jakarta and other main cities on a national scale; to Colloquial Malay on a regional level, and to local languages at a more localized scale. The state, in the Indonesian case was a propeller that differentiated formally the standard language and the local ones. Both language forms contributed to defining ethnic identities, but the main effort went into promoting the standard Indonesian language, particularly the version spoken by the president and influential figures who sought to replicate his style (Errington et al., 2011). This uneven allocation of support created a hierarchy between languages, placing Indonesian at a higher social status than regional languages (Goebel, 2015). In a similar way, Arabic in the Nationalist discourse of newly independent Indonesia was considered an index of antagonist or Islamist discourse in a way that led to obscuring Arab ethnic identity up to the 90s where the political scene became more open (Mandal, 2018).

3.2 Native speaker

Standard language debates raise questions about the legitimacy and authenticity of "native speakers." Prestige frequently stems from the perceived "authenticity" of these speakers, granting them authority over language practices (García & Li, 2014). This dynamic is particularly evident in communities where language functions both as a diasporic identity marker and as a site of ideological contention.

The idea of what constitutes a standard language inherently raises doubts about the concept of native speakers and plays a fundamental role in understanding commentaries on language as well as researchers' positionality. The idea that native speakers exist—or should exist—legitimizes specific groups of speakers, granting them prestige and the authority to evaluate other speakers' linguistic practices. The term "native" becomes associated with "authenticity" and "legitimacy," positioning these speakers as arbiters of correct language use (García & Li, 2014, p. 6). Reflecting on what it means to be a native speaker of Arabic, for instance, is critical when considering individuals who may not view themselves as native speakers but regard Arabic as a salient aspect of their diasporic identity. In the Jamaah community, for example, some individuals are recognized as native speakers of Arabic—not necessarily the Hadrami variety—but their proficiency in the diaspora language may be limited. Nevertheless, their opinions on whether specific features

should be considered "Arabic" or not carry significant weight. Similarly, those knowledgeable in Classical Arabic are often consulted to validate whether certain linguistic features exist within the Jamaah's interactions.

Chapter 4

What We Talk About When We Talk About Bahasa Jamaah

Diaspora languages are defined as the languages spoken by Diaspora communities, which in turn are described as groups of people scattered across various locations but united by the feeling that they share a common ancestry (Adachi, 2020). This feeling is especially important for the Jamaah community and probably for any group that sees itself as a social unity.

When we explore the seemingly easy question, "What is the language of the community?" We get very contrasting answers, apparently unmatchable, but all about the same thing: something perceived as common and shared, on which members have varying degrees of rights to express an opinion. An opinion sustained by external practice deemed *real*, *tangible*, and *visible*. The feeling in how these ideas are articulated and then shape language practice is paramount. It significantly influences how language is used by people who, though feel united, have very different geographies and social trajectories.

The language that almost all members of the community see as their ancestral language is Arabic. But when we go further into "Which type of Arabic?" and probe the feelings about this Arabic that emerges in interaction, we uncover complex, diverse images shaped by feelings about stories that involve how people see themselves, their education, and their paths in life. This chapter is devoted to these stories.

In early November 2022, I had the opportunity to meet Nabiel Hayaze, a name that had become almost mythical in my inquiries about the Jamaah community in Indonesia. His reputation preceded him; all the people with whom I spoke in Jakarta's *Kampung Arab* (Arab districts) referred to Nabiel as a central figure in the preservation and documentation of Hadhrami heritage[1]. It was Wowo, my friend, guide, and frequent companion during fieldwork, who finally arranged the meeting, leading me deep into Pedati, one of Jakarta's bustling neighborhoods known for its Arab and Betawi cultural roots. Nabiel's home would soon become a key setting in my exploration of the linguistic practices of this community.

Nabiel greeted us warmly, his demeanor a mix of intellectual gravitas and genuine curiosity. "*Keef, Wowo? Beher?*" (what's up Wowo? you alright?) he asked in Arabic, the words flowing naturally in a linguistic register I was just beginning to understand. Wowo replied, "*Alhamdulillah, beher Bang Nabiel*," before introducing me as "*rijal nih, mau belajar tentang bahasa kite-kite nih*" a phrase that would become his default way of presenting me to others. Nabiel turned to me with a smile and switched seamlessly to English: "Finally, we get to meet!" It was a moment of linguistic fluidity that set the tone for the hours that followed.

[1]Self-documentation by community members can sometimes lead to unreliable data, such was not the case with Nabiel. His documentation was notably precise and served as a crucial resource for this research. His adivecs was of great value

Gesturing toward the patio of his home, Nabiel invited us inside: "*Faddal, faddal*" (please, please) he said, moving to the chairs. Once seated, he added, "*Faddal, jelis, jelis!*"(please have a sit) The repeated invitations, offered with characteristic warmth, encapsulated the atmosphere of hospitality that would define the interaction. He offered us coffee, asking, "*Syai wala gahwa?*"(tea or coffee?) Wowo chose *gahwa* (coffee), and I followed suit. As we settled into our chairs, Nabiel's openness encouraged an unhurried exchange, free from the constraints of recording devices. This was our first meeting, and I wanted to let the interaction unfold naturally.

Much of the early conversation revolved around historical aspects of Hadrami history in Indonesia and the history of Bahasa Jamaah and its sociolinguistic variation. Still in the early stages of my fieldwork, I was learning to ask questions that avoided reproducing hegemonic scripts (Carr, 2009) often found in ethnographic accounts of the Arab-Indonesian community. These scripts often described the Jamaah community as hadrami and also as having lost their linguistic specificity due to their full integration into Indonesian society (Al-Saqqaf & Hayaze', 2022; Ho, 2006; Istiqomah, 2020; Jacobsen, 2009). I was keenly aware of this narrative and it influenced the framing of my questions.

At one point, midway through the conversation, I brought up this point of view directly. I asked Nabiel about the claim that Arabic had been *lost* among the community, adding that I found the community's unique way of interacting deeply interesting - not just because it contradicted such narratives, but because it aligned with the broader question driving my research (do the arabs of Indonesia have a peculiar way of verbally interact?). Nabiel responded with a visible shift in energy. Leaning forward in his chair, his voice became more animated, his verbal pace quickening, and his tone rising with fervor.

"*Pasti doang! The Jamaah people have their own way of speaking*" he asserted. "Yes, they say that we have lost Arabic, but I say we just adapted to the Indonesian environment. We have our way of speaking Arabic, and you can see it. *Banyak kosa-kaya yang masih dipake, istilah dari bahasa arab, hanya pengucapanya yang beda*" (There are many terms that we use that come from Arabic; they are just pronounced differently). he added "*yang bilang udah punah mungkin ga pernah bergaul 'ama jamaah cukup lama untuk melihatnya. khalas*" (Those that say we do not have it haven't been among the Jamaah long enough to see it. That's it.) seeing was an interesting term, to me it pointed to the fact that Bahasa Jamaah is not just something you hear, but something you see and experience, however, I did not ask him about it.

The emphasized "*yang bilang*" (those that say) in his response did not refer to a specific person but rather to a figure of personhood, a socially salient, differentiable kind of speaker-actor (Agha, 2007). It was a reference to a general figure, "those who critiques" a hegemonic other (Babcock, 2022; J. Rosa & Flores, 2017) that blames them for having lost Arabic completely or for acts of "distorting" the language through misspelling, mispronunciation, or both. Instead, Nabiel's statement was a broader indictment of external perceptions, challenging narratives that dismissed the Jamaah's linguistic practices as diluted or inauthentic.

Wowo chimed in, noting that among his friends, they also used Bahasa Jamaah terms, though not as frequently or fluently as Nabiel did. In response, Nabiel turned to Wowo with a teasing yet earnest question: "*ente masih ada kamus saghir itu?*" (Do you still have that small dictionary?). This remark piqued my curiosity, hinting at a tangible artifact tied to the linguistic practices we were discussing. A few days later, Wowo handed me the dictionary that Nabiel had mentioned, titled *Mashi Kamh* - a phrase roughly translating to "nothing comparable to that," a common saying among the Jamaah, accompanied by the subtitle *kamus bahasa arab jamaah* (dictionary of the Arabic language of Jamaah).

This dictionary, along with several pieces of data that he collected, Nabiel explained, was part of his ongoing effort to document and preserve the linguistic heritage of the Jamaah community. The manuscript is divided into sections, including its introduction and postscript, which outlined

his motivations and the significance of this work. The entries reflected Nabiel's meticulous documentation of terms passed down through generations, serving both as a linguistic archive and a declaration of identity. He described the manuscript as a response to academic narratives that downplayed the linguistic contributions of the Hadhrami Arabs in Indonesia, positioning Bahasa Jamaah as a legitimate and meaningful register within the broader spectrum of Arabic dialects. But also something he loved and a duty.

Each time I left Nabiel's home, my mind was still brimming with his stories and words (which I rarely got on my voice recorder!) and I reflected on the complexity of the relationship between language and identity that I was facing. Nabiel did not present himself merely as a custodian of the language, but as a storyteller, an artist who considered it his duty and delight to piece together fragments of history and life into a rich and multicolored painting outlined by linguistic practices. This role was evident in the performance enacted by Nabiel: not in the artificial sense the term might suggest, but in the sense explored by Goffman (2010, 2021). Nabiel had adopted a communicative style that reproduced a specific framework that of encounters with the Jamaah in social settings. These encounters, I would later learn, were identified by the term *majlas*. This was also evident in the shifts in the register during exchanges with Wowo, who, prompted by the notable use of Jamaah terms, responded each time in the same register, different, but also much like what I would later see with his friends.

In Nabiel's words and actions, I saw a commitment to challenging dominant narratives and celebrating the unique ways in which the Jamaah community has adapted and thrived in a changing world. This encounter would shape my understanding of the community and its language, anchoring my research in the lived experiences and fervent advocacy of individuals like Nabiel.

A month later, during a visit to Surabaya, Adil Albatati, a good friend that I met thanks to Wowo, guided me through Ampel, a neighborhood renowned for its rich Islamic heritage, where we met Mustafa Oesman, the owner of a bookstore catering to Islamic boarding schools affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)[2]. Mustafa's store, tucked into the bustling heart of Ampel, was a trove of religious texts, its shelves lined with books that seemed to exude the wisdom of generations. And also funny books to learn to write Arabic (see image 4.1). The soft light filtering through the entrance created a subdued atmosphere, contrasting with the intensity of Mustafa's opinions.

Figure 4.1: Mustafa's shop

From the outset, Mustafa's disdain for Bahasa Jamaah was evident—whatever we meant in

[2] A prominent Sunni Islamic organization in Indonesia, founded in 1926, that focuses on promoting traditionalist Islam and upholding the values of Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah (the Sunni mainstream). NU engages in various socio-religious activities, including education, charity, and advocacy for tolerance and pluralism, making it a significant cultural and political influence in the country.

that first moment with the term. As we settled into the dusty confines of his store, he expressed his views with palpable vehemence. "*Mereka ini memperkosa bahasa arab*" (they rape the Arabic language), he declared. "*bahasa paksaan, bahasa yang dipaksain*" (a forced language, an unnatural imposition on the language). His tone carried a mixture of laughter and righteousness, a reflection of his belief in the sanctity of what he saw as *proper* Arabic, but also funny expression related to it.

Mustafa's words echoed a purist perspective rooted in a strong attachment to a standardized ideal of Arabic, whether that ideal was based on Classical Arabic or a diaspora standard. He saw Bahasa Jamaah not as a creative adaptation or cultural innovation but as a degradation, a deviation from the linguistic norms he held dear. His critique of Bahasa Jamaah stood in stark contrast to Nabiel Hayaze's earlier celebration of the same register as a marker of identity and resilience. Where Nabiel saw fluidity and cultural continuity, Mustafa saw linguistic corruption, loss, and comical.

The conversation grew animated, with Mustafa gesturing emphatically as he spoke. At one point, I clarified—perhaps a bit too abruptly—that I did not entirely agree with his assessment. Mustafa did not appear offended, but his passion remained undeterred. He described the language as *vulgar* and *horrible*, lamenting what he perceived as a widespread disregard for the integrity of Arabic among the Jamaah community.

Adil, sitting beside me, occasionally laughed at Mustafa's remarks and intervened to clarify the nuances of my research. His interjections provided a counterbalance to Mustafa's rigidity, and I sensed that Adil positioned himself somewhere between Mustafa's purism and Nabiel's embrace of linguistic adaptability. This intermediate stance, a blend of respect for Arabic standard forms and an acknowledgment of the linguistic "bad" practices of the Jamaah community, was one I had encountered frequently among my interlocutors.[3]

During our discussion, Mustafa also commented on the larger sociolinguistic dynamics of Ampel. The neighborhood and his shop, he said, attracted people *yang berkepentingan* (with vested interests), many of whom, according to him, had no genuine connection to books or religion. His observations hinted at a broader tension within the community, one that extended beyond language to questions of authenticity and belonging.

This encounter, marked by Mustafa's fervent defense of linguistic purity, offered a striking contrast to my earlier conversation with Nabiel. Together, these interactions illuminated the complex and contested terrain of Arabic in Indonesia. Far from a monolithic entity, Arabic in this context unfolded as a mosaic of linguistic varieties and ideologies, shaped by historical migration, cultural integration, and the push and pull of tradition and innovation.

As I left Mustafa's bookstore, I reflected on the divergent perspectives that I had encountered so far. Mustafa's purism and Nabiel's adaptability represented two poles of a broader discourse about language, identity, and community, which reflected the anxiety of defining what the language of the Jamaah is and also claims on the right to that definition. Their views, while oppositional, were rooted in a shared reverence for Arabic and a desire to define its role within the diaspora. This tension, I realized, was not merely about language, but about how communities navigate the complexities of heritage and modernity in an interconnected world.

Over the course of three years of research, I repeatedly encountered two contrasting figures in the discourse surrounding Bahasa Jamaah: the critic and the countercritic. Here I draw extensively on Babcock (2022)'s paper on Postracial Policing, "Mother Tongue" Sourcing, and Images of Singlish Standard in Singapore. The critic often focuses on the perceived "errors" in Bahasa Jamaah, framing these as evidence of "lost heritage" and a deviation from what they view as the correct form of the Arabic language. This perspective laments what is seen as a failure to

[3]It is important to stress here that Adil does not speak Bahasa Jamaah, becasue as he said, he did not attend school in an Arab district and made friends mainly outside of the district.

maintain linguistic specificity and purity, often judging Bahasa Jamaah as vulgar or unnatural, "a language they don't really know." Critics, like Mustafa, see Bahasa Jamaah as inherently flawed, shaped by mistakes that violate the sanctity of Arabic and render it unworthy of acceptance.

In contrast, the counter-critic, exemplified by Nabiel, rejects such condemnations and embraces Bahasa Jamaah as a legitimate linguistic register.[4] Nabiel reframes it as an adaptive and culturally significant way of speaking, deeply rooted in the Jamaah community's identity. For countercritics, Bahasa Jamaah is not evidence of loss or corruption, but a natural evolution comparable to other colloquial Arabic varieties. They argue that it reflects the community's ability to navigate and integrate its heritage into the Indonesian linguistic landscape.

Crucially, in both views Bahasa Jamaah is evaluated not in isolation but in relation to Arabic and its broader role in Indonesia, shaped by ideas about standardization and what constitutes correctness. Through these comparisons, community members develop nuanced notions of what is "correct" or "standard," determining what is acceptable and what should be rejected. Depending on how these ideas are articulated and supported, the conclusions reached by members of the community can differ widely. A marker of linguistic failure or a testament to cultural resilience and heritage.

These positions represent two extremes of a metaphorical continuum, with members of the community falling somewhere in between. Within this spectrum, speakers use their beliefs, practices, and interactions to navigate the tensions between tradition and adaptation, heritage, and innovation. The debates surrounding Bahasa Jamaah are not just about language—they are about identity, belonging, and the ways communities define themselves in relation to their past and present.

4.1 Framing The Discourse

For this chapter, I consistently draw on Babcock (2022)'s work on postracial policing, mother tongue sourcing, and images of standard, which provides a valuable framework for examining the contested ideologies surrounding Bahasa Jamaah in Indonesia. Bahasa Jamaah—a register of Indonesian interwoven with Arabic-derived elements—is evaluated and debated through a lens that closely mirrors the dynamics Babcock identifies in the context of Singlish, although with less resonance in the wider national context. These debates center on notions of correctness, identity, and belonging, framed by contrasting positions that I encountered repeatedly: The critic, like Mustafa, sees Bahasa Jamaah as a "violation" of Arabic, a distorted and impure form that fails to live up to the linguistic standards associated with their heritage which is identified with a general idea of Classical Arabic. Mustafa's description of Bahasa Jamaah as *bahasa paksaan* (a forced language) reflects an ideology of linguistic purism that prioritizes fidelity to Arabic's perceived "proper" forms, whether Classical or Colloquial. This perspective can be seen in the light of Babcock's notion of "mother tongue sourcing," where linguistic practices are judged by speakers against an idealized standard tied to languages, a strategy that insists on fidelity to patterns of use embodied by (racialized) speakers of (racialized) "Mother Tongue" languages (Babcock, 2022). However, Mustafa's critique goes further and is rooted in a broader concern about heritage loss, equating deviations from Arabic norms with a failure of cultural and linguistic stewardship.

In contrast, counter-critics like Nabiel Hayaze reframe Bahasa Jamaah as a legitimate and adaptive register, celebrating its role in expressing the Jamaah community's unique identity. For Nabiel, what mattered was not how a word was used in the racialized "Arabic Mother Tongue" from which it was drawn, but how it came to habitually be used by "the Jamaah" as seen as a social unity. Nabiel rejects the notion of linguistic failure, emphasizing instead how Bahasa Jamaah

[4]Here I should note that Nabiel has co-authored an article published in 2023 that refers to the Jamaah language practices as a language variety of Arabic (Al-Saqqaf & Hayaze', 2022)

reflects the community's creative negotiation of its heritage within the Indonesian linguistic landscape. This position echoes Babcock's concept of post-racial policing, where linguistic norms are redefined not through fidelity to racialized source languages but through habitual practices of the community itself. For Nabiel, what matters is how the Bahasa Jamaah serves as a meaningful mode of interaction among the Jamaah now, not how closely it aligns with Arabic norms.

This said, both perspectives, despite their differences, co-participate in constructing what Babcock calls "images of standard." Even in the absence of formal standardization, community members develop shared notions of what is "correct" or "acceptable" in Bahasa Jamaah, shaping its evaluation in relation to Arabic and its sociolinguistic role in Indonesia. Through this process, feelings of correctness or deviation are not only ideologically but also sensorially constructed, resonating with Nakassis (2019)'s concept of "aesthetic textuality" that Babcock refers to. Critics often describe Bahasa Jamaah as vulgar or corrupted, evoking a visceral discomfort tied to their perception of its divergence from Arabic purity. Others, by contrast, imbue it with a sense of nostalgia and cultural pride, framing its hybridity as a testament to resilience and adaptability.

However, even Nabiel still looked for the "sourcing" of the Jamaah language and in his "Mashi Kama" he references etymologies (see image 4.3), and for example stresses explicitly several reasons why he made the dictionary:

> *Faktor yang kedua adalah sebagian juga ada yang tahu mengenai artinya, tetapi ketika ditanya dasar atau bahkan cara penulisannya maka tidak ada yang tahu cara penulisannya dalam huruf Arab, karena kalau memang (bagian) dari Bahasa Arab maka seharusnya (pasti) bisa dituliskan dalam huruf Arab dan benar. Maka penulis berusaha untuk mencari kata aslinya dalam Bahasa Arab, dan di dalam 'kamus' ini dituliskan juga penulisannya dalam tulisan Arab.*[5]
>
> **Translation:** The second factor [that led me to write this book] is that some people do know the meaning [of the Jamaah terms], but when asked about the origin or even how to write it, they do not know how to write it in Arabic script. Because if it truly is (a part) of the Arabic language, then it should (certainly) be possible to write it correctly in Arabic script. Therefore, the author has made an effort to find the original words in Arabic, and in this "dictionary," heir Arabic script is also included (my translation).

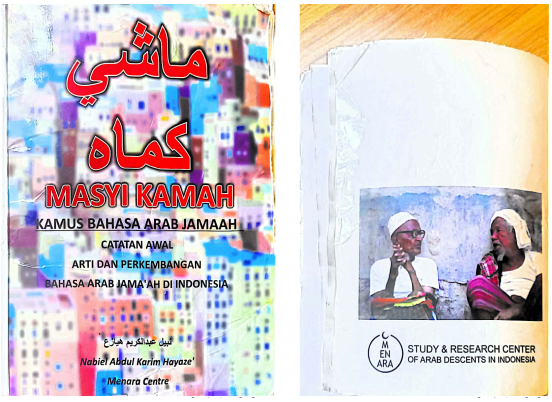


Figure 4.2: Cover and back cover of the Masyi Kama

Let us stress again that these debates reveal how Bahasa Jamaah becomes enregistered as a marker of Jamaah identity. It is not simply a way of speaking, but a semiotic repertoire tied to

[5] excerpt from Mashi Kamah

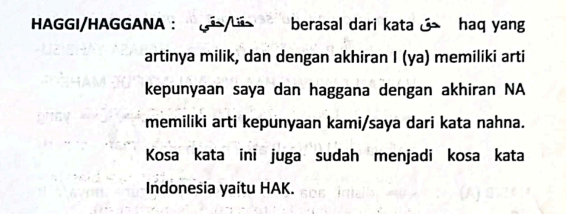

HAGGI/HAGGANA : حقّا/حقّي berasal dari kata حق haq yang artinya milik, dan dengan akhiran I (ya) memiliki arti kepunyaan saya dan haggana dengan akhiran NA memiliki arti kepunyaan kami/saya dari kata nahna. Kosa kata ini juga sudah menjadi kosa kata Indonesia yaitu HAK.

Figure 4.3: Entry from the Masyi Kama

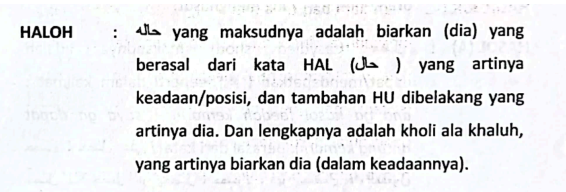

HALOH : حاله yang maksudnya adalah biarkan (dia) yang berasal dari kata HAL (حال) yang artinya keadaan/posisi, dan tambahan HU dibelakang yang artinya dia. Dan lengkapnya adalah kholi ala khaluh, yang artinya biarkan dia (dalam keadaannya).

Figure 4.4: Entry from the Masyi Kama

broader cultural practices, including dresses, social interactions, and even gestures (Agha, 2007; Goebel et al., 2020). This mode of interaction draws on what are perceived as lexical borrowings, derivational patterns, and code-switching, creating a register that links speakers to their Arabic heritage while adapting to the Indonesian context. For some, this enregistrment represents continuity and innovation, while for others, it signals a troubling departure from linguistic authenticity. Anyhow, it indexes a fixed and at the same time constructed through interaction, Jamaah identity (see Chapter 5).

The underpinnings of these positions are ideologies that tie ethnicity and intertwine language, ethnicity, and identity. For the Jamaah community, Arabic is not just a language but a key element of their self-representation. The perception that losing Arabic equates to losing identity drives much of the discourse surrounding Bahasa Jamaah, even among those who do not speak Arabic at all. Critics emphasize the need to maintain or regain fidelity to Arabic as an ancestral "mother tongue," while countercritics argue for a more localized and practice-oriented understanding of what language use should be. These ideological tensions are often articulated through the metapragmatic commentaries I introduced in the earlier section of this chapter, where speakers explicitly discuss and evaluate Bahasa Jamaah in comparison to Arabic.

Such discussions illuminate the ways in which linguistic practices are imbued with social and cultural significance, reflecting deeper anxieties about heritage, modernity, and community cohesion. Depending on how these ideas are articulated and supported, community members may arrive at diametrically opposed conclusions about what Bahasa Jamaah should represent.

Ultimately, these debates echo the broader patterns observed in other contexts of linguistic negotiation (Bauman, 2022; Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 2007; Hall, 2015; J. Rosa, 2019). They highlight the interplay of tradition and adaptation, purism and practice, and how communities navigate these tensions to define their linguistic and cultural identities. In the case of Bahasa Jamaah, this negotiation is not merely about language, but about the ongoing construction of belonging and heritage within a complex sociolinguistic landscape.

In this chapter, I argue that while Bahasa Jamaah is drawn into divergent ideological projects, these projects collectively contribute to create what Babcock (2022) terms as "image of standard language." This concept builds on Nakassis (2019)'s notion of aesthetic textuality, which frames how "feeling itself is structured in and as text" through emergent qualities (qualia) that coalesce into shared perceptions. In the context of Bahasa Jamaah, aesthetic textuality reflects pooled ideological resources that create a sense of correctness—or loss—anchored in comparisons to an ancestral Arabic standard. These perceptions shape judgments about Bahasa Jamaah as not

merely "wrong" but as deviating from an imagined standard rooted in Arabic.

Such images of standard evoke a nostalgia for an imagined authentic past linguistic reality. This phenomenon aligns with broader patterns of standardization projects that rank and stigmatize both speech and speakers along ethnolinguistic lines (Carnevale, 2003; J. Rosa, 2019). In diaspora contexts, the link between language and identity evolves over time, shaped by shifting economic and political agendas. Languages once dismissed as obsolete can acquire new value in cultural or economic domains, complicating their ideological significance (Adachi, 2020; Pedrotti, 2017).

In the case of Bahasa Jamaah, these dynamics transcend a simplistic opposition between vernacular and standard, or low and high language. Rather, they reflect an ideological framework that informs both the community's self-recognition and its external representation. Frame the discourse as merely a contrast between Bahasa Jamaah and Classical Arabic would be reductive. As Al-Saqqaf and Hayaze' (2022) and K. Versteegh (1984) observe, Arabic in the diaspora undergoes generational transformations reminiscent of pidginization processes. This resonates with Adachi's analysis of Italian in the US diaspora, where a generalized notion of standard Italian emerged from Southern Italian dialects. Similarly, Bahasa Jamaah fosters intra-community solidarity while also delineating differences, both with Indonesia's majority population and within the diaspora itself, between Arabic speakers and non-speakers.

Jamaah speakers invoke generalized notions of a standard diaspora language to imagine a diasporic space that extends beyond Indonesia, encompassing the Arab world, the wider Islamic sphere and the region of the Indian Ocean (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 2007; Walker & Slama, 2021). As Babcock (2022) notes for Singlish, these imagined standards create a metaphorical multidimensional topology of raciolinguistic social space, which appears to be governed by formal norms and gatekeepers, even in their absence. For the Jamaah, this process not only reinforces communal ties but also grants them a sense of agency and authority over their linguistic practices.

Moreover, this positioning connects the Jamaah to a broader Arab community, shaped by what Suleiman (2013) describes as two dominant language ideologies. The first is tied to place-specific spoken Arabic varieties, framed as the language of a "mother tongue community." The second constructs a broader Arab social and, to some extent, Islamic unity, rooted in collective judgments about language through the use of Classical or Standard Arabic, which is seen as the ancestral language or the medium of religious faith. This duality is significant, as it highlights how the Jamaah intersect with these ideologies typically associated with the Arab world, while also reflecting Indonesia's engagement with these same ideological structures.

This chapter has three primary objectives. First, it contributes to the study of Arabic in Indonesia by examining its associated ideologies within broader debates on standardization. Expanding Babcock's concept of images of standard, I propose that studying these "images of standard diaspora language" offers valuable insights into diaspora studies. Second, I explore how concerns over Bahasa Jamaah's status—shaped by these images—serve as tools for comparing linguistic practices, speaker identities, and listener perceptions. Such comparisons reveal how speakers negotiate identity and align their practices with the broader framework of differentiation (Keane, 2003). This includes the tension between vernacular practices being perceived as "wrong" relative to idealized religious Arabic and the belief that Arabic inherently defines Arab identity, placing non-speakers of Arabic at a disadvantage. Notably, many borrowed "vernacular" Arabic elements in Bahasa Jamaah are drawn from Gulf or other regional varieties, not locally developed forms.

Third, I advocate for a shift in the study of Arabic in Indonesia away from viewing it as a linguistic totality. Following Kuipers (1998), I contend that this totalizing view is an ideological construct originating from formal linguistics and early ethnographic approaches. Although modern linguistic anthropology has moved towards nuanced frameworks such as semiotic registers (Agha, 2007; Goebel, 2015), research on Arabic in Indonesia remains largely confined to reli-

gious or historical perspectives. Addressing this limitation can deepen our understanding of how Arabic operates as both a language and a semiotic resource within diverse sociocultural contexts.

4.2 Arabic at The Crossroad

To analyze the dynamics of Bahasa Jamaah, I focus on the positions emerging from conversations and interviews with community members in Jakarta, Surabaya, and Surakarta. These interactions reveal two contrasting perspectives: one emphasizing the loss of Arabic as an ancestral language and the other highlighting its continuity through tradition.

Central to these debates is the idea that a linguistic standard should exist, often conflated with the idea of language as a coherent, uniform, and legitimate form. A standard is typically perceived as the "authorized" expression of a language, with deviations viewed as illegitimate or unauthorized (Leung et al., 1997; Milroy & Milroy, 2012).

However, in Arabic linguistics, the notion of standard diverges; rather than referencing normalized linguistic practices of a specific community, it distinguishes Standard or Classical Arabic from colloquial forms. This raises questions about the idea of native speaker, which grants certain groups perceived authenticity and legitimacy in language use (García & Li, 2014; Leung et al., 1997; Romaine, 2006).

For the Jamaah community, the idea of a native speaker is nuanced. While some members are seen as native Arabic speakers—not of the Hadrami variety though—their evaluations of what constitutes "Arabic" carry significant weight. It is to them that questions such as "does this term actually exist in Arabic?" are directed. Similarly, individuals who are knowledgeable in Classical Arabic often serve as linguistic authorities when assessing whether particular features of Bahasa Jamaah are genuinely Arabic. This highlights how notions of standardness and nativeness authenticate particular speakers and practices, shaping judgments about linguistic legitimacy.

The idea of the "images of standard" provides a useful lens for understanding how Bahasa Jamaah is evaluated, delineating a perceived sense of standard-likeness that emerges through discourse rather than formal standardization. I argue that divergent stances on language practices reflect comparisons between the community's practices and an imagined standard diasporic Arabic. This imagined standard incorporates labels like Modern Standard Arabic, Classical Arabic, and Colloquial Gulf Arabic, creating what I call an "image of diaspora language standard." These comparisons reflect the community's trajectories of socialization and their engagement with broader linguistic ideologies.

The metasemiotic commentaries made by community members challenge and align binary oppositions such as standard versus colloquial or language versus identity. Rather than reiterating Western categorizations of standard languages or speech communities, I want to recognize the unique dynamics of the Arab and Indonesian contexts. In these settings, the standardized varieties are not always the most prestigious or appropriate. Prestige is often constructed independently of formalized standardization processes, complicating traditional assumptions about linguistic hierarchy (Bassiouney, 2017).

Linguistic values are not uniformly distributed among speakers. Agha (2007) concept of "sociological fraction" highlights how perceptions of standardness and prestige vary across speakers and contexts. For instance, what one regards as standard Arabic may differ significantly from another's perspective, as well as formal linguistics definitions. These differences underscore the fluidity of standardness and prestige within communities, where context and interaction determine how varieties of Arabic are valued and used. In this way, Bahasa Jamaah draws from a wide variety of repertoires that in the here and now of the conversations are differently evaluated although somehow always indexing the Jamaah group.

4.2.1 Image of Standard, The Cone of Standardization and Diglossia

Building on Babcock's framework, I also draw on Michael Silverstein's studies on standardization language ideologies, which examine how language use is regimented and non-standard varieties are stigmatized under standardization processes. I also refer to Nakassis (2019)'s idea of aesthetic textuality, as these two concepts are foundational to Babcock's development of "images of standard."

In addition, important insights are taken from the work of Suleiman (2013) on language ideologies associated with the Arabic language, in particular, the construction of the Arabic language as a language of religious ritual, inimitable, and given as a natural element coming from God. Suleiman refers to the ideological construction of two imaginary communities, using the categories of "mother tongue" and "native". Although this distinction necessitates some adjustment in terminology for what this dissertation does not align with monolithic ideas about language, especially those that refer to ideas of "nativeness", it allows us to collocate the Jamaah group and Indonesian Muslims within a wider imaginary community that sees Classical Arabic as a unifying literary language (what Suleiman refers to as "native"), in opposition to a language that is considered colloquial, with geographical, local, and personal connotations.

This insight from Suleiman is useful to understand the representation of Arabic in Indonesia and by no means to categorize it, but rather to include the ideologies associated with Arabic in the shaping of the aesthetic textuality of Bahasa Jamaah. Furthermore, it is important to point out the sociolinguistic context of diglossia that influences the way speakers perceive and study Arabic within this framework.

Concerning Silverstein, Babcock references his well-known "cone of standardization", understood as a globalizing cultural model that depicts a "multi-dimensional radial topology of variation in verbal behaviors within a language community." In this model, any noticeable deviation from the standard signals specific social characteristics of the speakers or aspects of the context in which non-standard forms appear.

The metaphor of a cone highlights how participants in interaction are figuratively positioned by others within a three-dimensional social and cultural space through which they navigate. This model narrows near its apex, as the range of acceptable variation decreases as one approaches the imagined standard. Simultaneously, this upward movement distances one vertically from varieties ideologically perceived as "lower" within the cone. The regimes of language standardization embodied in this conic model are historically and structurally connected to the nationalistic belief that a single nation should align with one language, which, in turn, corresponds to a specific ethnicity. This notion traces its origins to a monolingual Enlightenment view of identity and nationhood (Bauman, 2022). This notion has been echoed in nationalist movements around the world, including in anti-colonial struggles.

Language standardization regimes and related cultural practices establish hierarchies that stigmatize individuals based on their linguistic and cultural expressions. In these regimes, speaking a vernacular language or not mastering a standardized "national language" can marginalize individuals socially, economically and politically, questioning their citizenship or restricting their access to resources (Blommaert, 2010). This dynamic intersects with racialized judgments, where assessments of individual language use often extend to entire groups, deeming them incompetent or illegitimate, as Babcock notes, quoting (Agha, 2007).

In Indonesia, this manifests in the hierarchical relationship between Standard Indonesian, vernacular Malay, and local languages, where vernaculars are seen as incorrect or ethnicized. The idea extends further to bilingualism, where idealized bilingual speakers are expected to master two standardized languages, failing which they risk being deemed linguistically deficient (J. D. Rosa, 2016).

Efforts to assess individuals' and groups' speech, aimed at positioning them within a raciolin-

guistic social space, go beyond mere linguistic evaluation. How cultural categories are both felt and reflected upon serve as tools in political agendas of differentiation. For instance, the attire of the Habaib invokes an Arab identity, which reinforces perceptions of religious competence, or more specifically, a religious persona that is stringent and distinctly non-local (Bamualim, 2011). This evaluation ties into a broader and deeply rooted dichotomy surrounding Islam, Arabic, and Arab identity—contrasting notions of authenticity versus peripherality, and Indonesian versus Middle Eastern identities (I. F. Alatas, 2021). These dichotomies, I argue, play a crucial role in the processes of differentiation and standardization that underpin the conic model.

In explaining the Image of Standard, Babcock emphasizes how the repetitive association of *qualia*—tangible representations of abstract qualities—enables social values to become linked to social categories. These categories, in turn, become embedded in the physical habits and perceptions of people, making them feel natural and intuitive (Coupland, 2016). This focus on aesthetics forms the foundation of emergent theories of image, described as "structure[s] of repetition/difference across iterated elements that constitute relations of mutual co(n)textualization" (Nakassis, 2019). In simpler terms, aesthetic textuality explores how structured combinations of signs evoke feelings and perceptions for both their creators and evaluators, beyond merely conveying meaning or facilitating interaction (Babcock, 2022).

These images connect linguistic strategies to broader cultural norms, creating a unique semiotic register that situates speakers within specific cultural and social contexts. In the case of Bahasa Jamaah, the process of enregisterment builds on qualia through a semiotic assemblage of signs tied to the paradigm of "Islam-Arab-Arabic." This register not only reflects linguistic practices but also aligns with cultural and religious aesthetics.

In the case of the Arabic language, diglossia complicates matters both as a sociolinguistic context and as an analytical concept. Diglossia involves the coexistence of two distinct language varieties within a single speech community on a sociolinguistic continuum: one is considered 'High' (typically Modern Standard Arabic or Classical Arabic) and the other 'Low' (commonly referred to as dialects), each serving different functional roles. Since it was first developed by Ferguson (1959), this theory has been the basis of contemporary sociolinguistic work. Meiseles (1980) distinguished between four varieties: literary Arabic or standard Arabic, oral literary Arabic, educated spoken Arabic, and plain vernacular. Badawi (1973), on the other hand, proposed that there are five different varieties:

- fuṣḥa: al-tura:ṭ – 'heritage classical'
- fuṣḥa: al-ʿAṣr – 'contemporary classical'
- ʿAmmiyyat al-mutaqaffin – 'colloquial of the cultured'
- ʿAmmiyyat al-mutanawwirīn – 'colloquial of the basically educated'
- ʿAmmiyyat al-ʿummiyyīn – 'colloquial of the illiterates'

Badawi (1973, p. 95) noted that these five levels are not separated by clear boundaries but blend into each other like the colors of a rainbow, suggesting the possibility of an infinite number of gradations rather than a fixed one (Badawi, 1973). This is especially true for the three levels termed 'colloquial', where no specific variant is exclusively used by any one group. The distinctions are fluid, a matter of degree rather than distinct separation. Modern perspectives now question the utility of diglossia as an analytical framework, preferring the concept of translanguaging, which acknowledges the more fluid and dynamic nature of language use from the speaker's perspective (Bassiouney, 2020).

From the perspective of this chapter, the concept of diglossia remains relevant, not as a model for interpreting linguistic practices among the Jamaah community, but because its influence,

implicit and sometimes explicit, shapes how both Jamaah people and educated individuals in Indonesia think and talk about the Arabic language and its constructs.

This relevance becomes particularly significant when considered alongside the notion of aesthetic textuality, which frames how "feeling itself is structured in and as text" through emergent qualities (qualia) that coalesce into shared perceptions (Nakassis, 2019).

In the context of Bahasa Jamaah, aesthetic textuality leverages ideological frameworks, particularly the hierarchical logic of diglossia, to construct a sense of linguistic correctness or loss rooted in comparisons to an ancestral Arabic standard. In this way, diglossia functions not merely as a theoretical concept but as an active ideological structure that shapes perceptions of authenticity and influences the aesthetic, perceptual, and emotional experience of language: how "correct" speech is heard and felt. Focusing on the 'image of standard" reveals how sensuous qualities are attributed to "correct" versus "incorrect" speech, facilitating the establishment of prescriptive norms. These norms become detachable from their original contexts, enabling their recontextualization into broader discourses, circulating as interdiscursivities or being activated in moments of citation (Babcock, 2022; Nakassis, 2019).

Varieties of Arabic that arguably fall between (or outside) these two diaglossic poles are erased in common discourse about language use. However, this distinction enables the highlighting of how the Jamaah community, and indeed any community that utilizes Arabic without it being their daily language, intersects with the sociocultural world associated with the Arabic language and should be viewed also within Arabic sociolinguistics.

This situation connects the Jamaah to a broader Arab community, shaped by place-specific spoken Arabic varieties, and a broader Arab social and Islamic unity, rooted in collective judgments about language through the use of Classical or Standard Arabic, which is seen as the ancestral language or the medium of religious faith. This duality is significant, as it highlights how Jamaah intersect with these ideologies typically associated with the Arab world, while also reflecting Indonesia's engagement with these same ideological structures. It is precisely in this second category that the Jamaah community as a whole finds its place.

In this sense, it is important to note that Labov (1968) defines a speech community in terms of shared judgments about language, rather than shared verbal behavior. In this context, the Arab-descent community in Indonesia, which considers Arabic its ancestral language, and any community that uses Arabic for various purposes, also find their place within these intersecting communities. Stressing this spatial dimension is important for understanding the structure of practice and feeling in communities that somehow identify with the use of Arabic.

The diglossic dichotomy between High variety and Low variety labeled as 'the binary approach' has been challenged by many sociolinguists (Bassiouney, 2020; García et al., 2021). It is also in relation to this paradigm that members of the Jamaah Community describe themselves as Arab. In such a dichotomy, the idea of a lost, "gone in time" real 'native speaker' being a static description of a person's ownership of a language, and usually only one, is foundational for "mother tongue sourcing" of the diaspora language.

4.2.2 Nationalism and Standardization

In conclusion to this section, I have to stress that the State and Nationalist agenda play a fundamental role in the processes just described, and in Indonesia, they have fostered a dichotomy between local vs national (Djenar et al., 2018; Errington et al., 2011; Errington, 2022; Goebel et al., 2020; Sneddon, 2003). As Suleiman (2013) stresses, scholarship tends to consider language as a given aspect of nationalism, as self-evident monolithic categories used by Nationalism, and do not discuss deeply its constructedness in ways that highlight how language—not just communities—must be imagined before their unity can be socially accomplished (Gal, 1989; Schieffelin et al., 1998). The correlation between the Nationalist enterprise and Language in the

'ethnic' identity discourse is paramount and is very much constructed as well as the idea of a Nation.

This is almost never the case in language practices, but rather an idealization of practice where the State, as a powerful actor that imposes itself, plays a fundamental role. It is precisely this intersection between the role of the State as a promoter of language ideologies in processes of language standardization and ideas about the Arabic language that I am trying to highlight here.

I integrate the concept of 'image of standard' with the notions of standardization and diglossia to illustrate how they arise from metapragmatic discourses and functions, as Silverstein (1993) described. More importantly, the way of speaking associated with raciolinguistic contexts, often perceived as natural, should be understood as ideological. Central to this discussion is the Jamaah community, which utilizes Arabic in an ideologically mediated form, while also actively participating in this mediation process. Both the 'image of standard' and broader language ideologies, along with other social categorizations such as class, gender, region, profession, and sexuality, play significant roles for the participants and shape their social practices (Eckert, 2012).

Under conditions of standardization, the conical model can thus be understood as a generic image of standard, one that is nevertheless only and always materialized contextually. Indonesia's language policy and planning regimes have historically been shaped by significant national and cultural agendas. The distinction between a "national language" and an "official language" plays a fundamental role in understanding these efforts. An official language is primarily used for governance and public administration, while a national language serves as a symbol of unity and identity. While these categories can overlap, not all official languages hold the symbolic power of a national language. For Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia embodies both roles, a duality envisioned during the early stages of the nation's independence movement. By contrast, Singapore recognizes four official languages—English, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil—with Malay holding the symbolic title of national language due to its historical significance.

In Indonesia, this dual role required meticulous planning and execution. During the Second Indonesian Youth Congress in 1928, Malay was selected as the national language, a decision aimed at fostering unity among the diverse ethnic and linguistic groups of the archipelago. This choice reflected strategic foresight: Malay, then not the majority's mother tongue, was not a direct threat to any ethnic group. However, the language had to undergo a rigorous elaboration and codification process to become Bahasa Indonesia. This process included expanding its vocabulary to address modern domains of knowledge and establishing standardized grammar and dictionaries through institutions such as the Komisi Bahasa in 1942. The state propaganda, encapsulated in the motto "*Benar dan Baik*" (Correct and Proper), reinforced these efforts, positioning Bahasa Indonesia as a tool for both communication and national identity (Sneddon, 2003).

The Indonesian case demonstrates how the interplay between state-led standardization efforts and community-level responses shapes linguistic practices. The value of a language often depends on its ability to grant access to political, social, and economic power (Bassiouney, 2017; Gal, 1989; Heller, 2011). In Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia became synonymous with modernity, education, interethnic communication, and economic progress, while regional languages were relegated to markers of tradition and local identity (Goebel, 2010; Goebel et al., 2020). The portrayals of the educational system and the media reinforced this dichotomy, elevating the standard language to a higher status while marginalizing local ones.

The ways people speak—the registers they employ—are shaped by intersecting influences from national, regional, and international levels. In Indonesia, speakers navigate these hierarchies, ranging from standard Bahasa Indonesia to the colloquial Indonesian of Jakarta, regional Malay varieties, and local languages. State efforts to standardize language have formalized the distinction between national and local languages, creating a hierarchy that elevates Bahasa Indonesia as a symbol of national unity while maintaining regional languages as markers of ethnic

identity (Errington et al., 2011; Goebel, 2015). This stratification mirrors larger global patterns in which dominant languages or registers - often tied to urban or elite speakers - gain prestige and visibility, while local or minority languages face marginalization (Blommaert, 2010). In this way, Bahasa Jamaah is described as a local language, distinctive of the Jamaah community, against a standard one. It is also through these standard lenses that members of the community construct their image of their language practices.

In a similar vein, Arabic in Indonesia has undergone ideological transformations related to national and religious identity. In the early years of independence, Arabic was often framed as emblematic of Islamist or antagonistic discourses, obscuring its role in the Arab-Indonesian ethnic identity. This narrative persisted until the political liberalization of the 1990s, which allowed a more open acknowledgment of Arab contributions to Indonesia's cultural and linguistic landscape (Mandal, 2018). Arabic's dual role as a religious language and a marker of ethnic identity in Indonesia parallels the dynamics of Bahasa Indonesia as both a practical and symbolic language, illustrating how linguistic hierarchies are constructed and contested within nationalist and multicultural frameworks.

In assessing Bahasa Jamaah, certain usages start to seem appropriate or inappropriate due to the arrangement of traits that resemble a conic, normative structure. Importantly, I observe these dynamics through the evolving forms of raciolinguistic group identity that surface within and through interaction.

4.3 Categorizing Ethnicity: What kind of Arabic should we speak?

The language practices of the Jamaah community reflect a modernizing tension embedded in Indonesia's historical and social fabric. Indonesia's independence movement promoted linguistic unity through Bahasa Indonesia, framed as a "neutral" language above ethnic divisions. This idealization followed the footsteps of the Dutch colonial categorization process, using oversimplified and ever-changing racial or religious categories as part of a strategy to govern colonial Indonesia and created a strong distinction between ethnic groups, but also nurtured exclusion and blocked creolization (Algadri, 1988; Al-Saqqaf & Hayaze', 2022; Mandal, 2018; K. Versteegh, 1984). This, on the one hand, implemented difference and variation, but also homogenization and monolithic views about language and identity relation. During its fight for independence, and until today, Indonesia has proposed itself as a "plural society", united by diversity unified by a shared language that is above ethnic division.

This colonial heritage of the "plural" society is not just a matter of historical structures: it is also the focus of explicit policy concern. For what concerns the Jamaah community, prominent religious figures, but also artists of Arab descent are often seen as foreigners. This apparently non-violent association actually could undermine their position as Indonesian citizens and often is used to discredit certain religious positions. Many analysts examining what is referred to as "the Arabization of Indonesia" or, more broadly, the Arab community in the country, have noted that several high-profile incidents, particularly the anti-Ahok movement and more recent critiques of the new government, continue to be invoked in public discourse as evidence that certain political "Islamic" perspectives are not indigenous. Instead, these views are portrayed as stemming from the influence of Indonesian preachers of Arab descent, allegedly in conflict with Indonesia's capacity to maintain an organic "multicultural racial harmony" (I. F. Alatas & Slama, 2022; Bamualim, 2011; Schäfer, 2017).

"Ethnicity" in Indonesia is constructed as at once deeply naturalized and as a dangerous yet unavoidable terrain. In deemed public communication, state agents deal with acts of "making it about race" more violently than instances of interpersonal or institutionalized racialized harm. The emphasis on ethnoracial personhood in state policy is coupled with anxiety about language,

expressed through assertions that Indonesian is necessary to maintain ethnic harmony between Indonesians - serving as a "neutral medium" that does not privilege the "mother tongue" of any "ethnic group" - and a means of modernity and acquisition of international legitimacy. During the Suharto regime, the slogan "*Bahasa ndonesia baik dan benar*" was always used to encourage people to use standard Indonesian. At the same time, it was seen as a threat to the "cultural roots" symbolized by languages considered "local" in a semiotic opposition labeled as an ethnic language, which (with very poor effects) started to be taught in schools.

The dynamics discussed here are relevant as they resonate deeply with the broader context of Arabic in Indonesia. Arabic is often framed as an external influence, closely tied to the perceived rigidity of the Middle East compared to the cultural landscape of Indonesia. However, these anxieties conflict and are further reflected in the increasing establishment of Qur'anic schools that not only emphasize religious instruction but also teach Arabic in its "Middle Eastern" form.

During the past decade, the approaches to studying Arabic in Indonesia have undergone notable changes. Institutions and discourses that once considered Arabic primarily as a "religious" language, emblematic of piety, and an "authentic" medium for rituals are increasingly incorporating spoken Arabic into their curricula (Tohe, 2018). This change addresses dual anxieties: the performance need for Arabic as a skill in the international job market and the social discomfort experienced by learners when their knowledge of written Arabic does not extend to spoken fluency[6].

Within this evolving landscape, the Jamaah community occupies a distinct space. As part of the Indonesian milieu, their concern is not merely whether they should speak Arabic but also what kind of Arabic they should speak. This question underscores the intersection of local and global language ideologies, as the Jamaah navigate expectations of authenticity, performance, and cultural identity within the broader framework of Indonesia's linguistic and religious diversity.

Throughout this dissertation, including here, I do not treat Bahasa Jamaah as a monolithic entity to be studied as a typological language variety. Instead, I approach it as "a series of value judgments and citations that produce a "language" in the sphere of public discourse" (Newell, 2009). That said, as this dissertation examines language use, occasionally proposes etymologies, and even presents a lexicography of Bahasa Jamaah in the form of a dictionary, I must acknowledge the inherent tension in my own work. My study of the Jamaah community and my use of the Bahasa Jamaah label to refer to an object of analysis is itself a process of value creation. It participates in the very act of defining and legitimizing the language as a distinct entity, even as my broader argument critiques the notion of its objectivity. However, I have chosen to continue to use Bahasa Jamaah as members of the community actually use it to describe their language, although many other labels could be used, for example, *Bahasa Orang Jamaahn* (the language of the Jamaah people), *Bahasa Sini* (the local language), or *Bahasa Majlas* (the language of Majlas). These alternative terms, particularly Bahasa Majlas, might even be better descriptors. However, I stick with Bahasa Jamaah to foreground its widespread convention within the community.

4.4 Heritage Language: Traces of The Ancestral Language

A discourse strategy that frames Bahasa Jamaah as an inherited cultural and linguistic resource, intrinsically tied to the identity of the Jamaah community. By indexing ancestral identity, it positions Bahasa Jamaah as a marker of individuals of Arab descent, whose speech practices are perceived as embodying the "traces" of a once vibrant "ancestors' language." This discourse challenges the framing of Jamaah as a group that has lost its distinctive identity. Instead, it asserts

[6]Interviews conducted with students of Arabic Literature at Gadjah Mada University highlight these concerns, emphasizing the growing demand for practical spoken Arabic skills alongside traditional written proficiency, both for professional opportunities and for bridging gaps in social interactions.

their language practices as intrinsically legitimate and imbued with cultural authority, stressing peculiarity over loss and mistakes. While prioritizing the lived linguistic norms of the Jamaah, it still makes implicit or explicit comparisons to Classical Arabic and other Arabic varieties, framing Bahasa Jamaah within a broader Arabic linguistic context. In this way, it puts forward local identity within a framework of Arabic universality. It emphasizes that the Jamaah have an inherent right to their linguistic practices, affirming them as valid cultural expressions of their community rather than as deviations from normative Arabic.

In essence, what I here describe as "Heritage Diaspora language" describes a discourse that legitimizes Bahasa Jamaah as a distinctive heritage practice tied to the Jamaah's cultural identity, resisting external judgments or reductive representations. While it distances Bahasa Jamaah from being dismissed as a corrupted linguistic form or evidence of a community that has "lost" its heritage language, it still negotiates its position as a derivative variation of Arabic. The focus shifts from viewing the language as a flawed remnant to seeing the Jamaah as the rightful stewards of their linguistic and cultural legacy. A view that sees Bahasa Jamaah as specific of the Jamaah as it is, indexing "the people of Arab descent" as the persona whose speech embodies image texts of "correct" performance, rather than the members of raciolinguistic groups that are minoritized both demographically and representationally (Babcock, 2022). A group that has its own right to its language practices.

I examine how individuals navigate and negotiate the tension between local and global linguistic divides by engaging with debates surrounding Bahasa Jamaah and its relationship to Arabic. On the one hand, Bahasa Jamaah is ideologically linked to a global standard of "good Arabic," an idealized form often associated with Classical or Modern Standard Arabic and those who have formally studied it. On the other hand, it is positioned as "broken Arabic," a stigmatized form perceived as incomplete or flawed, reflecting the informal everyday speech of people who lack formal Arabic education. These contrasting figures—"good Arabic" and "broken Arabic" - frame discussions about the Jamaah's linguistic practices, situating their language as both an aspirational connection to an ancestral ideal and a localized adaptation that diverges from it. By situating Bahasa Jamaah in this dual framework, individuals scale local language practices against broader ideological standards, asserting their linguistic identity while navigating external judgments of legitimacy and authenticity.

The perception of Arabic as "broken" creates a need for formal study to "properly speak it." At the same time, framing Bahasa Jamaah as a distinct mode of interaction unique to the Jamaah community allows its speakers to occupy the role of linguistic gatekeepers, rather than being subject to linguistic gatekeeping within the broader Indonesian context. This perspective highlights the peculiarity of the Arab-Indonesian community, emphasizing its dual identity: as part of Indonesia with its specific linguistic practices, while also maintaining ties to Arabic-speaking communities. By positioning Bahasa Jamaah in this way, the speakers assert their uniqueness as one of Indonesia's many ethnic groups in Indonesia with its own characteristic way of interacting.

This dual positioning of Bahasa Jamaah - as both an aspirational connection to Arabic and a localized adaptation - produces what Silverstein (2003) describes as a higher-order indexical effect. The discourse surrounding Bahasa Jamaah allows speakers to simultaneously acknowledge its divergence from Classical or Modern Standard Arabic while asserting its legitimacy as a marker of cultural and ethnic identity. By emphasizing their role as linguistic gatekeepers, rather than being subject to external gatekeeping, Jamaah speakers enact a countercritique of the dominant linguistic hierarchies within Indonesia. This position does not reject the importance of Arabic or its ideological weight; instead, it reconfigures the linguistic narrative, insisting that their practices be seen not as a deviation but as a distinctive expression of the community's dual heritage, local and diasporic.

They position themselves as an integral part of Indonesia with their own distinctive way of speaking. This perspective directly counters narratives that frame the "integration" of the Hadrami or Arab people (as they are commonly referred to) as synonymous with the loss of their linguistic specificity. Rather than viewing integration as the erasure of linguistic and cultural distinctiveness, this stance asserts that being Indonesian and being integrated does not require abandoning one's diasporic linguistic identity. By framing Bahasa Jamaah as part of Indonesia, this localized perspective empowers speakers to claim ownership over their linguistic practices and to represent the language as a distinctive element of Indonesia's cultural diversity.

This focus brings us back to the broader context in which ethnic histories and institutionalized identities in Indonesia form a complex and hierarchical terrain. Discourses of nativity and foreignness remain deeply embedded in everyday conversations and political rhetoric, reflecting enduring power dynamics. Within this fraught landscape, individual and collective efforts to represent Bahasa Jamaah - such as dictionaries and online resources - challenge the notion of "broken Arabic." These projects change the narrative, asserting the rightful ownership of the Jamaah community of their linguistic practices and resisting reductive portrayals of their language as a deviation from some external ideal.

Discussions of Arabic-speaking communities in Indonesia often emphasize the ways in which individuals of Arab descent navigate their social positioning through the use of cultural capital. This dynamic reflects both their integration into and their exclusion from the broader society. Mandal (2018) observes that despite decades of nationalist integration, the association of the Hadrami community with the Middle East and Islam remains a key aspect of their symbolic capital, allowing them to claim authority in religious and cultural spheres (I. F. Alatas, 2021).

At the same time, this capital does not fully shield them from perceptions of foreignness. Scholars such as Alatas and Slama highlight how prominent religious preachers, such as Habib Luthfi, have used this capital to align with nationalist and Islamic narratives, reinforcing their place within Indonesia's sociopolitical framework. However, as Bamualim points out, this same capital has been leveraged by figures considered more radical like Habib Riziek to assert exclusionary agendas (I. F. Alatas & Slama, 2022; Bamualim, 2011; Schäfer, 2017).

In October 2024, journalist Najwa Shihab faced significant online harassment after commenting that former President Joko Widodo *nebeng* (hitched a ride) on an Indonesian Air Force plane. This remark led to a wave of criticism on platforms like TikTok, with some "netizens" suggesting that she should "return to Yemen," reflecting perceptions of her as an outsider despite her Indonesian nationality ("Najwa Shihab Diserang Netizen TikTok Usai Sebut Jokowi Nebeng Pesaw TNI AU | tempo.co", 2024).

In explicating the contrasting perspectives that shape Jamaah language practices, one framing Bahasa Jamaah as the ancestral language of the community and the other viewing it as a lost tradition, with current practices perceived as mere distortions of Arabic, I draw on ethnographic data to illuminate how both views are grounded in the same premise: a comparative relationship with Arabic as a linguistic standard. These perspectives, while oppositional, converge in their reliance on Arabic as a reference point, making the tension between them a productive site for exploring the dynamics of language, identity, and heritage within the Jamaah community.

These data on which I draw were collected through a series of interactions with members of the Jamaah community, both in person and online, as well as digital materials documenting their linguistic practices. These include my first meeting at Doeloerkoe with Ramzi, Arfan, Ibrahim's nephew Adil, and Fadil; repeated conversations with Nabiel, the prominent figure within the community introduced at the beginning of this chapter; and a discussion between Arfan and his uncle, Ibrahim. In addition, I analyze online commentaries and posts related to the lexicon of Bahasa Jamaah, including a conversation with Mustafa's son, Nabil.

The discussion that follows is a series of encounters that do not follow a chronological timeline.

However, the first is actually one of the first encounters I made in Solo in which I suggest an enregistered discourse strategy of a general view of "Arabic as the ancestral language" is apparent.

4.4.1 A Majlas in Pasar Kliwon

Doeloerkoe, a key site in my ethnographic exploration of Bahasa Jamaah, became accessible through Fadil, whose number I received from Nabiel in Jakarta. Although Nabiel and Fadil had not been in touch for years, Fadil was enthusiastic about my research, repeatedly stating via WhatsApp that if I truly wanted to understand the Jamaah community, their interactions, practices and linguistic environment, I had to visit Doeloerkoe. More than that, he suggested that I lived there to fully immerse myself. When we arrived, I was introduced to the group as "Luigi, a researcher interested in the keturunan Arab (Arab descents) of Indonesia." The inner courtyard, which would later serve as my research base during my months in Surakarta, was a lively space where I first encountered key interlocutors and friends. Rifat, Ramzi, Arfan, Arfan's father, Ibrahim's nephew, and, of course, Fadil, who facilitated this initial connection.

At first, the scene felt surreal. Despite consciously rejecting a research frame centered on the idea of a "lost undocumented language," I couldn't help but feel like I had entered a world distinct from the broader Indonesian linguistic context. Arabic seemed to dominate every interaction, creating a linguistic ambiance that temporarily disoriented me. Seated at a long table, I joined Ramzi and Arfan, who were engaged in a heated discussion in Arabic. Arfan, a 26-year-old with a degree in Arabic literature and a diploma in Chinese medicine, was curious, thoughtful, and deeply engaged in multiple domains, including Islamic studies and Chinese medicine, which he occasionally practiced at Doeloerkoe. At the time, he had just finished teaching Arabic to Ibrahim's son, a boy who, despite months of lessons, was still working hard to grasp the language. The debate between Ramzi and Arfan focused on finding the most effective method to support his learning journey.

Ramzi, whose Indonesian had a distinct accent, argued for teaching spoken Arabic to prioritize performance, while Arfan insisted on classical Arabic, in line with the boy's goal to read religious texts and recite prayers. What struck me most was the language of their debate: Gulf Arabic. Arfan had picked up this dialect during a two-month university exchange in Jeddah, but had also studied Arabic extensively. While Ramzi, who had spent nearly his entire life in Saudi Arabia, was fluent in it. Ramzi, born to Jamaah parents who moved to Jeddah in the 1960s, had only returned to Indonesia a decade ago. His linguistic background explained both his accent in Indonesian and his remarkable fluency in Arabic.

When I asked the boy why he was studying Classical Arabic instead of a colloquial variety, he explained that as a Muslim of Arab descent, learning Arabic was something he felt he ought to do. Ramzi, overhearing this, interjected in Arabic, "See? He wants to speak Arabic. Speak." This comment encapsulated broader ideological tensions within the community: the expectation that Arabic signifies cultural and religious authenticity versus the realities of linguistic practices in the diaspora.

As the conversation continued, they turned their attention to my own Arabic. I explained that my learning process had been challenging, particularly the transition from Classical Arabic to spoken varieties, which I found frustratingly disconnected in academic settings. "I don't understand religious texts at all," I joked, eliciting laughter. Ramzi remarked, "*Ke-ke? bahasa Arab yang cuman ada di Pasar Kliwon sini*" (What's up? Arabic that only exists here in Pasar Kliwon), humorously highlighting the localized nature of Bahasa Jamaah, suggesting that *ke-ke* was a funny word that was not really Arabic[7].

[7]The term *ke-ke* (what's up) is actually used in Hadramaut, as confirmed in an interview with Wajdi and a Hadrami friend of his, suggesting that while it may seem localized to some, it has roots in broader linguistic contexts beyond Indonesia

During these exchanges, I often switched to Indonesian for clarity and inclusivity, particularly for the boy learning Arabic, who seemed to struggle with some of the conversations. At one point, Fadil, ever kind and encouraging, asked "*Kalau ente udah berapa lama belajar bahasa Arab? Kalau Jamaah biasanya nggak bisa begitu banyak*" (How long have you been studying Arabic? Jamaah usually do not know it that well). I deflected, claiming that my Arabic was not that strong, to which Arfan added, "*Banyak Jamaah yang pengen bisa bahasa Arab kaya ente*" (Many Jamaah wish they could speak Arabic like you).

This discussion sounded like a reflection on terms that were defined as *sebenernya nggak ada di bahasa Arab* (technically not existing in Arabic) or diverge significantly from standard forms. Although I was tempted to take notes, I hesitated, as it was still my first meeting with the group. Their perspective was clear: the Arabic spoken among Jamaah was not "real" Arabic. Authenticity, they argued, lay in those who spoke Arabic fluently—a reflection of a broader diasporic anxiety over linguistic purity and legitimacy.

As the evening progressed, Arfan frequently switched between Arabic, Javanese and terms unfamiliar to me, often concluding sentences with *yaher* (resembling the Indonesian *ya udah*, or the English "that's it") or *khalas* (enough). Arfan's father, a man with years of experience living in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and England, took an interest in my research, playfully testing my linguistic abilities with his language shifts. Before leaving, Fadil convinced me to move to Doeloerkoe the next day, saying, "*Yallah gum, ente mau regud*" (Come on, let's go, you want to sleep). I was struck by the word *regud*, which I did not recognize. Fadil laughed and explained, "*artinya tidur*" (It means sleep.) This first meeting was very important in shaping my fieldwork.[8] It not only solidified Doeloerkoe as my primary research site but also demonstrated that the diaspora language of the Jamaah, far from being a straightforward continuation of Classical or Hadrami Arabic, was a rich, hybrid register that reflected the complexities of a long diaspora.

As should be clear, this discourse on Bahasa Jamaah as an ancestral language considers language an important index of identity. However, it does not focus on what the language "should be" but rather emphasizes its connection to Arabic whatever that is Here, "Arabic" serves as a very loose label. Critics, on the other hand, focus on a Classical (or standard) conception of Arabic, positioning it as the original language from which all others derive and the one that should be prioritized, given the belief that the first generation lost the authentic form.

The idea of Bahasa Jamaah as an ancestral language, conceived as a broad register indexing Arabic ethnicity, lies at the heart of this discussion. Importantly, the Jamaah identity in language practices extends beyond Hadrami-descended Arabs living in Indonesia; it reflects a broader identification with Arabness itself.

4.4.2 Enregistering Religious Talk: Meeting with Nabil, Mustafa's son

In early 2024, I had the opportunity to visit Mustafa again in Surabaya, this time at his home. Although he rarely used Bahasa Jamaah with me—preferring not to—he often used *ana/ente* as pronouns[9]. I noticed that when speaking with people not familiar with the Jamaah community, referring to their language practices as *ana-ente* elicited comprehension. However, I also noticed that what it meant for people not familiar with the community, was "*bahasa orang agamis*" (the way those religious people talk) or *Orang Betawi yang pake* (the way Betawi talk). The highlight of this visit was meeting his son, Nabil, who had recently turned 18 and was preparing for his driver's license exam. During a meal of *nasi mandi* from "Bosgil," a chain popular in many *Kampung Arab*, Nabil discovered my interest in Bahasa Jamaah. While watching Netflix documentaries after dinner, he mentioned, "*Ente tahu ada juga bahasa al-Irsyad? Tapi itu sebenarnya*

[8] Not to mention that these people became close friends of mine

[9] *ana/ente* is also a way Wowo referred to Bahasa Jamaah as *bahasa anta-ente.*

Bahasa Jamaah." (Do you know about bahasa al-Irsyad, but it is really just Bahasa Jamaah.) He then showed me an Instagram reel where his pesantren peers had presented *kosa-kata bahasa al-Irsyad* (Words of Al-Irsyad language) (see image 4.5), a list of terms they used daily in the pesantren that were supposedly "Arabic" but unique to their institution. Many comments on these videos noted that these terms were actually elements of Bahasa Jamaah. Although I have not explored *pesantren* contexts in depth, it should be noted that this pesantren was founded by members of the Jamaah community, and, according to former students, this probably explains the usage of these terms.

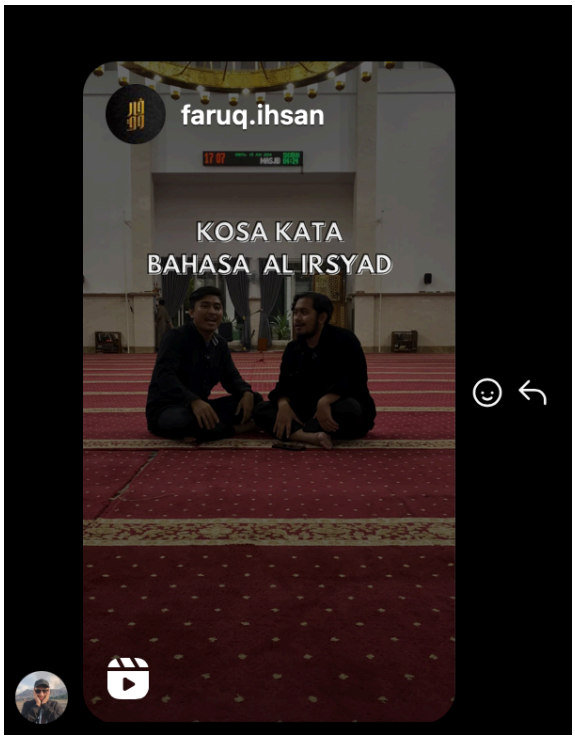
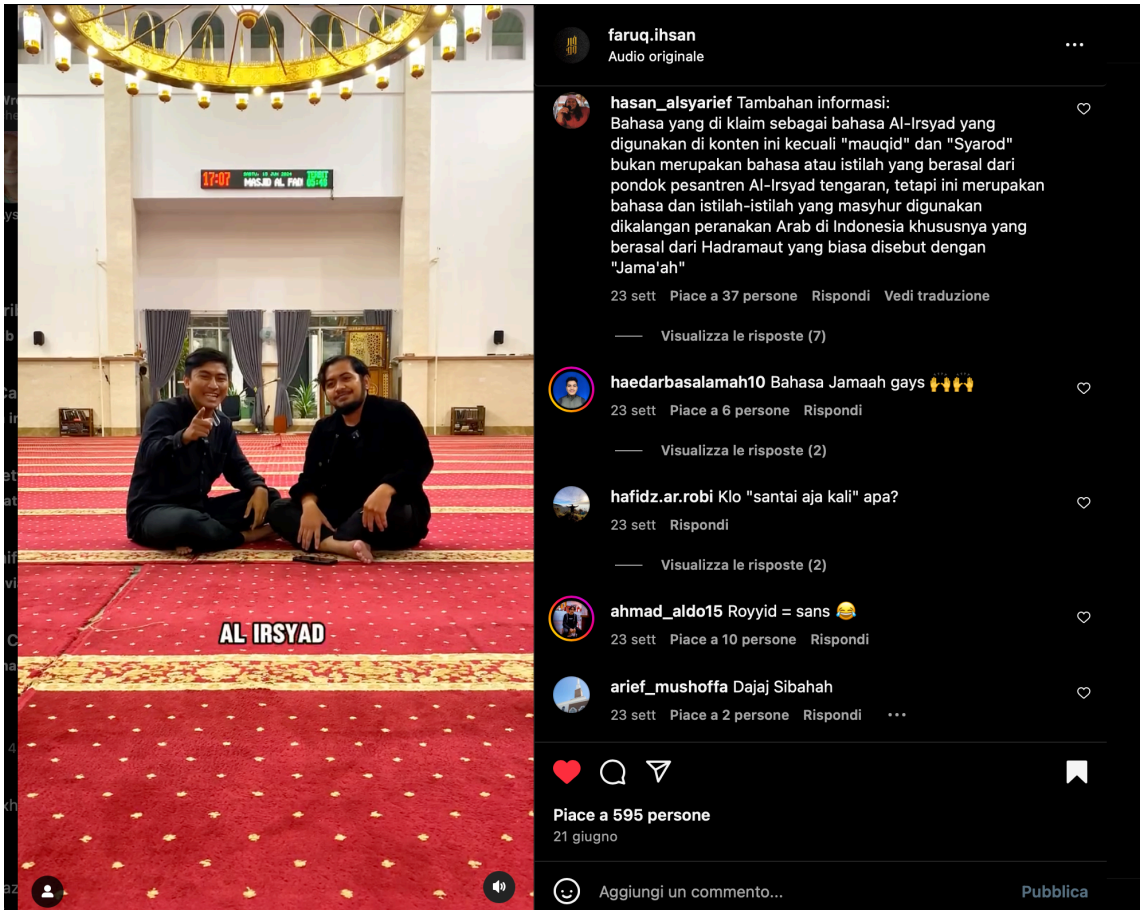


Figure 4.5: Instagram page screenshot. Content available at this link on Instagram

What Nabil introduced me through Instagram reels was showcasing the slang that indexed the figure of a "student of that specific Quranic school," and did so by the use of peculiar terms referred to as *Bahasa al-Irsyad*. So now, all those terms that for me were Jamaah possible indexes were brought to another level. A level that many commentors identified as wrong appropriation of Bahasa Jamaah, see images (4.6a and 4.6b) These diverse encounters and digital engagements offer a multifaceted view of how Bahasa Jamaah operates within the community, reflecting broader concerns about language, identity and heritage. Moreover, they show how the constellation of signs that forms Bahasa Jamaah is highly attached to both Arabicity and Islam.

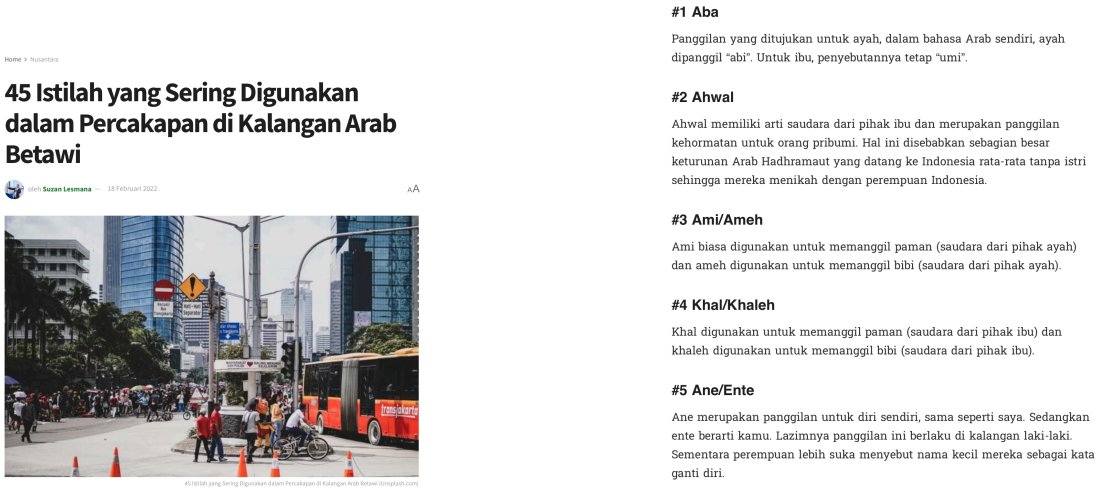


(a) comments one

(b) Comments two.

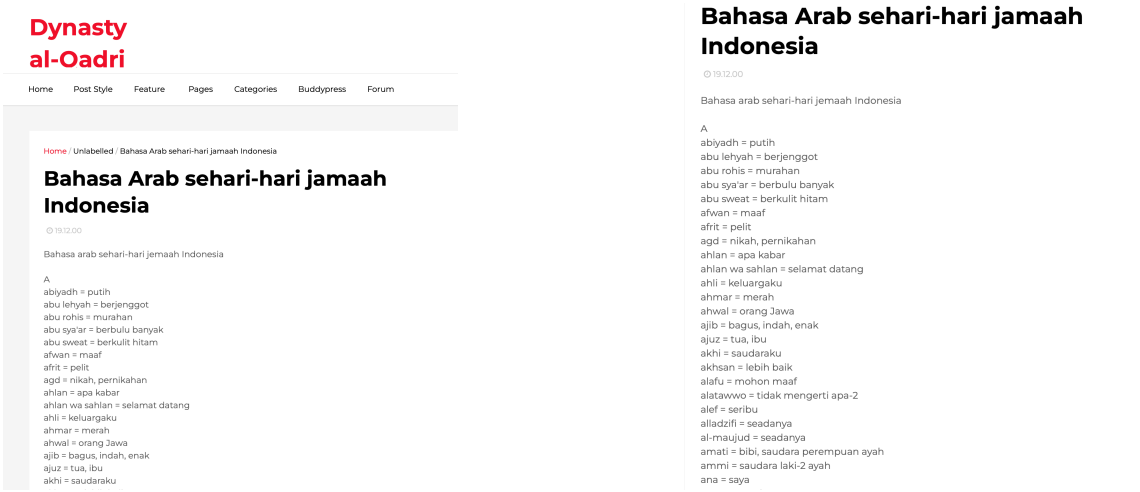
Figure 4.6

I encountered similar on-line content describing Bahasa Jamaah or elements associated with the Arab-Indonesian community; see images 4.7a, 4.7b and 4.8a, 4.8b.



(a) screenshot 1 (b) screenshot 2

Figure 4.7: 45 Istilah yang Sering Digunakan dalam Percakapan di Kalangan Arab Betawi, link: here



(a) screenshot 1 (b) screenshot 2

Figure 4.8: Dynasty al-Qadri: Bahasa Arab sehari-hari jamaah Indonesia. link here

Similar content is presented in 4.9a, 4.9b, 4.10a, 4.10b. However, this website presents a mix of cultural observations, linguistic elements, and stereotypes about the Arab-Indonesian community. Although it appears to aim to foster understanding and rapport with the community, its tone and content reveal a reductive framing of complex identities into a list of "dos and don'ts".

The language section, for instance, emphasizes the use of Arabic expressions (Assalamualaikum, Alhamdulillah, Masya Allah), portraying them as essential for acceptance by Arab-Indonesians. These phrases are framed as obligatory tools for interaction with the Arabs. In this way, the Jamaah is stereotipically associated with Islam, as at the same time phrases that are actually becoming increasingly common among all Indonesian Muslims independently of their ethnic origin are depicted as elements of the Arab ethnicity. The list of localized vocabulary (*ana*, *ente*, *fulus*,

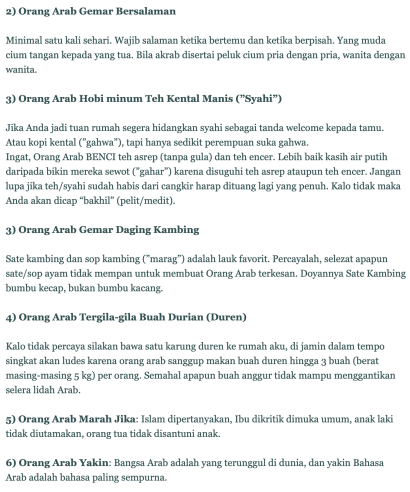
tajir) similarly conflates a reciolinguistic identity. Presenting terms as quintessentially "Arab-Indonesian."

Beyond language, there is a list of habits (see images 4.10a and 4.10b) that mix daily practices with claims that are almost caricature, describing Arab-Indonesians as disliking unsweetened tea or consuming massive amounts of durian. In addition, there are the assertions about values and beliefs, such as Arabs being "sensitive about their portrayal in media," "believing in their cultural superiority," or "hating jews, atheists'family," romanticize relationships in a way that feels overly simplistic. Although the intention might be to highlight cultural warmth, such broad generalizations flatten individual experiences and cultural complexities. These statements, apart from reinforcing negative biases and perpetuating a monolithic view of Arab-Indonesians as overly sensitive or intolerant, are a list of qualitis that coparticipate in the creation of an image about the Arabs of Indonesia, but reinforcing it and also tapping from already existing images.

(a) Heading

(b) screenshot

Figure 4.9: Mengenal Jama'ah, etnis Arab di Nusantara – Kasih Mawar



(a) Habits 1

(b) Habits 2

Figure 4.10: Mengenal Jama'ah, etnis Arab di Nusantara – Kasih Mawar

These pages provide extensive descriptions of Bahasa Jamaah, some of which include elements

common across the broader Muslim community in Indonesia, or even globally. In some cases, I discovered that the authors of these pages were themselves of Arab-Jamaah descent. In particular, many terms listed as part of the Bahasa Jamaah were neither distinctly Yemeni nor Hadrami dialects, nor even Classical or Standard Arabic, but were presented as part of the Bahasa Jamaah. The language is described as a distinctive way of speaking within the community, often associated with a semiotic register tied to the intersection of Arabic and Islam.

4.5 The loss of the Mother Tongue

Speakers' appeals to "Mother Tongue" sourcing in interaction challenging the notion of Bahasa Jamaah as a continuation of an ancestral language. Instead, they frame it as a deviation from idealized "proper Arabic," labeling it as "broken" or insufficiently authentic. This creates a dynamic where imagined linguistic standards—tied to an unattainable, vanished Arabic Mother Tongue—become benchmarks for evaluating Bahasa Jamaah.

This section explores the perspective that Arabic, as the ancestral language of the group, is lost and could not exist in the Jamaah practices but in a standardized or classical form that must be studied and reclaimed. Speakers often seek validation from native Arabic speakers, asking if specific terms "actually exist in Arabic" or are "really Arabic." Even those who value Bahasa Jamaah engage in such comparisons, highlighting the pervasive influence of this imagined linguistic ideal.

The reliance on native speakers and etymological validation underscores ideological tensions within the community. Although Bahasa Jamaah is used and appreciated, its legitimacy is often measured against a raciolinguistically constructed standard of Arabic authenticity. This dynamic reflects competing perceptions of the "correct" or "authentic" language, with Bahasa Jamaah constantly evaluated against the specter of an idealized Arabic Mother Tongue.

The figure outlined here is represented by the conversation with Mustafa, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. However, I frequently encountered these opinions, albeit less assertively, within the community and in academic production regarding the Indonesian community of Arab origin. I want to stress that at the beginning of my research, both in formulating the research question and during the initial stages of fieldwork, I often encountered the idea that the "Jamaah have lost their peculiar way of speaking," overlooking the wide range of linguistic elements the community employs (S. F. Alatas, 1997; De Jonge, 2004, 2019; Freitag, 2003; Jacobsen, 2009). However, in many moments of my fieldwork, for instance, when Wowo introduced me to new members of the community and said, "*rijal nih mau belajar Bahasa Jamaah*," the answer was often " do you mean Arabic? No, we no longer speak Arabic." In fact, asking about language practices also implied asking about Arabic. This does not mean that people are unaware of the language they speak; rather, it highlights that when asked about linguistic practices, their minds often shift to Arabic, perceived as a "lost language" once spoken by ancestors and now being relearned.

4.5.1 "Arabian Food"

Behind Doeloerkoe, within the *kampung Arab*, there are various restaurants serving food that, in a European context, would fall under the awkward and inaccurate label of "ethnic restaurants." These gathering places range from lavish to modest and all display a linguistic landscape filled with signs indexing Arab elements, often including explicit phrases like "Arabian food" (see image 4.11a and 4.11b) or fonts reminiscent of the Arabic script.

I often frequented these places, partly because of my personal love for Arab food and partly due to my interest in the owners and the role these restaurants play as social hubs. Zaghladi is

(a)

(b)

Figure 4.11: Front entrance of Zagladi restaurant

one such restaurant, located a few minutes walk from Doeloerkoe. It was the place where Rifat, Doeloerkoe's owner, ordered food for guests. The menu of Zaghladi is written in both Arabic and Indonesian (see image 4.12a and 4.12b). Although primarily a take-away location, it is popular with international students from Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea. This explained why the menu was also written in Arabic, yet at the same time Arabic inscriptions in the menus of such places often aim to signal authenticity, a phenomenon I observed in other kampung Arab areas across Java.

One evening, while dining there alone, I finally met the owner. A kind man dressed in a long thobe with a white and gray beard, he already knew who I was to some extent, an Italian wandering around the kampung Arab studying the Jamaah community. What he did not know was the extent of my *Indonesian* language skills, and was reluctant to speak freely. After some hesitation, we began to talk openly. "*Jadi kamu di sini untuk belajar tentang orang Jamaah?*" I explained who I was and that I was interested in the historical, cultural, and linguistic aspects of the community, with a primary focus on language use. When he asked what I meant by "the way Jamaah speak," I realized yet another fieldwork error: explaining instead of observing. "*Ana lagi mau belajar Bahasa Jamaah,*" (I'm studying Bahasa Jamaah) I said. "*Bahasa Arab? Orang sini tidak pake bahasa Arab lagi. Dulu ada, kalau sekarang ndak,*" (People here do not speak Arabic anymore. They used to, but not anymore) he replied.

I made the mistake of formulating my conceptualizations of the community's linguistic practices in front of my interlocutors. I clarified what I meant, emphasizing that one of my interests was to observe whether there were elements referred to Arabic, a grave mistake on my part again. Nevertheless, the owner of Zagladi provided me with a long list of terms such as "*ke-ke?*" (what's up?), "*regud*" (sleep), "*sryob*" (drink), "*syuf*" (look), and others, many of which I already knew. Relaxing in the conversation and partly because I wasn't there to do research but to eat, I started speaking what might have sounded like a caricature of Bahasa Jamaah. "*Pak, kalau moya fi, walla la?*" (Is there water?) I asked. He laughed and told me, "So you know these words," almost as if they were secret or rare. From there, as always, the first change was in pronouns: "kamu" transformed into "ente," "saya" became "ana" and the conversation became less formal.

"*Ente tahu, kalau kata kaya moya bukan bahasa sini,*" (you know, words like moya are not

(a)

(b) screenshot

Figure 4.12: The manu at Zagladi's

from here) he said. "*Moya itu bahasa Khalij, dari Saudi. Kalau sini seharusnya orang bilang 'ma',*" (moya is from the Gulf, from Saudi Arabia. Here, people should say ma') He referred to a term more closely aligned with standard Arabic. He continued with a series of "errors" made by people of Arab origin in Pasar Kliwon, noting that anything sounding remotely Arabic could now be used. He spoke Arabic quite well, and as was often the case initially, when he used full Arabic, it seemed that he wanted to test my competence.

"*Bahasa Pasar Kliwon udah ngak seperti dulu,*" (the language of Pasar Kliwon is not like it used to be), he observed. "*Dulu kan, wulaiti-wulaiti benar-benar bisa bahasa Arab, dan biasanya anaknya dilempar ke sana biar belajar, kalau sekarang ngak. Jarang ada yang belajar bahasa Arab. Kalau sekarang orang ke Saudi, ke Dubai. Cari faedah, ga ada yang mau ke Yaman.*" (Back then, the wulaitis really knew Arabic and their children were usually thrown there to learn. But now no. Almost no one now learns Arabic. Today, people go to Saudi Arabia or Dubai. They're looking for opportunities; no one wants to go to Yemen). His remarks painted a picture of a changing diaspora geography, linking Indonesia to the Gulf and beyond but highlighting the erosion of language transmission.

This commentary resonated weeks later when I heard the phrase *dilempar ke sana* again, meaning "thrown there," referring to Hadramaut, where second or third-generation Jamaah were sent for education. This dynamic of language—seen as both "broken" and a legacy to be studied, highlighted its role in shaping identity. However, Bahasa Jamaah clearly sounded to my interlocutor more like "Bahasa Pasar Kliwon," as it was essentially Arabic. It was a language that had to be studied and the way people currently spoke it was not considered correct. The conversation I referred to was one with Arfan's uncle Ibrahim.

4.5.2 Ibrahim The Goat Herder

I spent a lot of time with Arfan during my stay in Doeloerkoe and Surakarta. Every night, he would come to Doeloerkoe, as was customary, and we would chat until late at night. However, Arfan was also the one who often invited me to explore the activities in the city. Morning

breakfasts after dawn prayer at 5:30 AM were exhausting for me, but also extremely interesting because we would slip into a tiny stall serving breakfast to all the Jamaah. "*Kalau habis maghrib, semua Jamaah kumpul di situ, ente harus ke sana,*" (After morning prayer, Jamaah gather there, you have to go there) I was told several times.

One day, Arfan decided to take me to a Jamaah funeral slightly outside Solo. After the ceremony, we went to visit his uncle, Ibrahim, an elderly goat herder, "ghonam," as Ibrahim called goats and sheep in Arabic. Before reaching his place, we stopped to look at a rice field. Arfan asked if I had ever harvested rice. Since I had not, we rolled up our sleeves and joined the farmers. This event may seem irrelevant, but it is worth mentioning because Arfan immediately switched to Javanese, a language I barely understood at the time. "*Bapak itu tanya kalau kita dari Arab*" (That man asked if we were Arabs). After playing in muddy rice fields, we went to visit his uncle.

Ibrahim has two wives, one in Solo and one in Pemalang. Arfan told me to call him "ammy" and emphasized not calling him "pak" or "bapak," as it would create distance between us. Ibrahim is the father of the kid Arfan teaches Arabic to, whom Ibrahim wants to send to Yemen to learn about his origins. Ibrahim himself had never been there or outside Indonesia, yet he clearly stated that Hadhramis are generally "*orang lebih saleh*" (more pious people).

(1) orang yang Sholeh

→	1	Ibrahim-S1	itu riwayatnya yang sholih dhohirnya (.) pada ke mesjid ba'da shubuh gitu lho *the story is that the pious people visibly go to the mosque after dawn, like that you know* [...]
	2	Arfan-S1	sana penuh *over there is full*
	3	Ibrahim-S1	iya (.) karna kebiasaan orang2R Arab, sebetulnya mungkin bebas mungkin, yang penting orang (.) yang
→	4		sholih (.) orang-orang sholeh lah *yes, because normally it's for the Arabs, actually it could be free, maybe, the important thing is pious people, pious people* [...]
→	5	Ibrahim-S1	ya itu dianggap orang sholeh dianggap doanya maqbul *yes, it is considered that pious people, whose prayers answered* (1.5)
	6	Ibrahim-S1	aiwa *yes*

As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, he used the term "lempar ke sana" (thrown there) to stress that people in the past would be sent to Yemen to learn the Hadrami way.

(2) Shogul walah dakwa

→	1	Arfan-S1	jadi yang ente tahu, jiddak ini dateng, shoghol walah da3wa *as far as you know, your grandfather came to work or preach*
	2	int-S1	tapi, dia kan, datang atau lahir disini *but, did he come or was he born here*
	3	Ibrahim-S1	ya keturunanya datuk Umar sih ya, datuk Umar kan wulaiti *yes, his descendant is Datuk Umar, right, Datuk Umar was local-born*
	4	Arfan-S1	Umar bin Abdi Shaikh *Umar bin Abdi Shaikh*
	5	Ibrahim-S1	iya *yes*
→	6	Ibrahim-S1	datuk Umar, itu kan wulaiti ya-- waAllahu alam, dia mestinya kan dia dakwah di sini *Datuk Umar, he was local-born you know– God knows best, he was supposed to preach here*
	7	Ibrahim-S1	kalau jiddy kan di lempar ke sana ke Yaman, umur berapa dilempar kesana *but my grandfather was thrown there to Yemen, at what age was he thrown there*

Before the interview, we prayed together in a small *mushollah* (pray hall) near his house. Ibrahim offered Arfan the opportunity to lead the prayer, but he declined. Ibrahim struck me as

a very religious man. Arfan told me that the place used to be better before, referring mainly to the condition of the goat pen. I got the impression that he mentioned this due to the somewhat precarious and informal state of the place in general. After the prayer, he told me that one of the men we met in the mushollah was "gerbu." "*Dia orangnya garbu*" (Arfan immediately asked if I knew what it meant). "*Sombong*" (snob) he explained, adding, "*Ente ngerti?, ini cara mengucapnya jamaah*" (do you understand? that's the way the Jamaah pronounce it). Then he told me the word in standard Arabic, stressing all the sounds as clear as possible. Stating clearly, /ɣɑrˈbuːʕ/. There they were "ghayn" and the "'ayn." Anyway, Ibrahim did not stress all the sounds because this was the correct way to say it, but rather so that I could guess the meaning of the word. That being said, he stated clearly that that was the word it came from, the original one. The interview with Ibrahim opened pretty much the same way as the others:

"Ahlan, bekhir?" Ibrahim greeted us. "Tayyib, tayyibin?" Arfan replied using an honorific plural. "*Udah solli belum?*" (Have you prayed?), said Ibrahim. "*Belum sholly ammy*" replied he.

Arfan not only made frequent switches to Arabic but also told his uncle they hadn't seen each other in a long time and mentioned that he would have invited him to his graduation party if he had been present. I stress this point because while Arfan switched to Arabic, as shown in 3, Ibrahim stuck to a colloquial Indonesian register full with Javanese and Jamaah elements.

(3) Graduation Party

	1	Ibrahims-S1	laitu, jadi tahu model-modelnya orangnya (.) [jamaahnya
			so, you get to know the types of people (.) [the Jamaah
	2	Arfan-S1	itu jaman waktu itu ada di Solo ana undang ente
			back then in Solo, I invited you
	3	Ibrahim-S1	oh yayaya
			oh, yes, yes
→	4	Arfan_S1	ana kan tempo hari bikin 3uzuma= 3shan takharrujy dengan [jami3a
→			*you know, I recently organized a celebration for my graduation from University*
	5	Int-S1	=mhm
			=mhm
	6	Ibrahim-S1	[wah
			[wow
→	7	Arfan_S1	ana panggiln (.) ana buka garasi rumah ana gelar 3uzumah di situ
			I invited (.) I opened my house's garage, I held the celebration there

The conversation shifted to the fact that we had been to a funeral. Ibrahim expressed his dissatisfaction that now, in the Jamaah cemetery, anyone could be buried there. "*Dulu kan hanya untuk orang 'Aroby, darahnya Aroby.*" (it used to be just for Arabs, whose blood is Arab).

On this topic, an extremely interesting joke was told a few days later, one that I wish I had shared with Ibrahim at the time. The joke goes as follows, as told to me by a Jamaah Ba'alawi friend in Solo:

"*Masa kuburan ini penuh? Ini memang khusus buat Jamaah, masa bisa dipake buat orang lain. Sekarang penuh? Abah ana harus di kubur sini!*" (How can the cemetery be full? It's supposed to be only for Jamaah. Now it's full? My father has to be buried there!) But in fact, the cemetery was full and there was no room left. So, the cemetery keeper said, "*Ya betul, harus cari tempat di sini, jangan-jangan nanti ditanyain sama malaikat pake bahasa Indonesia.*" (That's right, we'll have to find space here; otherwise, the angels might question him in Indonesian.)

"*Maksudnya?*" (What do you mean?) he asked. "*Maksudnya kalau dikubur di kuburan biasa nanti pertanyaan malaika dikasih pake bahasa Indonesia, kalau Jamaah pake bahasa Arab.*" (I mean, if he's buried in a regular cemetery, the questions will be asked in Indonesian, whereas for Jamaah, they'll be in Arabic.)

"*Oh gitu, ndak usah bingung mas, di kuburan biasa aja biar lebih lancar.*" (Oh, I see. Don't worry, just bury him in a regular cemetery so it's easier.)

This humorous anecdote encapsulates the perception that Jamaah don't speak Arabic but also reflects the general idea that they should, and that this Arabic is seen as divine and more important. In addition to that, laugh at the idea that Arabs have to be treated differently.

I often conducted interviews with more than one participant, both because they were rarely planned and I had to adjust to the occasion, and also because having other people present would at some point trigger conversations, which interest me more. At one point, while we were discussing Arfan's exchange in Saudi Arabia, the conversation shifted to methods to learn Arabic and specifically how Ibrahim's son was progressing. With this footing, I asked Ibrahim and Arfan what they thought of those who claimed that the Jamaah no longer spoke Arabic.

(4)

1	Arfan_S1	ya ana pakek bahasa Arabnya babah *Yes, I use the Arabic language of my father.*
2	Arfan_S1	bahasa Arabnya babah bukan bahasa Arab fushah bahasa Arab 'Ammiyah seperti ente *My father's Arabic is not fusha (standard Arabic); it's 'Ammiyah (colloquial Arabic), like yours.*
3		Arfan_S1kita pakek, kalau ada yang mau pakek fushah ya kita tanggapi pake fushah *We use it, but (only) if someone wants to use fusha, we respond in fusha.*
4	Arfan_S1	fushahanya kan bahasa: cuman di kelas ya sebetulnya bahasa di kelas sama di buku *Fusha is just a language for class, really; it's the language for class and books.*
5	Arfan_S1	kalau kita pakek gitu ndak enak ndak nyaman jadi kita ndak apa-pa lah, fadhol oh rusak *If we use it like that, it's not pleasant, not comfortable, so we just let it be—it's fine. Oh, it's broken.*
6	Arfan_S1	ya memang itu betul, seperti itu betul, yang diomongkan dia betul, bahasa Arabnya pasar kliwon rusak *Yes, that's true, it's exactly true; what he said is true. The Arabic from Pasar Kliwon is broken.*
7	Arfan_S1	ya memang betul, ini kan hhh (batuk) ya betul, betul itu memang betul seperti itu *Yes, indeed, that's true. (coughs) Yes, that's exactly true.*
8	Ibrahim_S1	ya *Yes.*
9	Arfan_S1	tapi kan *But, you see...*
10	Arfan_S1	e: kalau kita mau yang murni betul, ya kita harus belajar ya, seperti orang orang cina itu, orang orang
11		tionghoa itu dia semangat mempelajari bahasanya, ndak seperti jamaah *If we want it pure, really pure, we have to study, like the Chinese people—they are so eager to learn their language, not like our community.*

Arfan, not just in this excerpt, mentioned that the Arabic spoken by Jamaah was somewhat similar to the colloquial Arabic spoken in Egypt, in the sense that it was not fully *fusha* but much closer to Indonesian. In fact, it was mainly Indonesian. He adapted to his interlocutor; If the person could speak *fusha* (Classical Arabic), he would use more *fusha*, aligning himself more closely with it. This delineates a view that acknowledges a diglossic continuum that somehow comprehends Bahasa Jamaah, somewhere positioned very close to a low variety, comparable to colloquial Arabic. He added that it was true that the language was "*rusak*" (broken) and that to speak it "*murni*" (purely), one had to study it - just like the Chinese community does. There is always a comparison with the Chinese community, but that is not the subject of this chapter. What is important here is that in defining what the Jamaah way of speaking is, Arfan, fully competent in various Arabic varieties, placed it within a diglossic continuum. In doing so, he evaluated Bahasa Jamaah in comparison to Classical Arabic.

This not only outlined a general idea of "mother tongue sourcing," where purity is sought in Arabic etymology and origins, but also legitimized the Jamaah language concerning Arabic.

During our conversation, Arfan explicitly stated that Bahasa Jamaah was the daily language of Pasar Kliwon, but that he adjusted his level of Arabic depending on his interlocutor. He corrected me several times, suggesting that I call Ibrahim "ammy" (uncle in Bahasa Jamaah) instead of "bapak" and replace terms like *Ba'alawi* with *Habaib*, and *Hadhrami* with *Jamaah*. "If someone

knows how to speak *fusha*, then we use *fusha*; otherwise, we adapt. In Sudan, Egypt and other countries, not everyone speaks *fusha* but *ammiya*, the daily language," Arfan explained.

This simple but significant detail emphasized a fundamental aspect of linguistic practices in the community: the coexistence, in ideological terms, of a functional opposition between Bahasa Jamaah and classical Arabic. It became clear that, for Arfan and many others in the community, these two linguistic forms were not in a mutually exclusive opposition but rather occupied different roles on a continuum, each with its distinct function and value.

Arfan's insightful observations about linguistic dynamics within the Indonesian Hadhrami community were enlightening, revealing not only the complexity of linguistic practices but also the profound link between language, identity and social context.

4.5.3 Lukman and His Father

One day in Pedati, Wowo took me to conduct several interviews, one of the most interesting occurred with an elderly gentleman whom Wowo thought was a *wulaiti* (first-generation Jamaah), but who during the interview turned out to have been born in Indonesia, in Jakarta, to a *Wulaiti* father. This, as Ibrahim referred to in the previously illustrated conversation, was "*lempar ke sana*" (thrown there) to study the Hadrami way. Of course, Wowo introduced me again as "*rijal nih, datang jauh dari Itali untuk belajar Bahasa Jamaah*" (he came from Italy to study Bahasa Jamaah), which, as mentioned earlier, immediately made the elderly gentleman think I was seeking Arabic. And Arabic I found. We constantly spoke in Arabic, an Arabic that had nothing to do with Classical Arabic, an Arabic I had never truly heard before. We had a very long conversation with the man in Arabic, I should say that to me it was very difficult at the beginning to understand his way of speaking Arabic, which as he told me was "Arabic" that was spoken in "Sewun".

Until at one point his son arrived, who also immediately spoke to me in Arabic, but in a completely different Arabic from his father's. It was Middle Arabic, much simpler for me, but with elements that strongly recalled the way the Jamaah spoke when they spoke Indonesian. His speech was full of *haggana* (possessive construction), *rijal* (man, person classifier), *syrob* (to drink), as if it were not Indonesian that was colored with elements of Jamaah, but Arabic that was colored with elements of Jamaah, as seen in the excerp(5).

(5) Transcript - Lukman and his father

Original Text:
في اليمن، في السعودية، وفي البلاد العربية، في جروب qabila حقنا. مجلس هذا مختلف. يمكن البلاد زي الصين[...] مجلس هذا مختلف. يمكن البلاد زي الصين. ببيتهم يتكلموا الصينية. صح؟ أما العربي ليس كله كده sini sehari-hari Bahasa [...] ما في يتكلم بالعربي. كم، غالي، دخان، شرب. هذا سبته له مصدر من شرب يشرب، جلس، جلس، كـ مجلس، من جل

English Translation:
In Yemen, in Saudi Arabia, and Arab countries, we have a group (whatsapp) a group with our gabilah. The majlas is different. Perhaps the People are like the Chinese [...] The majlas are different. Maybe the People like the Chinese. In their homes, they speak Chinese. Right? But the Arabs are not all like that [...]No one speaks Arabic here. "Kam" (how much), "gholi" (expensive), "dohan" (to smoke), "syrob" (to drink). That is the masdar of "sharaba" (to drink). "Jelis", "jelis", like "majlis", from "jalasa." Our daily language here.

Continuing the conversation, he asked why I wanted to study Arabic and explained why he decided to study Arabic. He had never visited an Arab country, nor had he spoken Arabic with his father, but he attended a "pesantren modern" (modern islamic boarding school) — a place where speaking Arabic was important. As reported in 6, he told me that it was crucial for him to know Arabic as he was an Arab and a Muslim. In this context, the language was not described as "bad"; rather, it was compared to the "good practice" of studying "proper Arabic." To truly know Arabic, the real one, one had to study earnestly and with the heart. "Heart" was a key word for him, which he associated with religion. This illustrates his belief that Arabs "speak" Arabic and do not merely learn Standard Arabic, a concept that Ramzi suggested to Arfan (see paragraph 4.4.1).

(6) Learning a language

Original Text:
لو تريد ان تتعلم اي لغة لازم من قلبك. يحب اللغة اي لغة في العالم اذا انت تحب ايوة. انا مولد هنا وانا بحب عربي. هذا الاول. والثانيا لازم لكل المسلمين ان يتعلموا بسبب الصلاة باللغات العربية واللغات العربية القرآن باللغات العربية. لازم تقدري... بسبب استخدام لغة سوكية في أي بلد عربي، مصر عندهم لغة سوكية، والقطر أيضاً عندهم لغة سوكية. السبب عند العرب كل شيء من الدم، وليس من اللغة يومية... دوحان! هذا ليس... عامية. مختصر الكلام المختصر. مختصر وغير مكتوب. هل تحب هذه bahasa ini bisa kita عامية bahasa kalau الكلمات المجازة وغير المكتوبة وغير المكتوبة؟ في كتب، في مجال، وفي أي شيء!

English Translation:
If you want to learn any language, you must do so from your heart. Love the language, any language in the world, if you love it. Yes, I was born here and I love Arabic. This is the first thing. Secondly, it is necessary for all Muslims to learn it because the prayers are in the Arabic language and the Quran is in the Arabic language. You must know this... Because of the use of the "market language" in any Arab country, Egypt has a "market language," and so does Qatar. The reason is that for Arabs, everything comes from blood the language is daily... Dohaan! This is not 'ammiyya. If it were, we could... This is a short word. Words not written in my language. Do you like these short, unwritten words? unwritten words. Not in books, not in magazines, and in anything!

In his view, speaking Standard Arabic alone does not suffice to grasp "proper Arabic"; one must also be fluent in a vernacular, capturing what the "standard" should be in the here and now. Note that while I was speaking to Lukman, his father was chatting with Wowo in a

colloquial Indonesian that was much more interesting to me, as all the Jamaah words I was seeking appeared. On one hand, I felt that I was conducting all my interviews incorrectly, as merely by talking, everything became either "Standard Arabic" or "Standard Indonesian"; at the same time, these interviews were a vibrant site for ideological stances.
The perception of a linguistic ideal, often tied to Classical Arabic, creates a dynamic where Bahasa Jamaah is constantly evaluated against this imagined standard. This tension highlights the challenges faced by the Jamaah community in reconciling their linguistic practices with their perceived ancestral heritage. Although Bahasa Jamaah is used and valued within the community, its deviations from the idealized Arabic "Mother Tongue" can foster feelings of linguistic insecurity and a continual quest for external "native" speakers' validation. This ongoing negotiation of linguistic authenticity reflects the larger struggles faced by diaspora communities to maintain their cultural identity while adapting to new linguistic and social contexts.
Returning to the "loss of mother tongue": In this sense, Bahasa Jamaah indeed represents an historical Arab diaspora, but not in the sense that it is a continuation or shift of an old past. Rather, it involves the practice of re-studying a spoken variety. As Lukman told me, "Hadramis don't speak Arabic here." However, what became apparent is that this is akin to the act of studying Arabic: a study that allows one to understand the genuine roots of the "community" and a "culture." However, they still used the language that Nabiel was proud of. Although Lukman corrected his Arabic sometimes, especially the "double possessions" and elements he definitely perceived as completely wrong (see Section 6.3.2).
In other words, concerns over Bahasa Jamaah, voiced as "loss" or "distortion," through errors and common words, serve as a ground for what Silverstein calls indexical inoculation, this referring to a sociolinguistic concept dealing with how language use and the meanings associated with linguistic forms can be intentionally shifted or stabilized. It is a way to think about how specific uses of language can become protected or immunized, against changing social interpretations and contexts. Attributed misspellings and mispronunciations of an item come to index, at a higher order, a majoritarian disregard for, or ignorance of, what Arabic actually is, or what the language of the Jamaah should actually be.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to show what people of the Jamaah community say when they talk about their language practices in relation to their Arabic cultural heritage. While ideas about Jamaah language practices are detached from standardization per se, they are still connected to broader standardization processes.
I stressed that standardization practices, although not aimed at standardizing Bahasa Jamaah, can serve as resources for aestheticizing linguistic practices linking them to competing figures of personhood, as discussed by Babcock (2022). Drawing heavily from Babcock's framework on "images of standard," I have detailed "images of standard diaspora language" as envelopes of linguistic practices, evaluative discourses, and competing figures of personhood across a distributed range of sites and scenarios where there is no absolute standard, but rather a concern for an aesthetics of standard-likeness. This allows us to understand how social actors concerned with "correct" speech generate judgments about the connection between language and ethnicity embodied in speakers, overhearers, and members of the community, and how they bring seemingly competing positions together through their co-production of the image of the standard of their diaspora language.
This chapter has delineated two social personas that, while apparently holding opposite views, actually co-participate in the construction of the image of the standard of the Ja-

maah language practices. Both views construe their arguments by posing Bahasa Jamaah in opposition to a perceived Arabic standard and to some extent place Bahasa Jamaah in the diglossic continuum that sees Vernacular Arabic varieties opposed to Standard Arabic. These views are sustained in part by the existence of hegemonic text genres, like dictionaries of the Arabic language, Quranic schools where Arabic is studied as a religious language in its classical form, mediatized online public descriptions of language practices, and nested histories of standardization state projects, academic discourses on the integration of the Jamaah in Indonesian society and the loss of their linguistic peculiarity.

Members of the community navigate a multi-dimensional social space, constantly evaluating their linguistic choices against imagined standards and negotiating their position within both the Indonesian and Arab worlds. This negotiation is structured through internal debates and external criticisms surrounding Bahasa Jamaah. These debates and criticisms highlight the agency of the Jamaah community in shaping their linguistic identity, and sharing the anxieties and interests in how to define their language practice is as well part of the practice that defines the community. The views expressed do not just reflect different positions and competing linguistic practices among community members; they also reflect the community's mobility and the varied social trajectories of its members. The Jamaah community is diasporic, and its geography expands well beyond Indonesia, incorporating the Arab world, the Indian Ocean, and Southeast Asia, adding layers of complexity to their linguistic and cultural identity negotiations.

Ultimately, Bahasa Jamaah serves as a lens through which we can understand the broader dynamics of language, identity, and belonging in diaspora communities. It challenges us to move beyond simplistic dichotomies and to appreciate the various ways in which communities construct and express their identities through language. In doing so, it offers valuable insights into the complexities of heritage, modernity, and the ongoing negotiation of belonging in an interconnected world.

Chapter 5

Bahasa Majlas: A Semiotic Register

On the late morning of February 21, 2023, I was in Surakarta, in the garden of Rifat's house in Pasar Kliwon. The gentle rain created a calm setting perfect for transcribing recent data. Doelorkoe was my chosen workspace, offering familiar comfort and serving as a hub for diverse visitors, from locals to Westerners, enriching its dynamic yet familiar atmosphere. That morning, Alex was sitting at the far end of the garden. He frequently went back and forth between Yogyakarta and Solo, Alex spent much of his time in Solo at Doelorkoe. He was immersed in a movie on his phone, a typical scene for him. Although his absorption on the screen made him less inclined to talk, Alex was always ready for a conversation when someone approached him. Every time I chose to sit at the garden table to work, I knew that it would not really happen. Transcribing is a tedious task, and I often found myself deliberately avoiding it. The table was a space for interruptions, an invitation for the serendipity of encounters to disrupt the monotony of my task. And on this particular day, it did not disappoint.

Moh arrived as I was tackling my ELAN-CorpA tiers. A regular at Doelorkoe and familiar in Pasar Kliwon, Moh had returned from a wedding the previous night. He's a viola player, a trader in furniture and wood, and a fan of music and Arabic. He often worked at the same table, urging me to try the wood industry. Moh loved Jamaah weddings for the Samar night feast. These performances featured a blend of traditional dances accompanied by the Gambus, the Indonesian version of an Arab oud, and a variety of small percussion instruments. On this day, He had brought along Nif, a 43-year-old man from the Tegal area. After reconnecting at the wedding, Moh invited Nif to Solo, leading to their visit to Doelorkoe for four days. During this time, I enjoyed several long and enriching conversations with Nif.

Nif was very interested in speaking Arabic to me. However, our conversations revealed some gaps in understanding. My tendency to use dialectal forms occasionally left him perplexed. Nif's journey to Doelorkoe began at a "Majlas Gambus" near Tegal, where he had met Moh. During his conversation with me, Nif alternated between Indonesian and Arabic, peppering his sentences with examples that showcased his linguistic knowledge. He explained *Bahasa Arab Jamaah itu ammiya!* (Bahasa Arab Jamaah is *Ammiyah*(Colloquial Arabic)!, offering the example "*sywaya*, artinya permisi" (*sywaya*, means excuse me).[1] He added that if I wanted to hear the authentic Arabic of the Jamaah, I would need to visit his area or Surabaya. *Arabnya masih kental di Surabaya* (The Arabic is still strong in Surabaya), he remarked.

[1]The term *syawya* comes from the colloquial Arabic term شوية (IPA: [ʃʊˈwaj.ja]), which means "a little." It is commonly used in many Arabic dialects to indicate a small quantity or amount. Among the Jamaah, it is used similarly to the English "excuse me."

This recurring theme of authenticity, the sense of always having to go elsewhere to find the "real" language and culture, often surfaced in my interactions with the Jamaah. It was not just about Surabaya being a bastion of Jamaah Arabic, but rather the idea that the place where one stood was never the "right" place to experience it fully. This idea of linguistic and cultural "elsewheres" is a recurring theme among the Jamaah I have encountered. However, this chapter is dedicated to examining the social contexts in which Bahasa Jamaah is used and the interactions that shape its expression, rather than focusing on the geographical locations where it is spoken. Although I have referred to this register as Bahasa Jamaah (the language of the Jamaah), it would be more accurate to use the term Bahasa Majlas (the language of the Majlas), as it is predominantly during Majlas gatherings that this form of language is most commonly employed.

5.1 What is a Majlas?

As I came to observe, Bahasa Jamaah often emerged in contexts where the Jamaah identity was explicitly acknowledged and performed. This was most evident during communal gatherings, such as weddings or informal tea / coffee drinking sessions. Such moments of performance, understood as intentional interactions in which individuals present socially acceptable or desirable versions of themselves (Goffman, 2010), had particular significance in the cultural fabric of the Jamaah community.

Those familiar with the broader Indonesian social landscape might liken this to the social practice of *nongkrong*, defined in Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa (2025) as *duduk-duduk saja karena tidak bekerja* (sitting together because not working)[2]. *Nongkrong* encapsulates the act of informal socialization - sharing stories, strengthening friendships, and passing time together without a specific agenda. It often occurs in spaces such as cafés, stalls on the street, or private places. Another closely related term is *bergaul* (to mingle socially), which emphasizes the act of socializing and building relationships. Within the Jamaah community, these practices find their parallel in the concept of Majlas.

The Majlas, much like *nongkrong*, centers on social connection but with a specific cultural undertone unique to the Jamaah. When Jamaah members say they are *lagi majlas* (doing Majlas), it represents more than merely gathering; it embodies a purposeful effort to strengthen communal ties. The significance of Majlas became apparent in the stories of individuals like Syarif, a Jamaah member from Surabaya, who lamented the lack of access to Majlas gatherings during his time in the city. *Ga begitu bergaul sama Jamaah karena ga tahu majlasnya di mana* (I didn't socialize much with the Jamaah because I didn't know where the Majlas were).

Interestingly, while elements of the Jamaah register can appear in various interactions, even outside the Jamaah community or Arab districts, their usage is most pronounced in the Majlas setting. Initially, I viewed Bahasa Majlas as intrinsically tied to Jamaah identity, but over time, I recognized it as interactionally rather than ethnically bound. It is a register that arises in specific social encounters, particularly in the performative space of the Majlas, where the Jamaah identity is constructed and displayed.

A Majlas can emerge in any social interaction where elements tied to the Jamaah community become prominent. For example, a wedding - especially the evening *samar*, sessions

[2]The KBBI (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*) is the official dictionary of the Indonesian language, published by the Language Development and Cultivation Agency under the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia. It serves as the authoritative source for standard Indonesian vocabulary, spelling, and meanings. Often referred to as the "Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language", KBBI is widely used in academic, professional, and educational contexts to ensure consistency and accuracy in the use of Bahasa Indonesia

featuring dancing and *gambus* music permormances — can be a Majlas (see image 5.1a). Similarly, as I will explore here, a shared dinner or an informal gathering among friends can also be a Majlas (see image 5.1b). These contexts highlight the fluidity and adaptability of the Majlas concept as it manifests itself in various social settings.

(a) Samar for Wowo's wedding - East Jakarta

(b) Majlas at Doeloerko - Pasar Kliwon, Surakarta

Figure 5.1

This became evident in diverse contexts: from Syarif's restaurant, where unfamiliar people found common ground in their Jamaah roots, to encounters with well-acquainted individuals like Nabiel and Wowo (see chapter 4), who still leaned heavily on Bahasa Majlas in their interactions. In such spaces, people draw on linguistic and cultural repertoires tied to Arab identity, the Arabic language, and Islam.

Going back to that morning in the garden, Moh mentioned Syarif reopened his Arab restaurant near Doelorkoe and Zaghladi in Pasar Kliwon. He invited me for the next day with Alex and Nif. We met at the restaurant the following evening.

Analyzing long excerpts of the night we spent in the restaurant, we clearly see that the more we go into discussing the Jamaah or recounting stories, the more elements accrue and the more switches are made. Additionally, it becomes evident that participants with higher competence in Arabic perform insertions fully in Arabic, but only when it is salient. Thus, it becomes apparent that ethnicity, with Arabic serving as an indicator of Arab ethnicity, emerges as a dialogic construction throughout the interaction. Additionally, we observe that the individuals involved hail from various cities, including Nif, who is an "outsider" in the group. In this scenario, collective understanding is nurtured through the shared Arabic identity.

5.2 Syarif's New Restaurant

The group gathered that day was diverse, united by friendship and Arab ancestry. Anif, from Teggal, and Moh, from Bogor, spoke different Javanese dialects. Moh commutes between Jakarta and Solo for work, where his stay lengthened due to his brother Fadil's recent stroke, an event giving his visit personal significance. Fadil was my first connection to this network of friends.

Syarif, the owner of the restaurant, was a regular at Doeloerkoe, the usual gathering place for this circle. His life journey had taken him from Surabaya to Bali, and he had finally settled in Solo for the past decade. Alex, the eldest, conversed primarily in Javanese, his life oscillating between Solo and Yogyakarta. Unlike the others, Anif was more of an acquaintance within this tight-knit group.

Upon discussing their linguistic capabilities, it was observed that while Syarif had no Arabic proficiency or a background in religious schooling, Anif boasted several years of education in a *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). Both Moh and Alex regularly engaged in Arabic lessons with their cousin Arfan, a graduate in Arabic Literature, though he was absent that day.

The atmosphere of the restaurant, nestled in the heart of Pasar Kliwon next to the other Arab restaurant, was steeped in symbolism. Signage and decor drew heavily on orientalist motifs reminiscent of the Middle East, with fonts that mimic Arabic script. Inside, the layout was inspired by a majlis[3] -do not read majlas. A majlis is a living room- featuring long sofas lining the room's corners, yet our seating was distinctly Javanese, almost at ground level, setting a casual and intimate tone for our gathering (see image 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Majlas at Syarif's place

Syarif's wife, the chef behind the day's culinary offerings, remained behind the scenes, interacting with us solely to discuss menu choices. Her presence, though peripheral, was important in crafting the dining experience that framed our conversations.

This chapter begins with an account of a specific interaction to frame the moment of Majlas, emphasizing the critical role of sociability and context in the emergence of Bahasa Jamaah. Rather than simply describing linguistic features, this approach highlights how language becomes meaningful only within the appropriate social settings. Majlas, therefore, represents not a fixed geographic or cultural phenomenon but a dynamic interactional space where Jamaah identity is constructed and performed.

In the following excerpts, I will present the progression of the interaction, illustrating how switches to Arabic and phrases distinctive to Jamaah increase as the social dynamic evolves and Jamaah identity becomes more salient. Initially, these features appear sparsely, gaining momentum as narratives about Jamaah figures and shared cultural references deepen the engagement. This dialogic process reveals how sociability and the performative aspects of interactions shape the distinct communicative style of Bahasa Jamaah. Subsequent sections will include excerpts from other Majlas settings, further demonstrating the adaptability and richness of these interactions.

[3] In an Arab house, a *majlis* (مجلس) refers to a traditional sitting room or reception area where guests are welcomed and entertained. Often separate for men and women in more traditional homes, majlis is characterized by its spacious layout, low seating arrangements (such as cushions or sofas), and ornate decor, reflecting hospitality

5.2.1 Netflix is Not Working

As we sat in the restaurant, I found myself next to Alex, who was focused on his phone, frustrated by his inability to connect to a streaming platform that a relative had given him access to. In 7, Alex turned to Syarif for assistance.

During the exchange, Moh remarked in 1 that the account was shared among several friends, using the term *sohib*—the Jamaah word for friend - in its reduplicated form, accompanied by the determiner *=nya*, producing *sohib-sohibnya* (the friends). Shortly after, Alex adopted the same term while attempting to navigate the Netflix account settings with Syarif's help.

The arrival of Syarif's wife briefly interrupted the conversation. Alex paused to greet her politely with the phrase *ahlan baik alhamdulillah* (I'm fine, praise be to God). Among Jamaah, *ahlan* is an Arabic common and familiar way of greeting one another, often signaling warmth and communal belonging, while *alhamdulillah* is a common Arab-Islamic expression widely used across Indonesian muslims.

The interaction resumed shortly after, and when Syarif noticed that the Netflix account was not protected by a password, he chuckled and remarked *khoir ini* (that's good) in turn 14, composted of *khoir* from the arabic خير /xajr/ (good) with the indonesian deictic *ini* (this). Not here that it is very common to produce the term *khoir* /xoir/ also as /xer/ or /her/ as the voiceless velar fricative is either reduced to a /h/ or effects the following vowel. In the excerpts presented in this chapter, Arabic is marked in green while Javanese in blue.

(7) Cerita_Netflix taken from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

→	1	Moh-S1	=urunan sama sohib2nya
			=share with friends
	2	Syarif-S1	mana anu nek anu [a: netflixnya mana, ana bisa ngelihat passwordnya
			where is it, like, where is the Netflix, in my own I can see the password
	3	Alex_S1	[berapa (.) ((talking to Moh))
			how much
	4	Moh-S1	lima ribu sebulan
			five thousand a month
	5	Syarif-S1	ana bisa ngelihat paswordnya netflixnya
			I can see the Netflix password
	6	Alex_S1	lha ni..
			here it is..
			((syarif's wife arrives))
→	7	Alex_S1	ni kan nama alamatnya shohib we ahlan baik alhamdulillah
			this is the address of a friend welcome praise be to God
			5 turns omitted
	13	Syarif-S1	[ajib, ndak ada yang dikunci
			great, nothing is locked
→	14	Syarif-S1	khoir ini khkhkh
			this is good hahaha
	15	Syarif-S1	[ndak ada yang dikunci profilnya ee
			nothing is locked on his profile

In the unfolding conversation reported in 8, Alex still struggles with accessing the Netflix account, a process punctuated by brief detours into discussions about food orders. Moh suggests ordering the "mix", prompting Syarif to engage with the term as he tries to confirm its content.

Syarif's use of the Arabic phrase *ma fi*, derived from ما في /maː fi/ in 40 (there isn't') stands out as a stance of surprise and frustration when the sought-after email address cannot be found. The phrase, a common negation in Jamaah speech, combines the negator *ma* with the existential marker *fi* to express absence concisely. The discovery that Alex's Netflix

account lacks a password adds to the tension, prompting Syarif to react with *khoir ini* (that's good'), evoking a stance of amused disbelief. Together, these phrases reflect the pragmatic and affective nuances of Jamaah linguistic style, alternating between complete denial and sardonic acceptance.

At the same time, the negotiation of the food order introduces another linguistic moment. Syarif's wife, who arrives to take drink orders, hears the Arabic term *syahi* (tea) in 41, contrasting with the more common Indonesian term *teh*. Although the use of *syahi* aligns with the group's linguistic practices, a subtle moment of clarification arises in 43 when Syarif's wife looks to him for confirmation. At this point, Syarif switches to the Indonesian term producing a repair turn in 44.

I argue that this repair occurs because, although physically present, Syarif's wife is not fully engaged in the shared linguistic nuances that define this Majlas. Her role as an outsider of this particular interaction, likely focused on the functional task of taking orders rather than participating in the linguistic performance of the group, requires repair. Syarif's switch from *syahi* to *teh* reflects an awareness of her distance from the group's linguistic frame, prioritizing clarity over alignment with Jamaah speech.

The conversation later circles back to the Netflix issue. Alex, uncertain about the correct email address, expresses his hesitation in 50: *wah gak tahu ana afwan (.) dia yang buatken kok* (well I don't know, sorry, he made it though'). His use of *afwan* (sorry), a term derived from the Arabic عفوًا /ʕafwan/ without the Voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/, highlights his linguistic blending as part of the Jamaah group. Here, Alex conveys both uncertainty and deference, subtly shifting responsibility for the account setup while maintaining politeness through culturally marked speech.

This segment as a whole captures the layered interactions of the group. The negotiation of meaning through phrases like *ma fi* and *syahi*, alongside moments of repair and clarification, highlights the interplay between cultural belonging and functional communication. The role of Syarif's wife, momentarily outside the linguistic frame, further emphasizes how participants flexibly adapt their speech to navigate shared and unshared understandings within the group dynamic. I argue that we should frame these shifts as in Errington's discussion on shifting languages in Java, which centers around how language choice can serve as a way to model speech and thought (Errington et al., 2011). This shifts are not about changing the language for communication purposes, but rather deeply connected to cultural and social identities. Language choice reflects and constructs social hierarchies and relational dynamics. By shifting language, speakers can navigate social norms, express politeness levels, and align themselves with certain cultural expectations and values. It is precisely in that shifts through out the conversation are constructed.

(8) Mafi taken from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

16	Moh-S1		[yang mix tadi lo rif
			the mix one earlier, Rif
17	Syarif-S1	hah	
		huh	
18	Moh-S1	yang mix tadi	
		the mix one earlier	
19	Syarif-S1	mix[lahm	
		mix [meat	
→ 20	Harim		[mix yang berapa porsi
			mix how many portions
21	Syarif-S1	ndak tahu berapa mad	
		don't know how many servings	
22	Syarif-S1	mix	

mix

23 Nif-S1 apa tadi
what was that

24 Alex_S1 mix buat karaoke apa apa?
mix for karaoke or what?
[. . .]

31 Alex_S1 klo ente buka dia tahu ndak
if you open it, does he get to know it?
[. . .] hey keep talking about netflix

35 Harim empat orang (.) ayam semua
four people (.) all chicken

36 Alex_S1 tapi mbukake dari mana, kok bisa tahu itu tranif you access he can tell

37 Syarif-S1 sek
wait

38 Alex_S1 lha ya=
yes=

→ 39 Harim =minumnya
=the drinks

→ 40 Alex_S1 ma fi ID
there is no ID

→ 41 Syarif-S1 syahi syahi (.)
tea tea (.)

42 Nif-S1 syahi
tea

→ 43 Harim minumnya ((Looks at Syarif))
the drinks ((Looks at Syarif))

→ 44 Syarif-S1 e: teh ini wae e: teh
uh: just this tea uh: tea

45 Syarif-S1 apa. tarbus (.) tarbus
what. tarbus (.) tarbus

46 Harim ((inudible))
((inudible))
[. . .]

49 Syarif-S1 ini thok alamatnya?
is this the address?

→ 50 Alex_S1 wah gak tahu ana afwan (.) dia yang buatken kok
well I don't know, sorry (.) he made it though

5.2.2 Syarif Should Eat

In excerpt 9, we are about to start eating, except for Syarif, who is on the phone with a fellow Jamaah member looking for a place to stay in the city. During the call, Syarif refers to his friends in the city using the term *shohiby-shohiby* (my friends) in 1, composed of the base *shohib* (arabic صاحب /sˤaːħib/), where the voiceless pharyngealized alveolar fricative /sˤ/ is reflected on the following vowel, with the singular possessive marker of the first person *=y* and the Indonesian reduplication for pluralization, marking his connection to the broader Jamaah network.

It is significant to note that the act of eating has already begun, yet Syarif does not eat as he remains engaged in his phone conversation. The meal itself, a shared plate of "mix laham", is placed in the center of the table, symbolizing the communal unity. Interestingly, the dish described as *laham* (a term in Arabic commonly used for red meat) consists of chicken. The act of sharing this meal takes on ritualistic significance, marking the beginning of a key moment in the evening that highlights collective sharing. This ritual is heightened by the abstention of Syarif from eating, which stands out against the rest of us, Moh, Alex, and I, who have already started.

As the shared meal progresses, Syarif's absence from eating becomes increasingly notable. Beginning with the first invitation in turn 4, Moh and I repeatedly encourage Syarif to join us. The significance of eating together becomes more pronounced through Moh's comment in 40: *ndak betul ini sahibul bet* (that's not right, the owner of the house [is not eating]). This statement, composed of the indonesian *ndak betul* (that's not right) and the arabic صاحب البيت /sˤaːħibul beːt/, (the owner of the house), highlights a key cultural expectation: as the host, Syarif should be participating in the meal. The choice of words not only reinforces Syarif's role, but also reflects the fusion of Arabic and Indonesian terms typical of Jamaah speech.

Despite several attempts to persuade him, Syarif continues to politely refuse. Moh escalates the invitations by invoking the politeness formula *hattagrad* (eat) (from the arabic اتغدّ (/itɣadda/) in 41 and 44, used to encourage someone to eat. Syarif maintains his refusal, and in 39, he uses *wallah* (والله /wɑːlˈlɑːh/), a common Arabic interjection, to emphasize sincerity and resolve - he really does not want to eat. The use of *wallah* not only reinforces the polite refusal but also signals Syarif's alignment with the cultural-linguistic norms of the moment. Finally, Moh changes strategies by switching to Javanese in 56, stressing that the rest of us have already begun eating. This switch to Javanese underscores the communal pressure for Syarif to join in and reflects the multilingual adaptability of the group, as participants draw on linguistic resources beyond Arabic and Indonesian to achieve their goals.

This exchange illustrates the cultural and ritual significance of shared eating in the Majlas context. Syarif's initial abstention from eating - either due to his phone conversation or otherwise - disrupts the expected flow of the meal, leading to gentle yet persistent attempts to integrate him. Repetition of invitations, the use of Arabic politeness formulas such as *hattagrad* and *wallah*, and the eventual switch to Javanese all reflect the dynamic interaction between cultural roles, language, and identity. Ultimately, this moment highlights the importance of participating in shared meals as a marker of belonging and reinforces Syarif's role as *sahibul bet*, the host responsible for the communal harmony of the group.

(9) While_eating taken from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

((Syarif's has been talking on the phone))

→	1	Syarif-S1	tak kasihin nanti tak kasihin nomornya shohiby shohiby tuh yang di sana ya (on the phone) *I'll give it to you later, I'll give you my friend's number, my friend over there*
	2	Syarif-S1	krim salam semua ini ya *send regards to everyone, okay*
	3	Syarif-S1	iya iya assalamualaikum, oke *yes yes, peace be upon you, okay*
→	4	Alex_S1	rif ayo rif *Rif, let's go, Rif*
	5	Syarif-S1	ayo *go ahead*
	6	Alex_S1	ayo rif *ayo Rif*
	7	Alex_S1	jam duablas berangkat tadi siang tadi *I left at twelve o'clock this afternoon*
	8	Moh-S1	eh rif rif rif *hey Rif Rif Rif*
	9	Syarif-S1	sek sek bentar bentar xxx *wait wait, in a moment, xxx* (still on the phone, speaks to us)
		Comment	*((Syarif ends the call)) meanwhile they discuss the type of food they are eating, how it is harder to eat with hands, and that basmati is the right rice for nasi mandhi*
	23	Moh-S1	xxx makan(.) makan bareng ya ((referring to eating all from the same plate)) *xxx let's eat together, okay*

	24	Syarif-S1	ini sudah ana minta tolong
			I'm already fine, really
		omitted:	*[... 12 turns]*
→	36	Moh-S1	ayo ayo rif
			come on, Rif
	37	Syarif-S1	xxx wis lanjut tadi (.) lanjutken
			xxx just continue (.) keep going
	38	Int	tapi di sekitar pakai tangan
			but around here, we use hands
→	39	Syarif-S1	ana sudah ana (1.5) wallah lanjut thok
			I am done, I swear just continue
→	40	Moh-S1	ini ndak betul shahibul bet ((while eating))
			this is not right, host of the house
→	41	Moh-S1	rif hattaghad
			Rif, eat
	42	Int	ente ndak makan
			aren't you eating
→	43	Syarif-S1	lha sudah khalas
			I am done, it's finished
→	44	Nif-S1	hattaghad
			eat
	45	Syarif-S1	sudah wisuh thok
			already finished
		Omitted	*2 minutes. They continue to comment on the food, talking about basmati rice*
	46	Moh-S1	ayo rif
			let's go, Rif
	47	Moh-S1	rif ayo rif
			Rif, let's go, Rif
	48	Alex_S1	eh weis thok lanjut
			eh just continue
→	49	Moh-S1	hattaghad
			eat
	50	Syarif-S1	wis tadi
			I have already eaten
→	51	Nif-S1	sahibul bet. sahibul bet
			the host of the house. host of the house
	52	Int	mhmhmh
			mhmhmh
	53	Moh-S1	rif ayo tho rif
			Rif, let's go, Rif
	54	Syarif-S1	wis tho
			already done
→	55	Moh-S1	hattaghad (2.5)
			eat
→	56	Moh-S1	wis tak cuil (.) mau makan nanti rif
			I already took a little, do you want to eat later, Rif?

During the meal, the participants repeatedly referenced the symbolic value of the Arab dish *nasi mandhi* — a Yemeni dish now central to ceremonies and gatherings within the Jamaah community. Its ceremonial significance of the meal was underscored by Syarif in turn 61 when he instructed Alex to return the tea he had grabbed, emphasizing that the tea was incomplete without the addition of mint. This insistence highlights the dish's ritual and symbolic role within the communal meal, where attention to detail, like adding mint, reinforces cultural expectations.

I argue that Moh's attempts to invite Syarif to eat, and Syarif's subsequent refusals, set the stage for the conviviality and sociability that often accompany Arab-style meals. Moh's use of *hattagrad* (eat) functions as a politeness formula that triggers a shared sense of cultural belonging and communal ritual. Syarif's polite but firm refusals, culminating in

his use of the Arabic term *khalas* (that's it/finished) from the Arabic خلاص /xaˈlaːs/ in 43, demonstrate his resistance to the invitations while maintaining politeness and alignment with Jamaah linguistic norms. The repeated invitations eventually end when Moh concedes by switching to Javanese in 56, saying *wis tak cuil* (I already took a little). This switch marks both resignation and a linguistic shift that distances the moment from the Arabic imbued sociability Moh had been attempting to invoke.

As the meal ends, with little conversation during the act of eating itself, Syarif's wife returns to serve the tea referred to as *syahi*. Moh expresses gratitude in Arabic in turn 57, a small but meaningful act that maintains the cultural frame of the meal. Syarif immediately redirects attention to the tea, instructing that mint must be added before serving. His insistence on this point, presented as an almost mandatory requirement, further reinforces the Arabic symbolic value of the meal. The tea itself epitomizes the ritualized nature of the gathering: served in a Middle Eastern-style kettle and accompanied by mint, it evokes a strong cultural association with Arab traditions.

The symbolic importance of mint becomes even more apparent in turn 75, when Moh repeats *naknak* (mint) after Syarif stresses its necessity. The term *naknak* is derived from the Arabic نعنع /naʕ.naʕ/ (mint), a word containing the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/. This sound often transforms into /k/ in Indonesian, leading Moh to pronounce the term as *naknak*. However, in turn 76, Nif steps in to correct Moh by articulating the Arabic form of the word /naʕ.naʕ/, as he perceives it to be correct. This moment reflects not only the group's awareness of Arabic phonetics, but also a deeper concern for linguistic authenticity, a recurring feature of Jamaah identity practices.

This exchange highlights how the symbolic and ritualistic aspects of the meal, embodied in the dish *nasi mandhi* and the serving of mint tea, are deeply intertwined with cultural identity. Moh's persistence in encouraging Syarif to eat, the invocation of Arabic politeness formulas like *hattagrad*, and the discussion surrounding mint and its pronunciation all reveal how language, food, and ritual coalesce to shape Jamaah register. These interactions reflect a dynamic process of linguistic negotiation in which participants draw on shared linguistic and cultural practices while occasionally correcting or repairing them to align with collective expectations.

(10) Excerpt from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

	57	Moh-S1	syukron syukron ahlan ((gaze at Syarif's wife))
			thank you thank you, welcome
	58	Syarif-S1	petikkan min lah
			pick some, lah
	59	Syarif-S1	petik naknak nah
			pick it, kid, okay
		Omitted text	*25 lines*
	60	Moh-S1	mh
			mh
→	61	Syarif-S1	sek sek lek (.) balekno lagi blum dikasih daun mint
			wait wait, Lek (.) give it back (.) haven't added mint leaves yet
	62	Alex_S1	wah panas
			wah, hot
			Omitted text: 12 lines
	74	Int	oh ndak yaya ndak nih
			oh no, yeah no
→	75	Moh-S1	naknak naknak
			mint mint
	76	Nif-S1	na'na ((corr))

mint ((corr))

Furthermore, when I asked whether everyone wants sugar, Moh switches to Arabic and answers on behalf of the group with *aiwa* أيوة /ʔajwa/ (yes). This seemingly small linguistic choice reinforces the shared use of Arabic within the Jamaah group, signaling alignment with cultural norms during the meal.

In the subsequent turn 81, Syarif shifts the focus by turning to Anif and asking if something similar to the meal could be found in Dongkal. This question introduces a moment of cultural comparison, as Syarif implicitly highlights the distinctiveness of the Arab-style meal we are sharing. Anif, seeking clarification, responds in turn 55 with *syahi na'na wala* (tea with mint or...), producing an entire turn in Arabic and using the Arabic disjunctive conjunction *wala* (or), form the Arabic وَلَا /waˈlaː/. In particular, *wala* adds cohesion to Anif's turn and reflects his ability to fully engage in Arabic, a skill that may signal deeper linguistic and cultural familiarity within the group.

Syarif immediately clarifies that he is referring to food, not tea. This brief interaction is significant because it reveals how Arabic operates as a dynamic resource within the group, not only as a marker of shared identity but also as a means of navigating conversational ambiguity. Anif's production of an entire Arabic turn and his use of *wala* demonstrate a level of fluency and cultural alignment in line with earlier *other-correction* moment (*naknak* vs. *na'na*). At the same time, Syarif's clarification underscores the ongoing negotiation of meaning between the group and the subtle fluidity between Arabic and Indonesian in their interaction.

In this way, the exchange exemplifies how participants seamlessly move between languages to affirm cultural connections while navigating the nuances of communication. The collective response of Moh in Arabic, the question of Syarif and Anif's complete Arabic turn collectively reflect the group's investment in Arabic as a symbolic and functional linguistic resource within the Jamaah in a Majlas setting.

(11) Excerpt from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

	77	Int	mau gula (.) satu (.) dua
			want sugar (.) one (.) two
	78	Moh-S1	satu
			one
	79	Int	semuanya pakek gula
			all use sugar
→	80	Moh-S1	aiwa
			yes
	81	Syarif-S1	dongkal ndak ada (looks at Nif)
			In Dongkal you don't have
→	82	Nif-S1	syahi na'na wala =
			mint tea or=
	83	Syarif-S1	= masakan arab
			=Arab cuisine
	84	Nif-S1	oh ya
			oh yeah
	85	Syarif-S1	ente harus ke tegal
			you have to go to Tegal

These are simple but effective ways of indexing ethnic affiliation or competence in Arabic, and they do not require significant proficiency. Importantly, the terms used -such as *aiwa* (yes), *wala* (or), and *hattagrad* (eat) - belong to a shared vocabulary that is widely understood among all Jamaah that I have encountered in Java. These initially minimal Arabic

switches, however, gradually intensify over the course of the dinner, evolving into more frequent and complete Arabic turns in the dialogue.
In particular, as the symbolic elements of dinner come to the fore, the presence of Arabic also increases, even appearing in questions such as Anif's use of *wala* (or) and in moments when participants emphasize the uniqueness of the meal, as seen in Syarif's insistence on adding mint to the tea. These instances underscore the growing importance of Arabic not only as a practical resource but also as an index of cultural authenticity and ritual significance within the Jamaah gathering.
As we will see in later on in this Chapter (5.5), once dinner is over, we remain at the restaurant for a couple of more hours, during which Moh and Syarif begin telling stories. This continuation of the evening further intensifies the cultural and linguistic cohesion of the group, with Arabic playing an increasingly prominent role as the participants reflect on shared experiences and cultural identity.

5.3 Semiotic Register and Style

The core idea of this chapter and this dissertation is that an indexical relationship exists between a language variant, the Hadramaut region, the Arab world, Islam, and a distinctive urban diasporic Indonesian locality. This relationship is dynamic, as it is continually negotiated in each conversational turn, yet stable in its association with the Jamaah community as a social unity. This semiotic register, framed here as the Bahasa Majlas (language of Majlas), reflects a fluid form of self-representation within the community. This research explores how people construct, negotiate, and imagine a collective belonging to a distinctive locality through verbal interaction in informal gatherings, ceremonies, and musical performances across various urban settings. In these interactions, a constellation of signs associated with Arabic linguistic elements plays a central role.
The central question addressed in this chapter is how does this Bahasa Majlas come to be? How is it tied to ethnic identity and why does it emerge more prominently in certain environments? And why does it manifest in remarkably similar ways across distant locations throughout Java and likely Indonesia? Furthermore, this discussion situates Bahasa Majlas within the broader Indonesian linguistic ecology, recognizing the diverse backgrounds and social trajectories of Jamaah members, which give them access to varying semiotic resources. Ethnic identity, as I argue, is constructed through interaction and cannot be fully disentangled from the wider Indonesian linguistic context.

5.3.1 Emerging Identities Through Interaction

Rather than viewing Bahasa Majlas as an innate or predefined marker of Jamaah identity, I argue that it is best understood as an emergent and situational construct. Bahasa Majlas does not operate as a fixed repertoire of linguistic features tied to a homogenized group of speakers, but emerges dynamically in response to interactional contexts. In this perspective, speakers do not simply display an existing identity, but actively construct it within the unfolding of conversation.
This approach moves away from Labov's dichotomy of "careful" versus "casual" styles, where stylistic variation is treated as a mechanical consequence of attention to speech. Instead, variation is seen as an interactional phenomenon, shaped by the co-construction of context. Speakers signal and interpret variation through what Goffman (2010) calls *framing* and what Gumperz (1982, pp. 130–52) terms *contextualization cues*. However, these cues can also create contexts in non-consensual ways. Accent, intonation, and different phonetic

realizations can lead to inferences, correct or not, about a speaker's social origins or communicative competence, a process Gumperez calls conversational *inferencing*. This process can result in social labeling and attribution. Social attributions, such as linking speech forms to gender, age, class, race or ethnicity, and inferring competences or personality traits, rely on social stereotypes (Hewstone & Giles, 1997). For the Jamaah, the interplay of these cues is particularly significant, as it bridges their localized Indonesian context and their diasporic ties to the Arab world. It is precisely in this theoretical connection between local talk events and socially structured beliefs and expectations that sociolinguistic styling operates.

5.3.2 Style and Identity

Variations sociolingusits of the third wave have shown that the ways language indexes identities is never straight forward, and is at the core a social construction. variation as a system of signs, whose meanings emerge in their role in styles that enact social personae or types. These types, in turn, are both constrained by, and contribute to, macro-social patterns. Thus, variables connect only indirectly to the macrosocial. In this way, signs and their social evaluations are seen as emergent in interaction (Eckert, 2012).

Coupland (2001, p. 198) looks at identities and "dialect styles" as "emergent personae", stressing that people move through spheras of conversations, manipulating the different social conversational values associated with a "dialect" in an environment where people express themselves through the social world. Attention to personae shifts the focus away from the social aggregate to individuals as they move through identities and situations. A semiotic panorama in which style and linguistic features connect to the social world.

This aligns with Rampton's idea of crossing where a person might adopt features of language varieties of another group to signal solidarity or temporarily align with the social values and attitudes of that group. This can be particularly evident among youth groups, where crossing serves as a means to explore social identities or challenge existing social norms. This performative act can be seen as a way of "trying on" different identities through language. However, it is not just about mimicking another group, but involves a nuanced understanding of the social meanings attached to particular linguistic forms. It is a way of playing with linguistic stereotypes or subverting expectations.

Style is thus a creative and situational practice, where speakers draw on linguistic resources to position themselves and align (or disalign) with their interlocutors.

For instance, the correction of naknak to na'na in 75 and 76 reflects how speakers actively negotiate authenticity within the ideological framework of Arabic as a marker of linguistic legitimacy. This negotiation is deeply tied to the concept of stance. As Du Bois (2007, p. 163) defines it, stance involves a speaker's evaluation, alignment, or position-taking in relation to their interlocutors and the sociocultural dimensions of the interaction. In the Jamaah context, stance becomes a critical mechanism for expressing both alignment and disalignment with shared norms. For example, Nif's correction of Moh's pronunciation asserts a stance of disalignment while reinforcing the ideological association of Arabic with correctness and authenticity. This act also signals linguistic authority within the group, demonstrating how stance is not only about the speaker's position but also about negotiating power dynamics and social meaning.

For the Jamaah, a Majlas exemplifies this process of emergent identity construction. It is not a fixed linguistic repertoire but a situationally constructed register that incorporates elements deployed to index complex, layered identities, ranging from diasporic ties to Hadrami origins, urban Indonesian cosmopolitanism and religious solidarity. Here I suggest that the emergent social personas and the language practices of the Jamaah can be explained by understanding the semiotic register of Bahasa Majlas as the intersection of a scale of different

social personae that move across Islamic-arabic-arabness lines. I do not think that it would be possible to draw straight lines and divide these elements, although they are not tied in each moment with the same force.

For instance, when they recount stories connected to the Jamaah, the association is profoundly evident; this is less so when the conversation shifts to topics like Netflix. Yet, the overarching framework of a Majlas is still perceptible. It is for these reasons that I chose the term Bahasa Majlas over the previously used Bahasa Jamaah, as it better emphasizes the situation-oriented nature of these interactional practices.

Consider, for example, the exchanges reported in 12, , and 15. After finishing our meal, surrounded by the thick aroma of kretek cigarettes and immersed in a haze of storytelling, Syarif tells us that two friends are currently having issues and and does so by using the term *gissoh* (stories) from the arabic term قصة /qisˤ.sˤa/ meaning stories, but also commonly used to express that somebody is doing too much "fuss". He uses it in turn 1 *marwan gishoh lagi sama ramzi* (Marwan is having troubles again with Ramzi), and then he stated that he met him a while before *ana ketemu rijal di bawah lah* (I met the guy downstairs) and does so using the very common Jamaah term *rijal* (man). Note that this term is very common among jamaah both to indicate a male person, and also as a classifier for people, in a way that resables the standard Indonesian *orang*, however, this last function is rarely used by women. Moh, aware of the issues between the twos responds with a common Islamic quote in turn 4 in Classical Arabic.

Nif began narrating the story of a rather peculiar character from his local community — Simuhite. The atmosphere was a sharp contrast to the segments of the evening previously discussed about the beginning of the interaction at Syarif's restaurant. Here, the tone shifted, the context evolved, and the linguistic choices reflected these transformations.

Significant increases in Arabic usage are particularly noticeable during performative moments — when individuals share stories that resonate deeply within the Jamaah, such as Anif's tales. Common terms of address like *sohib* and *rijal* are ubiquitously used and full Arabic switches emerge, manly in turns shared by Moh and Anif, who not only possess good Arabic command but also tend to lead the discussions with their tales. Note also, that they make also in 4 and 18 insertions in Classical Arabic *la hawla wala quwwata illa billah* (there is no power nor strength except through Allah).

(12) Lagi_Gissoh Excerpt from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

		Section	Syarif starts a new topic and uses gissoh and rijal
→	1	Syarif-S1	marwan gishoh lagi sama ramzi
			Marwan is having troubles again with Ramzi
→	2	Syarif-S1	ana ketemu rijal di bawah lah
			I met the guy outside
	3	Int	xxx
			xxx
→	4	Moh-S1	lahaula wala quatalah ila billah / la hawla wala quwwata illa billah
			There is no power nor strength except through Allah
		((quote in Arabic, story about Ramzi, Ramzi's voice is strong))	
	5	Syarif-S1	yang asli ngomong
			the original, he said
			((Omitted par 10 turns, side topics about a photo))
	6	Int	weh apa gisahnya
			what's the story
	7	Alex_S1	hhh
			hhh
	8	Syarif-S1	ndak ana ngomong
			Notthing, I was just saying

	9	Syarif-S1	ndak ndak ikut ke bawang *he didn't come to Bawang*

The narrative continues to address the issues until I inquire further, at which point it is revealed that he did not participate in a trip they organized. The conversation then shifts to *Bandrik*, which refers to a group within the Jamaah community that crafts cups in Dongkal, contrasting it with another group that performs similar work in Jakarta. Upon introducing this topic, Nif switches entirely to Arabic (12 and 14), explaining that *Bandrik* is the term inscribed beneath the cups and that this individual owns a factory in Saudi Arabia. During an overlapping turn by Alex in 13, he clarifies this by saying *ahli finjan (.) ahli cangkir* (yes, expert in cups, expert in cups), where he repeats the information first in Arabic, echoing Nif's statement, and then reformulates it in Arabic. It is notable that *ahli* (expert), which is repeated, and then followed by the Indonesian *cangkir* (cup), is derived from Arabic, although with a different meaning. This linguistic choice lends the conversation a predominantly Arabic flavor.

(13) Excerpt from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

	10	Alex_S1	bikin cangkirnya *they make cups*
	11	Syarif-S1	tak pikir *I thought*
		comment	`speaks Arabic to Int`
→	12	Nif	finjan xxx maktub tahat lana badrik *a cup xxx written under it is Badrik*
→	13	Alex_S1	ya ahli finjan (.) ahli cangkir *yes, expert in cups, expert in cups*
→	14	Nif	ʕindo masnaʕ fi ṣaʕuːdiː *in a factory in Saudi*
	15	Syarif-S1	oh ya *oh yes*

After confirming that we were discussing the same cup maker, Nif clarifies that the individual we initially thought he referred to had actually passed away. In response, Moh inserts a common Islamic phrase in classical Arabic, inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi raji'un (to Allah we belong and to Him we shall return), in 18. The discussion continues, albeit with lingering uncertainty about the identity of the deceased. In 28, Moh seeks further confirmation about who exactly has died, asking *yang yang mot ini* (is he the one who died?). He employs the term *mot* (die), derived from the Arabic word for *dead* (موت /moːt/). The term *meninggal* is predominantly used for discussing death, while *mot* always follows *yang* (e.g., *dia yang mot*, not *dia mot*). *Mot* functions as a stative or adjectival descriptor, requiring *yang* for syntactic correctness, unlike *meninggal*, which stands alone as a predicate. This dependency marks *mot* as a nominalized borrowing. See 6 for a more detailed description.

(14) Excerpt from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

	16	Moh-S1	meninggal salimnya *Salim passed away*
	17	Nif	iya *yes*
→	18	Moh-S1	inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi rojiun *to Allah we belong and to Him we shall return*
	19	Nif	persis NAMA

			exactly NAMA
	20	Syarif-S1	mantunya
			his son-in-law
	21	Nif	mantunya
			his son-in-law
	22	Syarif-S1	iya tau he eh masih dapet cucunya sini jadi cucu ketemu cucu
			yes, I know, he still got his grandson here, so the grandchild meets the grandchild
	23	Nif	oh
			oh
	24	Syarif-S1	dapet anaknya isa
			got Isa's child
	25	Moh-S1	yang siapa
			who
	26	Syarif-S1	anaknya dina
			Dina's child
	27	Alex_S1	yang meninggal itu
			the one who passed away
→	28	Moh-S1	yang yang mot ini
			is he the one who died?
	29	Syarif-S1	ah mertuanya (.) jadi mantunya ammy ammy labib
			ah his son-in-law (.) so the son-in-law of Labib, Amy Labib

In excerpt 15, Nif takes the lead in the conversation and narrates a story about a man he knows. Initially, Syarif attempts to determine if he is a guy he knows as well. Nif establishes the context of the story by introducing the character with the phrase in line 30, *ente ada wahad ada wahad alkatiri (.) simohite namanya* (there is a guy, this guy is an Alkatiri (.) his name is Simohite). Nif's framing the beginning of the story with the term *wahad* which signals a shifts in register that further stress how Bahasa Jamaah should be treed as a register of monolingual communities. However, there are turns that are entirely in Arabic, indicating a deeper engagement with the language. Note as well that in turn 30, Nif uses *ente* as a storytelling initiator, followed by the Arabic quantifiers/numerals *wahad* as an indefinite article. This use of *wahad* as an indefinite article is common in vernacular varieties of Arabic but does not exist in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Nif begins by discussing a man named Simohite and his family. He emphasizes that Simohite is very old, wealthy, and has recently married a much younger woman. In this instance, switches to arabic, enhence highlighting a stylistic and linguistic depth in Nif's storytelling. In the subsequent turns, Syarif attempts to determine if he knows the individual, and they repeat his name from 31 to 33. In turn 34, Nif emphasizes that Simuhite is old and all of his children are male, using the Arabic lexical element *rijal*, and then mentions that they are all wealthy and involved in the sarong business.

(15) Excerpt - Cerita Simuhite - from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

→	30	Nif	ente ada wahad (.) ada wahad alkatiri (.) simohite namanya
			there is a guy, this guy is an Alkatiri (.) his name is Simohite
	31	Syarif-S1	simuhite
			Simuhite
	32	Nif	simuhite
			Simuhite
	33	Alex_S1	simuhite
			Simuhite
	34	Nif	iya sebeh sudah (.) anaknya sudah besar xxx rijal semua
			yes, he's already old, his children are already grown, all boys
	35	Nif	sulton (.) sarung semua mainnya (.) [Simuite itu sebeh
			Sulton, they are all in the sarongs bussiness. Simuiteh is old
	36	Syarif-S1	[woh ajib

wow, amazing

Nif continues the story by mentioning that the man remarried, using the phrase *zuwat lagi* (got married again) with a young girl, and employs the Arabic term *harmalah* in turn 37. However, he is interrupted by Syarif, who clarifies that they have divorced, as highlighted in turn 38. After two turns, they conclude that the Simuhite who got divorced is a different person. In turn 53, Nif resumes the topic, again using *ente* as the initiator, and states, *udah ente zawad lagi dapat bauzir* (you get married again and you get a bauzir). In turn 54, he remarks that the girl is very young, which implies that the man is rather too old. In turn 56, he rephrases the same statement in Arabic, saying *'umro (.) hormatu thani 3omro saba'awa'isyirin wa hada rijal 'umro khomsawasittin* (his second wife is 27 years old, and the man is 65). It is important to note that while this turn is entirely in Arabic and exhibits a nonstandard syntax, Nif uses *rijal* (man) the way Jamaah use it, but plural in Arabic. However, it's important to note that the structure—topic/argument constructed with a third person clitic attached to a noun — is predominantly an Indonesian structure. In this case, the speaker is effectively using the Arabic third person possessive in an Arabic clause as the determiner =nya, which is also a third person possessive clitic in Indonesian.
Similarly, he topicalizes *'umr=o* (his wife) in turn 56 following Indonesian sintax. This usage adds a layer of complexity to the linguistic dynamics of the conversation, illustrating Nif's adeptness in navigating the Majlas registers.

(16) Cerita Simuhite - Excerpt from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

	37	Nif	zuwat lagi dapet bauzir dia (.) [harmanlah eh *he got married again, got Bauzir (.) [he's in love eh*
	38	Syarif-S1	[firoq (.) firoq emang firoq *[got divorced. He's divorced, I tell you he got dicorced*
	39	Moh-S1	muh sapa *Muh, who*
	40	Syarif-S1	ini siapa ini *who is this*
	41	Nif	simuhite kalau si ini simuantar *Simuhite, while this one it is Simuantar*
	42	Syarif-S1	oh simuantar *oh, Simuantar*
	43	Nif	simuantar dapat alamudi *Simuantar got Alamudi*
→	44	Syarif-S1	ya kalau muhnya kan firoq *yes, but Muhnya is separated*
→	45	Nif	dapet tiga (.) anak tiga firoq *got three (.) three kids and then divorced*
	46	Nif	nah masih nyari firoq lagi= *he was still looking for another and got divorced=*
	47	Syarif-S1	=oh ndak firoq juga *=oh, no, he's divorced as well*
	48	Nif	si muh *Muh*
	49	Syarif-S1	o muh iya (.) anu istrinya bertingkah *oh, Muh, yes (.) his wife is acting up*
	50	Nif	oh ini simuhite *oh, this is Simuhite*
	51	Moh-S1	mana rif rif sabun tangan mana rif ((speaks to Syarif)) *where is it, Rif, hand soap, where is it, Rif*
	52	Syarif-S1	ini lho tisu *here's the tissue*
→	53	Nif	udah ente zawad lagi dapat bauzir

			Imagine get married again, and get a Bauzir
→	54	Nif	harmalah (.) umurnya duapuluhtujuh tahun
			the wife is (.) 27 years old
	55	Alex_S1	hahaha
			hahaha
→	56	Nif	'umro hormatu (.) thani[omro saba'awa'isyirin wa hada rijal 'umro khomsawasittin
			her age is 27 (.) the second [her age is 27 and this man is 65
	57	Syarif-S1	hm
			hm
	58	Moh-S1	hhh
			hhh
→	59	Nif	hah harim ithn-- harim thani
			ahah the second wife– the second wife
	60	Nif	iyal ilawwal itwaffa wes(.) ini dateng simubomba (.) simubomba tahu ente simubomba yang dapet
→	61		magelang mahdi
			the first one passed away (.) this one came, Simubomba, Simubomba, you know Simubomba who got Magelang Mahdi

I argue that switches to Arabic should be viewed as elements that contribute to a broader Majlas style. Specifically, in turn 59 and the subsequent turn in 61, just before a brief pause, Nif utters *iyal ilawwal itwaffa wes*. Here, *iyal*, which traditionally means "wife" in Arabic, is commonly used in Jamaah interactions, indicating that these shifts are part of a wider stylistic framework.

According to Errington et al. (2011) language shifts are not merely for communication but are deeply entwined with cultural and social identities, reflecting and shaping social hierarchies and relational dynamics. By adopting Arabic, speakers are able to navigate social norms and align with specific cultural expectations and values, engaging with a unique set of cultural meanings and practices. This type of language shift is more than changing words; it serves as a method to embody and perform specific social roles and identities, showcasing Errington's notion of speech and thought modeling, using language as a tool to construct and reflect culturally specific thought patterns and social behaviors.

Continuing in the interaction, Moh emphasizes *jamaah ini musti ada panggilan (.) biar ndak repot* 'Jamaah people always have a nickname, so as not to get confused'. We also see *ente* used as a sequence initiator when Nif discusses the place he is from, until in turn 67 Nif states, *sawa jelis ente ngadepi kediri tegal ente jelis lihat mukanya ae sudah ente farhan sudah* (seriously, you sit in Kediri Tegal, you just sit and look at his face (the guy they were talking about) and you're going to be happy immediately). In this last turn, he also uses the term *sawa* (that's correct/I agree), a general term used to agree or evoke a stance that emphasizes an assertion of truth, along with *jelis* (sit) and *farhan* (happy).

(17) musti ada panggilannya- Excerpt from CONV_KLW_220223_RISTORANTE

	62	Moh-S1	jamaah ini musti ada panggilannya (.) [biar ndak repot
			jamaah people must have a nickname (.) [so it's easier
	63	Nif	[ada simubomba
			[there's Simubomba
	64	Syarif-S1	ahah
			ahah
	65	Nif	ada simubomba (.) ente ya allah jangan nyari yang sugra ente ndak kuat sugra
			there's Simubomba. You, oh Allah, don't look for sugra, you can't handle sugra
	66	Nif	coba di simuhite memang Mad
			try with Simuhite, indeed, Mad
→	67	Nif	sawa jelis ente ngadepi kediri tegal ente jelis lihat mukanya ae sudah ente farhan sudah
			no kidding, try sitting facing in Kediri Tegal, just see his face, you're already happy

This frequent occurrence is indicative of a stylistic choice, suggesting that these switches are related to shifts in register. The distinctions are so blurred that it feels akin to speaking a single language. In fact, in this context, the need to distinguish between multiple languages seems completely superfluous.

In this way, Jaspers (2008) proposes to see the link between ethnicity and linguistic features more like "a metalinguistic concept or second-order construct, or a term used by members of whichever community (including the linguistic one) for the perception of a particular way of speaking". In this way, taking into account both the ideologies attached to languages, for instance as representing ethnicity, and the practice that construe these ideologies.[4] This element is also congruent with the idea of diasporic space and identity, where diasporic identity needs to be practiced in order to be salient (Walker & Slama, 2021).

5.3.3 Intersubjectivity, Styles and Registers

At the heart of these processes is the sociological concept of intersubjectivity, defined as "the ontological condition that places individuals in the position of conceiving themselves in relation to others and others in relation to themselves" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), and the concept of common ground, seen as the aggregate of speakers' mutual, shared, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions.

In this perspective, individual subjectivity is manifested through the reciprocity of shared experience and practices such that self-awareness simultaneously entails awareness of the other. While the hope of being "understood" by an interlocutor does not guarantee that participants in an interaction have the same perception of each other or are clear about the perception one wishes to convey to the other. According to Clark (1996, p. 92), knowledge of these practices forms the basis for *common ground*, which in turn underlies interaction and social practice — a shared set of knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions. Everything we do is rooted in information we have about our surroundings, activities, perceptions, emotions, plans, interests. Everything we do jointly with others is rooted in this information, but only in that part we think they share with us. Two people's common ground is, in effect, the sum of their mutual, common, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions.

In light of this, the necessity of repair during the interaction between Syarif and his wife in the restaurant, as seen in turn 44 of excerpt 8, becomes clear. Syarif initially uses the Arabic term *syahi* (tea), aligned with Jamaah linguistic practices, but switches to the Indonesian *teh* (tea) to ensure clarity. This repair highlights how linguistic alignment requires constant negotiation, particularly when participants, such as Syarif's wife, are engaged differently in the interaction.

Intersubjectivity is fundamental to the construction of identity, which is indeed co-constructed by speakers through a dialogic exchange involving the negotiation between their own self-perception and that of others. In sociolinguistics, this is discussed starting from the processes through which speakers construct their identity and the processes by which identity is imposed on them by others (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, pp. 382–3883). Whether identity should be discussed in terms of imposition is not the subject of this contribution. However, what is of interest are the ways in which these processes are articulated during interaction and how these methods differ from each other, essentially how participants manage to practically manifest their peculiarities. Differences in these modes of action are defined in terms of

[4] Some linguists use the term ethnolect to describe varieties of dominant languages marked ethnically, a concept prevalent among researchers of immigrant communities in Europe (Clyne, 2003; Kern, 2015; Muysken, 2013a, 2013b) and in studies of Dutch varieties. This approach examines how community languages change structurally, morphosyntactically, and phonetically upon contact with dominant languages, often using quantitative methods (Meel, 2016).

style. As suggested in Eckert (2012), it is in the intersubjective space between production and perception that lies the notion of style.

Style is a fundamental component of the creative endeavor inherent in the communicative act, arising from the dialogic interplay between the stylistic repertoires of specific social groups and the individuals who draw upon these resources. Style is typically defined as a unique and distinctive manner of executing an action. Its uniqueness becomes apparent only when contrasted with other distinct styles. However, it is perceived and understood during interaction only if the semiotic resources—and thus the meanings associated with them—are shared among the participants. When these semiotic resources are intricately connected, they form what Agha (2007) describes as a semiotic register. Both style and semiotic register are instrumental in elucidating the language practices of the Jamaah.

Style is closely linked to the practices shared by a given social group and is a vehicle for the identities associated with it. Drawing from Irvine (2002), within a conversation, speakers refer to stylistic resources in acts of distinctiveness. Consequently, using one style rather than another in interaction calls into play a specific identity, distinct from another, and since this is manifested linguistically, it is tied to the ideologies associated with the languages and thus to the ideas at the base of the participants' understanding of the linguistic varieties at their disposal, ideas formulated from meaningful experiences and thus associated with a defined social meaning Irvine and Gal (2000, p. 35). At the same time, there is what the speaker as a person, with a layered identity, not reducible to just one precise identity, decides to manifest. Speakers do not refer to a precise style, but to multiple styles, drawing from what are defined as stylistic repertoires. Linguistic repertoires are formed from the emulation and iteration of **stances**, a term by which I mean:

"a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positions, subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimensions of the sociocultural field" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163)

Stance is therefore understood as the viewpoint or position taken by a participant in the interaction, in epistemological terms, of value, intention, position, reciprocity, agreement or disagreement. And it is precisely the iterated use of stance during communication that creates the stylistic repertoires from which speakers draw and, at the same time, reveal how these socially produced and recognized meanings are indexed within the language by individuals. Beyond its relationship with stylistic repertoires, stance helps us understand the level of alignment of two or more speakers in the course of a conversation. Du Bois defines alignment as: "the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, and by implication between two stance-takers" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 144). In this light, when Nif repeats and corrects Moh's pronunciation of the term *naknak* in 75 by providing the Arabic form *na'na* in 76, he expresses both a stance of disalignment and an insistence on a "correct" way of speaking that aligns with a perceived authentic style. This correction not only highlights a moment of linguistic tension, but also serves as an assertion of linguistic authority within the group.

The concepts of stance, intersubjectivity and style are fundamental in assessing performance in linguistic anthropology, namely: "highly deliberate and self-aware social display. In everyday speech, as in much linguistic anthropology, the type of display to which performance refers involves an aesthetic component that is available for evaluation by an audience" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 280). This evaluation implies the possibility of the expression of stance by the participants in the conversation.

In summary, intersubjectivity is what relates individuals to each other to achieve mutual understanding by developing self-perception based on the other. Style is what distinguishes

the actions of one from those of another and is co-constructed starting from the recurring practices of group members. Such practices are distinguished based on the positions, ideas, and opinions of the participants reiterated, which we have defined as stance, and are indexed during the conversation through explicit acts. In this sense, the connection between social groups and stylistic variations is understood as a dialogic exchange between individuals as subjects during the conversation but also, on a deeper level, as an exchange between such individuals and their ideological sources. Thus, stylistic variations are always intersubjectively co-constructed.

Lastly, I want to emphasize that the label style, as Coupland (2007) suggests, is closely connected to the nature of language use in late modernity. A new phase of capitalist modernity that evolves beyond its "early" stages of developing global economic markets and extending into new cultural spheres. The term style itself is also a catchphrase of late-modernity, referring to short-lived fashions and adaptive ways of dressing and behaving, all oriented towards consumption.

In this sense, style reflects the rapid, consumeristic, and interconnected nature of contemporary life, where new repertoires from different regions are available for stance-taking, contestation, and re-styling. It operates within national and international processes of meaning creation, relying on shared **semiotic resources** and common practices. Speakers use these resources to express their distinctiveness (Irvine & Gal, 2000). In this way, the style aligns with the long-standing traditions of the Jamaah community and the outcomes of language contact within Indonesia's linguistic ecology.

For example, Moh actively watches YouTube videos in Arabic that showcase specific language practices, providing him with access to semiotic resources that shape his stylistic repertoire. Similarly, other Jamaah members engage with international media, exposing themselves to diverse forms of Arabic. These resources, as discussed in chapter 4, influence ideas of linguistic correctness and become tools for building stylistic repertoires.

Through this exposure, community members align with specific linguistic and cultural identities, borrowing elements they perceive as authentic or desirable. These practices demonstrate how global media flows intersect with localized traditions, enabling the Jamaah to create and contest meanings through stylistic choices. Arabic, in its various forms, serves as a semiotic bridge between global influences and the Jamaah cultural practices, allowing them to participate in broader narratives while maintaining their distinct identity.

5.4 Semiotic Resources Across Majlas

While style refers to the act of doing things in a specific way, contrasting with other ways of doing things, it must be framed within a broader semiotic landscape of meaning creation and interpretation. To this end, I draw on the concept of semiotic registers, which helps position the Jamaah within the wider Indonesian and international context, where different centers of normativity compete for authority over representation. During a Majlas, the Jamaah engage with a wide variety of signs: some enregistered as religious, others as ethnic, and still others as conversational tools to express stances on events unfolding in the interaction.

Over the past two decades, interactional linguistics and sociology have shown that group social interaction, whether face-to-face or mediated, is central to the construction of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). This underscores the importance of studying language and stylistic repertoires in environments characterized by linguistic innovation and dynamism.

In Indonesia, such environments include as well spaces of contact among youth groups of varying ethnicities (Djenar et al., 2018). The language of sociability is associated in Indonesia with *Bahasa Gaul* (Language of Sociability). Since the Jamaah interactions are

characterized by high levels of sociability, this topic deserves attention. Moreover, this high sociability (*gaul*) drives linguistic innovation.

Although often conflated with colloquial Indonesian, *Bahasa Gaul* differs in the identity connotation. Colloquial Indonesian (*bahasa sehari-hari*) refers to informal daily speech without specific social connotations (Djenar & Ewing, 2015; Sneddon, 2006). In contrast, *Bahasa Gaul* is tied to a modern, metropolitan culture rooted in Jakarta, symbolizing sophistication, urban life, and resistance to the national identity model promoted by the government (Goebel, 2015).

During the Suharto regime, this government model associated ethnic identity with backwardness while presenting Jakarta's modernity as progressive (Lindsay, 1997). At the same time, ethnic identity was upheld as the foundation of Indonesia's multicultural essence. *Bahasa Gaul* challenged these narratives by drawing on subcultural styles like gangster slang, the criminal underworld, and *Bahasa Gay* (gay language).[5] These repertoires offered alternative identities rooted in real, urban social groups distinct from the idealized national identity promoted by the government (Errington, 2022).

Indonesian is often described within a diglossic framework, where the high (H) variety is standard Indonesian used in formal contexts, and the low (L) variety is colloquial Indonesian used in daily life.[6] However, Sneddon (2006, pp. 6–8) and others argue that this model is insufficient for Indonesia's sociolinguistic context, as Jakarta's colloquial Indonesian has effectively become a standard variety and the "mother tongue" for many Indonesians. Local varieties and registers from major urban centers now enrich Indonesian vocabulary and styles, as shown by recent studies (Djenar & Ewing, 2015; Djenar et al., 2018; Goebel, 2010; Goebel et al., 2020). For the Jamaah, these linguistic centers also extend to Middle Eastern cities such as Jeddah, Tarim, Cairo, and Amman, reflecting the diaspora and contemporary migration networks.

For what concerns Jakarta's distinctive linguistic repertoires, Sneddon (2006, pp. 5–7) differentiates between the colloquial Indonesian used broadly across Jakarta and the more localized Jakarta Malay, also known as Betawi. He describes Jakarta Malay as the traditional language of the *anak Betawi*, or "children of Batavia," who are long-term residents of Jakarta's older neighborhoods. According to his findings, the *anak Betawi* increasingly use colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, especially when interacting with outsiders, suggesting that Jakarta Malay serves as a communal dialect within Betawi groups as an exclusive in-group code that remains largely unfamiliar to those outside these communities.

The *anak Betawi*, as an ethnic group, often intersect with the Jamaah in Jakarta. This overlap arises in part because *Kampung Arab* communities are frequently located in Betawi areas and in part because the Betawi identity itself emerged from historical encounters between diverse groups in what was once Batavia (Tjahjono, 2003). While the Betawi identity is a complex topic beyond the scope of this discussion, it is important to note the influence of Betawi linguistic features on Jamaah speech. For example, phonetic elements characteristic of Betawi Malay, such as the /e/ ending, appear in the way many Jamaah speak.

Moreover, many of the Jamaah I met in Jakarta did not draw strict boundaries between being Betawi and Jamaah. Instead, these identities were seen as overlapping or intertwined. Some individuals even explicitly identified as Arab Betawi (less commonly as Jamaah betawi),

[5]The first two were popularized by Teguh Esha's Ali Topan novels, which contrasted standard Indonesian with Jakarta's colloquial language, preferred by the protagonist for its intimacy and closeness that standard Indonesian could not convey.

[6]This term, introduced by Ferguson (1959, p. 336), refers to the functional opposition within a linguistic community between two varieties of the same language: an H variety and an L variety, connected through a continuum. Standard Indonesian, based on a specific Malay variety, constitutes the H variety, while colloquial Indonesian (sehari-hari) serves as the L variety.

highlighting the fluidity of ethnic and linguistic boundaries within these communities.

5.4.1 Excerpts from Jl. Pedati

In light of our discussion, consider another interaction that occurred in Pedati, the primary site of my ethnographic research in Jakarta. This area is significant as it is home to my main collaborator, Wowo, and serves as a backdrop for dialogues among youths who identify with the Jamaah community and the Betawi culture, and distinctly see themselves as Jakartans. The scene described features six participants, but the focus here is on four — Sabik, Saleh, Musab, and myself (Int.). Aged between 26 and 31, all have lived their entire lives in this part of Jakarta. Our interaction unfolds at the back of a storage area that furnishes local *warungs* (small shops), a popular hangout for Wowo's friends (see image 5.3). In late November 2022, this spot became our regular venue for watching the football World Cup, offering valuable moments for data collection before and after the games. Initially acquainted only with Wowo, he kindly introduced me to his friends, many of whom I grew close to over the course of my research from 2021 to 2024.

Figure 5.3: Majlas in jl. Pedati

In the discussion presented in 18, Saleh tells a story about a man who agreed to walk 12 kilometers across Jakarta for a small fee, which leads to friendly taunts urging Saleh to replicate the feat.

The conversation predominantly uses Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian interspersed with Betawi dialect, indicative of the group's deep roots in a Betawi district and their Arab Betawi heritage. Notably, the Betawi language, characterized by phonetic and lexical modifications such as replacing the final /a/ with /e/ and using pronouns like *ana* and *ente*, reflects these unique cultural intersections.

This interaction underscores the intricate nature of identity among the youth, who embrace Arab, Betawi, and Jakartan identities simultaneously, demonstrating the dynamic and evolving facets of identity in a context akin to the variability seen in a Javanese Jamaah setting.

In example 18, we note that in line 3, when Saleh describes the man's agreement to walk such a distance for just three hundred thousand rupiah, he uses the Arabic exclamation *wallahi* (which translates as *for God's sake*), also commonly used in its form *wallah* in Jamaah conversation. By the end of the very long IU, he adds *yaher* (*yes, well*), which appears several times in the corpus in forms such as /kher/ and /her/, preceded by *bi-* (*bikher*) in greeting formulas, and *ya* at the beginnings or endings of IUs to stress acceptance or transition to a conclusion. In these functions, it resembles the pragmatic uses and structure of *ya udah* in colloquial Indonesian or *ya weis* in Javanese.

Furthermore, we observe the use of the word *bet* (house), derived from the Arabic term *bayt*, in 8. This term, according to my dataset and ethnographic observations, is also used in other Jamaah communities in Surakarta and Surabaya.

However, in the first turn of the excerpt, note the use of *cepek*, a Chinese-derived term to express hundreds, which is very common in Betawi. As emphasized, other features also point to a Betawi way of speaking.

Another element that merits attention in the excerpt 18, although not surprising, is the use of the Jakartan first- and second-person pronouns *gue*/*gua* and *lo*, which, throughout the conversation, are used along with *ana* and *ente*. Additionally, the expression in line 15, *gua video call ame lo ampe PGC* (I'll video call you until PGC), which draws from the stylistic repertoire of both Jakarta, evident from the pronoun choices, and from the prosodic and phonetic choices (*ame*, *ampe*), triggers a stance of challenge. This is followed by an IU that features the Arabic exclamation *wallahi* and *lo kasih gua tiga cepek* (you give me 300), once again showcasing Jakartan and Betawi choices. While this is not surprising, the point here is that if we were to account for all these switches between different languages, we would have to note constant switches in each turn. I would rather emphasize that speakers tap into different stylistic repertoires with features that index different social values, depending on the stance they wish to evoke.

(18) wallahi jalan kaki - PDT

	1	Sabik	tiga cepek *three hundred*
	2	Musab	tiga setengah *three and a half* *((reported speech))*
→	3	Saleh	wallahi gua mau ini [wallahi gua jalan xxx bulan puasa yaher *I swear I'm going to do it [I swear I'll walk xxx during fasting month, ya her*
	4	int_S1	[hahaha *[hahaha*
	5	Sabik	[eh dari mana-- [dari mane *[eh from where– [from where*
	6	Saleh	[dari PGC sampe rumah gua jalan [kaki anjing *[from PGC to my house I'll walk [on foot, asshole*
	7	Sabik	[dari dari-- [dari mane *[from from– [from where*
→	8	Saleh	[dari PGC ampe bet gue jalan [kaki udeh *[from PGC to my place I walked [on foot, already*
	9	Musab	[xxx hari hari *[xxx every day*
	10	Sabik	pokonya dari sini PGC [brapa xxx 75 gua kasih xxx *anyway from here to PGC [how much xxx 75 I'll give xxx*
	11	Musab	[PGC doang sih PGC ke bet jalan kaki *[just PGC, from PGC back home on foot*
	12	Sabik	gua tambahin tuh duapuluh lima *I'll add 25*
	13	Saleh	nggak Musab bilang tiga setengah anjing *no, Musab said three and a half, asshole*
	14	Musab	iya tiga setengah gua jalan *yes, three and a half, I (accept/am willing to) walk*
→	15	Saleh	xxx ini hari nggak main bulu [tangkis ini gua video call ame lo ampe PGC *xxx today not playing badminton [I'll video call you until PGC*
	16	Sabik	[Wallahi ini hari siap (.) lo kasih gua tiga cepek *[I swear today ready (.) you give me 300*

In the excerpt 19, the discussion unfolds in a humorous and informal setting where Saleh recounts an incident at the mosque. The narrative captures a series of interactions and misunderstandings concerning whether Saleh managed to urinate.

Saleh describes how, exhausted (*ta'ab*) and resting at the mosque, he was interrupted by a phone call, leading to a comical mix-up as he tried to direct the caller to the bathroom. This incident prompts laughter from Musab, who teases Saleh about his disrupted intention to pray, poking fun at the idea of visiting the mosque solely to use the restroom.

In their dialogue, Saleh and Musab switch between direct speech, using informal pronouns *lo* and *gua*, and reported speech, where Saleh opts for the more formal *saya*, which he avoids in direct exchanges. Saleh often uses *wallahi* to underscore his statements and introduces the episode with *ta'ab* —a term rooted in the Arabic word تَعَب /ta.ʕab/ - for 'tired' or 'malfunctioning', reflecting physical and mental exhaustion. This word is familiar across Jamaah communities, as confirmed through ethnographic interviews, and in this context it even sets the stage for *sholly gagal* (failed to pray) in turn 6. Here, *sholly* is derived from the Arabic imperative صَلِّ /sˤal.li/ from the root صَلَّى /sˤal.laː/.

Saleh and Musab's shifting between different registers of speech—from informal to formal—mirrors the dynamic use of language as a tool for navigating social identities and interactions. This switching is not just a matter of linguistic preference but serves as a strategic element in storytelling, enhancing the humor and relatability of the situation.

These elements can be described as crossing (Rampton, 1995). Crossing is often used as a tool for identity construction and negotiation. This performative act is not just about mimicking another group, but involves a nuanced understanding of the social meanings attached to particular linguistic forms. It is a way of playing with linguistic stereotypes or subverting expectations.

Furthermore, note that the standard Indonesian term for prayer, *salat*, also originates from the same arabit root, but seldom appears in casual conversation, where its colloquial form *sholat* [ʃo.lat] is preferred. The emphatic Arabic /ṣ/ often transforms into *sh* or *sy* in Indonesian, producing a voiceless postalveolar fricative, akin to the English 'sh' in 'she'. This alteration affects the pronunciation of the following vowel, changing /a/ to /o/ (see Section 6.0.1). Through such linguistic practices, individuals cross conventional language boundaries, reflecting and shaping their social environments.

(19) ṣolli gagal from TMNWOWO - PDT

	1	Saleh	gua tadi di mesjid Ab *I was at the mosque earlier, Ab*
→	2	Saleh	wallahi di mesjid gua lagi rebah-rebahan ta'ab ditelpon *I swear, I was at the mosque lying down, tired, got a call*
→	3	Saleh	halo mas mas NAMA di mana ((reported speech)) *hello sir sir NAME where are you ((reported speech))*
→	4	Saleh	mas ya ya udah saya ke mesjid deh saya mau kencing oh yaudeh *sir (mas), yes, yes, I'll go to the mosque then, I want to pee, oh alright*
→	5	Saleh	ṣolli gagal lo [mau kencing *you failed to pray, because you [wanted to pee*
→	6	Musab	[ṣolli galal loh hahaha *failed pray, IP hahaha*
	7	Saleh	yaudah nih mau ke [mesjid mesjidnya disebelah mana gua bilang pas turunane lo turunan tuh *alright, now I'm going to the mosque, where is the mosque, I said, at the descent, you go down there*
	8	Musab	[ke mesjid cuma numpang kencing he *[going to the mosque just to pee, huh*
	9	Saleh	udeh lo masuk ada pintu lo arah mesjid deh gua bilang (.) oh yayaya (.) yaudah saya mau kencing *fine, you enter, there's a door, you go towards the mosque, I said (.) oh yes, yes (.) alright, I want to pee*
→	10	Saleh	eh nelpon lagi Ab mas saya tadi gak jadi kencing mas

eh, called again, sir, I didn't pee earlier, sir

→ 11 Saleh saya nunggu di luar aja saya ngopi emang udeh nggak kerja gua bilang
I'll wait outside, I'll have coffee, I'm not working anymore, I said

12 Saleh udah udah mau pulang masa kencing udah siap juga jam lima kurang
alright, alright, already want to go home, peeing time, already ready, it's almost five o'clock

In this excerpt 19, we also see the use of different styles, where Standard Indonesian and formal Javanese term of address *mas* is used to trigger formality and distance. The use of the Javanese kin-based term *mas*, unfamiliar to all speakers, listeners, and people involved in the story in its ethnic connotation, can be explained based on what Agha (2007) describes as "sociological fraction", namely the heterogeneity of the stereotypes indexed by terms. According to Djenar et al. (2018, pp. 52–53), linguistic forms like *mas* (and its feminine counterpart *mbak*) demonstrate how terms of address can evolve beyond their original ethno-local associations. These terms have transitioned from being specifically Javanese to serving as general Indonesian forms of address in public and service encounters. This shift reflects their broader use to navigate interactions across ethnic differences, effectively detaching them from any single ethnic identity and embedding them within a more inclusive, national linguistic repertoire.

In this specific case, *mas* holds no ethnic value, and the social meaning conveyed by the term in this specific story is utilized in a friendly way to alleviate the stakes of disagreement, regardless of its distinction in use between public and private spheres. In other words, Saleh decides not to wait for the guy to arrive at the mosque and states, thourhg *mas*, a stance of strong but polite disagreement

In turn 11, Saleh's playful use of pronouns becomes more evident. He uses *saya* in the reported speech of his conversation with the guy on the phone and closes the reported speech with the very Betawi *udeh*, followed by the Jakartan *udeh nggak kerja gua bilang* (I'm not working anymore, I said). Although Arabic is technically present just through *wallahi*, *sholly*, and *ta'ab*, it is part of a wider youth, urban, and Jakartan style that constructs ethnicity in a transversal way. Note that there is not a display of particular religiousity, or islamic piety. which contrast sharply with the idea that arabic elements are elements tied to that kind of stances.

Continuing in the conversation, Wowo, who is most concerned with genealogical issues, is challenged by Abdullah_2, who claims that Wowo made up his own genealogy (see image 5.4). Abdullah_2 stresses that the branches of Wowo's genealogy in the way he is presenting them are wrong (he says that there are two branches for his family name, while Abdullah_2 insist that there must be only one and does not bealive in Wowo's epistemic argument). In excerpt 20, it is interesting to note the use of the common absolute negation *ma fi*, which carries a stance of astonishment in line 5. Subsequently, Abdullah, who is not initially part of the quarrel, tells Wowo to calm down in 10, using the term *najeh* (relaxed), which comes from the Arabic stem n-j-ħ (نَجَحَ), as in the word نَجَاح [naˈjaːħ] (succeeded). From the overall analysis of this interaction, the pronouns *ana*/*ente* as opposed to *gue*/*lo* convey a more distant stance, though not necessarily formal. Notably, while Wowo and Abdullah_2 argue, they use *lo* and *gue*; check line 11, where Wowo, in an angry tone, challenges his interlocutor. This challenge is downplayed by Abdullah in line 13, where he addresses Abdullah_2 with *ente*.

(20) Silsila Bin Ely

1 Wowo nanti gua [nanti gua mau pecahkan
later I [later I'll outline it

2 Abdullah_2 [pasti satu

[definitely one
3 Wowo bin ely=
bin Eli=
4 Abdullah_2 =ngak bisa
=can't be
→ 5 Wowo iih ye (.) ma fi
really, yeah (.) (how could you say) there's none?
6 Abdullah_2 ngak [bisa
can't [do it
7 Wowo [eh
[eh
8 Abdullah_2 ((mana)) bisa
((how)) can it be
9 Wowo ya [kenape nggak bisa
so [why can't it
→ 10 Abdullah [iye iye iye iye iye iye iye najeh
[yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah stay calm
→ 11 Wowo ya gua pecahin ape lo
so I separate it, what do you...
12 Abdullah_2 orang [bin Eli [ada satu do[ang
the eponim [bin Eli [there's only one
13 Abdullah [ente abis deh
[come on (you), stop it IP
14 Wowo [ya gua pecahin ape lo
[so I'll break it, what do you want

Figure 5.4: Wowo showing his genealogy

As the conversation continues and it starts to become late, Wowo and Abdullah_2 are still quarreling about whether Wowo's genealogy is well documented or not. It is important to note that during this interaction, everyone is engaged in their own conversations simultaneously. This means that people are not talking one-on-one about a topic but instead, conversations are overlapping both temporally and in terms of topics. Saleh, for example, is talking to literally everyone. He asks at what time they are supposed to play badminton and also participates in the quarrel between Wowo and Abdullah. Additionally, they all start teasing each other, accusing everyone of liking *jengkol* (a smelly bean).

In excerpt 21, it is worth noting the use of the verb *gum* (stand up) in 7 to display a stance of challenge. The term derives from the Arabic قام يقوم (qa:m/yaqu:m), which clearly originates from Arabic and appears in its imperative form as *gum!* قُمْ. The phonetic shift from [q] (a uvular stop) to [g] (a velar stop) is a typical process in spoken Arabic, indicating that these elements are more associated with an interactional environment than with a literary one. I

emphasize this point because phonetic shifts in this direction also occur among the Jamaah and in Indonesia generally, sometimes resulting in hypercorrections. Moreover, the use of phonetic realizations close to spoken Arabic for Standard Indonesian terms with an Arabic etymology is quite common among those with some knowledge of the language.
Returning to the conversation, the Arabic term of address *jiddah* (grandmother) is utilized. Alongside *jiddah*, other Arabic elements such as *bet* or *beity*, *umm* or *ummy*, and *ukhty* are frequently employed among the Jamaah. These terms often incorporate the possessive clitic *=y* (1PS.POSS). Depending on the context of the conversation and the speaker's proficiency in Arabic, this clitic can be treated either as a lexicalized element or as a productive possessive marker. Additionally, it should be noted that these lexicalized elements are frequent also among non-Jamaah students in Quranic schools and universities. For instance, students often address their female Arabic professors as *ummy* (mother/miss), almost as a substitute for the Indonesian term *ibu*. This usage likely reflects the cultural norms governing terms of address in Indonesia. For a more detailed discussion see chapter 6.3.

(21) Gum_silsila_wowo - PDT

	1	Amar	siapa yang bikin?
			who made it?
	2	Saleh	eh (.) lo bukanye jam sepuluh maennya [ab
			eh you were supposed to play at ten [ab
	3	Musab	[ndak sekarang mainnya jam 8
			[not now, it's at 8
	4	Saleh	wallah
			I swear
	5	Sabik	[ni siapa nih
			[who's this
	6	Wowo	[xxx bin ubaid. busun
			[xxx bin Ubaid. busun
→	7	Saleh	gum. main dong
			let's go, let's play
	8	Sabik	busun siape
			who's busun
	9	Musab	ayo
			let's go
	10	Sabik	busun siape
			who's busun
	11	Abdullah	jiddah lo
			your grandma
	12	Sabik	udah duduk
			that's it, sit down
	13	Abdullah_2	jiddahnye kan
			his grandma, right
	14	Sabik	lo jangan pake [bekutit eh lo item lo jangan pake bekutit
			don't use [tweezers, hey, you black, don't use tweezers
	15	Wowo	[xxx gue ajarin
			[xxx I'll teach you! (I'll show you!)
	16	Abdullah_2	tapi bener ujungnya satu (.) [ini bin eli ujungnya satu
			but the end is really one (.) [this bin Eli, the end is one
	17	Amar	[subhanallah
			[glory be to God
	18	Saleh	[ente kalah ya
			[you lost, right
	[...		`]they keep arguing for 10 turns`
	29	Musab	[asa xxx semur jengkol

			[asa xxx jengkol stew
	30	int_S1	semur jengkol
			jengkol stew
	31	Amar	kirim ke wowo safik
			send it to Wowo, Safik
	32	Abdullah_2	iye gue [lihat tar lo jelasin gua mau lihat dulu
			yes, I'll [look, then you explain, I want to see first
	33	Saleh	[nasi uduk [mau
			[want mixed rice
	34	Musab	[doyan jengkol nggak
			[do you like jengkol
	35	Abdullah_2	iye mangkanye jangan bekutik
			Yes, that's why, don't fidget
→	36	Saleh	eh wowo gum wowo
			eh Wowo, stand up, let's go Wowo
	37	Wowo	mundur xxx ngak
			move back xxx no
	38	Wowo	bayar langsung apa ngak
			pay directly or not
	39	Saleh	iye gua bayar langsung wallahi anjing gua punya duit bilangin si item
			yes, I pay directly, I swear, asshole, I have money, and (they) call me the black guy

Throughout this conversation, a Jakartan style, a Betawi style, and elements shared by the Jamaah community more generally are utilized. From a Betawi perspective, we observe phonetic features like the vowel raising of final /a/ to /e/, as well as lexical elements. There is an alteration of ana/ente and gua/lo for 1SG. This conversation is youthful, with the participants teasing each other and tapping into different linguistic repertoires. However, we should note that Arabic lexical terms like *najeh* (relax), *gum*, or *royyit* actually occur in moments when the Jamaah identity is more salient, particularly during discussions about Wowo's genealogy (*silsila*).

The Jakartan style is evident from the use of *-in* and *ng-*, but also from the pace of the conversation and the choice of pronouns. This blending of styles reflects the dynamic interplay of identities and social contexts within which these interactions occur, highlighting how language use in this community is deeply intertwined with social identity and context-specific dynamics.

An important point to highlight relates to proficiency and switches to Arabic. During his argument with Wowo about his genealogy, Abdullah asserts his opinion not only about Wowo's reliability but also about his Arabic knowledge. Abdullah has spent three years in Yemen following an exchange sponsored by his *pesantren* (Quranic school). It is important to note that Abdullah corrects other speakers and adjusts elements that are generally grammaticalized or lexicalized to align their Arabic form more closely with the standard version. He uses the inflexed form *ab=y* father = 1POSS(ARA) instead of *abah ana* or *baba*.

In 22, the argument continues, and Abdullah accuses Wowo of not knowing the area where he works (Jakarta Timur and Jl. Pedati) because he is more preoccupied with activities and his future wife in Lombok. Wowo uses *syuf* (look, from the arabic colloquial term شُوف /ʃu:f/) as a sequence initiator to indicate that he is about to explain something and claims that they envy him. Abdullah_2 responds using the phrase *galbun gasi* in Arabic قلب قاسي, which translates to "hard heart" or "harsh heart" in English. The word قلب /qalb/ means "heart", and قاسي [qa:si] (hard or harsh). This expression is used to describe someone who is unfeeling, unsympathetic, or insensitive, as mentioned in 18. Notably, he pronounces the /qaf/ as /gaf/, a voiced velar stop, which is a colloquial way of producing what is otherwise a voiceless uvular stop. This detail highlights Abdullah's deep familiarity with colloquial Arabic variants, likely influenced by his time in Yemen. This linguistic proficiency allows him to play a unique role in the conversation, bridging standard and colloquial Arabic forms.

(22) Galbun gasi_TMNWOWO_PDT

	1	Abdullah	tegang tegang jangan bawa otot jangan bawa otot *you are too tense, don't start a fight, don't start a fight*
	2	Wowo	eh anjing *eh, asshole*
→	3	Abdullah_2	lo harus tahu dulu tempat lo bener bener shoghol *you have to know your place well, it's were you work*
	4	Abdullah_2	kite harus tahu dimana kite bertempat kita hidup kita harus tahu *we must know where we live, we must knok our place*
	5	Wowo	gue kursus di situ gue xxx di haji naman *I took a course there, I xxx at Haji Naman*
	6	int_S1	tapi dia tahu sangat tahu *but he knows very well*
	7	Abdullah_2	harus tahu *must know*
	8	Abdullah_2	dia gak tau di sini *he does not know here*
	9	int_S1	hahaha *hahaha*
	10	Wowo	xxx *xxx*
	11	Abdullah_2	dia tidak ada yang dia tahu di sini *there's nothing he knows here*
	12	Abdullah	cari di lombok *He looks for things in Lombok*
	13	Abdullah_2	dia cari tahu di lombok (.) itu dia nyari tahu karena di lombok ada pujaan hati. Hatinya sakit *he's interested in Lombok, he's interested because in Lombok there's a loved one. His heart is in pain*
→	14	Wowo	syuf *look*
	15	Amar	iye *yes*
	16	Wowo	hatinya sakit? ((repets Abdullah_2)) *heart in pain?* ((repets Abdullah_2))
	17	Wowo	hasud orang nih ma gue *This guy is envious of me*
→	18	Abdullah_2	ini {galbun ga:si waʔin ʔabʕad alqulub} ((pronounce qaf as gaf)) *this {a hard heart and the farthest hearts}*
→	19	Abdullah_2	galbun ga:si waʔin ʔabʕad algulub min rabbina ʔarħam galbun ga:si) *among us from our Lord is the merciful, a hard heart xxx a hard heart, and the farthest hearts from our Lord is the most merciful hard heart*
	20	Abdullah_2	ahahaha *ahahaha*

5.4.2 Semiotic Registers and Indexicality

This shows how linguistic analysis in the Indonesian context encounters a particularly diverse scenario of linguistic contact between multiple "Indonesians" (understood as ways of speaking Indonesian), different "local languages" and in the case of the Jamaah a very wide geography that extends to the Arab wolrd. These languages, at a geographical scale (local, urban, regional) and an identity scale (ethnicity, religion, citizenship), sometimes have identical referents, sometimes similar ones, and other times completely different ones. When I speak of "ways of speaking Indonesian at a scale" instead of a common definition of language, I refer to what, in the case of Indonesia, Goebel (2015), bulding on Agha (2007), defines as competing semiotic registers.

The term semiotic registers (see also Silverstein (2003)) refers to the ways of speaking created based on social signs shared by groups of speakers, which are themselves derived

from the social practices performed repeatedly over time by these groups. In this sense, definitions of languages or dialects are surpassed, avoiding political or geographical simplifications. These semiotic registers, derived from the sociolinguistic diversity of the groups, do not, however, hold the same indexical value (do not point to the same referents) and are organized into hierarchies of competing registers. This hierarchy is defined in terms of orders of indexicality, which refers to the variation in the social value of a language depending on the locations and groups involved (Coupland, 2016).[7]

Linguistic diversity, as well as the perception of such diversity in Indonesia, Goebel (2015, p. 237) argues, has been shaped over the last 150 years through the intertwining of superdiversity and linguistic ideologies. Goebel suggests that mobility, the pursuit of well-being, technological advancement, and the linguistic ideologies associated with these factors have increased and in some cases created ethnolinguistic stereotypes, while also generating new semiotic registers. These registers are revealed in the linguistic choices of participants in interactions.

As in the case of the Jamaah community, signs associated with Arabic are used in different ways, corresponding to different social trajectories and movements of the members of the community. Those that have lived in the Middles East, bring new signs, and also new ways to interpret these signs.

In "linguistic-speak, [in Indonesia] mobility created new centers characterized by the emergence of a new language along with the norms of usage" (Goebel, 2015, p. 14). It is precisely following mobility, technological advancement and the pursuit of a better economic status that the Jamaah Community has developed as it exists today in Indonesia and in the Indian Ocean settling in different urban centers in the archipelago (Freitag, 2003). These new centers, located across the Indonesian Archipelago and the Indian Ocean, have, following different waves of migration of people of very different backgrounds come to live along local languages, developed their identities and, with them, different semiotic registers.

It is crucial in this case to speak of hierarchically indexed semiotic registers because, on a scale, in the Jamaah Community, a register closer to a specific *Bahasa Daerah* (local language) or closer to *Bahasa Indonesia* (Standard Indonesian) is used depending on the interactional circumstances. I emphasize that linguistic choices and the repertoires associated with specific social practices depend on individuals' participation in performing these practices, since as we have seen the composition of the Jamaah community is very heterogeneous. This involvement Goebel (2015) demonstrates also depends significantly on the income level of social groups.

A reservoir of stylistic repertoires connected to group identities from external sources, subsequently indexed with a particular identity value within Indonesian, is constituted by foreign languages. For instance, the increasing use of English by Indonesia's new educated class has contributed to associating this language with social elevation, open-mindedness, and internationality, making the inclusion of English elements in Indonesian speech increasingly common.

Within the broader Indonesian context, which intersects with the Jamaah community but extends far beyond it, there exists a significant association between the Arabic language, and any elements related to Arab identity, and its religious function for all Muslims in Indonesia. In other words, there are various indexical values related to Arab identity, particularly in its association with Islam and the Arabic language, that hold profound meaning within the Indonesian context. This association is often perceived as external, much like the role of

[7] The term indexicality in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology refers to a semiotic operation of juxtaposition in which an element or situation points to something else in the social world (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). For example, from the perspective of identity, a term or style can index a particular type of persona or even be associated with a shared trope.

the English language, for example. In this way, Arabic also serves as a source of innovation and must be considered a stylistic reservoir drawn upon by Indonesian speakers. This is particularly true for the Jamaah but also for most Indonesian Muslims, as all are expected to know at least some Arabic for religious purposes.

The connection between the Arabic language and Islam in Indonesia is immediate and direct. This connection persists even though Arabic is the main language of one of the most culturally and religiously diverse regions, the Arab World. The strength of the link between Islam and the Arabic language in Indonesia is demonstrated not only by my own difficulty in meeting students of the Arabic language at different universities in Indonesia who are not of Islamic faith but also by its use in Colloquial Indonesian both in verbal interaction and online (Djenar et al., 2018). The inserts of words, or terms perceived as Arabic are often used to highlight identities connected to religion to display Islamic piety, through media outlets, popular television shows, and so on, in a process that registered Arabic with Islamic piety.

This indexical connection with religious practices is predominant in the link between Arabic and Islam in Indonesia. Moreover, Hadramis across the Indian Ocean have been regarded as the "natural leaders" among their fellow Muslim believers (De Jonge, 2004). Although this perception is historically grounded and linked to their genealogies and Sufi order, it also intertwines with a stereotypical image of Arabs.

In the introduction to "What is Religious Authority in Islam", Alatas discusses how Indonesian media and cultural outputs closely link signs related to Islam, Arab ethnicity,and Middle East to and imagery of religious piety and authenticity. Alatas starts off by exploring a metaphor from the prominent Indonesian religious preacher Habib Luthfi, who stresses that "As Indonesian Muslims, we should know how to plant coconut trees, not date palms." This metaphor critiques the idealization of (stereotypical) Arab features as the epitome of religious authenticity by many Indonesian Muslims. Television documentaries and Islamic musical shows frequently use scenes of camels roaming through deserts and date palms to evoke religious authenticity and piety in a semiotic processes that binds these signs together. During Ramadan, luxury malls in Indonesia enhance this connection by featuring desert scenes and employees dressed in Bedouin attire, who greet shoppers saying "ahlan wa sahlan" reinforcing stereotypical Middle Eastern images (I. F. Alatas, 2021, p. 7).

Signs such as perceived knowledge of Arabic, or just the display of Arabic script, the presence of dates and oases, and visual elements such as tea cups, long Arab dresses, or appearances reminiscent of Middle Eastern individuals are often misconceived as markers of closer religious affinity. This misperception forms part of a broader constellation of signs that evokes a sense of religious authenticity, culminating in what can be described, drawing on Agha (2007), as an enregistrement of Islamic piety. These signs are deeply embedded in the production of orientalist knowledge, using stereotypical Middle Eastern elements such as Arabic names and languages to project a religious image. This portrayal embodies the processes of iconization and rhematization, as described by Gal and Irvine (2019), where the Middle East and Islam become iconically related.

This calls for an analysis from an emic perspective to avoid oversimplified views of homogeneity that do not accurately reflect community dynamics. The notion of an Arab center and an Indo-Malay periphery, suggesting rigid boundaries, contradicts the historical mobility and complex ties of Arabs with the Indian Ocean. Identity formation, as evidenced by the Jamaah's linguistic practices, resists fixed racial, spatial, and linguistic categories. It is crucial to critically explore what being Arab means, both within the context of the Indonesian Jamaah and in a broader sense, acknowledging the diverse and evolving implications of the term. This examination is vital, especially as the term "Arab" transcends cultural and

religious boundaries, shaping and being shaped by historical and contemporary discourses. As the linguistic practices of the Jamaah demonstrate, this fluidity is still present, and people escape rigid racial, spatial, and linguistic categorizations, although the impact of these historical categories is evident in the ideologies that partly shape linguistic practices.

Framing these resources as external presupposes that the Jamaah themselves - and, by extension, their linguistic and cultural practices - are external to the broader Indonesian context. This assumption must be approached with caution. As we have seen in Chapter 2, positioning Arabic and Arab identity as external can easily lead to exclusionary practices, marginalizing the Jamaah community and potentially fostering a sense of otherness that obscures their integration within Indonesia's sociocultural fabric. Such framework risk reinforcing boundaries that separate communities rather than highlighting their interconnectedness.

Arabic and its symbolic capital were there long before the heavy hand of the Nation State. Arabic script was adapted in different ways to Classical Javanese and Malay as early as the 14th century (Gallop et al., 2015). Texts from that time show that certain sounds, or at least the graphemes that stood for them,were considered more Arab, reflecting an ever-changing understanding of what Arab and Arabic means. These features were overused and perceived as carrying an Arab prestigious symbolic capital. Similarly, these features can be found in store signs, mosque names, and non-standard orthography that pervades the geography of the Arab districts of Surabaya, Surakarta, and Jakarta. Where a /q/, an /sh/, or an /'/ are not just mere transcriptions of graphemes that the Indonesian language does not have, but a more intense act of identity imbued with language ideologies. Scripts, thus, are not mere graphic conventional systems but emblems of identity that bind communities together or tear them apart. They stand as markers of distinction, each group perceiving the other through a lens of "otherness", often characterized by social and political estrangement, and at times, profound hostility.

For instance, Yuangga Kurnia Yahya et al. (2021) argues that religious stereotypes associated with the Arabic language make it closed off to non-Muslim communities. Although studying Arabic is not necessarily linked to a specific religious orientation, its use in the Indonesian context has "sacralized" it and precluded any different use, in a way that Arabic as a "medium of communication and message delivery becomes something sacred and cannot be misused." For instance, in 2016, Agnes Monica faced criticism for wearing a dress that displayed the Arabic word for *union* المتحدة, which some perceived as an insult to Muslims (Ihsanudin, 2019). Similarly, controversy arose over clothing and fornitures featuring the Christian Lord's Prayer in Arabic, referred to as "misleading calligraphy" (Widjaja, 2008) and "Christian Calligraphy Appears Again, People Must Beware" (Hidayat, n.d.). More recently, slippers printed with the Arabic words for "right" (يمين) and "left" شمال were seen as disrespecting the Quran. Critics argue that these acts degrade both Muslims and the Arabic language, considered sacred due to its use in Islamic scripture. This view of Arabic as inherently religious stemslargely from its educational focus within the Muslim community.

However, as discussed in this chapter, while it is evident that Arabic serves as a foreign stylistic resource for many Indonesians, its role among the Jamaah is considerably more complex. For them, Arabic is not just a foreign element; it is a fundamental aspect of their heritage and identity, deeply ingrained in their everyday practices and self-perception. Recognizing this dual role of Arabic—as both an external resource and an internal cornerstone of the Jamaah's identity—is essential for understanding its significance within Indonesia's linguistic and cultural landscape. Therefore, any analysis of the linguistic dynamics of the Jamaah must consider these complexities to avoid oversimplified classifications that could lead to exclusion.

In the context of the Jamaah, although Arabic is commonly associated with religious identity and is sometimes exploited by notorious religious preachers, its use is not solely confined to religious expression. It can also signify ethnic solidarity, serve as a conversational tool for introducing new topics, and fulfill other functions that emerge in discourse. These uses may not be directly related to religion at the moment of use, underscoring the multifaceted role of Arabic within their community. At the same time, the Jamaah do intersect with wider views on the language and as well tap into these repertoires and create them as well.

When I was talking to Moestafa's son he pointed out that elements of bahasa jamaah are indeed used by the santris (students in koranic schools) of his pesantren (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed account of the encounter). These elements, for intence the pronouns ana/ente are often used in pesantrens in general to index religious piety. Even for literary purpouses, like in the novel *bukan perawan maria* by Febi Indirani, Arabic elements (like *ana* and *ente*) are used to index rigid views on Islam (Indirani, 2017).

However, they are the unmarked, usual choice among the Jamaah group, who, agreeing with whom they are speaking may or may not decide to switch to a different pronoun. In this way, the case of the Jamaah shows how elements that in the national context are indexes of Islamic piety, are taken and reframed as part of a wider identity, as potentially any sign associated to Arabic, if one is equipped with the right "tools" to read contextualization cues can be used and interpreted as an index of Jamaah Identity. However, there are specific signs that are more closely tied to Jamaah identity.

The case of the Jamaah Community illustrates how in Arab Districts has developed a unique "way of speaking Indonesian" that by drawing from different registers, Bahasa Gaul, local languages, languages introduced through internal migrations, online-formed repertoires, and others external to the geographical boundaries of Indonesia positions itself among competing semiotic registers.

Indexing Religious Piety

Example 23 is drawn from an interaction that included myself, Arfan, a 26-year-old, and his uncle, who lives in the countryside near Surakarta. Our meeting occurred over a late lunch at his uncle's farm, where he raises sheep with his second wife. The encounter was initially intended as an interview with Arfan's uncle, but fortunately Arfan became actively involved in the discussion, and although this is not a Majlas, the Jamaah register is evident and both draw from the Jamaah repertoire.

Arfan is highly esteemed by his uncle Ibrahim, not only for his proficiency in Arabic and his devout religious practices but also because Arfan serves as the Arabic teacher for Ibrahim's son, whom he hopes will one day be sent to Yemen.

The discussion initially focused on Arfan's time in Saudi Arabia, where he had been on a scholarship, and later shifted to the topic of a cemetery that was formerly exclusive to the Jamaah community but is now shared with others.[8] Ibrahim expressed his opinion that as members of a *saleh* (virtuous) community, the Jamaah should maintain separate burial grounds.

Throughout the conversation, Ibrahim employed terms ascribele to the Jamaah register like *shoghul* (work), and *aiwa* (yes). Notably, he used the negator *ma fi* among other elements. However, it was Arfan, with his superior command of Arabic, who more than once shifted to Arabic completely. In example 23, he emphasizes that for his graduation party in Arabic literature, he would have invited his uncle if he had been in Surakarta.

[8]Historically, in many urban areas of Indonesia, the Jamaah community maintained separate cemeteries, not due to formal regulations but for customary purposes. However, this practice has become less common in recent times.

In this conversation, Arfan switches to Arabic in line 4 by saing *ana kan tempo hari bikin 3uzuma 3shan takharruj=y dengan jami3a* (I made a feast the other day because of my graduation with the university.) in line 7. Notably, Arfan switches to Arabic using Colloquial Arabic, particularly evident through the use of *'ashan* (because/in order to).
This usage highlights his proficiency and comfort with colloquial variants, adding a layer of depth to the dialogue by seamlessly integrating these elements into the conversation. At the same time he ueses *takharruj* and *'uzuma* which are commonly used in Islamic boarding schools and among students of Arabic in different levels.

(23) Ibrahim_KLW

	1	Ibrahims-S1	laitu, jadi tahu model-modelnya orangnya (.) [jamaahnya
			so, you get to know the types of people (.) [the Jamaah
	2	Arfan-S1	itu jaman waktu itu ada di Solo ana undang ente
			back then in Solo, I invited you
	3	Ibrahim-S1	oh yayaya
			oh, yes, yes
→	4	Arfan_S1	ana kan tempo hari bikin 3uzuma= 3shan takharrujy dengan [jami3a
→			*you know, I recently organized a celebration for my graduation from University*
	5	Int-S1	=mhm
			=mhm
	6	Ibrahim-S1	[wah
			[wow
→	7	Arfan_S1	ana panggiln (.) ana buka garasi rumah ana gelar 3uzumah di situ
			I invited (.) I opened my house's garage, I held the celebration there

Consider now 24 taken from the same interaction. In this example, I asked Ibrahim whether he had ever visited Hadramaut. After sharing a few stories about his father, he mentioned that his mother did not want her children to leave. In this example, Ibrahim uses exclamations in Arabic, as in 3, and uses the term *softho* [ṣo:fṭo] (kidding) in 10 in the sense of being tough and people you do not want to mess with, when he retells the story of when his father was "kidnapped" in Hadramaut.
Additionally, we note that Arfan provides minimal responses, initially through *mhm*, then by saying *ta'ab* "difficult" in the sense of "that's hard", which derives from the Arabic word for "tired". Note that Arfan pronounces *ta'ab* as [taʕab], reproducing its Arabic original form, complete with the voiced pharyngeal fricative. Ibrahim understands this and confirms it in the subsequent turn by saying in Indonesian *ya keras* "yes, it's hard". keep in mind that they are talking about the experience of ibrahim's father in Hadramaut.

(24) Walidy_perna_diculik from Ibrahiim_JAVCE

	1	Ibrahim-S1	abah anak-anak dikasih [Visa biar pada berangkat
			Kinds, dad was given given [a Visa so to go ((to Hadramaut, reported speech))
	2	Arfan-S1	[mhm
			[mhm
→	3	Ibrahim-S1	Allah yahfad jangan sam[pei
			may Allah protect you, don't let it happen ((reported speech))
	4	Arfan-S1	[@@@
			[@@@
	5	Ibrahim-S1	anak-anaknya pada kesini
			the children are better off here
	6	Ibrahim-S1	mungkin dia ngrasaken disana kehidupannya [keras mungkin
			maybe she felt that life there [was hard maybe
→	7	Arfan-S1	[ta'ab iya

[it's difficult, isn't it

8 Ibrahim-S1 ya keras (.)
yes, it's hard

9 Ibrahim-S1 walidy pernah diculik sama orang sana dibuang di padang pasir ditinggal (.) jadi orang sana softohnya

→ 10 terlalu
my father was once kidnapped by people there, thrown in the desert, left behind (.) so the people there, their behavior is too much

At a phonetic level note in 25 the use of the Indonesian term *dakwa*, of Arabic etymology, which Arfan pronounces as /da'wā/, closer to its Arabic form دَعْوَى /da'wā/. Ibrahim, however, responds by saying [daʔwa], reducing the Arabic /ʕ/ to a glottal stop. Note that neither of these forms is standard Indonesian, as the word in standard Indonesian would be *dakwa*. In this encounter we also see that the lexicalized term *jiddy* (gradfather = 1POSS)'grand father' just like the terms *ummy*, *ammy*, *beity*, by Arfan is produced in 1 as *jiddak* 'your grandfather' grandfather = 2POSS.

(25) Shogul wala dakwa

→ 1 Arfan-S1 jadi yang ente tahu, jiddak ini dateng, shoghol wala da3wa
as far as you know, your grandfather came to work or preach

2 int-S1 tapi, dia kan, datang atau lahir disini
but, did he come or was he born here

3 Ibrahim-S1 ya keturunanya datuk Umar sih ya, datuk Umar kan wulaiti
yes, his descendant is Datuk Umar, right, Datuk Umar was local-born

4 Arfan-S1 Umar bin Abdi Shaikh
Umar bin Abdi Shaikh

5 Ibrahim-S1 iya
yes

→ 6 Ibrahim-S1 datuk Umar, itu kan wulaiti ya-- waAllahu alam, dia mestinya kan dia dakwah di sini
Datuk Umar, he was local-born you know– God knows best, he was supposed to preach here

7 Ibrahim-S1 kalau jiddy kan di lempar ke sana ke Yaman, umur berapa dilempar kesana
but my grandfather was thrown there to Yemen, at what age was he thrown there

Phonetic alteration is also evident in 26 and is a common occurrence throughout the data set. Consider the IU produced by Ibrahim in **??**, where he uses the adjective "Arab" in Arabic, (عربي) /ʕa.raˈbiː/ which would typically be rendered as *arab* in Indonesian. However, he pronounces it as [ʕarobi], affecting the vowel in the same way an emphatic consonant might influence it. Additionally, observe in turn 2 the use of first an Indonesian derivation with the word *harrat*, which is common across all the Jamaah communities I have encountered and comes from the arabic خرط /χɑrˤtˤ/, and subsequently with the Arabic word for government, *hukumah* (government) حُكُومَة /ħuˈkuːma/. Note that this term is not commonly shared across other Jamaah communities and represents a switch directly related to Ibrahim's Arabic proficiency.

(26) Ibrahim_KLW

1 Ibrahim semangatnya darah darah arobī darah Yaman begitu
Their spirit, their blood is Arab blood, Yemeni blood, that's how it is if so.

2 Ibrahim tapi di sini dikharatin diplokotoni sama hukumah diem sing penting shoghul sing penting ini
But here, we are bullshitted and monopolized by the government, stay quiet, what's important is the work, what's important is this

We observe a similar shift with the term *bahlul* in the following example, where it is morphologically adapted with Indonesian verbal morphology. Notably, this term became quite

common throughout Indonesia, largely thanks to a Jamaah comedian who popularized it in the 1990s. However, in this context, its Arabic connotation is more pronounced due to the register employed.

(27) diahlul2R

1	Ibrahim_S1	hahaha ana dibahlul2R *hahaha, I am being made a fool*
2	Ibrahim_S1	lho kenapa ana mau zuwad sama hidayah kok bukan sama ammy Muhnya, ana bilang *why?, I want to marry Hidayah, not Ammy Muhnya, I said*
3	Arfan_S1	hahaha *hahaha*
4	Ibrahim_S1	tapi dibahlul2R sama ini *but being made a fool by this*
5	Ibrahim_S1	waduh ta'ab ente ni *oh, that's hard*

In the examples provided below, we see Ibrahim discussing why there should be, as there once was, a cemetery exclusively for Arab people. He argues that they are pious in their appearance (dhohir) and uses the term *sholi* to describe them. Interestingly, he varies the term three times in the same interaction. Initially, he says *sholi* /ṣolih/ (pious), followed by *pada ke mesjid ba'da shubuh gitu lho* (those that go to the mosque after dawn), referring to the fact that their piety is visible through their actions. He also uses the adverb *ba'ad* (later), derived from the Arabic root بَعْد [baʕad]
In line 4, he again uses *sholih* [ṣolih] referring to the Arabs and then at the end of his statement, he rephrases it as /ṣole:/ while emphasizing that the important aspect is that people buried there are pious. He continues in 5 by stating that Arab people are generally considered pious, followed by *doanya maqbul* [dɔ.a.ɲa maʔ.bul] (whose prayers are answered/received). Afterward, he backchannels by saying *aiwa* (yes) in Arabic, serving as a minimal response or a way to close his argumentation.

(28) Orang yang sholeh

→	1	Ibrahim-S1	itu riwayatnya yang sholih dhohirnya (.) pada ke mesjid ba'da shubuh gitu lho *the story is that the pious people visibly go to the mosque after dawn, like that you know*
			[...]
	2	Arfan-S1	sana penuh *over there is full*
	3	Ibrahim-S1	iya (.) karna kebiasaan orang2R Arab, sebetulnya mungkin bebas mungkin, yang penting orang (.) yang
→	4		sholih (.) orang-orang sholeh lah *yes, because normally it's for the Arabs, actually it could be free, maybe, the important thing is pious people, pious people*
			[...]
→	5	Ibrahim-S1	ya itu dianggap orang sholeh dianggap doanya maqbul *yes, it is considered that pious people, whose prayers answered*
			(1.5)
	6	Ibrahim-S1	aiwa *yes*

Ibrahim often uses *aiwa* for minimal responses. However, he also phonetically employs adjust words that are shared between Arabic and Indonesian. in addition, he uses lexical elements that ara arabic, in example 29, he refers to his goats using the Arabic term *ghonam* [ɣonam], which he produces as [ɣonam], with his /ɣ/ being more advanced [ɣonam].

(29) Ngurus ghonam_Ibrahim_JAVCE

	1	int_S1	tapi pak-- ammy lebih sering kesini (rephrase))
			but sir– (ammy) you are here more often (.)
	2	int_S1	[daripada sana]
			[rather than there]
	3	Ibrahim_S1	[iya (.) karena shogolnya bany[ak di sini
			[yes (.) because the work is mo[stly here
	4	int_S1	[oh shoghol di sini
			[oh, work is here]
→	5	Ibrahim_S1	iya mhn ngurus ghonam (.)
			yes, taking care of the sheep (.)
→	6	Ibrahim_S1	ghonam ndak bisa diserahken sama orang
			sheep can't be handed over to others
	7	Ibrahim_S1	kalau diserahken sama orang bubar
			if handed over to others, it's chaos

In the following examples, I want to share the final exchanges of this interaction between Ibrahim, Arfan, and me. Greetings and politeness formulas are a salient aspect of social life, and in interactions among Jamaah, they are quite similar across various places. Often, a Jamaah would use the formula *ya her* or its variant *ya kher* to close a sequence of turns, but also as an initiator to introduce the closing of the interaction. It is frequently followed by Arabic-Islamic greeting formulas.

In example 30, Arfan greets Ibrahim, and he alternates between Arabic (actual switches to the Arabic language), Jamaah formulas, and Colloquial Indonesian. Note that we also arrange a trip with Ibrahim and he stresses in turn 11 that it has been a long time since he went to our future description. He does so using the arabic and indonesian term *zaman* (time) it is interesting to note this use becasue in Indonesian it generally means era, a specific period in time. In arabic it has a similar meaning but is also used to say "it has been a long time", meaning that the term does not have in Indonesian. This semantic shift of the term *zaman* is very common among Jamaah.

(30) Greetings, closing section Ibrahim_JAVCE

→	1	Arfan_S1	ya kher (([jaˈher])) Him (.) jazak Allah kher (.) mashkurin (([jæˈzæk ʔælˈlɑːh ˈxer maʃkuːˈriːn]))
			it's okay, Him. May Allah reward you with goodness (.) thank you
	2	Ibrahim_S1	hm
			hm
	3	Arfan_S1	atas jamuannya
			for the hospitality
→	4	Arfan_S1	Jazāk Allāhu kher [ma gassart(([jæˈzæk ʔælˈlɑːh ˈxer ma ˈgɑsːɑrt]))
			may Allah reward you with goodness [you did not fall short
	5	Ibrahim_S1	[ana farhan
			[it's a pleasure
	6	Arfan_S1	trus berarti kita rencanaken [setelah dari lombok ya
			so that means we plan [after Lombok, right
	7	Ibrahim_S1	[ya
			[yes
	8	Arfan_S1	setelah dari lombok ya
			after Lombok, right
	9	Ibrahim_S1	ya InsyaAllah
			yes, God willing
	10	Arfan_S1	ya kher (([jaˈher])) (2.0) ya kher kalau gitu Him ana pamit dulu
			okay, it's fine (2.0) it's fine, then Him, I will take my leave
→	11	Ibrahim_S1	oh iya lah (.) ana juga sudah lama udah zaman ndak pernah kesana =

oh yes (.) I haven't been there for a long time either

Before we leave Arfan asks Ibrahim whether he has any *nasihat* (wise advise) for us and he stresses that you just have to surrender to Allah. This very long excerpt is useful because here we are able to see how in this case switches to Arabic are on the one hand related to Islamic piety and Islamic formulas, on the other hand, the explanation of the suggestions is in a more standard Indonesian.

→	20	Ibrahim_S1	kita mencari ridhohnya Allah
			we seek God's approval
	21	Ibrahim_S1	kita hanya takut sama Allah sudah (.) ya dah sepanjang kita berjalan di jalannya Allah bismillah kita jalan
	22		itu aja sudah
			we only fear God (.) as long as we walk in God's path, in the name of God, we walk, that's it
	23	Arfan_S1	ndak neko-neko ndak macem-macem
			not complicated, not many things
	24	Ibrahim_S1	iya (.) ya udah
			yes (.) that's it
	25	Arfan_S1	pokoke kita jalani kehidupan sebaik mungkin
			we just live life as best as we can
	26	Ibrahim_S1	ya (.) itu cuma (.) umur kita ndak tahu (.) kita semua calon mayit (.) dan kita cari sangu
			yes (.) it's just that (.) we don't know our lifespan (.) we are all potential corpses (.) and we seek provisions
	27	Arfan_S1	sangunya apa ((talks to Int))
			what are the provisions ((talks to Int))
	28	Ibrahim_S1	[sangunya ya amal sholeh (([ṣole:])) ((emphatic))
			[the provisions are good deeds ((emphatic))
	29	int_S1	[sangu
			[provisions
	30	Arfan_S1	sangu
			provisions
	31	int_S1	oh amal sholeh
			oh, good deeds
→	32	Ibrahim_S1	sangunya amal sholeh (([ṣole:]))
			the provisions are good deeds ((emphatic))
	33	Arfan_S1	bekal
			provisions
	34	Ibrahim_S1	yang baik bekal cari bekal
			the good provisions, seek provisions
	35	Arfan_S1	bekal cari bekal
			seek provisions
	36	Ibrahim_S1	ya ini tempatnya (.) itu
			yes, this is the place (.) that's it
	37	Arfan_S1	di dunia
			in the world
	38	Ibrahim_S1	mau cari jalan yang sluk mau cari jalan pintas, ya tinggal pilih (.) Allah sudah kasih anu kasih jalan
			if you want to find a tricky way or a shortcut, just choose (.) God has already given the way
→	39	Arfan_S1	ya kher (([jaˈher])) siap
			alright, ready
	40	Ibrahim_S1	aiwa ((minimal response))
			yes
	41	Arfan_S1	masykurin him
			thank you, Him
	42	Arfan_S1	syukran syukran [laka Subhanak Allahumma wa bihamdika ((ʃukˈraːn ʃukˈraːn, subˈħaːnak alˈlaːhumma wa
→	43		biˈħamdika, aʃˈhadu ʔan laː ʔiˈlaːha ʔilˈlaː ʔanˈta, astaɣˈfiruka wa ʔabaˈraka ʔaˈlaik))
			thank you, thank you [Glory be to You, O Allah, and with Your praise, I bear witness that there is no deity except You, I seek Your forgiveness and repent to You
	44	int_S1	[syukran syukran ikti:r
			[thank you, thank you very much
	45	Arfan_S1	Ashhadu an la ilaha illa Allah Anta Astaghfiruka wa barakatu ilek (([ʔaʃ.haˈdu ʔan laː ʔiˈlaːha ʔil.la ʔan.ta
→	46		as.taɣ.firu.ka wa ba.ra.ka.tu ʔi.lajk])) (.) syukran syukran him ya

I bear witness that there is no deity except God, I seek Your forgiveness and repent to You (.) thank you, thank you, Him

47 Ibrahim_S1 xxx
xxx

→ 48 Arfan_S1 masykurin masykurin (([maʃkuːˈriːn])) [Jazāk Allāh kher
thank you, thank you [may Allah reward you with goodness

49 Ibrahim_S1 aiwa Allah [xxx
yes, God [xxx

50 int_S1 syukran
thank you

51 Ibrahim_S1 Allah xxxx
God xxxx

52 Arfan_S1 terima kasih yang banyak him ya (.) shukran shukran him
thank you very much, Him (.) thank you, thank you, Him

Jamaah from Surabaya meet in Surakarta

One lively evening at Doeloerokoe in Surakarta, a group gathered for what began as a casual viewing of a European Cup football match but quickly evolved into a rich and dynamic interaction. Among those present were AL_H, Syarif, Rifat, myself (Int), Ramzi, David, and a friend of AL_H. The vibrant atmosphere was filled with multilingual conversations, underscored by the hum of Vespa Piaggio enthusiasts in the background.

AL_H, a respected guest from Surabaya, was central to much of the evening's discussion. Conversations frequently revolved around Surabaya, the shared hometown of AL_H, his friend, and Syarif. Although Syarif had spent significant time in Solo and Bali, their mutual connection to Surabaya sparked vivid reminiscences and comparisons, enriching the gathering with colorful urban narratives.

Ramzi, a regular at Doeloerokoe, added a unique dimension to the linguistic dynamic. Raised in Saudi Arabia, his fluency in Gulf Arabic intrigued AL_H, who keenly noticed Ramzi's distinctive Indonesian accent. Meanwhile, David, a relative of Rifat, found these linguistic exchanges both entertaining and insightful, remarking that such moments deserved to be recorded and analyzed for their cultural significance.

Doeloerokoe was not merely a backdrop, but an essential element of the interaction. Its terrace frequently served as the site of informal Majlas gatherings, where friends, mostly from the Jamaah community, met to share stories and perform. This encounter was particularly significant because it highlighted how bahasa Jamaah functions as a marker of Jamaah identity. In this instance, and in similar gatherings where Jamaah from different regions and backgrounds came together, the distinct linguistic elements of bahasa Jamaah became more pronounced. This suggests that bahasa Jamaah (or Majlas) is more likely to be used in interactions between people who are less familiar with each other, serving as a way to emphasize ethnic and cultural affinity.

As the evening unfolded, the arrival of AL_H's friend Jamal further enriched the interaction. He was warmly greeted with traditional Jamaah expressions and seamless code-switching between Javanese and colloquial Indonesian. AL_H's storytelling, interspersed with Jamaah-specific terms, reinforced the cultural and ethnic ties binding the group. Jamal, who had once been Syarif's neighbor in Surabaya, was seamlessly integrated into the dynamic atmosphere. The greetings exchanged during Jamal's arrival mirrored those observed in previous interactions, such as between Ibrahim and Arfan, demonstrating continuity in the social practices of the Jamaah community. These moments underscored the group's cultural cohesion and showcased the spontaneous integration of diverse linguistic elements—from classical and colloquial Arabic to Javanese—that characterize the Jamaah community's communication style.

In the excerpt 32 below, AL_H tells a story about buying inexpensive items at the market. During the exchange, AL_H and Syarif repeatedly use the term *rohis* (cheap), a common Jamaah adaptation derived from the Arabic word رخيص (/raˈxiːs/). Their conversation is interrupted by Jamal's arrival, which is marked by a warm welcome beginning with an Arabic formula and concluding in Javanese (line 5).

Notably, the greeting sequence (lines 6 to 19) includes the adjacency pair *ahlan*/*bikher*, a standard greeting among the Jamaah. In line 9, AL_H introduces Jamal using the construction *haggana* and invites him to sit with the term *jəlis* (sit). Rifat also greets Jamal, pointing to a chair and saying *jəlis* (sit) and *faddol* (please), in typical Jamaah fashion, while adding *makaːnak* (your place, مكانك /maˈkaːnak/) in standard Arabic. This blend of colloquial and standard Arabic highlights the nuanced linguistic practices that define the Jamaah community.

(32) Ketemu tonggo dewe taken from PKW data set

	1	AL_H-S1	itu pulang nanti lima bungkus enam bungkus tapi xxxx ente belihe=
			later, take home five or six packages but xxxx you buy them=
	2	syarif-S1	=ya rahis
			=yes it's cheap
	3	AL_H-S1	iya buat orang rumah ekh [ha ha ha ha
			yes, for the people at home, [ha ha ha ha
	4	syarif-S1	ya rahis itu sana
			yeah it's cheap over there
→	5	AL_H-S1	ʔahlan wa sahˈlan walˈlaːh tapi ngantuk aku ngenteni (.)
			welcome, by God, but I got tired waiting (.)
	6	Jamal	ʔasːaˈlaːmu ʕaˈlaikum
			peace be upon you
	7	AL_H-S1	wa ʕaˈlaikum ˈsalam
			and upon you be peace
	8	syarif-S1	wa ʕaˈlaikum ˈsalam tuan Jamal
			and upon you be peace, Mr. Jamal
→	9	AL_H-S1	la iya ini bos haggana ini ahahahahah
			well yeah, this is our boss ahahahah
	10	syarif-S1	tuan Jamal (.) ini loyal customer ana
			Mr. Jamal
	11	RIFAT-S1	faḍḍol faḍḍol ammy jamal
			please, please, Mr. Jamal
	12	Jamal	bi ˈxajr
			with goodness
	13	AL_H-S1	bi ˈxajr ħamdu liˈlaːh
			with goodness, praise be to God
	14	LUIGI-Int	ʔasːaˈlaːm ʕaˈlaikum
			peace be upon you
	15	Jamal	bi ˈxer ʔahlan
			with goodness, welcome
	16	RAMZI-S1	saya berteman baik
			I am a good friend
	17	syarif-S1	biˈxer jamal
			with goodness, Jamal
	18	Jamal	ʔahlan biˈxer
			welcome with goodness
→	19	RIFAT-S1	biˈxajr faḍḍol faḍḍol makaːnak makaːnak faḍḍol faḍḍol
			with goodness, please, please, take your seat, take your seat, please, please
	20	AL_H-S1	jəlis
			sit
→	21	RIFAT-S1	jəlis jəlis faḍḍal amny jamal sini lebih enak
			sit, sit, please, Mr. Jamal, it's more comfortable here

→	22	syarif-S1	lah yo kok ketemu tonggo dewe thok
			what a coincidence meeting one's own neighbor
	23	syarif-S1	ketemu tonggo dewe
			meeting one's own neighbor

In the excerpt 33 below, AL_H's friend expresses the need to go to a close by minimarket to buy some stuff. Rifat, the owner of the place tells him that he could use his scooter. Interestingly the conversation is mainly in Javanese, a part for a switch in 10, where AL_H tells his friend to ask his son to go. In this turn Alhabyi switches to Arabic and says *waladak* 'your son'.

(33) Mau beli opo? _AL_H_KLW

	1	RIFAT-S1	mau beli opo tak belikke
			What do you want to buy? I'll buy it for you
	2	AL_H-S1	itu ra motor ta
			isn't that a motorbike
	3	Jamal	ya ndak
			no, nevermind
	4	AL_H-S1	[tukokno wae
			just buy it
	5	Jamal	[XXXX
			[XXXX
	6	AL_H-S1	ndi sopo sopo anakmu ndi
			where is your son
	7	RIFAT-S1	naik sepeda motor ana aja
			just my motorbike
	8	AL_H-S1	iya
			yes
	9	Jamal	olar ya iya
			yes, okay
→	10	AL_H-S1	waladak wae (.) [wae kongkon metu
			just tell your child to go out
	11	Jamal	[iya iya
			[yes, yes

In turn 10 in *waladak wae (.) kongkon metu* (just tell your child to go) the IU is constructed by two constituents that are not divided into [*waladak*] [*wae kongkon metu*], but there is a short, valuable pause that follows *wae*, which topicalizes *waladak*, as exemplified in the same turn. In this case, the shift is perfectly integrated into the Javanese system. And as we have seen this is the praxis in Jamaah interaction.

The structural ease of switching between Arabic, Indonesian and Javanese is likely due to the isolating nature of the latter two languages. However, socially, this fluidity can also be attributed to the diverse linguistic ecology of Indonesia, where speakers routinely access different repertoires. Importantly, in this setting, languages are not perceived as distinct entities but rather composit semiotic registers. This perspective is particularly emphasized in the case of Javanese and more broadly within Indonesian contexts, as Goebel (2010) discusses.

5.5 Stories at syarif's Restaurant

Building on our earlier discussion, I would like to revisit the Majlas at Syarif's restaurant to highlight the progression of interactions, as I believe the timing and unfolding of the Majlas are fundamental to understanding its significance. During the interaction at Syarif's

restaurant, the exchanges intensify, especially those centered on the Jamaah community and performative elements like storytelling. This progression coincides with an increased use of Arabic linguistic elements.

In the following excerpts, the focus shifts to the sarong industry. Notably, in turn 11, the Arabic deictic *hadza* is used. Particularly intriguing is the employment of numerals. For instance, in turn 23, Moh states in Arabic that *satu kodi* (20 items) is *ishrīn ḥabbah alef wami'atayn dōlar* ('1200 dollars for 10 yarns').[9]

Interestingly, in the phrase *ishrīn ḥabbah alef wami'atayn dōlar*, the /'/ is not articulated, and *alf* is pronounced as /alef/. Here, it suffices to note that Arabic numerals are often employed among the Jamaah during recreational activities like domino or card games. Typically, these numerals appear in rounded forms—tens or thousands—making Moh's explicit switch to Arabic in this context particularly noteworthy.

(34) Cerita_sarung_eating taken from CONV_KLW_210223_5P_RISTORANTE

→	11	Nif-S1	hadza gloyor *this is gloyor*
	12	Int	iya ya *yeah*
	13	Syarif-S1	ini sarung paling aj-- paling ajaib *this sarong is the most amazing*
	14	Nif-S1	wuthar *wuthar*
	15	Syarif-S1	pa-- sarung paling ajaib *the– the most amazing sarong*
	16	Moh-S1	tapi yang ajaib yang (.) yang NAMA yang nomor satu *but the most amazing is the one with the number one violin king*
	17	Int	iya *yes*
	18	Syarif-S1	lho sek tho *wait a moment*
	19	Moh-S1	jadi yang cap botol itu satu (.) delapan ratus ribu *so the one with the bottle cap is one (.) eight hundred thousand*
	20	Nif-S1	sapa *who*
	21	Syarif-S1	pemalang banyak lho *there are many in Pemalang*
	22	Int	oh *oh*
→	23	Moh-S1	satu kodi (.) ishrīn ḥabbah alef wami'atayn dōlar *one kodi (.) twenty yarns one thousand dollars*
	24	Syarif-S1	seratus ribu *one hundred thousand*
	25	Nif-S1	iya di pemalang (.) Solo kan ndak ada *yes, in Pemalang (.) there is none in Solo*

The discussion about the sarong industry continues in excerpt 35. Nif speaks about Bali and how the sarong industry operates within the Jamaah community. He argues that they are quite smart, as they keep production very low, and although they accept orders in advance, once Ramadan approaches, they do not sell more than one to two *kodi* to each buyer.

In this section, we specifically note the use of *ente* as a sequence initiator or for impersonal constructions in turns 6, 7, and 21. In turn 6, Nif also uses the Colloquial Arabic adverb *gabel* (before) and pronounces the term *ramadan*, the holy month, phonetically in Arabic,

[9] A *kodi* is a traditional unit of measure, commonly used in textiles such as sarongs, equivalent to 20 pieces of an item.

where the /d/ is produced emphatically, as it is in Arabic, and the second interconsonantal /a/ between /m/ and /d/ is omitted. At the end of the same intonation unit, he uses the term *fulus* (money) which comes from the arabic فلوس /ˈfluːs/, and although is not part of Standard Indonesian it is quiet common in Bahasa Sehari-hari (Colloquial Indonesian).
He also uses the term *syuf* (see) to introduce reported speech in 8 and the ethnic term *ahwal=e* (non-Jamaah married to a Jamaah) in 13. Finally, he uses the term *hafla* (party) in turn 21.

(35) Strategi di pulau Bali

	1	Nif-S1	ente ke pulau bali pulau bali dari dulu nih (.) dari dulu mesin semua duapuluh ndak mau nambah
			you go to Bali, Bali since ever (.) has always had only twenty machinery and don't want to add any
	2	Syarif-S1	duapuluh duapuluh potong
			twenty twenty pieces
	3	Nif-S1	dari dulu ya duapuluh mesin
			from the beginning, yeah twenty machines
	4	Moh-S1	pintalen itu lho
			that's the weaving
	5	Nif-S1	wes (.)ente tapi hebatnya strategi marketingnya (.) gabel romadan 3 bulan sebelumnya toko sudah pada
→	6		nitip fulus
			well, but you know, the greatness is in the marketing strategy (.) three months before Ramadan, the stores have already deposited money
	7	Nif-S1	ente nitip 3 kodi. muhammad 3 kodi. ana 3 kodi masalan
			you deposit 3 kodi. Muhammad 3 kodi. I 3 kodi for example

Consider also that Nif, after producing the phrase *gabel ramdan* (before ramadan) in turn 6, rephrases it in Indonesian using *sebelumnya*. This integration demonstrates a complex layering of linguistic elements, mixing Arabic lexical items with Indonesian grammatical structures, in terms of crossing. and also shifting entirely to Arabic. Continuing in turn 8, Nif uses the phrase in Arabic, *syuf afwan* (look, I'm sorry). This is in a reported speech format, representing what the sellers tell the buyers when they deliver only one *kodi* instead of the full amount of *kodi* that was ordered. This use of Arabic serves to lend authenticity and a sense of immediacy to the recounted dialogue, enhancing the narrative by reflecting the linguistic practices within the trading context of the Jamaah community and at the same time, *syuf* is used as a sequence initiator for reported speech.

→	8	Nif-S1	begitu sudah deket romdan (.) syuf afwan
			when it's near Ramadan (.) listen, I'm sorry
	9	Nif-S1	ente cuma dapat satu kodi muhammad satu kodi (.) sudah dan produksi cuman segitu (.) lebih tumpuk
	10		sisaan ndak dijual (.) kaya di suarabaya tuh NAMA (.) makanya tiap tahun itu naik muh (.) tiap taun naik (.)
	11		harganya
			you only get one kodi, Muhammad one kodi, that's it and production is only that much, the rest does not get sold. like in Surabaya that NAME (.) that's why every year it goes up muh, every year it goes up the price
	12	Syarif-S1	ya orang sudah kecanduan maksudnya orang sudah
			yes, people are already addicted, I mean people are already

Continuing, in turn 13, after Syarif comments that people are becoming addicted to this type of *sarongs*, Nif responds with *dan dia ahwal itu kaya di jawa timur BHS pulau bali tempat ahwale zuwad ya wajib seolah olah ngasih* (and them, the *ahwal*, they are like the BHS in East Java, the Ahwal get married in Bali, of course, they have to pretend they have it). The term *ahwal* here refers to non-Jamaah women married to Jamaah men. This term is used across all Jamaah communities I have encountered. Nif uses it twice, and the second time, at the end of the turn, he modifies it with the Javanese determiner *-e*, indicating "the ahwal".

Finally, in turn 21, Nif, who has only been interrupted a few times by Moh and Syarif—who agreed with him that the sarong BHS is such an important aspect for the Jamaah—initiates another turn. This turn begins with the use of *ente*. Once again used as an attention-grabbing or sequence initiator within the context, underscoring Nif's role in steering the discussion and emphasizing the significance of his points about the cultural and economic importance of sarongs within the community.
He uses the term *hafla*, which is the Arabic word for "party". Although it is common among the Jamaah to use this term for any kind of party, among Indonesians (regardless of their ethnic group) who attended specific *pesantrens* like Lirboyo referenced in the conversation, the term is specifically used to refer to a graduation party for Quranic schools.

→	13	Nif-S1	dan dia ahwal itu kaya di jawa timur BHS pulau bali tempat ahwale zuwad ya wajib seolah olah ngasih *and the Ahwal are like in East Java BHS, in Bali where the Ahwal get married, it's as if they have to give it*
	14	Syarif-S1	ya *yes*
	15	Nif-S1	buat mertuanya pulau bali *for his in-laws in Bali*
	16	Syarif-S1	kalu jawa timur itu (.) madura bhs ndak bhs blum solat katanya, ndak sah solatnya in East Java, they need to have a Madura BHS otherwise the prayer isn't valid
	17	Nif-S1	iya bukan hanya *yes, not only*
	18	Moh-S1	haji haji yu: nek belum pakek bhs blum haji *Haji, Haji, if you haven't used BHS, you haven't done the haj*
	19	Syarif-S1	iya *yes*
	20	Nif-S1	lho nek bukan hanya itu anak anak pesantren *look, not only that, the pesantren kids*
→	21	Nif-S1	ente lirboyo segala macem kalau mau (.) mau haflah mau ente hadir lulusan semua pakeknya bhs *you know, in Lirboyo if they want want a party, if they have to attend a graduation, all the graduates use BHS*

Going on in the evening, although also talkming abou othe rissues, they keep talking about the sarongs. I report here 3 excerpts 38, 40, and 43, where participants engage in a discussion about the distribution and exclusivity contracts of certain sarongs that are produced in Indonesia but sold only to specific countries. Specifically, one that is called *Botol* but after legal issues, as its logo was identical to another American wine logo, it became *botol terbang* (flying bottle). They discuss how these products are uniquely available or restricted to certain areas like Saudi Arabia, Dubai, and Somalia due to specific contracts that prevent wider distribution. They also note that the sarongs are extremely expensive and that the production methods are somewhat secretive, to the extent that wearing one without permission could lead to troubles. Moh recalls the specific trials of the *botol terbang* brand, and starts narrating it to us. He tells it twice, and the second time he switches more to Arabic.
Finally, in excerpt 43, Nif laments that the Chinese community, referred to by the Jamaah as *baude*, has taken over the Jamaah sarong market because they are smart at selling items cheaply, and also because the newer generations of Jamaah do not care about maintaining the business and working hard. Following each excerpt, I will provide a more specific description, especially of those turns where Arabic switches are particularly salient.

Cap Botol - The *Botol* Brand

In the following excerpt, as we continue discussing the exclusivity of the sarongs, Nif in turn 3 gives us the example of a time at a gathering when a guy was seen with a *botol somali sarung*, and the owner of *cap botol* stopped him to ask for clarification as they do not sell

them in Indonesia. Note that in the reported speech in this turn, he uses the Standard Arabic term *anta* instead of the usual colloquial Jamaah *ente*.
Moh follows on the topic and from 4 to 7 explains that even though they produce these sarongs at the back of Fadil's place (his brother), when he asked for the rejects, they did not give any to him. In this sequence of turns to be analyzed, note the use of *bet* (house) in Jamaah at the beginning of the sequence, repeated twice, and the use of the lexical term *jiran* (neighbor) in Standard Arabic at the end.

(38) Cap Bolot first part

	1	Nif-S1	ya tu kan khusus somalia itu dijual sampe kejadian ada jumatan depannya dia lewat (.) botol somalia (.)
	2		ditunggu sampe selesai sama jamaah dipanggil (1.5) anta asal dari mana ya aa lii (.) rijectne iya dapet dari
→	3		sapa riject cuy ente dapet dari sapa NAMA sapa masa digondol
			yes, that's sold specifically for Somalia, so once an incident happened during Friday prayers, a guy passed by with a Somali bottle (sarung), (the other guy) waited until it was over, called him from the other Jamaah, where are you from, ehm (.) that's the riject, where did you get it from? its the waste man, you got it from who, NAME who, you think I stole it
→	4	Moh-S1	bet Fadil (.) itu fuad gamet kan belakang betnya fadhil
			fadil's house (.) that fuad gamet behind the house of fadil
	5	Moh-S1	minta yang riject ndak dikasih sampe mau beli
			asked for the reject, does not give it, even if you one wants to buy it
	6	Int	karna punya akad sama saudi
			because he has a contract with the Saudis
→	7	Moh-S1	padahal jirannya fadil katanya
			even though he's Fadil's neighbor

Continuing in the interaction they all effortlessly switch between Arabic, Indonesian, and Javanese, showcasing their linguistic agility. This multilingual exchange goes beyond mere information sharing—it plays a critical role in shaping social identities and interpersonal dynamics. Throughout the dialogue, the speakers engage in crossing by adopting elements from different linguistic backgrounds, and they shift to Arabic to model specific forms of speech and thought, underlining the strategic use of language to influence social interactions. For example in 6, Moh's use of Arabic terms like *thoyyib* (good) emphasizes his positive sentiment about a character discussed in the story. Additionally, the use of code-switching, such as switching from Indonesian to Arabic or Javanese, highlights cultural references, asserts identity, or clarifies specific details that might be culturally or contextually bound to a particular language.
Note the exchange between Moh and Nif when Nif responds *almuhim hapus mereke* (the important thing is you delete the brand) in 12 and just before that when Moh says *syahi* (tea) end *masna* (factory) and *thoyyib*(طَيِّب /ˈtˤaj.jib/), realizes *thoyyib* as emphatic reflecting the /tˤ/ on the following vowel. The term *almuhim* "the important thing" is utilized, followed by a typical Jamaah phrase where *ente* acts as an initiator, and both Javanese and Indonesian are employed concurrently. In this instance, although the switch to *almuhim* is not part of the usual lexical repertoire of the Jamaah community, such switching is a normal practice and forms part of the broader Jamaah style. This practice is contingent on the language proficiency of the speaker and thus can be analyzed as depending on a cognitive factor.

(39) Botol Terbang

1	Moh-S1	mereknya botol (.) botol sekarang botol terbang itu dulu tahun 1960 dituntut sama amerika tau itu orang
2		amerika dateng kesini cari solo
		the brand is bottle (.) bottle now flying bottle back in 1960 was sued by America, you know, an American came here looking in Solo

→	3	Moh-S1	botolnya persis botol khamarnya amerika (.) persis *the bottle is exactly like the American liquor bottle (.) exactly*
	4	Moh-S1	itu masih ada ammy Galib ammy Galib masih hidup itu teko di pengadilan klo pas jamaahnya ini jadwalnya
→	5		sidang halamannya semua jamaah thok bawa kloso bawa tiker bawa syahi lihat pengadilannya *Ammy Galib was still there, Ammy Galib was still alive, he came to court, when its was the time of the hearing, the courtyard was full of Jamaah bringing mats, bringing rugs, bringing tea, watching the trial*
→	6	Moh-S1	ini ammy Galib ini yang punya masna' (.) orang thoyyib *this ammy NAME, who owns the factory (.) he was a good person*
	7	Nif-S1	lha itu mantunya itu yang ana jelasin NAMA *that's his son-in-law, the one I explained, NAME*
	8	Syarif-S1	ooh mantunya ni nikah NAMA uu *ooh his son-in-law got married, NAME uu*
	9	Nif-S1	((inudible))
	10	Moh-S1	terus tapi saat itu ndak ada tuntutan tuntutan fulus thu ndak ada lain sama sekarang sekarang punya ente ana
→	11		pakek wah ente bisa tuntut ana miliyaran wah dulu ndak *but at that time there were no money claims, nothing like that, different from now, now you have, I use it, wah, you can sue me for billions, wah, it wasn't like that before*
→	12	Nif-S1	almuhim ente (.) hapus mereke *the important thing is you (.) delete the brand*
	13	Syarif-S1	iya *yes*

Continuing in the conversations, in excerpt 40, Moh continues with the story of *botol terbang* and its legal issues. He starts by stating that it is *ma'ruf* (well-known) (مَعْرُوف /maʕˈruːf/), in Arabic. Then he continues with a more complex shift in 3 where he sues the Arabic prepositions *bi-* 'in' followed by *Hadramot* produced phonetically in Arabic and then the Indonesian reduplication to pluralize *wulaiti* (first generation Jamaah) and then continues in Colloquial Indonesian.

(40) Cap botol second part

→	1	Moh-S1	tepi ma`ruf wuh *but known well, wuh*
	2	Syarif-S1	kayak NAMA dulu (.) NAMA *like NAME before (.) NAME*
→	3	Moh-S1	ente wulaiti2R bi hadramot (.) [hadramot [ndak ada botol ndak mau *you know the wulaitis in Hadramaut (.) [Hadramaut [without the bottle stamp don't want it*
	4	Int	[NAMA *[NAME*
	5	Syarif-S1	[keluarnya NAMA *[it comes from exit NAME*
	6	Moh-S1	woh ente berat sak XXXX *woh, you know it's heavy XXXX*
	7	Int	[kenapa namanya botol *[why is it called a bottle*
	8	Syarif-S1	[ente berhubungan sama pabriknya (.) [ente beli ama agennya *[you deal with the factory (.) [you buy from the agent*
	9	Moh-S1	[wah nggak *[wah, no*
	10	Nif-S1	di anu agennya *at, what do you cal it? The agent*
	11	Moh-S1	[ammy NAME kasih merek botol *[Ammy NAME gives the bottle brand*
	12	Syarif-S1	[pesan sepuluh kodi tapi keluarnya sepuluh kodi, sekodi oy *[you order ten kodi but only get one kodi*

As the conversation unfolds, Moh revisits the story of the trial for the *cap botol* logo. In 13, he introduces "the American guy" in Arabic by saying أمريكي /ʔamˈriːkiː/ (the American) *datang* (arrives) , and in a reported speech turn in 15 he says in reported speech *ini*

seperti botol khamr haqqy hada (that bottle is like my bottle) where he uses the possessive construction *hagg* + =1POSS in Arabic, although he realizes /q/ in [hagg] as /g/.

→	13	Moh-S1	[tapi jalan berapa tahun amriky @datang@
			[but after a few years, the American @came@
	14	Syarif-S1	[wis baru itu bapak meninggal
			[only after that the father passed away
→	15	Moh-S1	ini seperti botol khamr haqqy hada (.) [persis botolnya
			this is like my wine bottle (.) [exactly like his bottle
	16	Syarif-S1	[anaknya juga meninggal
			[his child also passed away
	17	Nif-S1	rusak sak
			damaged eh
	18	Moh-S1	nek (naik pesawat) nyampe ke solo
			(taking a plane) reaching Solo
	19	Syarif-S1	doh
			doh

Another interesting shift is found in turn 20 where Moh uses the term *mahkamah*, an Indonesian term of Arabic origin, and then rephrases it with the Indonesian *penggadilan* (the act of making a ruling). *Mahkamah* derives from the Arabic مَحْكَمة /ˈmaħ.ka.ma/ and in Indonesian refers to a judicial court, often used in formal contexts such as *Mahkamah Agung* for the Supreme Court. *Penggadilan* in Indonesian generally refers to courts as well, but is a more general term used for all types of courts. Both terms are part of the Indonesian legal vocabulary, but *mahkamah* carries a more specific, sometimes higher, or more formal connotation compared to *penggadilan*. Interestingly, Moh's use of *mahkamah* in this context constitutes a switch to Arabic using lexical elements that are, in fact, Indonesian, just by slightly shifting the semantics of the term.

→	20	Moh-S1	wakil mahkamah (.) pengadilan ((rephrase))
			representative of the mahkamah (.) court
	21	Syarif-S1	kejadianya kaya pira fis siaga betul
			the incident was like an actual one
	22	Int	tapi orang amerika itu asalnya dari indonesia
			but that American was originally from Indonesia
	23	Moh-S1	dari amerika
			from America
	24	Syarif-S1	coba dulu
			try it first
	25	Int	jadi apa hubungannya dengan
			so what's the connection with
	26	Nif-S1	[(syekh betul) bhs riject xxx
			[(relly fot sheikhs) BHS reject xxx
	27	Moh-S1	botolnya sama mereknya
			the bottle and the brand
	28	Moh-S1	jadi ehm
			so ehm
	29	Nif-S1	ente sekarang sudah posting
			you know see posts everywhere
	30	Moh-S1	merk
			brand
	31	Int	aa
			aa
	32	Nif-S1	sekarang ente di facebook=
			you see them on Facebook=
	33	Moh-S1	=botol apa
			=whatever botol
	34	Syarif-S1	ha banyak

ah so many

35 Int tapi apa botol itu tetap sarung yang dia bikin
but that botol brand, they still make sarungs

36 Nif-S1 xxx yang jual
xxx selling

37 Syarif-S1 banyak
a lot

38 Moh-S1 [ya tapi gambar botolnya (.) botol buatan ente
[yes, but the bottle picture (.) a bottle made by you

39 Syarif-S1 [dulu dah keluar tu zamannya= [lha ya
[it came out in its time= yeah

40 Nif-S1 =wa[ktu (XXXX)
=during (XXXX)

41 Int oh
oh

42 Syarif-S1 kecubung semacam xxx
a kind of kecubung (kind of flower) xxx

Continuing in the conversation in turn 45, he uses again the possessive construction *ini botol haqqy hada*, and then rephrases it with the narrator's voice again, but this time using again the construction *haqq* + the clitic *=u* for 3rd person possessive. Note that the common way of producing this possessive construction is actually by pronouncing the /q/ in [haqq] (which would be the written Standard Arabic form) as /g/, more common in spoken forms, especially in this specific construction, which is prevalent in the Gulf region. Furthermore, in *ini botol haqqi hadza*, Moh employs a syntactic order closer to that of Indonesian than Arabic.

→ 43 Moh-S1 ameriky lihat sarung ini waktu ke dubai atau kemana
the American saw this sarong when he went to Dubai or somewhere

44 Nif-S1 hem
hmm

→ 45 Moh-S1 ini botol haqqi hadza (.) botol khomr haqqu
this is my bottle (.) it was his bottle

Continuing in the interaction, in turn 56 Moh makes a more complex turn. He points out that nowadays, it is possible to seek substantial compensation for such issues, whereas in the past, this option did not exist. He emphasizes this change using the negator *ma fi* (there is no), indicating absolute negation, combined with *wala* (or) *ganti rugi* (compensation). Following a brief pause, he concludes with the Javanese expression *wes* (that's it), and continues in standard Indonesian, *ini mereknya ini botol seperti botol khamarnya* (the brand, this bottle, was just like his bottle of wine). After a small pause he adds *hadza faranji* هذا فرَنْجي /haːðaː faˈran.dʒi/ (that foreigner). *Faranji* is a Classical Malay term, not very common in contemporary Indonesia, for referring to strangers. It likely originated from the Arabic way of referring to Westerners. However, the term is widely used among the Jamaah.

Following on that, we see the use of numerals in 61 and the unit of measure *habbah*. Numerals in Arabic among the Jamaah are generally used when playing cards or talking about prices. Find below the overall excerpt of the interaction just commented on above.

46 Int mh (.) dan dia tanya ini dari mana (.) dikasihtahu dari indonesia baru dia ke sini
mh (.) and he asked where it was from (.) got to know told it was from Indonesia then he came here

47 Moh-S1 ah jadi dia ke indonesia wih lumayan ruwet, sampe solo wow geger ente anu ammy NAMA pengadilan wis

48 xx
ah, so he went to Indonesia, it was quite complicated, until Solo, you get shocked, you know, Ammy name went to court that's it xx

→	49	Moh-S1	woh ini tokoh ini orang [thoyyib (.
			woh, this figure is was a good man
	50	Moh-S1	orang suwis barang (1.5) thoyyib (.) [dulu masih mikir xxxx
			people have been around (1.5) good (.) [they used to think xxxx
	51	Moh-S1	satu halaman parkir (.) semua jamaah (.) abah-abah ibu ibu bawa sahi bawa tiker bawa karpet (.) nunggu
	52		dia hahaha hakim bilang (.) cuman kaya dulu buat ndak ada uang tuntut tuntut gitu ndak ada
			one parking lot (.) all Jamaah (.) men, women, bringing tea, bringing mats, bringing carpets (.) waiting for him, hahaha, the judge said (.) just like before, there was no money for claims like that, nothing
	53	Int	mh
			mh
	54	Moh-S1	ndak seperti sekarang sekarang (2.0) kesenggol sikit (.) bisa nuntut
			not like now (2.0) a little bump (.) you can sue somebody
	55	Moh-S1	dulu mafi (1.0) wala minta ganti rugi (5.0) wes ini mereknya ini botolnya seperti botol khamrnya (1.0)
→	56		[hadza faranji
			back then, there was not such thing, (1.0) or asking for compensation (5.0) the brand, the bottle was just like the liquor bottle (1.0) of [that foreigner
	57	Nif-S1	[hm hm
			[hm hm
	58	Moh-S1	ente rubah sedikit, akhirnya dikasih sayap botol terbang (.) sampe sekarang (.) 1200 dolar sekodi (2.0) dii
	59		itung ae brapa
			you change it a bit, finally it was given wings, flying bottle (.) until now (.) 1200 dollars per kodi (2.0) just count how much
	60	Moh-S1	(4.0) seribu duaratus dolar [XXXX XXXX
			(4.0) one thousand two hundred dollars [XXXX XXXX
→	61	Nif-S1	[tamaniat 'asyar miliun (.) 18 juta
			[eighteen million (.) 18 million
	62	Moh-S1	delapanbelas juta bagi duapuluh (.) [900 ribu sekarang
			eighteen million divided by twenty (.) [900 thousand now
	63	Nif-S1	[tis
			[tis
	64	Moh-S1	karna dolar limabelas ribu
			because the dollar is fifteen thousand

Baude pintar - Skilled Chinese Salesmen

In the conversation described in excerpt 43, Nif continues to discuss the *sarung* industry in his village. He initially perceived it as their cultural heritage, a symbol of the region, and a tradition passed down through generations of the Jamaah. However, he argues that due to market dynamics and, in his view, Chinese influence – which he refers to as *baude* (بَا عُقْدَة /bɑʔ ˈʕuq.da/)– along with the mindset of younger generations, which he describes using the Jamaah term *muwallad* (Indonesia-born Jamaah, from the arabic مولد /muˈwal.lad/), this distinctive Jamaah way to *sarung* production is losing its uniqueness and becoming more commercialized.

In his narrative, Nif employs the term *hatta* (ultimately) in a colloquial sense as a final preposition. He also uses *rohis* /ˈroʊ.hɪs/ (cheap), derived from the Arabic رَخِيص /raˈxiːsˤ/, as a lexical item. Additionally, he refers to *khawadim* (servants or apprentices in this context), using the Arabic plural form خوادم /xaˈwaː.dim/, though the term exist in Indonesian in its singular form. Furthermore, *syuf* serves as a sequence initiator. It is also noteworthy to mention again the use of the =u (3rd person possessive suffix) in Arabic lexical elements, emphasizing the integration of Arabic linguistic features into Indonesian discourse.

(43) Baude Pintar - KLW

1	Nif-S1	cuma sayangnya (.) ente kalau denger sudah ceritanya sarung gloyor ini ana dulu (.) dulu (.) dulu
2		berfikirnya bahwa (.) kita orang masih punya (.) masih punya (.) ilmu yang ndak (.) keluar (.) ana tak tak
3		pikir sarung gloyor salah satunya (.) ternyata ente sekarang (.) baudenya ngerti

it's just a pity. if you hear the story of the gloyor sarong, I used to... used to, used to think that we still had knowledge that doesn't go away. I thought the gloyor sarong was like that. It turns out you now..baude know it

4 Syarif-S1 rame
crowded

5 Nif-S1 baudenya sudah tahu
baude already know

6 Syarif-S1 tempatnya berarti =
the place means=

7 Nif-S1 = bukan tempatnya
=not the place

8 Syarif-S1 bikinnya =
how to make it=

9 Moh-S1 = bikinnya
=making it

10 Nif-S1 XXXX kan adhola pagoda itu
XXXX is the pagoda

11 Syarif-S1 sudah ndak ada sekarang pagoda ini
there's no more pagoda now

12 Nif-S1 wes, ya tapi dah ekspor masih dari sana (.)
done, yes but they still export from there (.)

13 Syarif-S1 [masih ada xxx
[they still do xxx

14 Nif-S1 [masih dari cina (.) ndak benange maksute, suply dari cina kan masihh (.) ana pikir racikannya (.) ternyata
15 sekarang ente (.) ente datang nih (.) ente beli pabrik baru, ente (.) pengen warna ijonya, ijonya syarif (.) koh
16 saya diracikan ijonya syarif oh oh siap
[still from China (.) not the yarn, the supply from China is still there (.) I thought the mixture (.) but now you (.) you came here (.) you bought a new factory, you (.) want the green color, Syarif's green (.) can you mix Syarif's green, oh oh sure

17 Moh-S1 salaf
salaf

Note that the term *baude*, a general term for "Chinese", is perfectly integrated into the mostly Indonesian and Javanese interaction. When Nif talks about the past generations in 20, he uses *hatta* in a concessive way, which is a literary term in Indonesian originating from Arabic, used by the Jamaah in a colloquial manner, similar to its use in colloquial Arabic today. In the same utterance, he says *hormatu* with the 3SG possessive clitic. Also the adjective *rohis* is presented in 33 with the Indonesian nominalizer *-an*, resulting in the collective "cheap stuff".

18 Nif-S1 baude sudah tau semua (.) ente sama ana mau birunya muhammad (.) oh sebentar (.) racik sama baude,
19 birunya ent jadi dulu (.) dulu (.) orang orang tua mereka ini (.)
baude already know everything (.) you and I want Muhammad's blue (.) oh wait (.) mix it with baude, his blue, so before (.) before (.) our ancestors (.)

→ 20 Nif-S1 hatta hormatu ndak dikasih tahu racikan obate
even their own wife didn't know the ingredients for the mixture

21 Syarif-S1 disini bocor Nif punya botol bocor
here it's leaking Nif, the bottle is leaking

22 Moh-S1 masa rif
really, Rif

23 Syarif-S1 bocor (.) sapa (.) bikin NAMA (.) rif tu kan obatnya botol terbang rif (.) bocor
leaking (.) who (.) made NAME (.) Rif, that's the flying bottle recepie, Rif (.) leaking

24 Moh-S1 ini sekarang dia dibekonang dia bikin pabrik
now he is in Bekonang, he built a factory

25 Syarif-S1 iya dia buat sendiri (.) jadi mulai
yes, he made it himself (.) so starting

26 Nif-S1 gloyor juga
also gloyor

27 Syarif-S1 iya buyernya botol terbang ditembus [racikannya botol terbang dia punya
yes, the buyer of the flying bottle bought it [the mixture of the flying bottle, he has it

	28	Moh-S1	[wah
			[wah
	29	Syarif-S1	semua beli (.) benangnya dia beli dimana dia [tahu
			he's buying evrything (.) where he buys the yarn, he [knows
	30	Moh-S1	[ana ngaku sama NAMA itu balatannya NAMA itu
			[I told to NAME, that's NAME's plot
	31	Moh-S1	ana ke pabriknya
			I went to his factory
	32	Syarif-S1	iaya bekonang
			yes, Bekonang
→	33	Moh-S1	ente mo cari yang rohisan
			you want to find the cheap ones
	34	Syarif-S1	semua [(risentya)
			all [(recepies)
	35	Moh-S1	[ana tau tempatnya asad
			[I know Asad's place
	36	Nif-S1	dulu dulu ana sampe ngobrol sama dia
			Once I had the chance to talk to him

After several turns in which Syarif and Moh intervene, Nif continues in turn 37 and uses *syuf* as a sequence initiator for reported speech, where he then stresses that his father did not even tell his wife about the mixture he would use.

→	37	Nif-S1	syuf (.) abah ana dulu (.) hatta ummy ndak dikasih tahu ((discorso riportato))
			look (.) my father (.) even my mother wasn't told ((reported speech))
	38	Syarif-S1	tuh raciane
			that's the mixture
	39	Nif-S1	raciane
			the mixture

He continues and points out in turn 40 that the Arabs meticulously plan for any contingency to safeguard their knowledge. In doing so, he uses the Arabic term *arabi*, from عَرَبِي /ʕa.raˈbiː/, although without pronouncing the /ʕ/. In 41 by quoting his father, he uses the term of address *harim* (wife, حَرِيم /ħaˈriːm/), the classical Qur'anic term *syaiatin* (شَيَاطِين /ʃa.jɑːˈtˤiːn/, plural of شيطان /ʃajˈtˤaːn/, meaning "devil"), and the common Jamaah term *firoq* (divorce, from the Arabic فِرَاق /fiˈraːq/). He then transitions to Standard Indonesian. It's important to note that both *harim* and *firoq* are commonly used among the Jamaah, whereas *syaiatin* is taken from the religious lexicon of Islam and is generally understood and used in a broader Indonesian context.

	40	Nif-S1	ente (arabi), ente fikiranya sampe
			you are (Arab), you foreseen till
→	41	Nif-S1	harim (.) izin syiatin namun firoq sama ana ente bisa (.)
			harim (.) permission syaiatin if one day we divorce, you could– (.)
	42	Syarif-S1	[terima (.) [sampan segitunya
			[you need to accept it (.) [as much as that
→	43	Nif-S1	[saya kasihnya anak [laki2R dikasihkennya ke laki nanti sekarang muwallad ente (.) maunya praktis
			[I give it to the [male son later, now the muwallad (.) want it practical
→	44	Nif-S1	suruh khawadim nih racikane ini ini kasihkan ong ya ((khadim in the plural form))
			they tell the servants, this is the mixture, give it to the guy, that's it
	45	Moh-S1	mhh
			mhh
	46	Nif-S1	dia ndak brangkat sendiri dulu ndak, beli sendiri sendiri tar obannya dia yang nyampur sekarang sudah
→	47		ditulis kasihken (.) baudenya sama baudenya disimpan (.) jadi nek khawadimnya dateng disuruh sapa
			they don't go alone, no, before they used to buy things individually , the mixture they mix it, now they write it down. Same thing for the baude and the baude keeps it (.) so when the servants come, tell them
	48	Nif-S1	oh ya nih (.)

oh yes (.)

An interesting sequence occurs from turn 43 to 49, where Nif highlights how the *muwallad* now prefer practicality, instructing their servants to procure ingredients rather than going themselves. He notes their satisfaction with this easier method in turn 49, where he incorporates prevalent Jamaah expressions such as *farhan* (happy) *shughul*(work) *royyit*(relaxed) saying *ente (.) ini juga merasa farhan pikiren shughulan tambah royyit tinggal telpon thok* (you know, they even feel happy thinking that the work got lighter, you just need to make a call).

Furthermore, in turn 56, he uses halli ente orang yang za:t (you be the one to handle the ingredients). The term *halli* (to let), derived from the Arabic خَلِّ /ˈχaliː/, is typically used to issue commands or requests, similar in use to the Indonesian *biarkan*. I have also encountered it with the clitic "=o" which attaches to the verb, referring to the third person masculine singular pronoun, as in "let him."

→	49	Nif-S1	ente (.) ini juga merasa farhan pikiren shughulan tambah royyit tinggal telpon thok *you know, they even feel happy thinking that the work got lighter, you just need to make a call*
→	50	Nif-S1	beliken racikan ini bahlul aslinya thu ana bengong yaAllah *buy this mixture, completely foolish, I was stunned, oh God*
	51	Syarif-S1	dikasih tuh *they give it away*
	52	Nif-S1	ini baude ting-- ya apa baude yang gak bisa jual murah (.) ana ngobrol sampe wes kata baudenya (.) entah
	53		ini (.) ente pikir baudenya gak mau ini (.) baude ndak mau (.) ndak mau repot klutak klutuk miara karyawan
	54		ratusan ribet (.) puluhan mending disuruh (.) ribet mereka maenken benang, obat *this baude thing– how can baude not sell it cheaply (.) I talked until baude said (.) I don't know this (.) you think baude doesn't want this (.) baude doesn't want (.) doesn't want the hassle of managing hundreds of employees (.) dozens better be told (.) they bother playing with yarn, the mix*
	55	Moh-S1	he em *he em*
→	56	Nif-S1	halli ente orang yang za:t *let it be you the person who deals with the ingredients*
	57	Syarif-S1	oh mainkennya ke benang sama ke obat *oh, playing with yarn and mixture*
	58	Nif-S1	mereka mau gampang sekali mau bikin nih sekarang kaya jepang ngeluarken sarung itu jepang produksi
	59		sarung sudah iklan sudah ente *they want it very easy to make, now like Japan, releasing sarongs, Japan produces sarongs, they are already advertising it*
→	60	Nif-S1	shughul cuma ngracik rasa tok *The work is just making the mixture you know*
	61	Nif-S1	bayarane ente mau berapa ente di dibayar sama dia orang *he asks as much as he wants and they pay him*
	62	Syarif-S1	jadi tukang obat itu ya diparingi xxx *so the mixture is the heritage xxx*
	63	Nif-S1	ente ana pikir ini pertanda kita orang lho ternyata ada pemain pemain sarung yang sudah pakek ini ente *you I think I think I think this is a sign for us, it turns out there are sarong players who have used this, you*
	64	Moh-S1	oh *oh*
	65	Syarif-S1	ya botol itu bocor berarti, ini itu taunan kerjo sama *yes, the bottle brand is leaking, after years of working together*

5.6 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have explored the multifaceted language practices of the Jamaah community, particularly within the high-sociability context of the Majlas—informal gatherings where linguistic practices and identities are dynamically constructed and negotiated.

By analyzing interactions in four distinct settings—a Javanese Arab restaurant in Surakarta where friends gathered to share stories; the backstreets of Jakarta Timur in the Pedati area where young friends socialized; the terrace of a guest house where people from Surakarta and Surabaya met; and the countryside outside Solo in a conversation between a goat herder, Ibrahim, and his nephew, Arfan—I have framed Bahasa Majlas as an interaction-oriented semiotic register. This register is constructed through styles and stances that draw on a steady yet fluid indexical relationship with the Jamaah community, intertwining Arab-Islam-Arabic identities with Indonesia's multilayered linguistic ecology.

Bahasa Majlas emerges from social interactions where Jamaah identity is performed and acknowledged, particularly during communal gatherings such as weddings or informal meetings. Its connection to a specific ethnicity is interactionally bound, arising in social encounters where Jamaah identity is constructed, displayed, and reinforced through linguistic and cultural elements.

The prominence of Bahasa Majlas in specific environments can be attributed to the performative nature of Jamaah identity in these settings. Such spaces foster a shared sense of belonging, as individuals draw on signs tied to Arab identity, the Arabic language, and Islam, thereby strengthening communal ties.

These styles exemplify the dynamic interplay of symbolic resources—languages, dialects, accents, clothing, and other forms of cultural expression. These resources are utilized by individuals and communities to affiliate, differentiate, and contest identities. In doing so, they not only render these styles socially meaningful but also reflexively shape the repertoires themselves, echoing Gal and Irvine (2019)'s insights on the co-constitutive nature of social practices and linguistic signs.

From this perspective, Bahasa Majlas functions as an interconnected system of signs, structured through co-occurrence patterns that facilitate or restrict their associations. This aligns with Agha (2007) and Silverstein (2003)'s notions of semiotic registers, where constellations of signs are so tightly interwoven that the use of one invariably evokes the others within the register.

The interplay between Arabic and Indonesian, Jakartan, Betawi, or Javanese reflects a complex interaction of ideologies and identities. Arabic carries ideological weight shaped by diverse centers of normativity, including the Middle East, online representations, stereotypical associations with Islam, and its deep indexical ties to Islam in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Indonesian, Jakartan, Betawi, and Javanese are anchored in localized and regional spheres, each shaped by unique histories of standardization and representation. The use of this register goes beyond showcasing linguistic heritage; it serves as a strategic tool for navigating social identities and expressing affiliation. The fluid switching between languages and styles underscores the multilayered nature of both individual and collective identities.

The similarities in Bahasa Majlas across different locations are likely influenced by shared cultural practices within the Jamaah community, as well as broader Indonesian and global cultural forces driven by media and communication technologies that standardize linguistic features. Additionally, mobility within Java plays a fundamental role. During weddings and major ceremonies, people from various parts of the island gather, bringing together their diverse daily lives and social trajectories in moments of shared cultural significance.

In communicative practice, these styles are recognized and interpreted by community members through "contextualization cues" (Gumperz, 1982), which carry specific sociocultural meanings and contrast with other social styles. As Irvine (2002) highlights, these styles enable speakers to position themselves within a perceived social world, navigating sociocultural spaces. This process emphasizes the profound impact of linguistic and cultural practices on identity formation and expression in the dynamic environments of diasporic

communities.

In this way, I have sought to highlight the peculiarity of the Jamaah community without positioning it as external to Indonesia, but rather the opposite. Even the way the Jamaah index Islamic piety in conversation through Arabic is often shared with broader Indonesian Islamic practices, as non-Jamaah Indonesians frequently do so as well.

However, to fully understand the Jamaah community's linguistic practices, it is essential to situate them within a broader framework of interaction that transcends Indonesia, reflecting the global and diasporic dimensions of their community.

Building on this point about movement, I want to emphasize that any signs indexing Arab identity can, to some extent, also index Jamaah identity, underlining the diasporic connotation of the Jamaah identity. This is particularly evident in numerous other encounters I documented during my field research. An example is the unique football field in East Jakarta where young people aged between 20 to 35 years gather to play football every Tuesday. In these gatherings, individuals who identify as Jamaah, some of whom also as Saudi, come together and play. A Jamaah member who owns a football field offers it for free after 8 PM on Tuesdays. Although it is not specifically for Jamaah participants, this informal network is predominantly Jamaah.

What stands out in this context is the multifaceted nature of Jamaah identity, encompassing diverse social trajectories that merit an entire chapter of discussion. For now, I want to highlight that these interactions reveal the complexity of Jamaah as a category shaped by several waves of (on-going) south-to-south migrations. These migrations include people born and raised in Saudi Arabia, along the lines of the economic trends in the 1960s that drew Indonesians, including Jamaah members, to the oil monarchies of the Gulf. Others born and raised in Jakarta, some never having left Indonesia or even Java, alongside local residents who interact frequently with Jamaah individuals.

This diverse group, united under the loose Jamaah label, gathers to play football and communicates using a mix of Arabic, Indonesian, Bahasa Majlas, Betawi, and other languages. These linguistic practices partly arise because some newcomers, still perceived as Jamaah due to genealogical ties, are less fluent in Indonesian or feel more comfortable using Arabic, having been in Indonesia for only a few months. At the same time, the mode of interaction often necessitates specific styles and registers that draw from broader regional scales, reflecting the south-to-south migratory routes. These routes trace both the long history of the Jamaah diaspora and emerging patterns of movement across the Indian Ocean, underscoring the dynamic and layered nature of Jamaah identity in this context.

Chapter 6

Overview of Arabic Elements in Bahasa Jamaah

This chapter is devoted to the structural elements of the Jamaah register, with a particular focus on features that can be ascribed to Arabic. Rather than presenting a comprehensive grammar of Bahasa Jamaah, which would imply viewing it as a distinct "language totality" or conducting a study on language contact between Indonesian and Arabic varieties, the chapter aims to provide a glimpse into the linguistic structural features of this semiotic register. The intent is to highlight intriguing phenomena observed across various Arab districts within the Jamaah community of Java. Addressing the demarcation of what constitutes a language lies beyond the scope of this chapter, as Bahasa Jamaah operates within a hierarchy of semiotic registers, encompassing Standard Indonesian, Colloquial Jakartan, Betawi, Javanese, and layers of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Colloquial Gulf Arabic.

Distinctively employed during gatherings (Majlas) where individuals connect over shared Arab descent, this register emerges through its social and interactional contexts. Isolating its features from these contexts risks misinterpretation. However, this chapter provides readers with an idea of *what we talk about when we talk about Bahasa Jamaah* (see Chapter 4) from a structural linguistic perspective.

Through an analysis of phonology, morphosyntax, and lexical patterns, the chapter explores how Arabic influences shape Bahasa Jamaah. Phonological features demonstrate the coexistence of Classical and Colloquial Arabic, highlighting patterns of adaptation and retention. Beyond phonology, the discussion extends to verbs, nouns, particles, prepositions, and pronouns identified in the corpus. Special attention is paid to pronouns—particularly the singular forms in first and second person, *ana* and *ente*—due to their sociolinguistic relevance and frequent usage in interaction.

Additionally, Arab-like possessive structures are analyzed, focusing on two patterns: the use of *hagg* + *possessive enclitics* and the direct use of possessive clitics. While the latter often appears lexicalized and limited to Arabic-origin terms, its degree of productivity reflects the complex linguistic ecology of Bahasa Jamaah.

6.0.1 Phonology

Consonants

Bahasa Jamaah possesses a comparatively intricate phonetic inventory. This complexity arises because its speakers can tap into a repertoire comprising Bahasa Indonesia, Javanese, Betawi, Jakartan Indonesian, as well as both Colloquial Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic

(MSA). All 18 basic consonant phonemes of standard Indonesian, and the Javanese ones (in bold) are found and showcased in table below.

Table 6.1: Consonant Phonemes

Type	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p, b	t, d, ʈ, ɖ		k, g
Nasal	m,	n, ɳ	ɲ (ny)	ŋ (ng)
Fricative		s, z		
Affricate			tʃ (c), dʒ (j)	
Laterals		l		
Flaps		r		
Semivowels	w		j (y)	

In addition to the sounds listed in the table above, sounds from the Arabic inventory also emerge in words of Arabic origin or terms that are perceived as such. However, their presence can vary based on the sociolinguistic background of the speakers, the context, and the degree to which interactants lean towards MSA on the continuum opposing Bahasa Jamaah and MSA. The ideological opposition between Bahasa Jamaah and MSA is further discussed in 4.

These sounds often go through phonological variation and adaptation, adapting to the sounds listed above. It is worth noticing that there are striking similiarities with the adaptation of Arabic loanwords in Bahasa Indonesia or Classical Malay. In the list below I propose those sounds that are not shared with the Indonesian-Malay inventory and illustrate some of their phonological transformations.

These sounds include:

- ث /θ/ (also rendered as ṯ, th) - voiceless dental fricative

- ح /ħ/ (also rendered as ḥ, H) - The voiceless pharyngeal fricative ح /ħ/ is either retained (as in the word *So:hib* derived from صاحِب [So:Hib], or transformed into a voiceless glottal fricative (manifesting as a breathy aspiration) in a process of "glottalization" of the pharyngeal fricative. In this transformation, the sound moves from a posterior constriction in the pharynx (pharyngeal fricative) to an anterior constriction near the glottis (glottal fricative). Another example of this occurrence can be seen in the term *hatta*. Note that this term overlaps between Bahasa Indonesia and Arabic. The term can be realized with either the voiceless pharyngeal fricative or the voiceless glottal fricative. This suggests that the articulatory distinction between these two sounds in is not phonemic, and their usage varies based on speaker choices.

- خ /x/ (also rendered as ḫ, kh) – The voiceless uvular fricative is often reduced to the voiceless glottal fricative / h / like what happens for ح [/ħ]/ or to the voiceless velar plosive /k/. Note the terms *dohan* or its variation *dukan* (sigarettes) < دخان [du.ḫAn] or *yaher* and *yakher* < يا خير [ˈja χaɪr] which present both transformations. Whereas the term *ukhti* < أختى [ʔuχtiː] (sister + 1POSS) present either a /k/ or a χ. Consider now the term *ahwal* < اخوال [’ḫwa:l].PL < خال [ḥa:l] that presents only the articulatory shift /ḥ/ > /h/

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- ذ /ð/ (also rendered as ḏ, dz) – Voiced dental fricative las in the widely used هذا /haːða/ (often spelled as hadza)

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- ش /ʃ/ (also rendered as š, sy)- The voiceless post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ warrants discussion, especially in the context of Bahasa Jamaah, where it shows a close relationship with the emphatic

- ص /sˤ/ (also rendered as Ṣ, sh, sy). This association can potentially be attributed to writing conventions. I suggest that the common practice in the Indonesian archipelago of transliterating the sound ص [ʃ] as *sh* has impacted the articulation of Arabic words containing the ص [ʃ]. For example, the word صلاة being transcribed as *sholat* has influenced its pronunciation to be rendered as [sˤolat]. Orthographically, it's interesting to note that the word *sholat* is seldom written as *salat*, despite the latter being the recommendation of the official Indonesian Dictionary. An instance of /sˤ/ is evident in the term *syughol* (work) [sˤugul] < شُغُول [sˤGhu:l]. Notably, this term represents the plural form of شغل (sˤuGhl).

  ص /sˤ/ (also rendered as Ṣ, sh, sy) - The emphatic /sˤ/ as proposed for /s/, is either retained in its original form or realized as the alveolar fricative /s/ or the voiceless post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/. An example is the word *sohib* < صاحِب or in the the verb *solli* < صَلِّ [sholli].

- ض /dˤ/ (also rendered as ḍ, dh)

- ط /tˤ/ (also rendered as ṭ, th) - The emphatic /tˤ/ ط can exhibit variations. The uvularized voiceless dental plosive often becomes a voiceless alveolar plosive /t/, as seen in the word *royyit* [roy:et] probably derived from رَيِّض /rajjid/. In particular, within the corpus, *royyit* is sometimes articulated as *royyid* or in a way where the final /t/ or /d/ is barely pronounced. It is manteined in the word*tafran/tofron*.

- ظ /ðˤ/ (also rendered as ẓ, dh)

- ع /ʕ/ (also rendered as ', ᶜ) - The voiced pharyngeal fricative ع /ʕ/ is not always preserved in its original form when pronounced in Bahsa Jamaah. Often, it is either omitted or replaced with a glottal stop at word endings, or even substituted with /k/ within the word. This follows a typical Indonesian-Malay pattern (K. Versteegh, 1984). For instance, in Bahasa Jamaah term *fezak* < فزع[fzʕ], the fricative is transformed into a glottal stop. Similarly, in the word *la'ab* [laʕb] < لعب [laʕb], the fricative assimilates to the preceding vowel, thereby lengthening it (I actually do not knok if it lengthening it or if it is produced as a glottal stop). The word *jamaah*, which is most probably derived from the Arabic جماعة [jama:ʕa], undergoes the same phenomenon.

  Moreover, the articulation of ع as a voiced pharingeal fricative is typically associated with individuals who consciously strive to retain the Arabic pronunciation. Such retention usually serves to emphasize the Arabic origin of the word.

  The orthography of ع /ʕ/ in Indonesian is an interesting topic. Through several standardization phases, the use of ع has been gradually reduced. However, non-standard orthographies remain prevalent across the archipelago. Consider the term *dakwah*, which has the informal counterpart, *da'wah*, tracing its etymology to the Arabic دعوة [daʕwa]. The informal version is more prevalent, a trend mirrored in online platforms like websites and social media posts.

- غ /ɣ/ (also rendered as ġ, gh) here as – The Voiced uvular fricative غ in terms of Arabic origins is often rendered as a voiced velar plosive /g/ or a /h/, as in the word *gholi* [ɣoli] < غالي [ɣa:li], pronounced as [holi] and [goli].

- ق /q/ (also rendered as k)– The voiceless uvular plosive, in Bahasa Jamaah, undergoes a notable phonological shift where the uvular Arabic consonant "qaf" is pronounced as a voiced velar plosive "gaf", similar to the /g/. This shift in the place of articulation, often referred to as the qaf to gaf change, is particularly associated with certain Arabic dialects, notably the non-urban ones. Examples of this phenomenon are the terms *garbuk* < قربوع, *gisso/gissa* < قصة, *garib* < قريب [gariːb] or *gum* < قم [qum].

Vowels

In Bahasa Jamaah, similar to Indonesian-Malay vernaculars, vowel length is non-phonemic, meaning it does not result in a change in word meaning. While subtle variations in vowel duration may occur due to speech rate, emphasis, or regional nuances, these variations do not create contrasts in meaning, unlike in languages with phonemic vowel length, such as Arabic (as illustrated in the subsequent table). Although, Arabic-origin terms seem to have lost the phonemic distinction between long and short vowels in this context, the different articulations of both consonant and vowel sounds in Arabic terms used by the community carry significant sociolinguistic implications.

Table 6.2: VOWELS (Short)

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

Table 6.3: VOWELS (Long)

	Front	Central	Back
High	ii		uu
Middle	ee		oo
Low		aa	

Bahasa Jamaah presents phenomena that are peculiar to Arabic varieties, such as that of pharyngealization. It is particularty salient in the distinction between MSA or Classical Arabic, Colloquial Arabic, and Bahasa Jamaah in relation to covert and overt prestige in Labove's terms. It also effects the vocalic sounds followed by the emphatic sound, helping us to track it back in loanwords that have lost it.

6.0.2 Pharyngealization of Arabic Sounds

Pharyngealization is a secondary articulation in the production of sounds, which means it accompanies the primary articulation. In the context of Arabic phonetics, pharyngealization is a defining characteristic of the so-called "emphatic" consonants.

Emphatic Consonants in Arabic

Arabic has a set of consonants commonly referred to as "emphatic." These are typically described as pharyngealized, which means that the back of the tongue is constricted toward the pharynx when they are articulated. The main emphatic consonants in Arabic are:

- ط [tˤ] – Emphatic /t/ (/tˤ/)

- ض [ḍ] – Emphatic /d/ (/dˤ/)
- ص [ṣ] – Emphatic /s/ (/sˤ/)
- ظ [ẓ] – Emphatic /z/ (/ðˤ/)

Pharyngealization Effects Vowels

When emphatic consonants are followed by a vowel, the vowel is also influenced by the pharyngealization, even though vowels are not inherently pharyngealized. This influence on the vowel is the result of coarticulation, a phenomenon where the articulatory properties of one sound influence the adjacent sounds.

In Arabic, vowels that follow an emphatic consonant typically exhibit a lower and more retracted quality compared to those following non-emphatic consonants. For instance, the vowel /a/ succeeding an emphatic consonant may resemble a deeper [ɑ], in contrast to the more fronted [æ] or [a] that follows non-emphatic consonants. Take, for example, the term sohib, derived from صاحِب [sˤoːħib], as previously mentioned in the discussion on consonants. While the emphatic quality of the consonant has largely diminished, its influence is still evident in the back mid vowel [o]. Additionally, analyzing the vowel sound can provide insights into the historical presence of a uvularized or emphatic sound that may no longer be pronounced.

It is important to highlight the tendency in Colloquial Indonesian to emphasize sounds perceived as Arabic. This phenomenon is not unique to Bahasa Jamaah but is widespread across the archipelago. Unfortunately, much of this observation is based on personal experience, as there is limited research on the subject. However, Gallop et al. (2015) documents cases of hypercorrection, including the emphatization of originally non-emphatic sounds, even in classical Jawi texts.

Consider the term *umrah* [umrɔh] < عمرة /ʔumra/. Here, the /r/ is not intrinsically emphatic but is rendered as such. Additionally, the final tamarbuta is realized as /h/. In Arabic, the emphatic /h/ sound from *tamarbuta* typically occurs only at phrase ends; however, it appears to be the norm in this context. The emphasis on the /r/ mirrors patterns observed in various spoken Arabic dialects.

Examining its pronunciation across the archipelago, the varying treatments of *tamarbuta* as either /h/ or /t/ are influenced by the term's historical origins, whether from Persian texts, Arabic texts, or spoken language. A rendering as /h/ likely indicates Persian textual origins (Tadmor, 2009; C. H. M. Versteegh & Eid, 2009).

Moreover, the initial voiced pharyngeal /ʕ/ is entirely omitted. Interestingly, the KBBI (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia) lists the term as umrah, though it is rarely pronounced this way in Indonesia. The emphatic /r/ may point to spoken language influences, yet similar emphasis is also observed in contemporary terms like *syukron* < شكرا [ʃukran].

While the precise origins of umroh in the archipelago remain somewhat elusive, such terms highlight the ideological construct interlinking 'heavy sounds," authenticity, religion, and the Arabic language in this cultural context.

Final remarks on phonology

Determining the origins of these linguistic variations within Bahasa Jamaah is complex. It remains uncertain whether they trace back to the Hadrami migrant community over extended periods or emerged more recently, introduced by students returning from prolonged studies in the Arabian Peninsula, newer arrivals, or through cycles of labor migration.

In an interview with a third-generation Jamaah member, he remarked that dismissing the origins of Arabic loanwords—particularly those prevalent within the Jamaah community—as unrelated to Hadramaut would be misguided. He emphasized that the influence of Arabic loanwords, introduced through direct interactions with Indonesian-Malay varieties, has often been overshadowed or diminished by ideologically driven standardization efforts. This assertion is supported by studies such as Van Dam (2010) and Al-Saqqaf and Hayaze' (2022).

At the same time, one cannot overlook the rich repertoire of Arabic loanwords embedded in classical Malay and Indonesian, which highlights the enduring influence of Arabic in the archipelago. Any analysis must account for the broader national and regional contexts, resisting the tendency to perceive languages in isolation. This is particularly relevant to Bahasa Jamaah, which is not merely a spoken variety but is deeply intertwined with the linguistic ideologies of Islam and the sociocultural dynamics of the region.

6.1 Word class

Indonesian features three open word classes—nouns, verbs, and pronouns—and several closed classes, including adverbs, demonstratives, quantifiers, prepositions, and conjunctions. A key feature of Malay varieties is the significant interplay between these categories. As Himmelmann (2004, p. 127) notes, "word forms that semantically present as verbs can seamlessly adopt nominal functions without additional morphological adjustments, and vice versa."

Building on this, in the corpus I curated, words and morphemes are categorized using a straightforward part-of-speech structure, with verbs, nouns, pronouns, prepositions, and conjunctions semi-automatically tagged using ELAN-CorpA. Consequently, elements classified under one category in the corpus may fit into another category depending on the context.

In this section, I present examples from both open and closed classes specific to the Bahasa Jamaah register in relation to Arabic.

6.1.1 Nouns

Nouns can serve various roles within clauses, acting as subjects, objects, or even clausal predicates. They can also be modified with various attributes and affixes. Morphologically, nouns in Indonesian do not exhibit distinct markers for grammatical categories such as number, case, definiteness, or other aspects. As a result, the meaning of an unaffixed common noun—whether singular, plural, definite, or indefinite—depends largely on contextual clues and specific indicators.

Interestingly, many nouns borrowed from Arabic in the Jamaah register often retain their plural Arabic forms, frequently displaying the syllabic structure CCV:C. Examples of this phenomenon in Bahasa Jamaah include:

- *akhwal* < أَخْوَالٌ /ʔaxwaːl/ – "non-jamaah" (the plural form of *khāl*, which literally means "maternal uncle.")
- *rijal* < رِجَالٌ /rɪʒaːl/ – "man" (plural of *rajul*, "man")
- *shogul* < شُغْلٌ /ʃuɣul/ – "work"
- *fulus* < فُلُوسٌ /fʊluːs/ – "money"

This pattern is also evident in other loanwords widely adopted in Indonesian and its colloquial varieties, such as:

- *usul* < أُصُولٌ /ʔuṣuːl/ – "principle"
- *malaikat* < مَلَائِكَةٌ /malaːʔikah/ – "angels"
- *suhur* < سُحُورٌ /suħuːr/, plural of سَحَرٌ /saħar/ – "pre-dawn meal"

These examples suggest that further exploration of Bahasa Jamaah and Classical Malay could reveal broader patterns in the adaptation of Arabic loanwords. Such research might shed light on the phonological and morphological processes shaping these borrowings across different linguistic contexts.

6.1.2 Verbs

Verbs function primarily as predicates in clauses. Additionally, they can serve as modifiers within noun phrases and can themselves be modified by modals and aspect markers. Verbs in Indonesian can be monovalent, bivalent, or trivalent. Monovalent verbs are further classified as dynamic or stative. Stative verbs express states or qualities and frequently function as modifiers within noun phrases. For what concerns the Jamaah register, like Indonesian and other Malay varieties, verbs are not morphologically marked for person, number, mood, voice, tense, or aspect. Note that here I refer to their function in Indonesian, not in Arabic. It is worth noting that the stative verbs of Arabic origin in Bahasa Jamaah often correspond to adjectives in Arabic. This reflects an adaptation of the source language's grammatical structure into the recipient language's system. Regarding words of Arabic origin, whether considered loanwords or the residual features of a creole, I identify the following categories:

- Verbs that never overlap with the noun category, and without affixation are used exclusively as verbs, often appear in the Arabic imperative form and are dynamic in nature. Consider the following examples:
  - *gum* < قُم /qum/ – "Stand up" (imperative)
  - *sholly* < صَلِّ /ṣalli/ – "Pray" (imperative)
  - *kul* < كُلْ /kul/ – "Eat" (imperative)
  - *fadhol* /faddal/, /paddal/ < تَفَضَّل /tafaḍḍal/ – "Please" (imperative, often used to invite or offer)
  - *khalas* /khalas/, /halas/ < خَلَاص /xalaːsˤ/ – "Finished," "enough," or "done"

  As suggested in Matras (2009), the imperative form can often be considered the basic form of a verb, particularly when it lacks derivational morphology. This might explain why verbs of Arabic origin are inherited predominantly in this form.
- Verbs that do not overlap with the noun category without affixation and follow the syllabic structure CCV:C. Consider the following examples:
  - *syrub* < شَرُوب /ʃarːuːb/
  - *jelis* < جَلِيس /ʒaliːs/
- Static verbs and nouns of the form *maf'ul* (اسم مفعول) or the form فعيل in Arabic, following the syllabic structures CVCCV:C and CVCV:C. Consider the following examples:

  - *majlas* < مَجْلَس /majlas/ – “getting together”
  - *majnun* < مَجْنُون /maʒnuːn/ – “mad” or “insane”
  - *maghrum* < مَغْرُوم /maɣruːm/ – “crazy” or “obsessed”[1]
  - *ma’ruf* < مَعْرُوف /maʕruːf/ – “well-known” or “famous”
  - *garbuk* < غربوع /ɣɑrˈbuːʕ/ – “arrogant”
  - *bakhil* < بَخِيل /baxiːl/ – “stingy” or “miserly”
  - *ta’ab* < تَعَب /taʕab/ – “tired” or ”not working properly”
  - *zuwad* < زَوَاج /zawaːdʒ/ – “to get married”
  - *galil* < قَلِيل /qaliːl/ – “small” or “few”
  - *bahlul* < بَهْلُول /bahluːl/ – “stupid”

- Static verbs that derive the form pattern فَعْلَان (faʕlaːn), following the pattern CVCVCːan. Examples include:

  - *harman* < حَرْمَان /ħarmaːn/ – “to be in love” or ”to be attracted by something”
  - *ta’ban* < تَعْبَان /taʕbaːn/ – “tired” or ”exhausted”
  - *tofshan* < طَفْشَان /tafʃaːn/ – “stressed” or “fed up”
  - *tafran* < تَفْرَان /tafraːn/ – “horny” or “broke”
  - *farhan* < فَرْحَان /farħaːn/ – “happy” or “joyful”

- Other examples, still unsorted are the followings:

  - *la’ab* < لَعِب /laʕib/ – “to play”
  - *yokul* < يَأْكُل /jaʔkul/ – “to eat”
  - *royyit* < رَيِّض /rajjid/ – ‘ to be relaxed”
  - *firoq* < فِرَاق /firaːq/ – “to divorce”
  - *hattaghad* < حتى الغداء /ɣadaːʔ/ – ”to have a meal” (?)
  - *rahat* < رَاحَة /raːħa/ – “to be relaxed”
  - *softoh* < صفاط /sˤafaːtˤ/ – “kidding” or “joking”
  - *fiza’* < فَزَع /fazaʕ/ – “to panic” or “to be scared”
  - *rejak* < رَجَعَ /radʒaʕa/ – “to return” or “go back home”
  - *gatek* < قطع /ˈqɑtˤɑʕɑ/ – “to be sharp” or “strong”
  - *ahsan* < أَحْسَن /ʔaħsan/ – “better”
  - *rohis* < رَخِيس /raˈxiːs/ – “cheap” or “low-priced”
  - *fikroh* < فِكْرَة /fikra/ – “to be overwhelmed”
  - *gholi* < غَالِي /ɣaːli/ – “expensive”
  - *syayatin* < شَيَاطِين /ʃajaːtˤiːn/ – “devils” (plural of *shaytan*)
  - *lillahi* < لِلَّهِ /lillaːhi/ – “to be a good person”
  - *raksye* < رَعْشَة /raʕʃa/ – “to be fun” or “enjoyable”
  - *najeh* < نَاجِح /naːdʒiħ/ – “satisfied” or “relaxed”

[1] This does not have connotation of being in love

  - *masykurin* < مَشْكُورِين /maʃkuːriːn/ – "grateful" or "thankful" (plural)
  - *sholih* < صَالِح /sˤaːliħ/ – "pious" or "righteous"
  - *aroby* < عَرَبِيّ /ʕarabiː/ – "Arab" or "Arabic"

- The following are some other unsorted examples:

  - *Kull* < كُلّ /kʊl/ – "every" or "all"
  - *syukron* < شكرًا /ʃʊkran/ – "thanks" or "thank you"
  - *afwan* < عَفْوًا /ʕafwan/ – "sorry" or "excuse me"
  - *alfu* < العَفْو /alʕafw/ – "sorry"

For more examples please the following web-dictionary: Bahasa Jamaah Dictionary Project

6.1.3 Verbal prefixes meN-, N-, Ng-

In colloquial Indonesian, active voice transitive verbs present the prefix meN-/N-/, with 'N' representing a nasal that phonetically adapts to the initial sound of the verb base. In certain cases, the N is omitted. There are four methods of using the active voice prefix: (i) the full meN- prefix, similar to bahasa Indonesian, (ii) only using the N- component, (iii) employing the nge- prefix, and (iv) having no prefix at all. While meN- is seldom used in casual chats, its usage rises in formal settings. The N- prefix is paired with verbs starting with p, t, s, or k. This prefix assimilates to the base verb's initial consonant, which then disappears, aligning with the rules in formal Indonesian. This nasal replacement is schematized in the table below adjusted from Sneddon (2006)

Table 6.4: Transformations in Indonesian Verbal Morphology

Transformation	Example (Original)	Example (Transformed)
N- + p > m	pikir	mikir 'think'
N- + t > n	tulis	nulis 'write'
N- + s > ny-	suruh	nyuruh 'tell'
N- + c > ny-	cari	nyari 'look for'
N- + k > ng-	kumpul	ngumpul 'gather, collect'

In the observed lexical items of Bahasa Jamaah, this register mirrors colloquial patterns. Notably, the N- prefix is used, though its occurrence has been attested only with the verb *syuf* (to look). Contrary to phonological expectations, the affixation of N- with *syuf* results in *ngsyuf*. This deviation raises important questions regarding the underlying phonotactic constraints of Bahasa Jamaah. A preliminary hypothesis, warranting further empirical investigation, suggests that the morpho-phonemic behavior of N- and *syuf* is influenced by the CVC syllabic structure rather than the initial consonant sound, thus diverging from the canonical transformations typically observed in the language.
The causative or benefactive suffixes -kan and -in, as well as the di- prefix for undervoice constructions, appear to be much more productive in Bahasa Jamaah. These affixes are found with many verbs and lexical terms of Arabic origin in the corpus. For example:

- *zuwad* → *dizuwadkan* "to marry someone to somebody"
- *harrat* → *diharratin* "to be fed lies"

6.1.4 Adverbs

Adverbs modify the predicate, and their main functions include indicating time, degree, aspect, modality, and negation. Common time adverbs of Arabic origin used among the Jamaah are *gabel* /ˈgaːbəl/ (before, since) and *ba'ad* /ˈbaːʕad/.
These adverbs are derived from the Arabic words:

- قَبْل (qabl) /ˈqabl/ – "before, since"
- بَعْد (ba'd) /ˈbaʕd/ – "after"

Other Arabic origin adverbs include the adverb of manner *surah* (quickly), with *bi-* functioning as a lexicalized preposition. *Surah* comes from the Arabic سُرْعَة /ˈsuːra/ meaning "speed" or "quickness".

6.1.5 Personal Pronouns and Person Reference

Indonesian is characterized by an open pronominal system. This means that speakers have a wide range of pronominal forms at their disposal to refer to each other (Djenar et al., 2018; Sneddon & Adelaar, 2010). This set of possibilities consists of both pronominal and non-pronominal forms. The first group includes the standard Indonesian pronouns and is presented in the tables below.

Table 6.5: Indonesian pronominal system

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
First	Saya, aku, ku (clitic)	Kami (exclusive), kita (inlusive)
Second	Kamu, anda, engkau, kau, mu(clitic)	Kalian
Third	Dia, ia, beliau	mereka

Bahasa Jamaah register, in addition to the colloquial and standard Indonesian pronouns, also incorporates elements from Arabic and other local languages, such as Javanese. See the table below.

Table 6.6: Pronouns Occurred in the Corpus

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
first	**Ana** (ARA), saya, aku, **gue** (JKT), **tak** (JAV)	kita (inclusive), kami
second	**Ente** (ARA), antum (ARA, JAV), kau, mu(clitic), kamu	kalian
third	Dia, beliau	Mereka

Terms based on kinship, honorifics, and proper names (non-pronominal forms) belong to the second group. In addition to these two categories, we must also consider the range of pronouns from local languages—Bahasa Daerah—along with their respective kinship terms and honorifics. These, intertwining with the Indonesian pronominal system, enrich the semiotic registers available to speakers.
Pronominal forms carry a particular deictic value as they position what they refer to in space and time relative to the context in which they are used. Agha (2007, p. 278), emphasizing the contextual mutability of pronouns, notes that first and second person pronouns shift their reference depending on the roles of the speaker and listener. He uses the term "participant

deixis" to describe this. When referring to the aspects of pronouns that extend beyond their deictic function and express social relations, Agha introduces the term "social indexicality." This term refers to the social value conveyed by pronominal forms. In other words, in addition to positioning speakers in space and time, pronouns also describe the social relationship between them.

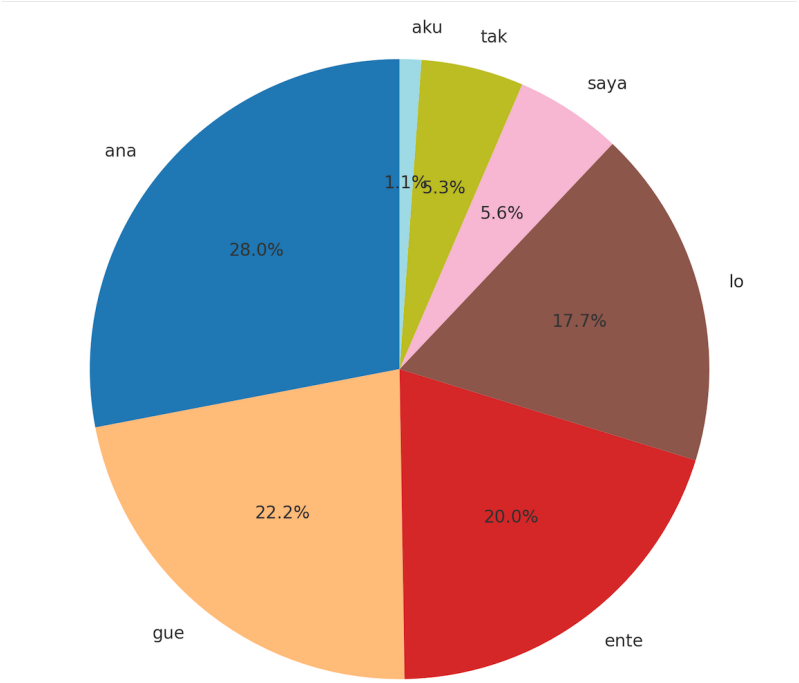
As Goebel (2005) observes, in the case of code-switching between Indonesian and Javanese, the choice of a pronoun—despite having the same deictic value—can indicate the speaker's affiliation with the urban elite or the desire to associate with it. Similarly, as Djenar et al. (2018) points out in the contrast between *saya* and *aku*, pronouns can also reflect the desire to present one's public persona as opposed to a private one.

One particularly interesting observation is the difference in pronominal use between conversations in Jakarta and those in Surakarta or Surabaya. In Jakarta, there is an almost stable correspondence between the use of singular pronouns in the first person *gue* and *ana*. However, in data collected from Surakarta and Surabaya, *ana* is the predominant singular form of first person.

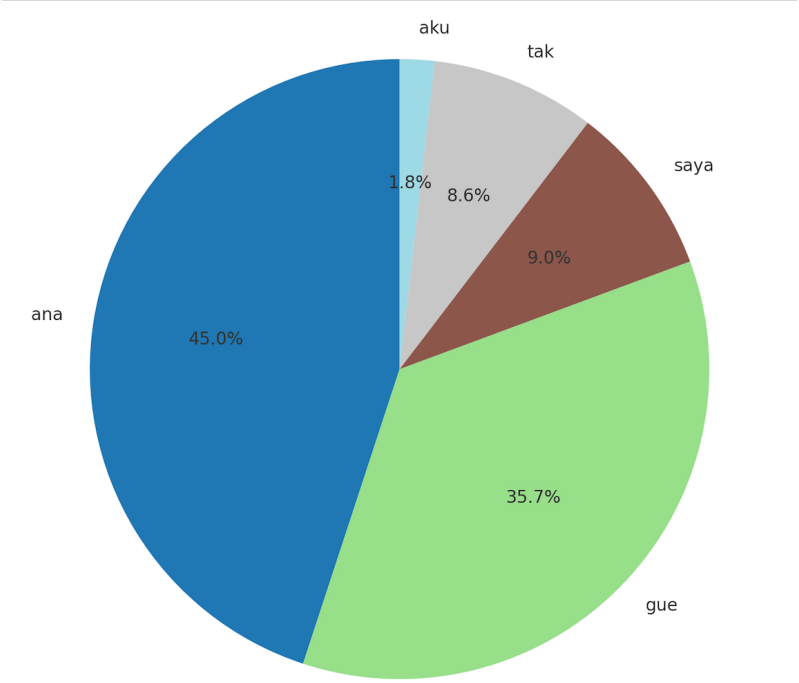
Below, in image 6.1, is the distribution of the first person singular pronouns (1SG) and second person singular pronouns (2SG) found in the corpus. Please note that *kamu* and *kau* occurred in less than 1% of the instances and are therefore not reported.

Figure 6.1: Distribution for 1SG and 2SG in the corpus

(a) 1SG and 2SG



(b) 1SG



6.1.6 Interrogative Pronoun *min*

In the Jamaah register, the interrogative pronoun *min*, derived from the Arabic *man* مَنْ /man/, has been attested. While in Standard Arabic *man* functions as a general interrogative pronoun for asking "who," in the Jamaah register, *min* appears to have adapted its function, becoming associated with source or origin. As a result, *min* is commonly used in expressions like *ente min* to inquire about someone's identity. This usage is illustrated in examples 54a and 48b below.

(48) Examples of *min*

a. *ente* ***min*** *?*
you **from** ?

'Who are you?'

b. *simuhite* ***min*** *?*
NAME **from** ?

'Simuhite, who?'

6.1.7 Demonstratives and Determiners

Generally demonstratives are described in reference grammars as to point to something present (deictics based on relative distance from the speakers), to refer to a previously mentioned entity or proposition (anaphoric function), to refer to generic entities or actions and to add emphasis (Sneddon & Adelaar, 2010) . Building on this, I propose in the table below divided in pronouns, similative and locative.

Table 6.7: The demonstrative system of Bahasa Jamaah. Readapted from Moro (2016)

	PRONOUN	**SIMILATIVE**	**LOCATIVE**
Near speaker	ini / nih 'D.PROX'	begini 'like this' gini 'this way'	sini 'LOC.PROX', **hun** (ARA) LOC.DIST
Away from speaker	itu / tuh 'D.DIST', **hada** (ARA)	begitu / gitu 'like.that'	situ 'LOC.MED'
Far away from speaker			sana 'LOC.DIST'

The Arabic-origin demonstrative *hada* (or its variant *hadza*) in the Bahasa Jamaah register closely parallels the function of the Indonesian demonstrative *itu*. In Indonesian-Malay varieties, where productive articles are rare, demonstratives like *itu* frequently act as determiners, as seen in ***orang itu*** *lagi berjalan* (**the man** is walking). Similarly, in Bahasa Jamaah, *hada* can function as a determiner when preceding a noun, adapting to its syntactic context.

Notably, in Arabic, *hada* traditionally marks objects near the speaker; however, in Bahasa Jamaah, it appears to have undergone a semantic shift, now marking objects away from the speaker. This shift likely results from its functional interchangeability with *itu*, which in Indonesian refers to entities distant from the speaker. See the example below:

(49) Examples of Arabic-origin demonstratives

a. *khamr haqqy* ***hada***
wine haqq =y **DEM**

'That's my wine.'

b. *la itu sama. jadi otaknya* ***hada*** *khalas*
NEG that same. so brain-his **DET** empty

'No, that's the thing. So the brain is gone.'

c. *ana heran wallah* ***hada****. bas ente kalo nanti ente paling enak ajak satu .*
I wonder by-God **DEM** but you if later you most nice invite one

'I was so surprised, but if you think its better, then you can invite one.'

d. *apa artinya keke* ***hada*** *ini ada yang bilang artinya ini*
what meaning keke **DET** this there who say meaning this

'What does this "keke" mean? Someone says it means this.'

e. ***hadza*** *esh ismu*
DEM what name=3POSS

'What is it called?'

f. ***hadza*** *nasi mandi. itu walidaty sendiri yang bikin sama ana itu nasinya*
DET rice mandi. that mother-my self who make with me that rice

'**The** mandi rice. My mother herself made it with me, that rice.'

g. *la* ***hada*** *abu bakar (.) hadramaut*
NEG **DEM** Abu Bakar (.) Hadramaut

'no, that's Abu Bakar, from Hadramaut.'

h. ***hada*** *ahsan min ini*
DEM better than this

'that's better than this one.'

i. *wa* ***hada*** *rijal 'umro (.) khomsawasittin*
and **DET** man age (.) sixty-five

'And the man, he is sixty-five year-old'

j. *Moga* ***hada*** *fi jabal*
hope **DET** in mountain

'Moga is up in the mountains.'

6.1.8 Prepositions

A prepositional phrase is formed by combining a preposition with a noun phrase. The preposition functions to connect the noun phrase to another element within the sentence structure. Table 6.8 lists the Arabic-derived prepositions identified in the corpus. Notably, their distribution is below 3% compared to other prepositions and they are almost entirely lexicalized.

Preposition	Gloss	Semantic Relation
hatta	up to, eventough	concessive, purpose
bi-	in, instrumental	factive
li-	to, for	vocative
fi-	in	locative
min	from	source, origin

Table 6.8: Prepositions of arabic-origins and their Semantic Relations

Particular attention should be given to the term *hatta*, as it overlaps with its Indonesian counterpart, *hatta*, which originates from Classical Malay and shares the same Arabic root. However, it is used in a slightly different manner. In contemporary Indonesian, *hatta* typically appears in classical literary or formal texts and is absent from everyday colloquial interactions. Nevertheless, it remains prevalent within Jamaah communities. Additionally, it functions more as a conjunction than as a preposition.
In example (50) we can see the different functions of *hatta*, in (50b) it has the value of "Even though", "to the extent of" or "until" and it serves to emphasize the degree or magnitude of a situation. Whereas in (50a) and (50c) it is used to stress the comprehensive nature of a situation, suggesting that nothing is omitted. However, the context in which *hatta* is employed plays a prominent role in discerning its semantic function.

(50) Examples of *hatta*

a. *ketauan di situ sisa penyimpanannya tu berapa* ***hatta*** *di situ*
NMLZ.know.NMLZ LOC there rest peN- store - nya deit how much **even** LOC there
ada Lex .
is name

' you know from there how much storage you have left, even there, it shows, Lex '

b. *ente kirim ndak apa-apa kirim* ***hatta*** *lima literan kirim* .
you send NEG anything send *up to* five liter.NMLZ send

'Send it,there's no problem at all, up to 5 liters send it'

c. ***hatta*** *hormatu ndak dikasih tahu racikan obate* .
even wife -his NEG UV- give know recepie blend-deit .

'even to his wife, he would not let know the recipe of the blend'

The preposition *bi-* (or *be-*), except when used in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) utterances, is lexicalized. Lexicalization is a process in which a word or phrase that originally served a specific grammatical function becomes a fixed expression, often with a meaning that is not directly tied to its original grammatical elements.
Example 51 illustrate that *bi-* has fused with the following words to form expressions carrying a fixed meaning, rather than merely serving as a preposition to indicate relationships such as instrumentality or accompaniment. This is evident because *bi-* is found only within these specific expressions.
In 51a, *be-sur'ah* combines *bi-* with *sur'ah* (speed or fast). In everyday usage, this expression has evolved to mean "hurry up" or "be quick," representing a lexicalized form that conveys urgency rather than the literal meaning of "with speed."
Similarly, in example 51b, *be-khoir* (where *khoir* means "good" or "well") has likely become a fixed expression meaning "I am fine" or "I am well," often functioning as part of

a greeting initiation and response adjacency pair. Here, *bi-* does not act as an independent preposition but has become an integral component of an idiomatic expression.
In both cases, *bi-* is no longer functioning independently as a preposition but is tightly bound to the subsequent words, contributing to their fixed, lexicalized meanings.

(51) Examples of *bi-*

a. *Fan* ***be-sur'ah*** *tho* *Fan* *ini* *sudah* *dienteni* *lho* .
NAME **be-** fast IntPart fan DEIT PFV UV- wait IntPart

'**hurry up** Fan, we've been waiting for you, don't you see? '

b. *Wallah* *be-khoir* *War* .
EXCL bei- well NAME

'Sure thing, I'm alright War'

The preposition *fi* is commonly associated with the negator *ma* in the lexicalized expression *ma fi* ("there is not"), as discussed in 6.2. More rarely, it is used as an existential marker or as a locative preposition, as demonstrated in 52.
In examples 52a and 52b, *fi* functions as an existential marker, analogous to the English "there is/are." Its usage closely parallels the Indonesian term *ada*, which serves a similar existential role. In contrast, in example 52c, *fi* is employed as a locative preposition, indicating that the referenced location lies within a mountainous region.
Additionally, the sentence structure in 52c reveals an interesting pattern: the noun *jabal* (mountain) is followed by the demonstrative *hada* (this). This construction, which follows a "NOUN + demonstrative" sequence, is well-documented in the corpus. As suggested in Section 6.1.7, this phenomenon is better understood not as an influence from postpositional structures such as those found in Egyptian Arabic, but rather as a reflection of an Indonesian structural pattern. In this pattern, the deictic element serves as a determiner, functionally equivalent to the definite article in English.

(52) Examples of *fi-* as 'existential there" and locative

a. *la* ***fi*** *Taufik* *Bahes* *Sukur* *bukan* *taufik* *yan-* .
no **EXIST** NAME Bahes NEG NAME

' no, (**EXIST**) is still alive Taufik Bahes Suruk , not the Taufik that '

b. *cuman* ***fi*** *mufradat* *khashah* *li* *al-Ammah* *hena* .
just there are terms specific for the vernacular here

'but there are specific words for the vernacular language here .'

c. *Moga* *hada* *fi* *jabal* *dingin* *tempatnya* *bagus* .
Moga that in mountain cold place -det good

'Moga is up in the mountain, it's cold, the place is nice'

The preposition *li-* is also lexicalized and is used in exclamations and adjectives, retaining its Arabic sense of "in the way of" or "for," as illustrated in 53a.

(53) Examples of *li-*

a. *orangnya* ***lillah*** .
person-DEIT **for** Allah .

'He is a good person (dedicated to Allah).'

The preposition *min* is associated with source and is commonly used to indicate origin or starting point. This is illustrated in 54a.

(54) Examples of *min*

a. ***min*** *Jakarta ke Solo satu malam* .
from Jakarta to Solo one night .

'From Jakarta to Solo, it takes one night.'

As shown in 53a, the preposition *li-* functions to describe dedication or purpose. Meanwhile, in 54a, *min* is used to indicate origin or a starting point, aligning with its Arabic usage as "from."
As shown in 53a, the preposition *li-* functions to describe dedication or purpose. Meanwhile, in 54a and **??**, *min* is used as a marker of origin or source to ask questions about identity or background, aligning with its Arabic usage as "from."

6.1.9 Conjunctions

The examples below illustrate the typical usage of the conjunctions *wala* and *wa* in Bahasa Jamaah, as listed in Table 6.9.
In the first example (55a), *wala* is used in the sense of 'or," providing alternatives. The context indicates a choice between two durations: one week or one month. This usage aligns with its function in Arabic, where *wala* commonly expresses mutually exclusive options or choices.

Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic Function
wa	and (Arabic)	Addition
wala	or (Arabic)	Disjunction

Table 6.9: List of Arabic Conjunctions in Bahasa Jamaah

The second example (55b) also demonstrates the use of *wala* as "or," but within a question format. Here, it reflects uncertainty or the need for clarification regarding the grandfather's purpose for coming—whether it was for work or for preaching. In the third example (55c), the conjunction *wa*, which means "and" in Arabic, connects two clauses. It indicates that while the person was watching the bus pass, the speaker remained patient and fine. This usage highlights the fundamental role of *wa* in Arabic as a connector of actions, descriptions, or states to show sequence or simultaneity.

(55) Examples of *wala* and *wa*

a. *seminggu* ***wala*** *sebulan dia minta 400 liter* .
one week **or** one month he ask 400 liter

'For a week **or** a month he ordered 400 liters.'

b. *jadi yang ente tahu jiddak ini dateng shoghol* ***wala*** *da'wa?* .
so REL you know grandfather -2POSS DEIT arrive work **or** preach?

'As far as you know, your grandfather came to work **or** to preach?'

c. *ternyata dia sambil ngliatin angkot lewat muh begitu dang dol dal,*
apparently 3P.SG ASPC.PROG watching bus pass NAME this way dang dol dal,
wa *ana sabar khoer* .
and 1P.SG quiet fine

'Apparently he was watching, the bus passed, just like that, **and** I was patient, I was fine.'

6.1.10 Affixation

In the Jamaah register, Colloquial Indonesian-Malay varieties and Javanese affixes are generally productive when applied to Arabic-derived terms.
This section provides an overview of the affixes identified in the corpus as actively used with Arabic-derived terms. My focus will be on affixes relevant to word formation that are not covered elsewhere in this chapter.

- **-an (Indonesian):** The nominalizer suffix *-an* is attached to verb and noun bases to form nominal or abstract/general concepts expressed by the base. It is productive with terms of Arabic origin. For example, with verb bases of Arabic origin such as *kul* (eat) → *kulan* and *syrob* (drink) → *syroban*, it forms respectively the nominal collective terms "food" and "drinks." Similarly, with noun bases like *shoghol* (work) → *shoghulan*, it expresses the idea of being busy or having a tasks do carry out.

(56) Examples of *-an*

a. *shoghulan* .
work-NMLZ .

'Busyness.'

b. *kulan* .
eat-NMLZ .

'Food.'

(Examples from corpus)

- **-ah (Arabic Jamaah):** The feminine suffix *-ah*, derived from Arabic, is largely lexicalized in Bahasa Jamaah and is only used with Arabic-origin terms for gender disambiguation to mark feminine gender. Examples include:
  - *jidd* (grandfather) + *-ah* → *jiddah* (grandmother)
  - *walid* (parent) + *-ah* → *walidah* (mother)

  While it retains its role as a marker of feminine gender in these cases, its usage in Bahasa Jamaah is highly fixed and limited to specific lexical items.

- **-2R (Indonesian):** The reduplication marker *-2R* serves multiple functions, such as indicating plurality, intensification, or repeated actions, and is applied to nouns and verbs. Reduplication can involve repeating the entire word or its derivational morphemes. For nouns, it may suggest variety or entirety; for verbs, it emphasizes repetition or intensity.

(57) Examples of *-2R*

a. *ana wallah2R .*
1SG EXCLM-REDUP .

'I was amazed!'

b. *lo kemarin ke bandung kenapa nggak ngabar-abar kek nawarin*
2SG yesterday to Bandung why NEG ng-tell-REDUP IntPart offer
***serejak2Rnya** juga sama .*
se-rejak-REDUP-DET also same .

'Yesterday you went to Bandung, why didn't you tell me? We could have gone back together.'

In (57a), the exclamation is reduplicated to emphasize astonishment. In (57b), a more complex reduplication occurs: the comitative prefix *se-* attaches to the reduplicated verb base *rejak* (return), which is then nominalized with *=nya*.

- **=nya (Indonesian):** The suffix *=nya* functions as a definite marker, an emphatic element, or a linker before possessive nouns. For instance:

(58) =nya> Examples of *=nya* as a linker

a. *sudah ente ndak mau bayar ndak mau bayar, udah nanti tak balikan **fulusnya***
PFV 2SG NEG want pay NEG want pay PFV later 1SG return-**DET** 2SG
ente .
.

'Alright, you don't want to pay, fine, I'll return your **money**.'

b. *itu fuad gamet kan belakang **betnya** fadil .*
DEIT Fuad Gamet right back house-**DET** Fadil .

'Fuad Gamet stays at the back of **Fadil's house**.'

Additionally, *-=ya* can mark definiteness or provide emphasis:

(59) Examples of *=nya* with verbs

a. *lo **jelisnya** nih .*
2SG sit-**DET** DEIT .

'Come **sitting** here.'

b. *waah banyak **softohnya** dan ndak serius masalah kerjaan .*
EXCL many kidding-**DET** and NEG serious matter work .

'Wow, they're **kidding** a lot and not taking the work seriously.'

In (59a), *=nya* emphasizes the verb, functioning as a topic-comment marker. In (59b), it stresses the nominalized verb *softoh* (kidding), highlighting its intensity.

6.2 Remarks on Negators

Negation in Bahasa Jamaah features notable influence from Arabic. Although Indonesian negators like *bukan* (used with nominal predicates), *tidak* (used with verbal and adjectival predicates), and *ngak* (used in colloquial contexts for both nominal and verbal predicates) are prevalent, the Arabic-derived negators *ma-* and *la* play a significant role.

- The negator *ma-*, derived from مَا (/maː/), is frequently coupled with *fi* (فِي, /fiː/) to form the construction *mafi* (مَا فِي, /maː fiː/), which negates existential constructs. It conveys the meaning of "there is not" and is often used to indicate the absence of something.
- The negator *la*, derived from لَا (/laː/), functions as an emphatic 'no" in response to yes/no questions or to reject propositions. Its usage aligns with Standard Arabic, where it is a versatile negator for declarative sentences or standalone negations.

The following examples demonstrate the use of *ma fi* and *la* in the Jamaah register:

(60) Examples of Arabic Negators

a. *taruh freezer ente* ***ma fi*** *syi* .
put freezer 2P.SG NEG EXIST thing .

'Put it in the fridge; there is no problem.'

b. *ndak ada langsung Pemalang(.)* ***ma fi*** *ya* .
NEG exist direct Pemalang NEG- EXIST yes .

'There is no direct (connection) to Pemalang, **it does not exist** indeed.'

c. ***la,*** *fi Tofik Bahes Sukur bukan Tofik..* .
NEG EXIST NAME NAME NAME NEG Tofik .

'No, Tofik Bahes Sukur is still there, it's not the Tofik (that you are talking about).'

The integration of *ma fi* (مَا فِي) and *la* (لَا) into Bahasa Jamaah highlights the influence of Arabic on this linguistic register. These negators not only reflect their Standard Arabic counterparts but also complement or replace Indonesian negators in many contexts, as illustrated in examples (60a) through (60c).

6.3 Remarks on Possessive constructions

Possessive constructions in Bahasa Jamaah follow the patterns of Colloquial Indonesian. In Colloquial Indonesian, the most common way to express possession is to place the possessor immediately after the noun indicating the thing possessed. For instance:

(61) Examples of Colloquial Indonesian Possessive Constructions

a. *rumah saya* .
house 1SG .

'My house.'

b. *buku Ali* .
book Ali .

'Ali's book.'

Additionally, as discussed in Section 6.1.10, the enclitic *=nya* can connect the possessor to the possessed:

(62) Examples of *=nya*

a. *mobil=nya dia* .
car=DET 3SG .

'His/her car.'

b. *rumah=nya besar* .
house=DET big .

'The house is big.'

Another common strategy in Colloquial Indonesian is to use the verb *punya* (to have), where the possessor and possessed are separated only by *punya*:

(63) Examples of *punya*

a. *ini buku punya saya* .
this book have 1SG .

'This book is mine.'

b. *itu mobil punya Ali* .
that car have Ali .

'That car belongs to Ali.'

In addition to these well-known strategies, Bahasa Jamaah exhibits Arabic-like possessive constructions, including:

6.3.1 *hagg* + =POSS(enclitic)

:
Bahasa Jamaah incorporates the Arabic possessive construction *hagg* (meaning "right") + =POSS (enclitic) alongside a slightly lexicalized use of Arabic possessive clitic pronouns: *=y* (1SG.POSS), *=k* (2SG.POSS), *=u* (3SG.POSS), and *=na* (1PL.POSS).
The *hagg* + =POSS construction, derived from the Arabic حَقّ /ḥaqq/ (*ḥaqq*, "right") has a predicative function. In this construction, the noun *hagg* is followed by a possessive enclitic pronoun to indicate ownership or association. For example:

(64) Examples of *hagg* + POSS

a. *ini bos* ***haggana*** *ini ahahahahah* .
this boss right=1PL.POSS this ahahahahah .

'No, well, this is our boss ahahahah.'

b. *ini seperti botol green khamr* ***haqqy*** *hada* .
this like bottle green wine right=1SG this .

'That bottle is like my bottle.'

In 64a, *haggana* expresses "our boss," with the possessive enclitic *=na* (1PL.POSS). Similarly, in 64b, *haqqy* (my) denotes possession of the bottle, with *=y* (1SG) as the enclitic pronoun. It's noteworthy that the realization of the Arabic /q/ in *hagg* shifts to /g/.

6.3.2 Possessive Clitics

The possessive clitics *=y* (1SG.POSS), *=k* (2SG.POSS), *=u* (3SG.POSS), and *=na* (1PL.POSS), derived from Arabic, attach directly to nouns and have an attributive function. These clitics mark possession as an integral part of the noun phrase without requiring the intermediary *hagg*. For instance:

(65) Examples of Arabic Possessive Clitics

a. *nanti tak kasih nomor sohib=y-sohib=y* .
later 1SG give number friend = 1SG.POSS-friend = 1SG.POSS .

'Later, I'll give you the number of my friends.'

b. *ajak sohib=ak* .
invite friend = 2SG.POSS .

'Invite your friend.'

c. *beit=y* .
house = 1SG.POSS .

'My house.'

d. *beit=ak* .
house = 2SG.POSS .

'Your house.'

e. *ukht=y* .
sister = 1SG.POSS .

'My sister.'

f. *ukht=ak mane?* .
sister = 2SG.POSS where .

'Where is your sister?'

g. *walad=ak wae wae kongkon metu* .
child = 2SG.POSS only only tell go.out .

'Just tell your child to go out.'

h. *aaa pengajian artinya baca satu-satu wirid atau satu-satu ratib yang*
EXCLM recitation meaning read one-by-one chant or one-by-one litany made
dibuat oleh kita punya ***jadduna*** .
by 1PL have grandfather = 1PL.POSS .

'A recitation means reading chants or litanies made by our ancestors.'

These possessive clitics are restricted to Arabic-origin terms only and typically involve inalienable possessions (e.g., family relations, close personal ties). This exclusivity suggests a high degree of lexicalization within this register. This is often the case in heritage languages. The fact that the 1SG possessive clitic *=y* is more frequent in the corpus compared to its 2SG counterpart *=k* reinforces this interpretation.
Moreover, it is not uncommon to find occurrences of double possession, such as:

(66) Examples of Double Possession

a. *sohib=y ente* .
friend = 1SG.POSS 2SG .

'Your friend.'

b. *ukht=y* *ente* .
sister = 1SG.POSS 2SG .

'Your sister.'

While further investigation into these clitics in this register is necessary, based on my observations of their conversational use, I propose that the use of *=k* (2SG.POSS) does not reflect an incomplete lexicalization process. Instead, it may represent a new tendency toward "correcting" constructions like *ukhty ente* (**my sister yours*, meaning "your sister"), which are perceived as incorrect.
In particular, attention should be drawn to example (65h), where the phrase "made by our grandfathers" exhibits a double possessive structure. Here, *jadduna* incorporates the clitic *=na* (1PL.POSS), while *kita punya* (1PL have) marks possession. This combination rather then suggesting some sort of interaction between Arabic and Indonesian possessive systems, reflects the lexicalization of *=na* (1PL.POSS)

Possessive Constructions with *sohiby*

Lastly, I want to compare the examples presenting the term *sohiby*, which I propose here in 67.

(67) Examples of Arabic-like Possessive Structures with *sohib*

a. *nanti tak kasih nomor sohib=y-sohib=y* .
later 1SG give number friend = 1SG.POSS-friend = 1SG.POSS .

'Later, I'll give you the number of my friends.'

b. *ajak sohib=ak* .
invite friend = 2SG.POSS .

'Invite your friend.'

c. *cerita ana punya sohib* .
story 1SG have friend .

'A story from a friend of mine.'

d. *sohib=y* *ente* .
friend = 1SG.POSS 2SG .

'Your friend.'

e. *runan* *sama sohib-sohibnya* .
friend = 1SG.POSS with friend.PL = 3SG.POSS .

'Shared with his friends.'

These examples illustrate all the types of occurrences found in the corpus involving the term *sohib* (friend). They reveal several patterns of possessive structures:

- **Possessive Clitics:** In examples (67.a) and (67.b), *sohib* appears with the possessive clitics *=y* (1SG.POSS) and *=k* (2SG.POSS), respectively. This highlights the productive use of Arabic-like possessive structures in Bahasa Jamaah, where the clitic corresponds directly to the possessor.
- **Non-Flexed Form with *punya*:** In example (67.c), the unmarked form *sohib* is used with the Indonesian verb *punya* (to have) to construct possession (*cerita ana punya sohib*, 'a story from a friend of mine'). This reflects that *=y* completely lexicalized and can be omitted.

- **Lexicalization of *sohiby*:** In example (67.d), *sohiby* behaves as a lexicalized element. For instance:
  - In (67.d), the construction *sohiby ente* (”my friend, yours”) presents a double possession, with *=y* and the Indonesian possessive structure, object + possessor, with the pronoun *ente* (you).

These examples show that the possessive construction with *sohib* exists along a continuum in Bahasa Jamaah: On one end, Arabic clitics (*=y*, *=k*) can be productively used to mark possession in a manner consistent with Standard Arabic. On the other end, the examples with *sohiby* demonstrates strong signs of lexicalization, functioning as a fixed noun in phrases like *sohiby-sohiby* and *sohiby ente* but that can be used also without the clitic *=y*. This duality suggests that while Arabic possessive clitics are potentially active in Bahasa Jamaah, their integration into lexicalized forms reflects ongoing language contact and adaptation. These suggestions for further analysis of the language practices of the Jamaah, emphasize the interplay between productivity and lexicalization within this register that taps a lot on the Arabic repertoire but that flows within Colloquial Indonesian. Although probably this does not belong to this section, not that *ana punya sohib* (a friend of mine), is often used in conversation to start sequences of story telling.

The /=u/ Ending

The /u/ ending in words of Arabic origin within Malay and Indonesian varieties is a fascinating subject that could warrant an entire book. Its presence may signify that a word entered through written texts, retaining remnants of the nominal case in Arabic. Alternatively, it could represent the nominal case of a genitive construction (i.e., *idafa*) or be derived from the third person clitic *=u* (Himmelmann, 2004; Tadmor, 2009; Van Dam, 2010; C. H. M. Versteegh & Eid, 2009; K. Versteegh, 1984).
Here I do not aim to discuss these debates but instead I want to provide evidence for the use of *=u* in possessive structures within the Jamaah register. The third person singular masculine possessive suffix in Arabic (*=3POSS*) is highly productive with Arabic-origin terms. The examples below demonstrate that *=u* is almost exclusively associated with Arabic-origin vocabulary, where it often appears lexicalized. Additionally, *=u* is frequently used in the possessive construction *hagg* + POSS or =3POSS

(68) Examples of *=u*

a. *botol khomr* ***haqq=u*** .
bottle wine **right=3POSS** .

‘That’s **his** bottle of wine.’

b. *ini* ***jiddu*** *(berbah) nih* .
DEIT **grandfather=3POSS** (berbah) DEIT .

‘**His** grandfather is (berbah).’

c. *al-madinah tu, tegal, dongkal, apa (.) lainnya bedanya sama tempat*
Madina DEIT Tegal Dongkal what other-DET different-DET with place other
lain (.) kullu ***’ndu*** *khas* .
all **prep=3POSS** special .

‘Madina, Tegal, Dongkal, and the others are different (.) each place **has its** specialty.’

d. *hatta* ***hormatu*** *ndak dikasih tahu racikan obate* .
including wife = 3POSS NEG UV-give know recipe blend-POSS .

'Including his wife, he would not let her know the recipe of the blend.'

e. *ya masih family dekat jadi. jiddaty sama jiddah–*
yes still family close so. grandmother = 1POSS with grandmother–
jiddu *kakak adek* .
grandfather = 3POSS sibling .

'Yes, we are family, so my grandmother and grandma... **his grandfather** are siblings.'

f. *ini ndak betul* ***shahibul bet*** .
this NEG correct **host.of=house** .

'This is not right, host of the house.'

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated some structural elements of the Jamaah register, shedding light on its phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features shaped by Arabic influence. The phonological analysis illustrated the dynamic interplay between Arabic and Indonesian phonetic systems, showcasing patterns of adaptation and retention that vary according to context and speaker backgrounds. Morphosyntactic patterns revealed the productive integration of Arabic-origin constructions, such as possessive markers, pronouns, and negators, into the syntactic and morphological frameworks of colloquial Indonesian. Lexical observations further highlighted the frequent incorporation of Arabic-origin terms, often marked by innovative adaptations and lexicalization.

By exploring these structural features, this chapter provides insight into the semiotic complexity of Bahasa Jamaah as a register that operates within the broader linguistic ecology of Indonesia. The chapter not only illuminates the interplay between linguistic systems but also underscore the importance of context in shaping this register's usage. Ultimately, this chapter contributes to a deeper understanding of how Bahasa Jamaah reflects the social and linguistic dynamics of the Arab diaspora community in Java, offering a window into the ways language adapts and transforms in response to interactional influences.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

The people of Arab descent in Indonesia use the term Jamaah (group) to refer to their community. Although they are often described as Hadrami, since their ancestors originated from the Hadramaut Valley in Yemen, the Jamaah rarely use the label Hadrami. This is because it anchors a dynamic community to a fixed geographical origin, imposing a specific geographical connotation that clashes with the diasporic identity of the community. This labeling process compels the community to conform to the idealized notion that a group must inherently be tied to a specific location and language. By contrast, Jamaah—which potentially can apply to anyone of Arab ethnicity—emphasizes self-identification through mobility and community engagement, core aspects of this group's diasporic identity.

This dissertation has offered an analysis of the language practices that construe Arab identity through language, often threatened by the shadow of non-nativeness and yet considered sacred, in one of the world's most linguistically diverse countries. Drawing on long-term fieldwork in the Arab districts of Jakarta, Surakarta, and Surabaya, I explored how people construe, build, and imagine a collective belonging to a distinctive locality through verbal interaction in informal gatherings, ceremonies, and music performances across different urban settings, where Arabic linguistic elements play a significant role.

I engaged with these communities, shaped by a history of migratory waves and interactions that have facilitated connections between various local and transregional actors. By engaging with broader debates on the dynamics of cultural and linguistic transformation related to South-to-South migration, religious language, and processes of standardization, this dissertation challenged prevailing views on the Arab diaspora in Indonesia, which are often limited to their connections with influential religious leaders. However, most of all, this work illuminates a neglected aspect of Arab-Indonesian diasporic identity: the semiotic registers of Arab descendants in Indonesia. I tried to offer a nuanced perspective on the roles of language and mobility in forming diasporic communities, contributing to broader discussions on cultural identity, migration, and the interplay between local, global, and transregional forces in contemporary society.

This dissertation therefore encompasses many different areas, tapping into sociolinguistics and anthropology, addressing these two disciplines in different ways. The risk has been that of falling under the broad label of Southeast Asia studies, since it focuses on a predominantly Indonesian community, or under that of Middle East studies, since the diaspora it deals with is, to a great extent, that of the people referred to in the literature as the people of Wadi Hadramaut in Yemen. On the contrary, I advocate the need to find ways to treat these two worlds I just mentioned as connected both historically and in the contemporary world: one that looks at the Middle East, deals with Islam, the Arabic language, and orients itself towards the Mediterranean encompassing the Gulf countries, and one that looks at Southeast

Asia as part of a different world, studied by different people, in dissimilar ways, often seen as a contemporary branch of the South China context, a historical Magna Graecia of India, or a world of its own.
Owing to this broad framing, for this dissertation I selected a few productive sites from which to pursue the theme of diaspora and identity through language practices, and I tried to deal with language both as a way to navigate the social world and as a code—a tangible set of rules that speakers learn to use, create, and bend in interaction while they index the socio-cultural world they live in.

7.1 Indexing Arab Identity in The Diaspora

The central idea of this dissertation is that there exists an indexical relationship between the Jamaah community and a set of linguistic signs. This relationship is both stable, indexing the community, and ever-changing, as it varies across contexts and interactions.
Chapter 1 provided the foundational research questions and methodological framework, emphasizing the process of formulating these questions, which evolved during the research process. It also highlighted the importance of analyzing linguistic data not only through structural insights but also in light of their ideological dimensions. Central to this exploration is the role of ideologies surrounding the Arabic language, viewed as the ancestral language of the group. However, varied understandings exist of what this ancestral language is or should be, including its association with ancestry and religious teaching that blurs distinctions between Classical Arabic, colloquial varieties, and the everyday oral practices of the Jamaah community. Moreover, it provides grounding information on the Indonesian language ecology and its relation to standardization processes.
Chapter 2 contextualized the Jamaah within the broader historical and sociopolitical dynamics of Indonesia, illustrating how nationalism and the association between the Middle East and Islam contribute to the community's symbolic capital. This chapter underscored the interplay between Arab ethnicity, linguistic identity, and integration within Indonesian society. It critically examined the dynamic and non-exclusive nature of the role of Arabic in the diaspora, pointing to its intersection with historical trajectories and broader standardization processes.
The Arab districts are part of the heritage of the Dutch colonial hand, which restricted mobility and created ethnic labels distant from reality. However, the Arab districts are also permeable areas where signs of new and old diasporas arose—areas that existed even before the arrival of the Dutch. This research has highlighted the historical connections between the Jamaah and an ancient diaspora that predates European colonialism in Southeast Asia. At the same time, modern migration patterns, shaped by technological advances and global economic integration, introduce new layers of complexity. Drawing on canonical diaspora studies (e.g., Clifford (1994)) and more recent scholarship (e.g., Walker and Slama (2021)), as well as studies on diaspora languages and historical accounts of the Arab diaspora in Indonesia, this dissertation delineates a diasporic identity defined by mobility. This mobility encompasses both physical spaces (Indonesia and the Middle East) and metaphorical spaces, navigating ideas and understandings of the Arabic language and Arab identity. Moreover, the chapter moved the focus of this dissertation beyond the commonly emphasized link between the Hadrami community and religiosity in Indonesia. Instead of centering on the Ba'alawi community's role as religious leaders, this work gives space to the *masyaikh* (non-Ba'alawi) community, whose language practices are not necessarily tied to religiosity. However, the ideological paradigm that connects Arabic, Arabs, and Islam in Indonesia remains a significant productive force. This paradigm is not confined to the

Jamaah as Hadramis but extends to broader language ideologies in Indonesia, where Arabic is primarily associated with religious teaching. All these themes bring together a very little explored intersection: that of Southeast Asia and the Middle East through the Indian Ocean. This geography, shaped by ideas and physical movement, transcends and intersects with political entities and political agendas.

Chapters 4 and 5 are closely tied to one another, demonstrating the analytical utility of the concepts of semiotic register and image of standard in understanding how context-bound signs—such as Arabic elements and Majlas practices—are reproduced across different social contexts. These signs remain attached to dominant language ideologies while simultaneously creating spaces for contestation and reinterpretation. By framing the language practices of the Jamaah as a semiotic register, this research emphasizes how a constellation of signs—both linguistic and non-linguistic—gains meaning through interaction. While I referred to these practices as *Bahasa Jamaah*, the term *Bahasa Majlas* was used in Chapter 5 to highlight its use in specific gatherings where these signs become most prominent. Majlas practices in Jakarta, Surakarta, and Surabaya reveal striking similarities in the ways they use Arabic elements despite being embedded in different Indonesian linguistic ecologies. Not surprisingly, Jakarta's practices reflect a Jakartan linguistic influence, while those in Surakarta and Surabaya show more Javanese elements. This demonstrates how Jamaah practices integrate with local contexts while maintaining shared features across regions. Chapter 4, drawing from Babcock (2022)'s concept of image of standard, which represents ideas of what a non-standard variety should be, points to the ways people conceptualize and define their language practices. Chapter 4 details how the community navigates linguistic choices and evaluative discourses, producing an aestheticized "image of standard diaspora language" that arises from the comparison between Jamaah language practices and the Arabic language in a framework of hegemonic views about language. The chapter explored the tension between the ideas of loss of the "ancestral language" and "continuation of the ancestral language," positioning the Jamaah community within the Indonesian context and a broader framework that includes them in an Arab diaspora spanning the Indian Ocean and the Arab world. In this way, diasporic identity is practiced and framed by engagement with debates on what identity is (rather than the actual answer), shaping it rather than being fixed to a specific origin or inherent to members of the community.

Chapter 5 shows how these ideologies are put into practice during different Majlas (gatherings). Shaped by these ideologies and at the same time reinforcing or contrasting them, the Jamaah community taps into a diverse range of signs, engaging with vernacular repertoires, Standard Arabic, and Classical Arabic. This chapter explored how linguistic practices and identities are dynamically constructed and negotiated within these gatherings. It demonstrated how Bahasa Majlas intertwines Arab-Islam-Arabic identities with Indonesia's multilayered linguistic ecology, highlighting its performative nature. These findings underscore the role of Majlas practices in reinforcing communal ties and shaping Jamaah identity across regional contexts.

As they were not documented before, part of my doctoral work consisted of documenting and describing structural elements of the Jamaah language practices, creating a corpus that sheds light on previously undocumented terms but also imposes arbitrary categorizations, raising new questions about drawing lines between language practices in processes of language documentation and description.

Chapter 6 gives an overview of the structural features of the Arabic elements of Bahasa Jamaah, revealing its phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical characteristics. These features demonstrated the dynamic interplay between Arabic and Indonesian linguistic systems, shaped by context and speakers' backgrounds. This chapter illuminated how Bahasa Jamaah

reflects the social and linguistic dynamics of the Arab diasporic community in Java, contributing to our understanding of language adaptation and evolution in diasporic contexts. One of the outcomes of this corpus is accessible through a web dictionary that I developed with SIL tools at this link.

7.2 Elements That Should Have Had More Space

This research generated several questions that require further investigation. The significant role played by new migrants remains an area of significant interest, of which I have only scratched the surface, pointing to it without a comprehensive analysis. Limited time prevented the recording and studying of these movements and practices, which are connected to youth language and diasporic identity, blending together South-South histories of ongoing migration.

The center-periphery dichotomy in studies of the Arab world and Islam merits more critical reflection when addressing language practices. The idealization of stereotypical Arab features as the epitome of religious authenticity by many Indonesian Muslims reinforces stereotypical Middle Eastern images. Signs such as perceived knowledge of Arabic, or just the display of Arab script or other visual elements reminiscent of Middle Eastern individuals, are often misconceived as markers of closer religious affinity. These signs are deeply embedded in orientalist knowledge production and embody processes that could be described within Gal and Irvine (2019)'s iconization and rhematization framework, where the Middle East, Islam, and Arabic become iconically related. This misperception, I suggest, is part of a broader constellation of signs evoking religious authenticity, culminating in a process of *enregistrement* of Islamic piety.

Additionally, this narrative is framed within a Eurocentric and nationalist-dictated center-periphery dichotomy that categorizes the world into distinct regions and ethnicities, often constraining academic perspectives and reinforcing limited views of cultural and religious identities. These elements necessitate further unpacking and deeper discussion, as they contribute to the central arguments of this dissertation.

7.2.1 Linguistic Landscape and Scripts

Scripts, script styles, kinds of fonts, and even specific graphemes or letters need further investigation into the ways they are used across Arab Districts and, more broadly, in Indonesia as identity indexes. The link between scripts and languages is not necessarily tied to the entire script in its completeness. It may also be expressed through typefaces, fonts of a specific script, or even just specific letters or sounds. For example, Arabic is often associated with the letter *Ḍād* (ض) /dˤ/ of its script and is believed to be the only language to possess it. More broadly, Arabic is associated with those sounds defined as emphatic (uvular).

During the period when the Arabic-adapted Jawi script was utilized in Indonesia for writing Javanese or Malay—languages rich in Arabic loanwords—a significant variation in Malay spelling emerged. This variability is partially attributed to the prestige or Islamic association of certain Arabic letters, not originally found in Malay but incorporated through Arabic loanwords (Gallop et al., 2015). In today's Indonesia, a similar phenomenon occurs where specific sounds are linked to the Arabic language. The grapheme ‘, which points to the presence of the Arabic *ʿAyn* (ع) /ʕ/, was part of the alphabet until the 1967 reform. Despite this, it continues to be employed in both formal and semi-formal contexts to emphasize the Arabic roots of a term. Likewise, the /q/ sound, representing the Arabic letter *qaf* (ق),

or the choice between using /u/ or /o/ in words that accommodate both spellings, holds significant weight. These practices underscore the enduring influence of Arabic on the linguistic landscape of Indonesia, marking terms with distinct phonetics to highlight their Arabic origins.
In Indonesia, after independence in 1945, several reforms purged the language of those signs perceived as Arabic, which were either modified to match ideologies of purity or erased (Van Dam, 2010). This element of representation—the history of the Arabic language in the archipelago and its intersection with nation-building and processes of standardization of the Indonesian language—still needs to be explored.

7.2.2 Deconstructing Arabic

Moreover, it is crucial to critically explore what Arab means, both within the context of the Indonesian Jamaah and more broadly, acknowledging the diverse and evolving implications of the term. This examination is vital, as Arab transcends cultural and religious boundaries, shaping and being shaped by historical and contemporary discourses.
Close observation of the diversity among the gradually Arabized social groups that materialized globally during the 19th century, and specifically in Southeast Asia, is necessary. This observation should challenge—or at least acknowledge—how the category "Arab" evolves in meaning over time. Confronting the problem of representation from a deeper perspective is essential. What does it mean to be Arab, both in terms of the Jamaah of Indonesia, and what does being Arab represent more generally? Well-established scholars like Sumit K. Mandal, Ho, and Alatas are committed to carefully analyzing the representation of Arabness (going beyond the framework of Southeast Asia studies) and seek concepts that allow for a nuanced and dynamic understanding of Arab identity. Unfortunately, language is not a theme they address.
Studies on Arabic and its language ideologies in the Indonesian context are still lacking. Further research needs to integrate the linguistic and semiotic dimensions into a discourse of racialization, focusing on what ideas like race, ethnicity, and identity mean within the Indonesian context.

7.2.3 Further Language Documentation

Although this research tried not to limit itself to specific Arab districts and communities, the Jamaah landscape in Indonesia is vast, as they are found in nearly every major urban center. Research on language practices in other major islands of Indonesia is needed, both for comparative purposes and to address the same questions formulated at the beginning of this dissertation, which, in light of practices in new locations, may yield different answers.

7.3 Elsewheres

In the unfolding narrative of identity, a deeper exploration of how movement and a sense of being spread across different places cast a sense of self across geography could have enriched this work. This exploration reveals identity as a vivid web woven with threads of experiences in places people recognize as part of their identity, yet which seemingly rest on the horizon, perpetually beyond grasp. It's a presence felt deeply and unmistakably, yet residing in a place that is everywhere except where one stands. It's a place that beckons from afar, elusive yet palpable, whispering of belonging but never quite settling in the here and now. Jamaah identity, therefore, becomes a poignant quest for a place where identity is

still strong—a coordinate that is omnipresent, yet lies in the elsewhere. This "elsewhere" is a salient part of what constitutes a diasporic community.

A missing element of this dissertation is a section dedicated to this feeling of pushing further the frontier of where tradition is found, always somewhere else. *Di sana masih kental arabnya* (Over there, "Arabness" is still strong) is a statement frequently heard and the metaphorical place chased throughout this fieldwork.

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Appendix A

Transcription Symbols

Symbols for Conversations

- ((comment)) - Comment by the transcriber
- (.) - Pause less than five tenths of a second
- (0.7) - Pause value in tenths of a second
- (barely audible) - Uncertain transcription
- A: (I'm speaking) - Indicates who is speaking
- @utterance@ - Formulated laughing
- `[ - Overlap, overlapping` utterances
- `+ +` - Increase in speed
- `<word - Voice tone higher than the utterance`
- `=` - Latching, consecutive utterances
- Word– - Interruption (often due to self-repair)
- 0000 - Missing transcription
- XXXX - Missing transcription
- Ah ah ah - Type of laughter
- *Italic* - Italic for translation into English
- Eh eh eh - Type of laughter
- h - Expiration
- UPPERCASE - Voice tone higher than the conversation
- **bold** - Particular emphasis

Glosses for examples

- NMLZ - Nominalizer
- NEG - Negator
- REL - Relative marker
- EXIST - Existential marker
- LOC - Locative
- 1SG - First person singular
- 2SG - Second person singular
- 3SG - Third person singular
- 1PL - First person plural
- DEIT - Deictic
- DEM - Demonstrative
- DET - Determiner
- POSS - Possessive
- =affix - Clitic
- DP - Discourse Particle
- IntPart - Interactional Particle

Appendix B

Bahasa Jamaah Dictionary Preview – A Work-in-Progress Web Dictionary Sample

This preview showcases a developing web dictionary, featuring a partial selection of data. Please note that transcriptions and entries are still being refined for consistency.
The web dictionary, along with its Android app, is available at the following:
https://bahasajamaahdictionary.luigisausa.me
Please keep in mind that this project is still in development, intended both for data dissemination and as a way to give something tangible back to the community. I wanted to offer a glimpse of this work, as it has been a significant part of my Ph.D. research.

This preview showcases a developing web dictionary, featuring a partial selection of data. Please note that transcriptions and entries are still being refined for consistency.

A a

abadan *adv*
Eng eternally, never- *Ind* Abadi, tidak pernah;
MSA

abah (أباه /ʔaba:h/) *n*
Eng father- *Ind* ayah; - -*Eng* term of address - - *Ind* bentuk sapaan
Arab Jamaah

abu *n*
Eng father- *Ind* ayah; - -*Eng* term of address - - *Ind* bentuk sapaan
MSA

abu rohis (أبو رخيص Ar أبو رخيص /ʔabu raˈxi:s/) *n*
Eng cheap stuff- *Ind* barang murah; - -*Eng* Refers to cheap or low-quality goods, often indicating affordability but sometimes implying lower quality. - - *Ind* Barang yang murah atau murahan, sering kali mengacu pada kualitas rendah atau harga rendah.

afrit (Ar عفريت ʿifrīt Jinn Jinn) *adj*
Eng sly- *Ind* licik; - -*Eng* refers to the characteristics of being cunning or clever, indicating someone full of deceit or manipulative shrewdness. - - *Ind* merujuk pada karakteristik licik atau cerdik, menunjukkan seseorang yang penuh tipu daya atau kecerdikan manipulatif.

afwan (Ar عفوا /ʕaf.wan/) *adv*
Eng sorry- *Ind* maaf; - -*Eng* Commonly used to express "sorry" or as a polite way to say "excuse me" before performing an action. - - *Ind* Umumnya digunakan untuk menyatakan "maaf" atau sebagai cara sopan untuk mengatakan "permisi" sebelum melakukan sesuatu.
Arab Jamaah

agad (Ar عقد /ʕaqd/) *n*
Eng marriage- *Ind* pernikaan; - -*Eng* Refers to marriage or marriage contract, specifically the formal contract or ceremony of marriage. Used in expressions to indicate a wedding invitation or marriage ceremony. - - *Ind* Mengacu pada pernikahan atau akad nikah, khususnya kontrak atau upacara resmi pernikahan. Digunakan dalam ungkapan untuk menunjukkan undangan pernikahan atau upacara akad nikah

-ah
sfx *Eng* F;
Arab Jamaah

ahlan (Ar أهلا /ʔahlan/) *interj*
Eng greeting; - -*Eng* An informal expression that conveys friendliness and openness in welcoming someone. Used as a greeting meaning "welcome" or "hello," especially to greet someone who has just arrived or is newly acquainted. Commonly used in everyday conversation across the Arab world as a warm greeting. - - *Ind* Ucapan informal yang menunjukkan keramahan dan keterbukaan dalam menyambut seseorang. Digunakan sebagai ucapan "selamat datang" atau "halo," terutama untuk menyambut orang yang baru datang atau baru dikenal. Sering digunakan dalam percakapan sehari-hari di seluruh dunia Arab sebagai sapaan hangat
Arab Jamaah

ahsan (أحسن /ʔaħsan/) *adj*
Eng better- *Ind* lebih baik; - -*Eng* Means "best," "better," or "excellent". Often used to describe something of superior quality or a commendable action. Usage: Used to express high praise or preference, as in "the best choice" or "the most excellent." Commonly found in formal and informal expressions to convey excellence or improvement. - - *Ind* Berarti "terbaik," "lebih baik," atau "sangat baik." Sering digunakan untuk menggambarkan sesuatu dengan kualitas unggul atau tindakan yang patut dipuji. Penggunaan: Digunakan untuk menyatakan pujian tinggi atau preferensi, seperti dalam "pilihan terbaik" atau "yang paling baik." Umum ditemukan dalam ungkapan formal dan informal untuk menyampaikan keunggulan atau peningkatan.
Arab Jamaah

ahwal (Ar Derived from Arabic (akhwāl), the plural form of (khāl), which literally means "maternal uncle." Berasal dari bahasa Arab (akhwāl), bentuk jamak dari (khāl), yang secara harfiah berarti "paman dari pihak ibu." أخوال /ʔaxwa:l/) *n*
Eng non-jamaah- *Ind* bukan jamaah; - -*Eng* Refers to native Indonesians who are not of Arab descent. Used to denote local Indonesians

related to Arab descendants through the maternal line, especially those stemming from marriages between Arab immigrants and native Indonesian women (often jawanese). This term emerged as a form of respect for maternal relatives within the Arab-Indonesian community, referring to the history of Hadhrami Arabs who married native Indonesian women. - - *Ind* merujuk pada orang Indonesia asli yang bukan keturunan Arab. Digunakan untuk menyebut penduduk lokal (biasanya jawa) yang berkerabat dengan keturunan Arab dari pihak ibu, terutama mereka yang berasal dari pernikahan antara pendatang Arab dan perempuan Indonesia asli. Kata ini muncul sebagai istilah penghormatan bagi saudara dari pihak ibu dalam komunitas Arab-Indonesia, yang merujuk pada sejarah komunitas Hadhrami yang menikahi perempuan asli Indonesia.
Arab Jamaah

'

'ailah (Ar عائلة /ʕaːʔila/) *n*
Eng family- *Ind* keluarga; - -*Eng* Used to refer to a group of relatives consisting of parents, children, and other family members. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk merujuk pada kelompok kerabat yang terdiri dari orang tua, anak, dan anggota keluarga lainnya.
MSA

A a

ajib (Ar عجيب /ʕaˈdʒiːb/) *adj*
Eng incredible- *Ind* luar biasa; - -*Eng* Often used to describe something surprising, extraordinary, or unusual. Used to express wonder or astonishment at something unexpected or impressive. - - *Ind* Sering digunakan untuk menggambarkan sesuatu yang mengejutkan, luar biasa, atau tidak biasa. Digunakan untuk menyatakan kekaguman atau keheranan terhadap sesuatu yang tidak terduga atau mengesankan.

ajus (Ar In arabic it is a masculine form عجوز /ʕaˈdʒuːz/) *n*
Eng term of adress \ old woman (mother); - -*Eng* An elderly woman. Used to refer to older women. Also used as a term of address for a mother. - - *Ind* Orang perempuan tua atau ibu-ibu, digunakan untuk merujuk pada perempuan lanjut usia. Dipakai juga untuk memangil orang tua perempuan.
Arab Jamaah

akh (Ar)
Eng brother- *Ind* saudara laki-laki; - -*Eng* Used to refer to one's literal brother, or as a term of address in addressing a male acquaintance or peer, especially in a respectful context. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk merujuk pada saudara kandung laki-laki, atau sebagai sapaan untuk teman atau rekan pria, terutama dalam konteks yang penuh rasa hormat.
Eng brother- *Ind* saudara;
Arab Jamaah

al
Eng DET;
MSA

al-
pfx *Eng* DET;
MSA
- **alyoum** *adv* today

'

'ala$_1$ (Ar على /ʕaˈla/) *prep*
Eng on- *Ind* untuk \ atas;
MSA

'ala$_2$ (Ar عل/ʕal/) *adj*
Eng exeptional , okay- *Ind* luar biasa , oke; - -*Eng* Used to refer to something outstanding or extraordinary. Often used to agree on the phone. - - *Ind* Sering digunakan untuk merujuk pada sesuatu yang luar biasa atau sangat istimewa. Sering dipakai untuk menyetujuhi pas menelepon.

A a

alafu (Ar العفو /al-ʕafw/) *n*

Eng sorry, pardon- *Ind* maaf, permisi; - -*Eng* Used to ask to be excused - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk meminta izin atau untuk meminta maaf agar dimaafkan.

alafwamiatin
Eng NUM;
Arab Jamaah

alawiyyin (Ar علويين /ʕalawiyyīn/) *n*
Eng ba'alawi.PL- *Ind* ba'alawi (bentuk jamaak); - -*Eng* Refers to the descendants of Ali ibn Abi Talib, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, specifically used to describe the followers or descendants of the Alawite tariqa - - *Ind* Merujuk pada keturunan Ali ibn Abi Talib, sepupu dan menantu Nabi Muhammad, khususnya digunakan untuk menggambarkan pengikut atau keturunan tariqa Alawyyah.
VAR

alef (Ar ألف /ʔalf/) *n*
Eng One thousand- *Ind* Seribu;
Arab Jamaah

alhamdulillah (Ar Ji الحمد /ælˈhæmdʊˈlɪlːɑːh/)
Eng EXLM \ thank god; - -*Eng* "Praise be to Allah" or "Thank God." It is an expression of gratitude, appreciation, or relief, acknowledging the goodness of God - - *Ind* "Segala puji bagi Allah" atau "Terima kasih kepada Tuhan." Merupakan ungkapan rasa syukur, penghargaan, atau kelegaan, yang mengakui kebaikan Allah
MSA

alkatiri
Eng N \ NAME;
Arab Jamaah

Allahualam (Ar أعلم الله /ælˈlɑːʕʊʕlɑːm/)
Eng Allah knows best- *Ind* Allah yang lebih tahu.; - -*Eng* This phrase is used to express humility or uncertainty, acknowledging that only God has complete knowledge of a matter. Commonly used by Muslims when they are unsure about something or when they want to defer judgment. - - *Ind* Frasa ini digunakan untuk mengungkapkan kerendahan hati atau ketidakpastian, mengakui bahwa hanya Allah yang memiliki pengetahuan yang lengkap tentang suatu hal. Umumnya digunakan oleh umat Muslim ketika mereka tidak yakin tentang sesuatu atau ketika mereka ingin menyerahkan penilaian kepada Allah.
VAR, MSA
- **wallahualam** *interj* Used to express humility or acknowledge that ultimate knowledge and judgment rest with God. Commonly said at the end of statements or discussions, especially when uncertainty is involved.

allahyarham (Ar يرحمه الله /ælˈlɑːh jærˈhæmʊ/)
Eng May Allah have mercy- *Ind* Semoga Allah memberinya rahmat; - -*Eng* Commonly used by Muslims after mentioning the name of a deceased person, as a form of respect and prayer for their soul. Rarely the clitic pronoun is expressed in the data set used for this work. - - *Ind* Umumnya digunakan oleh umat Muslim setelah menyebutkan nama orang yang telah meninggal, sebagai bentuk penghormatan dan doa untuk jiwa mereka. Jarang sekali pronomina klitik digunakan dalam data yang digunakan untuk riset ini.
MSA

alyoum *adv*
Eng today- *Ind* hari ini;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **al-**, **youm**)

ammah (Ar عمة /ʕamːa/)
n *Eng* aunt- *Ind* bibi; - -*Eng* aunt from the father's side or paternal aunt - - *Ind* bibi dari pihak ayah
MSA; Arab Jamaah dial. var. **ammeh**, *BTW* **ammeh**

ammati (Ar عمتي /ʕamːati/) *n*
Eng my aunt- *Ind* bibi saya; - -*Eng* "My paternal aunt" or "my aunt from the father's side." Used to refer to one's paternal aunt in an affectionate or respectful manner. - - *Ind* "Bibi dari pihak ayah saya" atau "bibi dari pihak ayah." Digunakan untuk merujuk kepada bibi dari pihak ayah dengan cara yang penuh kasih atau hormat.

ammeh {*dial. var. of* **ammah**, **ammah**} *n* aunt

ammiyah (Ar عامية /ʕaːmɪjːa/) *n*
Eng vernacular- *Ind* bahasa percakapan; - -*Eng* "Colloquial language" or "dialect." Refers to the spoken vernacular of a particular region

or community, as opposed to formal or classical Arabic - - *Ind* Merujuk pada bahasa lisan yang digunakan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari oleh suatu wilayah atau komunitas, berbeda dengan bahasa Arab formal atau fusha.
MSA

ammy (Ar /ʕam.mi/ عمي) *n*
Eng uncle- *Ind* paman; - -*Eng* Used to refer to or address one's paternal uncle or a close person informally or familiarly. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk merujuk atau menyapa paman dari pihak ayah atau seseorang yang dekat secara informal atau akrab.
Arab Jamaah

amriky (Ar أمريكي /ʔamˈriːki/) *adj*
Eng american- *Ind* orang amerika;
MSA

ana (Ar أنا /ˈana/) *pro*
Eng I- *Ind* saya; - -*Eng* 1P.SG - - *Ind* 1P.SG
dial. var. **ane**, *BTW* **ane**

ane {*dial. var. of* **ana**, **ana**}

anta (Ar أنت /ˈanta/) *pro*
Eng you- *Ind* kamu; - -*Eng* 2P.SG - - *Ind* 2P.SG
MSA \ Arab Jamaah dial. var. **ente**, *BTW* **ente**

antum (Ar أنتم /ˈantum/) *pro*
Eng you- *Ind* kamu; - -*Eng* The second-person pronoun used with a sense of respect or formality. It is often used in formal speech or when addressing someone with honor. - - *Ind* Pronomina orang kedua yang digunakan dengan rasa hormat atau formalitas. Sering digunakan dalam pembicaraan formal atau ketika menyapa seseorang dengan penghormatan.
Arab Jamaah

arba
Eng NUM \ four;
MSA

arba'a
Eng NUM \ 4;
Arab Jamaah

arbain
Eng NUM \ 40;
Arab Jamaah

arbata'ashar
Eng NUM \ 14;
Arab Jamaah

aroby (Ar عربي /ˈʕarabi/) *n*
Eng arab- *Ind* arab;
Arab Jamaah

asal *n*
Eng honey- *Ind* madu;

'

'ash (Ar عاش /ʕaːʃ/) *v*
Eng live- *Ind* hidup;
MSA

'ashan (Ar عشان /ʕaˈʃan/) *coordconn*
Eng becuase of \ for - *Ind* karena \ untuk;
VAR

This preview showcases a developing web dictionary, featuring a partial selection of data. Please note that transcriptions and entries are still being refined for consistency.

A a

assalamu alaikum (Ar السلام عليكم /æs.sæˈlɑːmʊ ʕæˈleɪ.kʊm/)

Eng greeting \ islamic greeting; - -*Eng* Peace be upon you. A common Islamic greeting used to wish peace and blessings upon the person being addressed. - - *Ind* Ucapan salam yang umum digunakan dalam Islam untuk mendoakan kedamaian dan berkah kepada orang yang disapa.

MSA

astaghfirullah (Ar أستغفر الله /ʔæsˈtɑːɣfɪrʊˈlːɑː/)

Eng forgiveness of God- *Ind* minta ampun; - -*Eng* "I ask forgiveness from Allah." It is primarily used to seek forgiveness for sins but can also be used as a general exclamation of surprise, shock, or disbelief. - - *Ind* "Saya memohon ampunan dari Allah." Frasa ini digunakan terutama untuk memohon ampunan atas dosa, tetapi juga dapat digunakan sebagai seruan umum untuk menyatakan kejutan, keterkejutan, atau ketidakpercayaan.

MSA

asyroh (Ar عشرة /ˈʕaʃara/) *nclf*

Eng ten- *Ind* sepuluh; - -*Eng* Used to denote the number ten, or to refer to a group of ten people or things. - - *Ind* "Sepuluh" atau "sekelompok sepuluh." Merujuk pada angka sepuluh dalam bahasa Arab.

Arab Jamaah

awlad (Ar أولاد /ʔawˈlæːd/) *n*

Eng chid.PL- *Ind* anak-anak;

MSA

awud bin jafar (Ar عوض بن جعفر /ʕaˈwud bɪn ˈʤaːfɑr/)

Eng lier- *Ind* pembohong;

Arab Jamaah

awwal (Ar أول /ˈʔawwal/) *adj*

Eng first- *Ind* awal \ pertama; - -*Eng* "First" or "initial." Used to describe something that comes first in order or sequence. - - *Ind* "Pertama" atau "awal." Digunakan untuk menggambarkan sesuatu yang datang pertama dalam urutan atau rangkaian.

MSA

aywah (Ar أيوة /ˈajwæ/) *prt*

Eng yes; - -*Eng* "Yes," "indeed," or "correct." It is commonly used as an affirmative response or to express agreement. Used in casual speech to affirm something or show agreement, similar to "yeah" or "yep" in English. - - *Ind* "Ya," "benar," atau "betul." Digunakan sebagai respons afirmatif atau untuk menyatakan persetujuan. Digunakan dalam percakapan santai untuk menegaskan sesuatu atau menunjukkan persetujuan, mirip dengan "ya" atau "oke" dalam bahasa Indonesia.

ayy (Ar أي /ʔaj/) *adv*

Eng every; - -*Eng* "

MSA

ayyam (Ar أيام /ʕaːˈjaːm/) *n*

Eng day.PL- *Ind* hari.PL; - -*Eng* (plural of "yawm"). It is used to talk about time or periods, particularly in the sense of "days" as in a span of time. - - *Ind* Bentuk jamak dari yawm, yang berarti "hari." Digunakan untuk merujuk pada waktu atau periode, khususnya dalam pengertian "hari" sebagai rentang waktu.

MSA

ayyar (Ar عيار /ʕajˈjaːr/) *n*

Eng bad person- *Ind* orang jahat; - -*Eng* Used to describe someone who is involved in illegal activities or is a troublemaker. In some contexts, it may refer to a person with a reputation for causing disturbances. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk menggambarkan seseorang yang terlibat dalam kegiatan ilegal atau seorang pembuat onar. Dalam beberapa konteks, ini bisa merujuk pada seseorang yang memiliki reputasi untuk menyebabkan gangguan.

azan

Eng N \ call for pary;

MSA

B b

This preview showcases a developing web dictionary, featuring a partial selection of data. Please note that transcriptions and entries are still being refined for consistency.

baadin (Ar بعدين /baʕˈdiːn/) *adv*
Eng later- *Ind* kemudian \ nanti;
VAR

ba'alawi (Ar باعلوي /baːʕaˈlawi/) *n*
Eng Term of address; - -*Eng* Refers to the descendants of Ali ibn Abi Talib, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, specifically used to describe the followers or descendants of the Alawite tariqa. - - *Ind* Merujuk pada keturunan Ali ibn Abi Talib, sepupu dan menantu Nabi Muhammad, khususnya digunakan untuk menggambarkan pengikut atau keturunan dari tarekat Alawi.
Arab Jamaah

baba *n*
Eng dad- *Ind* bapak;
Arab Jamaah

ba'da {*unspec. var. of* **ba'du**} after

ba'du (Ar بعد /baʕd/) *prep*
Eng after; - -*Eng* Used to indicate the time following something or a sequence of events. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk menunjukkan waktu yang mengikuti sesuatu atau urutan kejadian.
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **ba'da**

bagiet (Ar بغيت /baːˈgeɪt/) *v*
Eng to want- *Ind* ingin; - -*Eng* Used informally to express a desire or wish to do something. - - *Ind* Digunakan secara informal untuk mengekspresikan keinginan atau harapan untuk melakukan sesuatu.

bah
Eng ter of address \ dad;
Arab Jamaah

bahlul (Ar بهلول /baḥˈluːl/) *adj*
Eng buffoonish- *Ind* bodoh; - -*Eng* Refers to someone who is perceived as foolish, silly, or lacking in common sense. It became very popular in Indonesia thanks to a Jamaah stand-up comedian who frequently uses this word in his performances. - - *Ind* Merujuk pada seseorang yang dianggap bodoh, konyol, atau kurang akal sehat. Sangat populer di Indonesia berkat seorang komedian stand-up dari Jamaah, yang sering menggunakan kata ini dalam pertunjukannya.
Arab Jamaah

baid (Ar بعيد /baˈʕiːd/) *adj*
Eng far- *Ind* jauh;

bait { **bet**}

bakhil (Ar بخيل /baˈxiːl/) *adj*
Eng stingy- *Ind* pelit;
Arab Jamaah

balasy (Ar بلاش /bæˈlæʃ/) *n*
Eng free- *Ind* gratis;
Arab Jamaah

banajir *n*
Eng banjar; - -*Eng* This word refers to the Banjar people. It originates from the Indonesian word "orang Banjar" (Banjar people), which is then transformed into its plural form using Arabic structure. - - *Ind* Kata ini merujuk pada orang-orang Banjar. Berasal dari kosa kata Indonesia yaitu (orang) Banjar yang kemudian dijadikan bentuk jamak dengan struktur Bahasa Arab

baode {*unspec. var. of* **ba'ude**}

bas (Ar بس /bæs/) *interj*
Eng just- *Ind* hanya; - -*Eng* "Only" or "just." In some contexts, it is used to mean "enough" or "stop." It can also mean "simply" or "merely." - - *Ind* "Hanya" atau "cuma." Dalam beberapa konteks, digunakan untuk berarti "cukup" atau "berhenti." Bisa juga berarti "sederhana" atau "sekadar."
VAR

ba'ude (Ar با عقدة /baʕ ˈʕuqˈda/) *n*
Eng person of Chinese origins- *Ind* orang keturunan Tionghoa; - -*Eng* (Baʿ ʿUghdah) refers to people of Chinese origin. It uses the term Baʿ (sons of or clan) + ʿUghdah (knot), referring to the traditional Chinese-style braid. - - *Ind* (Baʿ ʿUghdah) merujuk pada orang-orang keturunan Tionghoa. Menggunakan istilah Baʿ (putra atau klan) + ʿUghdah (simpul), yang mengacu pada gaya kepang tradisional Tionghoa.
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **baode**; **baudeh**; **baugde**

baudeh {*unspec. var. of* **ba'ude**}

baugde {*unspec. var. of* **ba'ude**}

bauzir
Eng N \ family name;
Arab Jamaah

bayaksi *n*
Eng becak;

beity (Ar بيتي /ˈbajti:/) *n*
Eng my house- *Ind* rumah saya; - -*Eng* Derived from بيت (bayt), meaning "house," with the possessive suffix -i indicating "my." - - *Ind* Berasal dari bayt, yang berarti "rumah," dengan akhiran posesif -i yang menunjukkan "milik saya."

bet (Ar بيت /bajt/) *n*
Eng home- *Ind* rumah;
Arab Jamaah MSA **bait**

bi-
pfx *Eng* Prep-;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **bisurah**) *Arab Jamaah*

biher (Ar بخير /biˈxe:r/)
Eng to be fine, okay- *Ind* sehat, baik-baik saja;
unspec. var. **bikher**; **her**; **kher**

bikher {*unspec. var. of* **biher**}

bint (Ar بنت /bint/) *n*
Eng daughter, gril- *Ind* anak perempuan, gadis;
Arab Jamaah

binty (Ar بنتي /ˈbɪnti/) *n*
Eng (my) daughter- *Ind* anak perempuan (saya); - -*Eng* Derived from بنت (bint), meaning "daughter," with the arabic possessive suffix -i indicating "my." However, note that with all inalienable possesstion derived from arabic, often the clitic possessive pronoun is lexicalized. Which means "binty" could also mean just "daughter". However, in this form it does not mean girl. - - *Ind* Berasal dari بنت (bint), yang berarti "putri," dengan akhiran posesif Arab -i yang menunjukkan "milik saya." Namun, perlu dicatat bahwa dalam semua bentuk kepemilikan yang tidak terpisahkan yang berasal dari bahasa Arab, sering kali pronomina klitik posesif ini menjadi leksikalisasi. Artinya, "binty" juga bisa berarti hanya "putri." Namun, dalam bentuk ini, kata tersebut tidak berarti "gadis."

bisurah (Ar بسرعة /biˈsurʕah/) *adv*
Eng quickly- *Ind* secara cepat; - -*Eng* Composed of the preposition بـ (bi) meaning "with" or "in" and the noun سرعة (sur'ah) meaning "speed." - - *Ind* The Indonesian translation of "Composed of the preposition بـ (bi) meaning 'with' or 'in' and the noun سرعة (sur'ah) meaning 'speed.'" is: "Tersusun dari preposisi بـ (bi) yang berarti 'dengan' atau 'di' dan kata benda سرعة (sur'ah) yang berarti 'kecepatan.
- **bi-** *pfx* Prep-
- **sur'ah** quickly

bukroh (Ar بكرة /ˈbukra/) *n*
Eng tomorrow- *Ind* besok;

This preview showcases a developing web dictionary, featuring a partial selection of data. Please note that transcriptions and entries are still being refined for consistency.

D d

dabab (Ar دباب /daˈbaːb/) *n*
Eng motorcycle- *Ind* sepeda motor;

dakhil (Ar داخل /ˈdaːxil/)
Eng inside- *Ind* di dalam; - -*Eng* Often used with the indonesian preposition "di" in "di dakhil" - - *Ind* Sering digunakan dengan preposisi Bahasa Indonesia "di"'menjadi "di dakhil"

dawa' (Ar دواء /daˈwaːʔ/) *n*
Eng medicine- *Ind* obat;
Arab Jamaah

dhoif (Ar ضعيف /dˤaˈʕiːf/) *adj*
Eng weak- *Ind* lemah;
MSA

dokhul (Ar دخول /duˈxuːl/) *v*
Eng enter- *Ind* masuk;

domna *n*
Eng domino- *Ind* domino;

duhan (Ar دخان /duˈxaːn/) *n*
Eng sigarets, to smoke- *Ind* rokok, merokok;

E e

ente {*dial. var. of* **anta**, **anta**} *pro* 2P.SG

esh (ايش /ʔeːʃ/)
Eng what- *Ind* apa;
VAR

F f

faddal (Ar تفضل ,اتفضل ,فضل /taˈfaḍḍal/, /itˈfaḍḍal/)
Eng help yourself- *Ind* silakan;

fadi (Ar فاضي /ˈfaːdˤi/) *adj*
Eng useless- *Ind* tidak ada guna; - -*Eng* Often "preceded by the preposition "'ala" - - *Ind* Sering didahului oleh preposisi "'ala"
Arab Jamaah

faedah (Ar فائدة /ˈfaːʔida/) *n*
Eng profit- *Ind* keuntungan;
Arab Jamaah

fagat {*dial. var. of* **faqat**}

fager (Ar فقير /faˈqiːr/) *adj*
Eng poor- *Ind* miskin;
VAR, Arab Jamaah

faqat (فقط /faˈqaṭ/) *n*
Eng just, that's it- *Ind* itu saja;
MSA dial. var. **fagat**

faranji (Ar فرنجي /faˈran.d͡ʒi/) *n*
Eng foreigner- *Ind* orang asing;
Arab Jamaah

farhan (Ar فرحان /farˈħaːn/) *adj*
Eng happy, joyful- *Ind* bahagia, senang;
Arab Jamaah

fezak (Ar فزع /ˈfazʕah/)
Eng sudden fear- *Ind* kaget, rasa takut yang tiba-tiba;
unspec. var. **fiza'**

fi (Ar في /fiː/)
existmrkr *Eng* there is- *Ind* ada;
prep *Eng* in, at, on- *Ind* di, dalam; - -*Eng* Always negated with the NEG "ma" - - *Ind* Selalu dinegasikan dengan NEG "ma"
Arab Jamaah

fien (Ar فين /feːn/)
Eng where? whete to?- *Ind* di mana?, ke mana? ; - -*Eng* Frequently employed as a polite expression when encountering someone - - *Ind* Sering digunakan sebagai ungkapan sopan saat bertemu seseorang
Arab Jamaah, VAR

fikroh (Ar فكرة /ˈfikrah/)
Eng overwhelmed, stressed out- *Ind* kepikiran, stress, pusing;
Arab Jamaah

finjan (Ar فنجان /finˈdʒaːn/) *n*
Eng cup- *Ind* cangkir;
MSA

firoq (Ar فراق /fiˈraːq/) *v*
Eng divorce- *Ind* cerai;
Arab Jamaah

fiza' {*unspec. var. of* **fezak**} V \ be afraid

fudul (Ar فضول /fuˈdˤuːl/) *adj*
Eng curious, inquisitiveness- *Ind* keingintahuan, penasaran; - -*Eng* Often used disapprovingly to characterize someone who is excessively inquisitive or meddlesome in the affairs of others. - - *Ind* Sering digunakan secara tidak setuju untuk menggambarkan seseorang yang terlalu ingin tahu atau ikut campur urusan orang lain

fulus (Ar فلوس /ˈfluːs/) *n*
Eng money, cash- *Ind* uang, duit;
Arab Jamaah, VAR

fushah (Ar فصحى /ˈfusˤħaː/) *n*
Eng Classical Arabic- *Ind* Bahasa al-Qur'an;
MSA

G g

gabel (Ar قبل /ˈgabl/) *adv*
Eng before- *Ind* sebelum;
Arab Jamaah, VAR

gabilah (Ar قبيلة /gɑˈbiːlah/) *n*
Eng tribe, clan- *Ind* suku, marga; - -*Eng* Referring to the traditional kinship groups of the Hadhramaut - - *Ind* Merujuk pada kelompok kekerabatan tradisional di wilayah Hadhramaut *Assegaf, Alkatiri, Alhabsyi*
Arab Jamaah

gahab (Ar قحاب /gɑˈħaːb/) *n*
Eng prositute- *Ind* pelacur, pekerja seks komersial; - -*Eng* A derogatory term used to refer to someone who sells sexual services. - - *Ind* Istilah yang merendahkan yang digunakan untuk merujuk pada seseorang yang menjual jasa seksual.

gahwa (Ar قهوة /ˈgahwa/)

Eng coffee- *Ind* kopi; - -*Eng* Serving "gahwa" is an essential part of Arab hospitality, symbolizing generosity and welcome. The preparation and serving of gahwa often involve traditional rituals and etiquette. - - *Ind* Menyajikan "gahwa" adalah bagian penting dari keramahan Arab, melambangkan kemurahan hati dan sambutan. Persiapan dan penyajian gahwa sering kali melibatkan ritual dan etiket tradisional. *ghawah walla syai?* do you want coffe or tea?
Arab Jamaah, VAR

galil (Ar قليل /qɑˈliːl/) *adj*
Eng little- *Ind* sedikit;
Arab Jamaah, VAR

galil adab (Ar قليل الأدب /qɑˈliːl alˈʔadab/) *adj*
Eng rude- *Ind* tidak sopan, kurang ajar;
Arab Jamaah

garbuk (Ar غربوع /ɣarˈbuːʕ/) *adj*
Eng arrogant- *Ind* sombongm, angkuh, Congkak;
Arab Jamaah

garib (Ar قريب /qɑˈriːb/) *adj*
Eng close- *Ind* dekat;
Arab Jamaah, VAR

gas'ah (Ar قشعة /ˈqɑʃʕah/) *adj*
Eng good-looking- *Ind* cakep, ganteng; - -*Eng* Frequently employed as a term of endearment when addressing children, often used by adults in a playful or affectionate manner. - - *Ind* Sering digunakan sebagai istilah sayang saat memanggil anak-anak, seringkali digunakan oleh orang dewasa dengan cara yang lucu atau penuh kasih sayang.
Arab Jamaah, VAR

gatek (Ar قطع /ˈqɑtˤɑʕɑ/) *adj*
Eng strong- *Ind* kuat, sharp; - -*Eng* Used to describe the quality, strength, or flavor of something. It can also be used to describe the taste of coffee. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk menggambarkan kualitas, kekuatan, atau rasa dari sesuatu. Ini juga dapat digunakan untuk menggambarkan rasa kopi.
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **getak**; **gt'**

gawwy (Ar قوي /ˈqɑwwiː/) *adj*
Eng strong- *Ind* kuat;
VRA, Arab Jamaah

getak {*unspec. var. of* **gatek**}

gharam *adj*
Eng amazing- *Ind* hebat; - -*Eng* Something truly amazing or great - - *Ind* sesuatu yang sangat menakjubkan atau hebat.

gholi (Ar غالي /ˈɣɑːliː/) *adj*
Eng expensive- *Ind* mahal;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **holi**

ghonam (Ar غنم /ɣɑˈnɑm/) *n*
Eng sheep, goat- *Ind* Kambing, domba;
Arab Jamaah, MSA

gishoh {*unspec. var. of* **gissoh**}

gissah {*unspec. var. of* **gissoh**}

gissoh (Ar قصة /ˈqɪsˤsˤɑ/) *n*
Eng story, problem- *Ind* cerita, masalah;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **gishoh**; **gissah**

gitil (Ar قتل /ˈqatal/) *v*
Eng to kill- *Ind* membunuh;

godi (Ar قاضي /ˈqɑːdˤiː/) *n*
Eng leader- *Ind* kapten; - -*Eng* Historically, and particularly during the colonial period in Indonesia, this term referred to a community leader or representative appointed by the colonial authorities to oversee and manage affairs within Arab communities. This individual, often known as the "Kapten Arab" (Arab Captain), acted as an intermediary between the Arab community and the colonial administration. - - *Ind* Secara historis, dan khususnya selama masa kolonial di Indonesia, istilah ini merujuk pada seorang pemimpin atau perwakilan komunitas yang ditunjuk oleh otoritas kolonial untuk mengawasi dan mengelola urusan dalam komunitas Arab. Individu ini, yang sering dikenal sebagai "Kapten Arab", bertindak sebagai perantara antara komunitas Arab dan pemerintahan kolonial.
Arab Jamaah

gt' {*unspec. var. of* **gatek**} V \ cut

gum (Ar قم /qʊm/) *v*
Eng stand up! let's go!- *Ind* Berdirilah, ayolah;
Arab Jamaah, VAR

H h

habaib term of address \ honorific.PL

habib (Ar حبيب /ħaˈbiːb/) *n*
Eng lit. beloved, ba'alawi preacher- *Ind* h. kekasih, pendakwah Ba'alawi;
Arab Jamaah [*pl.* **habaib**]

habibi
Eng term of address;
Arab Jamaah

hadarim *adj* hadrami.PL

hadharim {*unspec. var. of* **hadarim**}

hadhorim {*unspec. var. of* **hadarim**}

hadramiyyin {*unspec. var. of* **hadarim**}

hadramut *n*
Eng hadramaut- *Ind* hadramaut;
Arab Jamaah, MSA

hadramy *adj*
Eng person from Hadramaut- *Ind* orang Hadramaut;
Arab Jamaah, MSA [*pl.* **hadarim**]

hadza (Ar هذا /ˈhaːðaː/) *dem*
Eng this- *Ind* ini;
Arab Jamaah, MSA, VAR

hagg (Ar حق /ħɑq/) *verbprt*
Eng POSS- *Ind* kata punya; - -*Eng* This particle functions as a possessive marker, indicating ownership or belonging. It invariably appears with a bound pronominal clitic, which specifies the possessor. In the observed data, this particle is exclusively attested with first person singular and plural clitics, second person singular clitic, and third person singular clitic. - - *Ind* Partikel ini berfungsi sebagai penanda kepemilikan, menunjukkan hak milik atau kepemilikan. Ia selalu muncul dengan klitik pronominal terikat, yang menentukan pemiliknya. Dalam data yang diamati, partikel ini secara eksklusif dibuktikan dengan klitik orang pertama tunggal dan jamak, klitik orang kedua tunggal, dan klitik orang ketiga tunggal.
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **haqq**

haggar (Ar خقر /xqr/) *v*
Eng having sex- *Ind* hubungan seksual;
Arab Jamaah

haj
Eng Term of address \;
MSA

halas {*unspec. var. of* **khalas**}

halati
Eng term of adress \ mother's side aunt;
Arab Jamaah dial. var. **hale**, *fr. var.* **hallati**, *BTW* **hale**

hale {*dial. var. of* **halati**, **halati**}

hali (Ar حلي /ˈħili:/) *adj*
Eng beautiful- *Ind* cantik;
Arab Jamaah

hallati {*fr. var. of* **halati**}

halli {*unspec. var. of* **halo**} Part \ let

halo (Ar خل /ˈχal:i/) *v*
Eng to let- *Ind* biarkan; - -*Eng* This form is used to give a command or make a request specifically to a third person singular (he/him), essentially meaning "let him" or "allow him to." It combines the imperative "khalli" (let) with the clitic "-o" which attaches to the verb and refers to the third person masculine singular pronoun. - - *Ind* Bentuk ini digunakan untuk memberikan perintah atau membuat permintaan khusus kepada orang ketiga tunggal (dia/laki-laki), yang pada dasarnya berarti "biarkan dia" atau "izinkan dia untuk". Ini menggabungkan bentuk imperatif "khalli" (biarkan) dengan klitik "-o" yang melekat pada kata kerja dan merujuk pada kata ganti orang ketiga tunggal.
unspec. var. **halli**

hamar {*unspec. var. of* **khamr**} *n* liquor

haqq {*unspec. var. of* **hagg**}

harara
Eng N \ stress (not sure);
Arab Jamaah

harat (Ar خرط /χɑrˤtˤ/) *interj*
Eng bullshit- *Ind* omong kosong;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **harrad**; **kharrat**

harim (Ar) *n*
Eng woman- *Ind* perempuan,; - -*Eng* refers to a wife or wives. It shares the same root as "hurmah," which is "harama," meaning "forbidden" or "sacred." This is because a wife is someone who is forbidden to be touched or seen except by her mahram, which is her husband. - - *Ind* Merujuk pada istri atau para orang perempuan. Akar katanya sama dengan "hurmah" yaitu "harama" yang artinya "terlarang". Ini karena istri adalah seseorang yang haram disentuh atau dilihat kecuali oleh mahramnya, yaitu suaminya.
Eng wife- *Ind* istri;
Arab Jamaah

harman (Ar خرمان /xɑrˈma:n/)
v *Eng* want- *Ind* pingin;
adj *Eng* to be in love- *Ind* suka, senang;
Arab Jamaah

harrad {*unspec. var. of* **harat**}

hashal (Ar حصل /ˈħasˤɑl/) *v*
Eng to profit, to get- *Ind* mendapat;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **hasol**

hasol {*unspec. var. of* **hashal**} obstain

hasud (Ar حسود /ˈħasud/)
Eng envious- *Ind* iri hati, dengki; - -*Eng* This word is also present in the KBBI as hasut - - *Ind* Kata ini merupakan Bahasa Indonesian dalam bentuk hasut

hatta
Eng Part \ conc \ even though;
Eng Part \ finale \ up to;
Eng CONJ \ also;
Arab Jamaah; Arab Jamaah; Arab Jamaah

hattaghad (Ar تغدى /taˈɣadaː/) *v*
Eng to have a meal, to eat- *Ind* makan;
Arab Jamaah

hawian (Ar هوى /haˈwaː/) *n*
Eng dating- *Ind* pacaran; - -*Eng* In Arabic, hawa (هوى) denotes "love" or "passion," often carrying the sense of a profound, intense, and sometimes overwhelming affection or longing. This term frequently appears in classical and poetic language to express romantic or unrequited love. When adapted into Indonesian with the suffix -an as hawa-an, it takes on the meaning of "dating," capturing the idea of a romantic relationship or courtship. - - *Ind* Dalam bahasa Arab, hawa (هوى) berarti "cinta" atau "hasrat," yang sering mengandung makna kasih sayang yang mendalam, intens, dan kadang tak terkendali. Istilah ini sering digunakan dalam bahasa klasik dan puisi untuk menggambarkan cinta romantis atau cinta tak berbalas. Dalam bahasa Indonesia, ketika diberi akhiran -an menjadi hawa-an, istilah ini berarti "berpacaran," menunjukkan konsep hubungan romantis atau pacaran.

hayal (Ar خيال / xaˈjaː.l /) *n*
Eng imagination- *Ind* khayal;

haza *v*
Eng V \ kidding- *Ind* bercanda;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **heza**

hena (Ar هنا /ˈne.ha/) *dem*
Eng here- *Ind* sini;
VRA, Arab Jamaah

henak (Ar هناك /heˈnaːk/) *dem*
Eng there- *Ind* sana;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **hunak**

her {*unspec. var. of* **biher**} ADJ \ alright \ hær

heza {*unspec. var. of* **haza**} joking

holi {*unspec. var. of* **gholi**}

hormah
Eng N \ woman;
Arab Jamaah

hub (Ar حب /hʊb/) *n*
Eng vagina- *Ind* vagina;

hukumah (Ar حكومة /huˈkuˈmaː/) *n*
Eng government- *Ind* pemerintah;

hunak {*unspec. var. of* **henak**}

huwa *pers*
Eng he- *Ind* dia; - -*Eng* 3P.SG - - *Ind* 3P.SG
MSA

This preview showcases a developing web dictionary, featuring a partial selection of data. Please note that transcriptions and entries are still being refined for consistency.

I i

id (Ar عيد /ʕiːd/) *n*
Eng festivity- *Ind* hari raya; - -*Eng* It is commonly used to refer to religious holidays, especially 'Id al-Fitr (عيد الفطر) and 'Id al-Adha (عيد الأضحى), two major Islamic celebrations. The term can also be used more generally for any festive occasion or public holiday. - - *Ind* Istilah ini sering digunakan untuk merujuk pada hari raya agama, khususnya Idul Fitri (عيد الفطر) dan Idul Adha (عيد الأضحى), dua perayaan besar dalam Islam. Kata ini juga dapat digunakan secara umum untuk menyebut perayaan atau hari libur apa pun.
MSA

ikhwan (Ar إخوان /ʔixˈwaːn/)
Eng brother.PL- *Ind* saudara.PL;
MSA

illa (Ar إلا /ʔilˈlaː/) *prt*
Eng Part \ only; - -*Eng* The Jamaah use it just the way it is used in Arabic. illa (إلا) functions as an exception particle, commonly meaning "except," "but," or "unless." It is used to exclude something from a statement or to indicate a restriction. Illa is often paired with lā (لا) to create the phrase "lā illā," meaning "there is no... except," commonly seen in expressions of exclusivity. - - *Ind* Jamaah menggunakan illa (إلا) persis seperti penggunaannya dalam bahasa Arab. Illa berfungsi sebagai partikel pengecualian, yang biasanya berarti "kecuali," "tetapi," atau "kecuali jika." Partikel ini digunakan untuk mengecualikan sesuatu dari pernyataan atau untuk menunjukkan batasan. Illa sering dipasangkan dengan lā (لا) membentuk frasa lā illā, yang berarti "tidak ada... kecuali," sering terlihat dalam ungkapan yang menunjukkan eksklusivitas.
Arab Jamaah

imsyi {*unspec. var. of* **yamsyi**}

innalillah (Ar ... إنا /ʔinˈnaː liːlˈlaːh/) *interj*
Eng verily, to Allah we belong.- *Ind* sesungguhnya, kita milik Allah; - -*Eng* (Exclamation) It is often used as part of the full phrase "inna lillahi wa inna ilayhi raji'un" (إنا ... وإنا إليه راجعون), which translates to "Indeed, we belong to Allah, and indeed, to Him we shall return." This phrase is commonly used in times of loss, grief, or calamity as a reminder of mortality and submission to God's will. - - *Ind* (Seruan) Ini sering digunakan sebagai bagian dari frasa lengkap "inna lillahi wa inna ilayhi raji'un" (إنا ... وإنا إليه راجعون), yang berarti "Sesungguhnya, kita milik Allah, dan sesungguhnya, kepada-Nya kita akan kembali." Frasa ini umum digunakan pada saat kehilangan, duka, atau musibah sebagai pengingat akan kefanaan hidup dan kepasrahan kepada kehendak Allah.
MSA, VAR, Arab Jamaah

insyaAllah (Ar إن شاء الله /inˈʃaːʔaːłˈlaːh/) *interj*
Eng God willing- *Ind* jika Allah menghendaki; - -*Eng* In Arabic, insyaAllah (إن شاء الله) means "God willing" or "if Allah wills." This expression is used by Muslims to express hope or intent while acknowledging that ultimately, all things happen by God's will. It reflects the idea of placing trust in God's plan and is often said when discussing future events or intentions. - - *Ind* Dalam bahasa Arab, insyaAllah (إن شاء الله) berarti "Jika Allah menghendaki" Ungkapan ini digunakan oleh umat Muslim untuk menyatakan harapan atau niat, sambil mengakui bahwa pada akhirnya semua terjadi atas kehendak Allah. Ini mencerminkan sikap tawakal atau penyerahan diri pada rencana Tuhan dan sering dikatakan saat membahas rencana atau kejadian di masa depan.
MSA

inti *pro*
Eng you- *Ind* kamu; - -*Eng* 2P.SG.F, rarely used - - *Ind* 2P.SG.F, jarang dipakai
VAR

ism (اسم /ʔɪsm/) *n*
Eng name- *Ind* nama; - -*Eng* It is commonly used in the phrase "ismak min?" (اسمك من؟), which means "What is your name?" in informal contexts when asking someone's name. This phrase combines ism with a possessive suffix to address the person directly. - - *Ind* Kata ini sering digunakan dalam frasa "ismak min?" (اسمك من؟), yang berarti "Siapa namamu?" dalam konteks informal saat menanyakan nama seseorang. Frasa ini menggabungkan ism dengan akhiran posesif untuk langsung menanyakan nama lawan bicara.
MSA, Arab Jamaah

istifsar *n*
Eng inquiry;
MSA

ithnin (اثنين /ʔiθˈnaːjn/) *num*
Eng two- *Ind* dua;

VAR

itwaffa (Ar اتوفى /itˈwaf.fa/) *v*
Eng die.3P.SG.F- *Ind* wafat.3P.SG.F;
MSA

iyah
Eng deit;
MSA

iyal (Ar عيال /ʔiˈjaːl/) *n*
Eng wife- *Ind* istri; - -*Eng* In Arabic, iyal (عيال) means "family" or "dependents,". While here it is used colloquially to mean "wife." - - *Ind* Dalam bahasa Arab, iyal (عيال) berarti "keluarga" atau "tanggungan." Di sini, kata ini digunakan secara kolokial untuk merujuk pada "istri."

J j

ja' (Ar جاء /d͡ʒaʔ/)
Eng come- *Ind* datang;
MSA

jabal (جبل /ˈd͡ʒa.bal/) *n*
Eng mountain- *Ind* gunung; - -*Eng* This term is usually used to refer to someone perceived as being from the countryside. - - *Ind* Biasanya, kata ini digunakan untuk merujuk pada seseorang yang dianggap berasal dari pedesaan .

jabal qat (Ar جبل قات /ˈd͡ʒa.bal ˈqaːt/) *n*
Eng far away- *Ind* jauh sekali; - -*Eng* A distant place is generally referred to as "jabal gat." The word jabal originates from Arabic, meaning "mountain." In the cultural context of Hadramawt, jabal gat not only signifies a far-off location but also refers to a type of betel-like leaf that is commonly consumed by the Hadramawt people. Another similar term is jabal gubis. - - *Ind* Tempat yang jauh biasanya disebut di jabal gat. Kata jabal sendiri berasal dari bahasa Arab yang berarti "gunung." Dalam konteks budaya Hadramawt, istilah jabal gat tidak hanya merujuk pada tempat yang jauh, tetapi juga pada daun sejenis sirih yang sering dikonsumsi masyarakat Hadramawt. Selain jabal gat, ada istilah lain yaitu jabal gubis.

jadd {*unspec. var. of* **njid**} N \ granfather

jadid (Ar جديد /d͡ʒaˈdiːd/) *adj*
Eng new- *Ind* baru;

jamaah
Eng N \ arab;
Eng ADJ \ arabic;
Eng N \ arab indonesia;
Eng N \ the jamaah group;
Arab Jamaah; Arab Jamaah; Arab Jamaah; Arab Jamaah

jami'
Eng N \ great mosque;
MSA

jamil (Ar جميل /d͡ʒaˈmiːl/)
Eng beautiful- *Ind* cantik, indah;

jeddah
Eng Jeddah- *Ind* jeddah;
MSA

jelis (Ar اجلس /ˈʔid͡ʒ.lis/) *v*
Eng to sit- *Ind* duduk;
Arab Jamaah

jid {*unspec. var. of* **njid**} grandfather

Jiddah
Eng N \ Jeddah;
MSA

jiran (Ar جيران /d͡ʒiˈraːn/) *n*
Eng neighbor- *Ind* tetangga;
MSA, Arab Jamaah

jum'at
Eng N \ friday;
MSA

K k

-k
sfx *Eng* 2P.POSS- *Ind* 2P.POSS;
Arab Jamaah

ka'al (Ar كعل /kaʕal/) *n*
Eng penis, dick- *Ind* penis, kontol;

kabir (Ar كبير /kaˈbiːr/) *adj*
Eng big- *Ind* besar;

kaifa {*unspec. var. of* **kif**} *q* how

kalam fadi (Ar كلام فاضي /kaˈlaːm faːdi/)
Eng nonsense- *Ind* omong kosong, tidak ada makna; - -*Eng* kalam fadi (كلام فاضي) means "empty talk" or "nonsense." This phrase is often used to describe speech or conversation that lacks substance, is unimportant, or is considered a waste of time. It's a common expression in Arabic varieties to dismiss unproductive or meaningless discussions. - - *Ind* Frasa ini sering digunakan untuk menggambarkan pembicaraan yang tidak memiliki isi, tidak penting, atau dianggap membuang waktu. Ini adalah ungkapan umum dalam dialek Arab untuk menolak atau mengabaikan percakapan yang tidak produktif atau tidak berarti.

kam (Ar كم /kam/) *q*
Eng how much?- *Ind* berapa?; - -*Eng* Used to ask about quantity or amount and can refer to both countable and uncountable items. This question word is commonly used in everyday conversation to inquire about prices, amounts, or quantities. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk menanyakan jumlah atau kuantitas dan dapat merujuk pada benda yang dapat dihitung maupun tidak dapat dihitung. Kata tanya ini umum digunakan dalam percakapan sehari-hari untuk menanyakan harga, jumlah, atau kuantitas.
Arab Jamaah

kathir (Ar كثير /kaˈθiːr/) *adj*
Eng lots of- *Ind* banyal, melimpah;

kathir kalam (Ar كثير كلام /kaˈθiːr ˈkaˈlaːm/)
Eng talkative, blabbermouth- *Ind* banyak omong, cerewek;

kazab (Ar كذاب /kaˈzaːb/)
Eng lier- *Ind* pembohong;

keke (Ar كاكيه kaˈkiːja/) *interj*
- -*Eng* This term is often used to ask about someone's well-being or inquire about a situation. It is well-known among the Hadrami diaspora and is primarily used within the community in Solo. "keke ente?" - - *Ind* kakiyah (كاكيه) adalah ungkapan umum yang berarti "bagaimana" atau "bagaimana ini?" Kata ini sering digunakan untuk menanyakan kabar seseorang atau menanyakan keadaan. Ungkapan ini dikenal di kalangan diaspora Hadrami, termasuk komunitas di Solo, Indonesia. "kekete ente?"
Arab Jamaah

khabar
Eng ADJ \ patient (sabar ?);
Arab Jamaah

khalas (Ar خلاص /xaˈlas/) *interj*

Eng that's it!- *Ind* sudah; - -*Eng* Exclamation to indicate that something is complete or that no more is needed. It's commonly used in everyday conversation to signify the end of an action or to express that something is sufficient or settled. - - *Ind* Seruan untuk menunjukkan bahwa sesuatu telah selesai atau tidak perlu ditambah lagi. Ini sering digunakan dalam percakapan sehari-hari untuk menyatakan akhir suatu tindakan atau menandakan bahwa sesuatu sudah cukup atau sudah ditetapkan.
Arab Jamaah, VAR unspec. var. **halas**

khamr (Ar خمر /xamr/)
Eng wine- *Ind* minuman keras;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **hamar**

khamsin
Arab Jamaah

kharrat {*unspec. var. of* **harat**}

khas *adj*
Eng specific- *Ind* khusus, khas;
MSA,, Arab Jamaah

kher {*unspec. var. of* **her**, **biher**}

khod (Ar خذ /xoːd/) *v*
Eng take- *Ind* ambil;
VAR

khodam (Ar خادم /ˈxa.diːm/) *n*
Eng servant- *Ind* pebantu;
Arab Jamaah

khomsawasittin
Eng NUM \ 65;
VAR

khoro
Eng N \ shit (?);
Arab Jamaah

kif
Eng Q \ how;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **kaifa**

kitab (Ar كتاب /kiˈtaːb/)
n *Eng* book- *Ind* buku;
Eng N \ bible;
MSA; IND

kul (Ar كل /kul/) *v*
Eng eat- *Ind* makan;
Arab Jamaah

kul-kulan *n*
Eng food- *Ind* makanan; - -*Eng* In this term the root word kul (meaning "eat") undergoes reduplication and is combined with the nominalizing suffix -an. This construction is used to refer to an assortment of various kinds of food or to the act of sampling or eating a range of different items. It implies a casual or exploratory eating experience, often involving trying a mix of foods. - - *Ind* kata dasar kul (yang berarti "makan") mengalami reduplikasi dan ditambahkan akhiran nominalisasi -an. Konstruksi ini digunakan untuk merujuk pada kumpulan atau variasi berbagai jenis makanan atau pada tindakan mencicipi atau makan beragam hidangan. Ini mengandung makna pengalaman makan yang santai atau mencoba berbagai makanan.

kull (Ar كل /kull/) *adj*
Eng every, all- *Ind* semua, setiap;
Arab Jamaah

This preview showcases a developing web dictionary, featuring a partial selection of data. Please note that transcriptions and entries are still being refined for consistency.

kullu (Ar كله /ˈkul.luh/) *n*
Eng evrything- *Ind* semuanya ;
Arab Jamaah

L l

l-
pfx *Eng* part;
VAR

la
Eng NEG- *Ind* NEG;
Arab Jamaah

la'ab (Ar لعب /laʕab/) *v*
Eng to play- *Ind* main;
Arab Jamaah

laham (Ar لحم /laˈħam/) *n*
Eng meat- *Ind* daging; - -*Eng* It is used to refer to the flesh of animals, especially when prepared as food. - - *Ind* Kata ini digunakan untuk merujuk pada daging hewan, terutama saat disiapkan sebagai makanan.

lakin *coordconn*
Eng but- *Ind* tapi, tetapi;
MSA, VAR

lakra'ah (Ar لك راعة /lak raːʕa/)
Eng to curse somebody- *Ind* serapah; - -*Eng* Used as an insult or curse toward someone, as in the expression: "ente lakra'ah." The term "lakra'ah" originates from the everyday Hadrami dialect and not from fusḥa (standard or formal Arabic). - - *Ind* Digunakan sebagai umpatan atau sumpah serapah terhadap seseorang, seperti dalam ungkapan: "ente lakra'ah." Kata lakra'ah ini berasal dari bahasa sehari-hari Hadrami dan bukan dari bahasa Arab fusḥa (bahasa Arab standar atau formal).

lazim (Ar لازم /laː.zim/) *preverb*
Eng must- *Ind* harus, wajib; - -*Eng* Used to indicate something obligatory or necessary. It functions as a modal that roughly means "should" in English. It's important to note that this word differs from "lazim" in Standard Indonesian, which means "already common," "already a habit," or "already usual." In Jamaah usage, "lāzim" more closely aligns with the meanings of "obligatory" or "required," indicating a necessity or need, rather than just a habit or something common. - - *Ind* Kata ini digunakan untuk menunjukkan sesuatu yang wajib atau bersifat keharusan. Selain itu, kata ini juga berfungsi sebagai modal yang kira-kira bermakna "harus" dalam Bahasa Indonesia. Perlu dicatat bahwa kata ini berbeda dari kata "lazim" dalam Bahasa Indonesia, yang berarti "sudah biasa," "sudah menjadi kebiasaan," atau "sudah umum." Dalam pengunaan orang Jamaah, "lāzim" lebih mendekati makna "wajib" atau "diperlukan," menunjukkan keharusan atau kebutuhan, bukan sekadar kebiasaan atau hal yang lazim.
VRA, Jamaah

lesh (Ar ليش /leʃ/) *q*
Eng why?- *Ind* kenapa?;
VAR, Arab Jamaah

li-
Eng Prep (POSS);
Eng Prep (finale);
Arab Jamaah; Arab Jamaah

lillah (Ar Ji /li.lːah/) *interj*
Eng for/to Gog- *Ind* kepada Allah; - -*Eng* It is used to express dedication or submission to God and often appears in religious expressions of gratitude, humility, or surrender. This term comes from two words: li (ل) meaning "for" and Allah which together imply surrendering or returning something to Allah. It can be used in the sense of "Well, what else can we do? We leave it to Allah," as a way to express reliance on divine will. - - *Ind* Kata ini digunakan untuk mengekspresikan dedikasi atau penyerahan diri kepada Allah dan sering muncul dalam ungkapan religius yang menyiratkan rasa syukur, kerendahan hati, atau kepasrahan. Istilah ini berasal dari dua kata: li (ل) yang berarti "untuk" dan Allah, yang bersama-sama mengandung makna menyerahkan atau mengembalikan sesuatu kepada Allah. Ini dapat digunakan dalam pengertian, "Ya sudah, mau apa lagi? Kita serahkan kepada Allah," sebagai cara untuk mengungkapkan ketergantungan pada kehendak Ilahi.

Arab Jamaah, MSA

lillahi (Ar Ji /li.l:a.hi/) *adj*
Eng devoted (good) person, simple- *Ind* orang penuh pengabdian, sederhana; - -*Eng* t is often used to express dedication, submission, or offering to God, particularly in religious or spiritual contexts. The term comes from two parts: li (ل) meaning "for" and Allah (الله), indicating that something is being directed or devoted to God. This phrase is frequently seen in expressions of reliance on or dedication to God - - *Ind* Kata ini sering digunakan untuk mengekspresikan dedikasi, penyerahan diri, atau persembahan kepada Allah, terutama dalam konteks religius atau spiritual. Istilah ini berasal dari dua bagian: li (ل) yang berarti "untuk" dan Allah (الله), menunjukkan bahwa sesuatu diarahkan atau dipersembahkan kepada Allah. Frasa ini sering muncul dalam ungkapan yang menunjukkan ketergantungan atau pengabdian kepada Allah.
Arab Jamaah

lugha (Ar لغة /luɣa/) *n*
Eng anguage- *Ind* bahasa;
MSA, Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **lugho**

lugho {*unspec. var. of* **lugha**}

M m

ma-
pfx ubd stem *Eng* NEG- *Ind* NEG;
Arab Jamaah

ma' (Ar مع /maʕ/) *coordconn*
Eng with- *Ind* dengan;
VAR, MSA, Arab Jamaah

ma'assalama (Ar مع السلامة /maʕ.a s.sa.la:.ma/)
Eng good bye- *Ind* selamat jalan; - -*Eng* It is a polite way to bid someone farewell, literally translating to "with peace." This phrase is commonly used across Arabic-speaking communities and Muslim communities as a respectful and warm way to wish safety and well-being upon someone who is departing. - - *Ind* cara sopan untuk mengucapkan selamat tinggal, yang secara harfiah berarti "dengan damai." Frasa ini umum digunakan di komunitas berbahasa Arab dan komunitas Muslim sebagai ungkapan perpisahan yang hormat dan hangat, dengan harapan keselamatan dan kesejahteraan bagi orang yang pergi.
MSA

ma'ana (Ar معنى /maʕ.na:/)
Eng meaning- *Ind* makna;
Arab Jamaah

mabruk (Ar مبروك /mab.ru:k/) *interj*
Eng congratulations- *Ind* Selamat;

mafi (Ar ما في /ma: fi/) *existmrkr*
Eng there is not- *Ind* tidak ada; - -*Eng* It is a colloquial expression used to indicate the absence of something, much like saying "there isn't" or "there's no" in English. It is often used in the expression "ma-fi syi" (ما في شي), which means "there is nothing" or "there is no problem." This phrase is widely used in everyday conversations. - - *Ind* Ungkapan sehari-hari yang digunakan untuk menunjukkan ketiadaan sesuatu, mirip dengan mengatakan "tidak ada" dalam bahasa Inggris. Ungkapan ini sering digunakan dalam frasa "ma-fi shi" (ما في شي), yang berarti "tidak ada apa-apa" atau "tidak ada masalah." Frasa ini umum digunakan dalam percakapan sehari-hari.
- **mafi muskilah** no problem
- **mafi syi** it does not matter, that's okay

mafi muskilah
Eng no problem- *Ind* tidak ada masalah;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **mafi**)

mafi syi
Eng it does not matter, that's okay- *Ind* tidak apa-apa;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **mafi**, **syi**)

maftuh (Ar مفتوح /maf.tuːħ/) *adj*
Eng open- *Ind* tebuka;
MSA, Arab Jamaah

magbul (Ar مقبول /maq.buːl/)
Eng accepted, acceptable- *Ind* diterima, dapat diterima; - -*Eng* It is used to describe something that has been approved, permitted, or regarded as meeting expectations. In Standard Indonesian, this word also appears in the form "makbul," with meanings listed in the KBBI (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia) online, including "diluluskan" (approved for requests or prayers) and "terkabul" (fulfilled, as in prayers being granted). The word also means "manjur" (effective, as in medicine or charms), and can be used to describe success in achieving a goal. - - *Ind* igunakan untuk menunjukkan sesuatu yang disetujui atau diizinkan. Dalam Bahasa Indonesia baku, kata ini muncul sebagai "makbul," yang menurut KBBI daring berarti: "diluluskan" (tentang permintaan atau doa), "terkabul" (tentang permintaan atau doa yang dipenuhi), "berhasil" atau "tercapai" (tentang maksud atau cita-cita), serta "manjur" (tentang obat atau guna-guna).
Arab Jamaah

maghrum (Ar مغروم /maɣ.ruːm/)
Eng crazy- *Ind* gila; - -*Eng* Used to express that sobody is crazy "he's crazy", or that something is impossible "that's crazy!". note that in Arabic, "maghrūm" is an expression that means "infatuated," "deeply in love," or, in some contexts, "crazy about" someone or something. While not literally meaning "crazy," it conveys an intense passion or obsession, often used to describe someone who is overwhelmingly in love or absorbed by strong feelings. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk mengekspresikan bahwa seseorang "gila," seperti dalam ungkapan "dia gila," atau bahwa sesuatu tidak mungkin, seperti "itu gila!" Perlu dicatat bahwa dalam bahasa Arab, "maghrūm" adalah ungkapan yang berarti "tergila-gila," "jatuh cinta berat," atau, dalam beberapa konteks, "sangat terobsesi" terhadap seseorang atau sesuatu. Meskipun tidak secara harfiah berarti "gila," istilah ini menggambarkan perasaan cinta atau obsesi yang intens, sering kali digunakan untuk seseorang yang sangat jatuh cinta atau sangat terbawa oleh perasaan kuat.
Arab Jamaah

mahyun (Ar مهين mahīn) *adj*
Eng son of a bitch, crazy, mad- *Ind* bajingan, tidak baik, gila; - -*Eng* It is typically used to describe someone perceived as irrational or behaving badly. The term can carry either a negative or playful tone, depending on the context, to suggest that a person's ideas or actions are unrealistic or eccentric. Additionally, it is used as an insult or to curse someone. - - *Ind* Istilah ini biasanya digunakan untuk menggambarkan seseorang yang dianggap tidak rasional atau berperilaku tidak bail. Kata ini bisa memiliki nada negatif atau bercanda, tergantung pada konteksnya, untuk menyiratkan bahwa ide atau tindakan seseorang tidak realistis atau eksentrik. Selain itu, kata ini juga bisa digunakan sebagai hinaan atau kutukan terhadap seseorang.

majlas (Ar مجلاس /maʒ.laːs/) *n*
Eng gathering- *Ind* kumpul ngobrol, nongkrong; - -*Eng* Refers to a gathering, social event, or "sitting," often implying an informal social gathering where people meet for conversation and relaxation. Unlike the formal "majlis" (مجلس), which can refer to councils or formal assemblies, "majlaas" is more casual and may be used for friendly get-togethers or gatherings with family and friends. - - *Ind* Merujuk pada pertemuan, acara sosial, atau "duduk bersama," yang sering kali menunjukkan pertemuan sosial informal di mana orang berkumpul untuk bercakap-cakap dan bersantai. Berbeda dengan "majlis" (مجلس) yang lebih formal, dan sering digunakan untuk dewan atau rapat resmi, "majlaas" lebih santai dan biasa digunakan untuk acara kumpul-kumpul dengan teman atau keluarga.
Arab Jamaah

majnun (Ar مجنون /maʒ.nuːn/) *adj*
Eng crazy- *Ind* gila; - -*Eng* It is often used to describe someone who is perceived as irrational, wild, or mentally unbalanced. Depending on the context, the term can carry either a negative or playful tone, used to imply that someone's thoughts or actions are eccentric, unrealistic, or unpredictable. The term can also be used as a strong insult. - - *Ind* Istilah ini sering digunakan untuk menggambarkan seseorang yang dianggap tidak rasional, liar, atau tidak seimbang secara mental. Tergantung pada konteksnya, istilah ini dapat memiliki nada negatif atau bercanda, digunakan untuk menyiratkan bahwa pikiran atau tindakan seseorang eksentrik, tidak realistis, atau tidak terduga. Istilah ini juga dapat digunakan sebagai hinaan yang kuat.
Arab jamaah

makan (Ar مكان /ma.kaːn/) *n*
Eng place- *Ind* tempat;
MSA

maktub (Ar مكتوب /mak.tuːb/) *adj*
Eng written, destined- *Ind* tertulis, takdir; - -*Eng* In a figurative way or spiritual sense, "maktūb" is used to suggest that something is "meant to be" or "destined by fate," often conveying the idea of fate or destiny - - *Ind* Dalam arti kiasan atau makna spiritual, "maktūb" digunakan untuk menyiratkan bahwa sesuatu itu "sudah seharusnya terjadi" atau "ditakdirkan oleh nasib," sering kali

menggambarkan konsep takdir atau nasib.
MSA, Arab Jamaah

malyan (Ar مليان /mal.jaːn/) *adj*
Eng full, filled- *Ind* penuh, terisi; - -*Eng* Commonly used in colloquial Arabic to describe something that is full or saturated, such as a container, a place, or even a person (as in feeling full after eating) - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk menggambarkan sesuatu yang terisi penuh, seperti wadah, tempat, atau bahkan perasaan kenyang setelah makan.
MSA

mandi (Ar مندي /man.diː/) *n*
Eng kind of rice- *Ind* jenis nasi; - -*Eng* Traditional dish originating from Hadramaut, Yemen, and is popular across the Arab world. It consists of rice and either lamb, chicken, or young goat, seasoned with a variety of spices. The unique feature of mandi is the cooking method, where the meat and rice are cooked in a "taboon" or underground oven. The meat is often tender and moist, cooked over a low flame with wood or charcoal, giving it a smoky flavor. The term "mandi" is derived from the Arabic word "nadda" (ندى), meaning "moist," referring to the tenderness of the meat. This dish is enjoyed widely and has become popular beyond the Arab world. - - *Ind* Hidangan tradisional dari Hadramaut, Yaman, yang terdiri dari nasi dan daging (biasanya kambing muda atau ayam), dibumbui dengan berbagai rempah. Hidangan ini dimasak dalam tungku bawah tanah atau "taboon," di mana daging dan nasi dimasak dengan api kecil, sering menggunakan kayu bakar atau arang, memberikan rasa khas berasap. Nama "mandi" berasal dari kata Arab "nadda" yang berarti "lembab," mengacu pada tekstur daging yang empuk dan lembab.
Arab Jamaah, VAR

marra
Eng time- *Ind* kali, sekali;
MSA

ma'ruf
Eng ADJ \ well know;
Arab Jamaah

masehi
Eng ADJ \ christian;
MSA

masna'
Eng N \ factory;
MSA

masyaAllah
Eng EXLM \ god willing;
MSA

masyaikh
Eng N \ masyaikh;
Arab Jamaah

masyhur
Eng ADJ \ famous;
Arab Jamaah

masykur
Eng to be thankful;

masykurin
Eng ADJ \ to be thankful;
Arab Jamaah

masyrubat
Eng liquor;

This preview showcases a developing web dictionary, featuring a partial selection of data. Please note that transcriptions and entries are still being refined for consistency.

matsna
Eng N \ second wife;
MSA

mayanfak
Eng useless;

merakbal
Eng ADJ \ kurang ajar;
Arab Jamaah

mesihi
Eng N \ christian;
MSA

miliun
Eng NUM \ milion;
VAR

min$_1$
Eng Prep \ from;
Arab Jamaah

min$_2$
Eng Q \ who;
VAR

miyah
Eng NUM \ 100;
Arab Jamaah

mosh
Eng NEG;
VRA

mot
Eng V \ die;
Arab Jamaah

mufazzek
Eng scary;

mufradat
Eng N \ term.PL;
MSA

mugene
Eng ADJ \ elegant;
MSA

murabal
Eng bad;

muwallad
Eng N \ jamaah borned in indonesia;
Arab Jamaah

N n

-na
sfx *Eng* -1POSS.PL;

This preview showcases a developing web dictionary, featuring a partial selection of data. Please note that transcriptions and entries are still being refined for consistency.

Arab Jamaah

na'am
Eng yes;

nafsi-nafsi
Eng alone;

nagras
Eng N \ madurese people;
Arab Jamaah

nahna
Eng 1P.PL;

najeh (Ar ناجح /na:.d͡ʒiħ/)
Eng relax;
Arab Jamaah

naknak (Ar نعنع : /naʕ.naʕ/) *n*
Eng mint- *Ind* mint;
MSA unspec. var. **na'na**

na'na {*unspec. var. of* **naknak**} N \ mint

nasara (Ar نصارى /na.sa:.ra:/)
Eng N \ christian.PL;
MSA

'

'nd
Eng Prep \ POSS;
MSA
• **'ndu** genitive.3P.SG

'ndu (Ar جد /ʕind/)
Eng genitive.3P.SG- *Ind* genitive.3P.SG;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **'nd**, **=u**$_1$)

N n

njid (Ar جد /d͡ʒɪd/) *n*
Eng grandfather- *Ind* kakek;
unspec. var. **jadd**; **jid**

nus (Ar نص /nus/)
Eng half- *Ind* setengah;

nus binus (Ar نص بنص /nus bi.nus/)
Eng to split;

nyahi
Eng to drink tea, gathering- *Ind* minum teh, berkumpul;
Arab Jamaah, BJK

Q q

qadarullah
Eng N \ fate decided by god;
MSA

R r

rabb (Ar رب /rabb/)
Eng N \ lord;
MSA

rahat (Ar راحة /raː.ħa/) *adj*
Eng to have fun, to be happy- *Ind* asyik, senang; - -*Eng* This word originates from "rahah," which refers to a break or holiday to rest from all forms of exhaustion. From this root also come other words that have been borrowed into Indonesian, such as "istirahat" (rest) and "rehat" (break). - - *Ind* Kata ini berasal dari "rahah," yang berarti waktu istirahat atau liburan untuk berhenti dari segala kelelahan. Dari akar kata ini juga muncul beberapa kata lain yang telah diserap ke dalam Bahasa Indonesia, seperti "istirahat" dan "rehat."
Arab Jamaah

rahis {*unspec. var. of* **rohis**}

raksye (Ar رعشة /raʕ.ʃa/) *adj*
Eng fun, enjoyable, funny- *Ind* senang, asyik, lucu;
Arab Jamaah

rasulullah
Eng prophet- *Ind* nabi;
MSA

rayyit {*unspec. var. of* **royyit**}

regut (Ar الرقود /ar.ruˈquːd/) *v*
Eng to sleep- *Ind* tidur; - -*Eng* reffers to the act of going to sleep. It is often used to describe restful or sound sleep. For example, "ana mau regud sik" translates to "I 'm going to sleep" ("saya mau tidur" in Indonesian). - - *Ind* Mengacu pada tindakan untuk pergi tidur. Istilah ini sering digunakan untuk menggambarkan tidur yang nyenyak atau tenang. Contohnya, "ana mau regud sik" berarti "saya mau tidur" dalam bahasa Indonesia.
Arab Jamaah

rejak (Ar رجع /ra.d͡ʒaʕ/) *v*
Eng to go back home- *Ind* pulang; - -*Eng* "Rejak" means "to return" or "to go back," often used in the sense of "going back home." It is derived from the Arabic verb "raja‘" (رجع), meaning "to return." For example, in the sentence "ana udah mau rejak" it means "I'll go back home now" - - *Ind* "Rejak" berarti "kembali" atau "pulang," sering digunakan dalam arti "pulang ke rumah." Kata ini berasal dari kata kerja Arab "raja‘" (رجع), yang berarti "kembali." Sebagai contoh, dalam kalimat "ana udah mau rejak," artinya "saya sudah mau pulang."
Arab Jamaah

rejal {*unspec. var. of* **rijal**}

rijal (Ar رجال /ri.d͡ʒaːl/)
clf *Eng* man- *Ind* orang; - -*Eng* Used to refer to a male person. - - *Ind* seorang laki-laki
adj *Eng* male- *Ind* laki-laki; - -*Eng* The gender of a person. Note that in women’s speech, the noun "rijal" is specifically used to distinguish between male and female, functioning as the antonym of "harim" (meaning "female" or "woman"). In this context, it is used solely to indicate "male" and does not carry any additional meanings such as "husband" or "boyfriend." - - *Ind* Jenis laki-laki. Perlu dicatat bahwa dalam bahasa percakapan wanita, kata "rijal" digunakan khusus untuk membedakan antara laki-laki dan perempuan, berfungsi sebagai antonim dari "harim" (yang berarti "perempuan" atau "wanita"). Dalam konteks ini, kata tersebut hanya digunakan untuk menunjukkan "laki-laki" dan tidak membawa makna tambahan seperti "suami" atau "pacar."
n *Eng* husband, boyfriend- *Ind* suami, pacar;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **rejal**

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rohis (Ar رخيص /raˈxiːs/) *adj*
Eng cheap- *Ind* murah;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **rahis**; **rois**; **rokhis**

rois {*unspec. var. of* **rohis**}

rokhis {*unspec. var. of* **rohis**}

royyid {*unspec. var. of* **royyit**}

royyit (Ar ريض /ˈraj.jiːdˤ/) *adj*
Eng to be relaxed- *Ind* santai;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **rayyit**; **royyid**

rukhsoh (Ar رخصة /ˈruχ.sa/) *v*
Eng say goodbye- *Ind* minta izin, pamit;
Arab Jamaah

ruz (Ar أرز /ʔuˈruz/) *n*
Eng rice- *Ind* nasi;

S s

saba'awa'isyirin
Eng NUM \ 27;
MSA

sabah {*unspec. var. of* **shubuh**} *n* morning

sadah {*unspec. var. of* **sayyid**} *n* sayyid.PL

safar (سفر /ˈsa.far/) *v*
Eng travel, be abroad- *Ind* bepergian, perjalanan ke luar negeri;
MSA, Arab Jamaah

saghir (Ar صغير /saˈɣiːr/) *adj*
Eng little, small- *Ind* kecil;
VAR, Arab Jamaah

sahel (Ar سهل /sahl/) *adj*
Eng easy, simple- *Ind* gampang, mudah;
VAR, Arab Jamaah

sahib (Ar صاحب /ˈsaːħib/) *n*
Eng owner- *Ind* pemilik;
MSA unspec. var. **shohib**$_1$

saleh {*unspec. var. of* **sholih**}

samar (Ar سمر /ˈsa.mar/) *n*
Eng evening gathering- *Ind* pertemuan malam; - -*Eng* Night entertainment or evening gathering, particularly involving music or conversation, often used to describe gatherings featuring traditional gambus music. - - *Ind* Pertunjukan musik malam, atau pertemuan malam hari, biasanya dilakukan sebagai hiburan, terutama dalam acara pernikahan.
Arab Jamaah, MSA

saraha (?)
Eng ADJ \ clear (?;
MSA

sawa' (Ar سوى /saˈwaːʔ/) *interj*
Eng truly, seriously, okay- *Ind* Sungguh, benar-benar, bisa diterima; - -*Eng* Used to confirm sincerity or acceptance. - - *Ind* Digunakan

untuk mengonfirmasi ketulusan.
Arab Jamaah

sayaroh (Ar سيارة /saˈjaː.ra/) *n*
Eng car- *Ind* mobil;

sayyid *n*
Eng master- *Ind* sayyid;
MSA unspec. var. **sadah**; **sayyidy**
•**sayyidy** {*unspec. var. of* **sayyid**}

sayyidy {*unspec. var. of* **sayyid**}
(*unspec. comp. form of* **sayyid**, **=y**)

se'ah (Ar ساعة /ˈsaː.ʕa/) *n*
Eng hour- *Ind* jam; - -*Eng* Often used to ask the time of an appointment "se'ah kam?" (what time?) - - *Ind* Sering dipakai untuk menanyakan jam pertemuan "se'ah kam?" (jam berapa?)

sebah (Ar صباح /saˈbaːħ/)
Eng to kiss the hand- *Ind* mencium tanggan; - -*Eng* "Sebah" here refers to a traditional practice of hand-kissing, typically done in the morning as a sign of respect towards elders or older family members. This custom is often practiced when waking up, leaving the house, or upon returning home, as a way to honor and show respect to parents or older people. The term "Sebah" likely originates from the Arabic word صباح (Shobah), which means "morning." Historically, elders would remind children in the morning to kiss their hands as a gesture of respect, reinforcing this cultural practice. - - *Ind* "Sebah" di sini merujuk pada praktik tradisional mencium tangan, yang biasanya dilakukan di pagi hari sebagai tanda hormat kepada orang tua atau anggota keluarga yang lebih tua. Kebiasaan ini sering dilakukan saat bangun tidur, keluar rumah, atau ketika pulang, sebagai cara untuk menghormati dan menunjukkan rasa hormat kepada orang tua atau orang yang lebih tua. Istilah "Sebah" kemungkinan berasal dari kata Arab صباح (shabah), yang berarti "pagi." Secara historis, orang tua akan mengingatkan anak-anak di pagi hari untuk mencium tangan mereka sebagai tanda hormat, memperkuat praktik budaya ini.
Arab Jamaah

sebe
Eng term of address \ father, old person;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **syebeh**

sebeh (Ar شيبة /ˈʃaj.ba/) *adj*
Eng elderly (male)- *Ind* orang tua (laki-laki); - -*Eng* Refers to an elderly person or someone with gray or white hair, as in the sentence "rijal sudah syebeh," which means "that person is already old." This term originates from the Arabic word "syaba" which means "to grow old" or "to turn gray." In this context, someone whose hair has turned white or gray is called asyib in Arabic. - - *Ind* Merujuk pada orang yang sudah tua atau beruban, seperti dalam kalimat "rijal sudah syebeh," yang berarti "orang itu sudah tua." Kata ini berasal dari istilah Arab شاب (syaba) yang berarti "menjadi tua" atau "beruban." Dalam konteks ini, seseorang yang rambutnya sudah berubah warna menjadi putih atau abu-abu disebut asyib dalam Bahasa Arab. Frasa lengkapnya adalah شيبة الرأس (shaybah ar-ro'si), yang artinya adalah orang yang rambutnya sudah berubah putih, menandakan usia lanjut atau tua.
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **syebeh**

sekut (Ar اسكت /ʔus.kut/) *v*
Eng shut up- *Ind* diamlah;

shohib$_1$ {*unspec. var. of* **sahib**} N \ owner

shohib$_2$ (Ar صاحب ˈsaːħib/) *n*
Eng friend- *Ind* teman;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **shohiby**) *unspec. var.* **sohib**

shohiby
Eng my friend- *Ind* temnku;
Eng a friend- *Ind* teman; - -*Eng* The =y is lexicalized and only agreeing with the speaker it can present the possessive meaning. - - *Ind* =y telah menjadi bagian dari kata "shohib" dan hanya sesuai dengan pembicara dapat menunjukkan makna kepemilikan.
•**=y** **1.** 1POSS **2.** nisba **3.** OBL
•**shohib$_2$** *n* friend

sholih (Ar صالح ṣāliḥ) *adj*

Eng pure, pious- *Ind* suci, beiman; - -*Eng* A devout person who sincerely practices worship - - *Ind* Orang taat dan sungguh-sungguh menjalankan ibadah
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **saleh**

sholly (Ar صل /sˤal.li/) *v*
Eng to pray- *Ind* salat, bedoa; - -*Eng* Perform prayer rituals. - - *Ind* Melaksanakan ibadat salat, berdoa.
Arab Jamaah

shubuh *n*
Eng early morning- *Ind* pagi-pagi;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **sabah**

shuf (Ar شوف /ʃu:f/)
Eng look!- *Ind* lihatlah ;
arab Jamaah

shuhul (Ar شغل /ˈʃu.ɣul/) *v*
Eng to work- *Ind* kerjah ;
unspec. var. **sughol**; **sughul**; **syughul**

shwayya (Ar شوية /ʃwa.j.ja/)
adv *Eng* a little- *Ind* sedikitt;
v *Eng* ask to be excused- *Ind* minta izin , pamit;

sirwal
Eng kind of dress;

siyasah (Ar سياسة /siˈja:.sa/)
Eng politics- *Ind* politik;
MSA, VAR

sobahan *n*
Eng early morning- *Ind* pagi-pagi;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **sabah**)

softah {*unspec. var. of* **softoh**}

softoh (Ar صفاط) *v*
Eng kidding- *Ind* bercanda;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **softah**

sohib {*unspec. var. of* **shohib**$_2$} N \ friend

sot *n*
Eng voice- *Ind* suara;

subhanallah (Ar ...سبحان ٱ /sub.ħaa.na ʔal.la:h/) *interj*
Eng praise be to god- *Ind* segala Puji bagi Allah;
MSA

sughol {*unspec. var. of* **shuhul**} N \ work

sughul {*unspec. var. of* **shuhul**}

suk (Ar سوق /su:q/) *n*
Eng market- *Ind* pasar;
•**suk barid** the market is empty

suk barid
Eng the market is empty- *Ind* pasar sepi;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **suk**)

sur'ah
Eng quickly- *Ind* cepat;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **bisurah**) *Arab Jamaah*

syabab (Ar شباب /ʃaˈbaːb/) *n*
Eng young man- *Ind* pemuda, anak muda; - -*Eng* Used to refer to a young man or boy, or collectively to a group of young people. It is typically used for men rather than women. In Arabic, "syabab" is a plural form, but in the Jamaah, it is genrally used in a singular sense. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk merujuk pada seorang pemuda atau anak laki-laki, atau secara kolektif kepada sekelompok anak muda. Biasanya, istilah ini dipakai untuk laki-laki, bukan perempuan. Dalam bahasa Arab, "syabab" adalah bentuk jamak, tetapi dalam Jamaah, istilah ini umumnya digunakan dalam bentuk sinbuler.
Arab Jamaah

syabe (Ar شبعان /ʃab.ˈʕaːn/) *adj*
Eng full, satisfied (after eating)- *Ind* kenyang;

syai (Ar شاي /ʃaːj/) *n*
Eng tea- *Ind* teh;
Arab Jamaah

syaif (Ar شايف /ˈʃaː.jif/) *v*
Eng look- *Ind* lihat;
VAR

syatir (Ar شاطر /ˈʃaː.tˤir/) *adj*
Eng smart, good at- *Ind* cerdas, pintar;

syawal
Eng ??- *Ind* ??;
Arab Jamaah

syayatin (Ar شياطين /ʃa.jaˈtˤiːn/) *n*
Eng Devils, evils, demons- *Ind* etan, iblis, roh jahat;
Arab Jamaah

syebeh {*unspec. var. of* **sebe**, **sebeh**}

syi (Ar شي /ʃiː/) *n*
Eng thing- *Ind* hal;
Arab Jamaah unspec. comp. form **mafi syi** it does not matter, that's okay

syirkah (Ar شركة /ˈʃir.ka/)
Eng company- *Ind* perusahaan;
Arab Jamaah

syrob (Ar اشرب /ˈʔiʃ.rab/) *v*
Eng to drink- *Ind* minum;
Arab Jamaah

syrob-syroban *n*
Eng drinks- *Ind* minuman;

syuf (Ar شوف /ʃuːf/) *v*
Eng to look- *Ind* melihat; - -*Eng* "Syuf" is a colloquial Arabic imperative form, meaning "look" or "see." Commonly used in dialects such as Levantine and Gulf Arabic, it's a casual command to direct someone's attention toward something. - - *Ind* "Syuf" adalah bentuk imperatif dalam bahasa Arab kolokial, yang berarti "lihat" atau "perhatikan." Umumnya digunakan dalam dialek seperti Arab Levantine dan Teluk, ini adalah perintah santai untuk mengarahkan perhatian seseorang pada sesuatu.
Arab Jamaah

syughul {*unspec. var. of* **shuhul**}

syughulan *n*

Eng things to do- *Ind* urusan, kerjaan;
(*comp. of* **sughol**)

syukron
Eng thanks- *Ind* terima kasih;
Arab Jamaah

T t

ta'ab (Ar تعب /ˈta.ʕab/) *adj*
Eng tired- *Ind* lelah, capek;
Eng not working properly- *Ind* bermasalah; - -*Eng* Points to something that is not working properly *jaringan ta'ab hari ini* the network is not working properly
Arab Jamaah

ta'al (Ar تعال /taˈʕaːl/) *v*
Eng come over!- *Ind* ke mari!;
Arab Jamaah

tafran (Ar طفران) *adj*
Eng broke- *Ind* tidak punya uang;
Eng horny- *Ind* bernafsu;
Arab Jamaah; VAR unspec. var. **tafron**

tafron {*unspec. var. of* **tafran**}

tahat *prt*
Eng under- *Ind* di bawah;
MSA

tajir (Ar تاجر /ˈtaːd͡ʒir/) *adj*
Eng rich- *Ind* kaya; - -*Eng* Used to describe someone with substantial financial resources. Originally, it means "merchant" or "trader," implying someone who has acquired wealth through business. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk menggambarkan seseorang dengan sumber daya finansial yang besar. Awalnya, kata ini berarti 'pedagang' atau 'penjual,' yang mengisyaratkan seseorang yang memperoleh kekayaan melalui bisnis

takriban (Ar تقريبا /taqˈriːban/) *adv*
Eng nearly, approximately, about- *Ind* Sekitar, kira-kira;
MSA unspec. var. **taqriban**

tani
Eng ADJ \ other;
VAR

taqriban {*unspec. var. of* **takriban**} ADV \ nearly

ta'rif *v*
Eng know.2P.SG- *Ind* tahu;
MSA

tarig
Eng N;
VRA

tarik

tawakkal
Eng V \ pray deeply;
MSA

thoyyib {*unspec. var. of* **toyyib**}

tis'in
Eng NUM \ 90;
Arab Jamaah

tofshan (Ar طفشان /tˤafˈʃaːn/) *adj*
Eng stressed- *Ind* sumpek, stress; - -*Eng* Describe a feeling of frustration or boredom, often due to a lack of excitement or a repetitive situation. It conveys the sense of being fed up or irritated with something. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk menggambarkan perasaan frustrasi atau kebosanan, sering kali karena kurangnya kegembiraan atau situasi yang berulang. Istilah ini menyiratkan perasaan jenuh atau kesal terhadap sesuatu.
Arab Jamaah

toyyib
adj *Eng* good, fine- *Ind* baik, bagus;
interj *Eng* that's okay- *Ind* baiklah!;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **thoyyib**

U u

-u
sfx *Eng* 3POSS.SG;
Arab Jamaah

=u$_1$
Eng 3P.SG.POSS;
Eng 3P.SG.POSS;
Arab Jamaah; VRA unspec. comp. form **'ndu** genitive.3P.SG

=u$_2$
Eng 3P.SG.POSS;
Eng 3P.SG.POSS;
Arab Jamaah; VRA

ukht *n*
Eng sister- *Ind* saudara (perempuan);
Arab Jamaah

ummy (Ar أمي /ʔum.ˈmiː/) *n*
Eng mom, mother; - -*Eng* Term of adress for mother or mom. It can also be used as a term of reference. The =y.1SG.POSS is lexicalized. - - *Ind* Istilah sapaan untuk ibu. Dapat memiliki fungsi vokatif dan referensi.
Arab Jamaah

'

'umr (Ar عمر /ʕumr/) *n*
Eng age- *Ind* umur;
MSA

U u

uyun (Ar عيون /ʕuˈjuːn/) *n*
Eng eye.PL- *Ind* mata.PL; *jamaah itu ente kenalin dari 'uyun* you can tell if a person is a jamaah from the eyes
MSA

W w

wahad (Ar واحد /ˈwaːħad/)
n *Eng* a person- *Ind* seseorang;
num *Eng* one- *Ind* satu;
Arab Jamaah

This preview showcases a developing web dictionary, featuring a partial selection of data. Please note that transcriptions and entries are still being refined for consistency.

walad (Ar ولد /ˈwa.lad/) *n*
Eng son- *Ind* anak;
Arab Jamaah

walah (Ar ولا /waˈla:/) *coordconn*
Eng or- *Ind* atau;
Arab Jamaah

walhasil (Ar والحصيل /wal.ħaˈsˤi:l/) *adv*
Eng finally, in conclusion- *Ind* akhirnya, kesimpulannya;

walid (Ar والد /ˈwa:.lid/) *n*
Eng father- *Ind* bapak, ayah; - -*Eng* It is more commonly used in its possessive form, "walidy" or "walidi," to refer specifically to one's own father. however the form with the =3P.SG.POSS is also attested "waladu" (his father). - - *Ind* Istilah ini lebih sering digunakan dalam bentuk posesif, "walidy" atau "walidi," untuk merujuk secara khusus kepada ayah sendiri. Namun, bentuk dengan =3P.SG.POSS juga ditemukan, "waladu" (bapak dia)
Arab Jamaah

walidati (Ar والدتي /ˈwa:.li.da.ti:/) *n*
Eng my mother- *Ind* ibu saya; - -*Eng* This term is used to refer to one's own mother. However, it is also used to refer to someone else's mother because the possessive suffix "-y" is lexicalized. It has a similar usage to "ummy," although the latter is also a term of address and can have a vocative function. In contrast, "walidaty" only refers to the role of "mother" and is used strictly as a term of reference. - - *Ind* Istilah ini digunakan untuk merujuk pada ibu seseorang. Namun, istilah ini juga dapat merujuk pada ibu orang lain karena akhiran posesif "-y" telah menjadi leksikalisasi. Penggunaannya mirip dengan "ummy," meskipun istilah tersebut juga merupakan istilah sapaan dan dapat memiliki fungsi vokatif. Sebaliknya, "walidaty" hanya merujuk pada peran sebagai "ibu" dan digunakan secara khusus sebagai istilah referensi.

walidy (Ar والدي /ˈwa:.li.di:/) *n*
Eng father.1SG.POSS- *Ind* ayah.1SG.POSS; - -*Eng* Lexeme formed by "walidi" and the lexicalized possessive suffix -ي (-ī). It is commonly used to refer to one's own father in a respectful and affectionate manner. - - *Ind* Kata ini dibentuk oleh "walidi" dan sufiks posesif leksikalisasi -ي (-ī). Ini umum digunakan untuk merujuk kepada ayah sendiri dengan cara yang hormat.

wallah (Ar والله /walˈla:h/) *interj*
Eng I swear!- *Ind* Sumpah demi Tuhan!; - -*Eng* An Arabic expression meaning "I swear by God" or "I swear to God." It is commonly used to emphasize the truthfulness or sincerity of a statement.
Arab jamaah

wallahi (Ar واللهي /walˈla:.hi/)
Eng for god's sake- *Ind* demi allah; - -*Eng* Similar to "wallah," it means "I swear by God" or "I swear to God," often used to add emphasis or sincerity to a statement. The addition of -i gives it a slightly more emphatic tone. - - *Ind* Mirip dengan "wallah," artinya "Saya bersumpah demi Allah" atau "Saya bersumpah demi Tuhan," sering digunakan untuk menambahkan penekanan atau ketulusan pada sebuah pernyataan. Penambahan akhiran -i memberikan nada yang sedikit lebih menegaskan.
MSA

wallahualam (Ar والله أعلم /walˈla:.hu ˈʔaʕ.lam/) *interj*
Eng God knows best- *Ind* Allah yang lebih tahu; - -*Eng* Used to express humility or acknowledge that ultimate knowledge and judgment rest with God. Commonly said at the end of statements or discussions, especially when uncertainty is involved.
(*unspec. comp. form of* **Allahualam**) *MSA, VAR*

warosah (Ar والله /walˈla:h/ Ar وراثة /wiˈra:.θa/) *n*
Eng heritage- *Ind* warisan; - -*Eng* This term shares the same etymology as the Indonesian word for "heritage." It should be noted that "warosah" appears to be an overcorrection or a form that attempts to be more etymologically accurate. It remains unclear whether this term is widely used across the community or simply a niche pronunciation influenced by etymology. - - *Ind* Istilah ini memiliki etimologi yang sama dengan kata dalam bahasa Indonesia untuk "warisan." Perlu dicatat bahwa "warosah" tampaknya merupakan bentuk hiperbola atau usaha untuk terlihat lebih sesuai secara etimologis. Masih belum jelas apakah istilah ini banyak digunakan di seluruh komunitas atau hanya pelafalan khusus yang dipengaruhi oleh etimologi.
Jamaah

watani (Ar وطني /ˈwa.tˤa.ni:/)
Eng non-jamaah indonesian- *Ind* orang Indonesia yang bukan jamaah;
Arab Jamaah unspec. var. **wataniyyin**; **watany**

wataniyyin {*unspec. var. of* **watani**}

watany {*unspec. var. of* **watani**} N \ non hadrami

wenek (Ar وينك /ˈweː.nak/) *interj*
Eng whta's up?- *Ind* mau ke mana?; - -*Eng* A colloquial Arabic phrase meaning "Where are you?" It is often used to ask about someone's well-being or to casually check in on them. Pragmatically, it resembles the Indonesian expression "mau ke mana?" in its casual and conversational use, particularly when people happen to run into each other. - - *Ind* Ungkapan dalam bahasa Arab sehari-hari yang berarti "Di mana kamu?" Sering digunakan untuk menanyakan kabar seseorang atau sekadar menyapa. Secara pragmatis, ini mirip dengan ekspresi bahasa Indonesia "mau ke mana?" dalam penggunaan percakapan santai pas orang berpapasan
Arab Jamaah

wulaiti (Ar ولاية /wiˈlaːj.t/) *n*
Eng first generation jamaah- *Ind* generasi pertama jamaah; - -*Eng* Used to describe the first generation migrants that migrated to indonesia. Note That sometimes it is also used to refer to newcomers from Hadramaut "wulaiti baru". In the sense that they are not the historical wulaiti but still come from hadramaut or Yemen. - - *Ind* Digunakan untuk menggambarkan generasi pertama migran yang bermigrasi ke Indonesia. Perlu dicatat bahwa istilah ini kadang juga digunakan untuk merujuk pada pendatang baru dari Hadramaut, "wulaiti baru." Dalam arti, mereka bukan "wulaiti" historis tetapi tetap lahir dan berasal dari Hadramaut atau Yaman.
Arab Jamaah

Y y

=y
Eng 1POSS;
Eng nisba;
Eng OBL;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **shohiby**) *Arab Jamaah; MSA; MSA unspec. comp. form* **sayyidy**

ya *nomprt*
Eng vocative;
MSA unspec. comp. form **yaher** A colloquial expression similar to the Indonesian "ya udah," used to convey resignation, acceptance, or a casual agreement, like saying "alright," "fine," or "okay, whatever." Often used in informal contexts to indicate that one is letting go of a matter or accepting a situation as it is.

yaAllah (Ar يا الله /jaː ʔalˈlaːh/) *interj*
Eng oh God- *Ind* ya Allah;
Arab Jamaah

yahanuh (Ar يخنه /jaˈx.na/ https://ar.mo3jam.com/term/يخنه) *adj*
Eng snob, pretending- *Ind* snob, pembohong; - -*Eng* Refers to acting arrogantly or boastfully, often in a showy or exaggerated manner. - - *Ind* Menunjukkan sifat seseorang yang bergaya atau bertindak sombong, sering kali dengan cara yang berlebihan.

yaher *interj*
Eng that's it! - *Ind* ya udah, sudah!; - -*Eng* A colloquial expression similar to the Indonesian "ya udah," used to convey resignation, acceptance, or a casual agreement, like saying "alright," "fine," or "okay, whatever." Often used in informal contexts to indicate that one is letting go of a matter or accepting a situation as it is. - - *Ind* Ungkapan sehari-hari yang mirip dengan "ya udah" dalam bahasa Indonesia, digunakan untuk menyampaikan rasa pasrah, penerimaan, atau persetujuan santai, seperti mengatakan "baiklah," "oke," atau "ya sudah, terserah." Sering digunakan dalam konteks informal untuk menunjukkan bahwa seseorang merelakan suatu hal atau menerima situasi sebagaimana adanya.
(*unspec. comp. form of* **her**, **ya**) *unspec. var.* **yakher**

yakfi *adj*
Eng enough- *Ind* cukup;

yakher {*unspec. var. of* **yaher**}

yamsyi (Ar يمشي /ˈjam.ʃiː/) *v*
Eng to walk- *Ind* berjalan kaki;
unspec. var. **imsyi**

yassalaam (Ar يا سلام /jaː saˈlaːm/) *interj*
Eng amazing!- *Ind* luar biasa!;

yokul (Ar ياكل /ˈjaː.kul/) *v*
Eng to eat- *Ind* makan;
• **yukulan** *n* food

youm (Ar يوم /jawm/) *n*
Eng day- *Ind* hari;
Arab Jamaah unspec. comp. form **alyoum** today

yukulan *n*
Eng food- *Ind* makanan;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **yokul**)

Z z

za'alan (Ar زعلان /zaʕˈlaːn/) *adj*
Eng engry- *Ind* marah;

zawjati (Ar زوجتي /zawˈʒa.tiː/) *n*
Eng my wife- *Ind* istri saya; - -*Eng* This form is composed of the word zawja (wife) and the possessive suffix -y, which is roughly lexicalized. - - *Ind* Bentuk ini terdiri dari kata zawja (istri) dan sufiks posesif -y, yang secara leksikal menunjukkan kepemilikan

zen (Ar زين /ziːn/) *adj*
Eng nice- *Ind* bagus; - -*Eng* It is often used to describe something pleasing or positive, such as a person's character, appearance, or a situation. - - *Ind* Sering digunakan untuk menggambarkan sesuatu yang menyenangkan atau positif, seperti karakter seseorang, penampilan, atau suatu situasi.
Arab Jamaah

zub (Ar زب /zub/)
Eng penis, dick- *Ind* penis, kontol; - -*Eng* It is considered vulgar and is used informally. - - *Ind* Alat kelamin laki-laki (kasar).

zubun (Ar زبون /zuˈbuːn/) *n*
Eng costumer, client- *Ind* pelanggan, klien;
MSA, Arab Jamaah

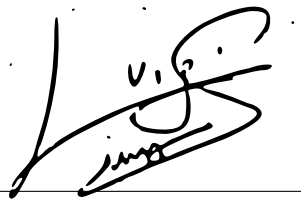
zugur (Ar زقر /za.qar/ https://ar.mo3jam.com/term/زقر) *n*
Eng baby, young boy; - -*Ind* anak kecil, pemuda
Arab Jamaah

zurbyan *n*
Eng kind of rice- *Ind* jenis nasi;
Arab Jamaah

zuwad {*unspec. var. of* **zuwat**} *v*

zuwat (Ar Ar زواج /zaˈwaːʒ/) *v*
Eng to get married- *Ind* menikah, nikah;
unspec. var. **zuwad**
• **zuwatan** *n* marriage

zuwatan *n*
Eng marriage- *Ind* pernikahan;
(*unspec. comp. form of* **zuwat**)



Firma del Coordinatore
Prof. Minchele Bernardini

Firma del Dottorando
Luigi Sausa
DAAM/126