

Cultural Communications of Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia

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Abstract

Pesantren communication culture is quite distinct from other cultures, as it has its own unique, unique, and distinct culture. The santri's obedience, sincerity, and respect for the Kyai exemplify its uniqueness. The author attempts to raise this unique communication culture as a research theme by researching a *salaf* (traditional) Islamic boarding school, An-Nidzam Sukabumi, and a modern Islamic boarding school, Pondok Pesantren Kholaf (modern) Assalam Sukabumi. The research focuses on the unique characteristics of each of the two Islamic boarding schools. This study employs a qualitative approach based on ethnographic methods because it is highly relevant to its focus on the language spoken, communication patterns observed, and communication culture of pesantren. The findings indicated that the communication cultures of the salaf and Khalaf pesantren were significantly different. The An Nizam salaf pesantren placed a premium on regional/Sundanese languages in daily interactions while simultaneously suppressing learning in religious sciences from the yellow books. The Kalaf/modern Assalam Islamic boarding schools placed a premium on Arabic and English instruction. The use of English in daily interactions and an understanding of the spiritual sciences are explored through classically taught contemporary books.

Abstrak

Budaya komunikasi di pesantren sangat jauh berbeda dengan komunikasi biasa karena komunikasi di pesantren memiliki budaya yang unik dan khas. Keunikan itu terlihat pada ketaatan, keikhlasan, dan kehormatan para santri kepada kiai. Budaya komunikasi yang unik inilah yang coba penulis angkat sebagai tema penelitian dengan mengambil objek penelitian pada pondok pesantren salaf (tradisional) yaitu An-Nidzam Sukabumi dan pondok pesantren modern yaitu Pondok Pesantren Kholaf (modern) Assalam, Sukabumi. Pengambilan objek penelitian ini didasarkan pada keunikan masing-masing dari kedua pesantren tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan menggunakan metode etnografi karena sangat relevan dengan fokus penelitian ini yaitu mengkaji bahasa yang digunakan, pola komunikasi dan budaya komunikasi pesantren. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa budaya komunikasi antara pesantren salaf dan kholaf memiliki perbedaan yang mendasar. Pesantren salaf An Nizam menekankan bahasa daerah/Sunda dalam interaksi sehari-hari sekaligus menekan pembelajaran kitab kuning dalam ilmu-ilmu agama. Sebaliknya, pesantren Kalaf/Assalam modern menekankan bahasa Arab dan Bahasa Inggris dalam interaksi sehari-hari dan pemahaman ilmu-ilmu spiritual digali melalui buku-buku kontemporer yang diajarkan secara klasikal.

INTRODUCTION

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Pesantren, as non-formal religious education institutions based on Islam, cannot be separated from various activities of pesantren life, including communication activities (Iryana, 2015). Both formal communication and non-formal activities. Proper communication takes place in teaching and learning activities in Islamic boarding schools. At the same time, non-formal communication occurs in everyday life in the pesantren environment (Hartono, 2016). The communication culture in the pesantren world is very different from communication in other worlds. Communication in pesantren has its own distinctive, unique, and exciting communication culture. The peculiarity lies in the students' obedience, sincerity, and honour to their charismatic Kyai. It is unique because the *Kyai* is the central figure in the pulse of the life of the pesantren; what the *Kyai* says becomes a reference and law carried out by all pesantren residents (Hidayat, 2017).

Pesantren's "Kyai" (Dhofier 2019) is like a small kingdom, where the Kyai is the ultimate source of power and authority. All of the aspects of pesantren life that can be glimpsed from time to time are like heavenly life, beginning with prayers together at every prayer time, reading the Koran and praying Duha (as well as studying and joking with fellow students), all of which have an Islamic flavor to them at all times. Pesantren life as the crater of candradimuka in educating the nation's children who are pious, friendly, and skilled is a beautiful thing to behold. This is similar to the traditional Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia that Karel A Steenbrink stated. Traditional methods of teaching religion are used at this educational institution, which has a set of administrative rules and a unique teaching curriculum (Mutohar & Anam, 2013; Dhofier, 2019; Gibb, 1932; Mastuhu, 1994; Rofiq, 2005). Anthony Johns argues that this Islamization (The decision of the majority of Indonesians to accept Islam) between the 13th and 16th centuries was the most remarkable event in Islam's history, it is outstanding in the size of Indonesia's Muslim community (approximately 2014 million people) and is an extension of the period between 1200 and 1600 AD when Islam was widely believed to be in decline. In John's opinion, pesantren is not used. However, the term Islamic School refers to Islamic educational institutions that existed between the 13th and 16th centuries, known as "Pondok Pesantren" today. Islamic boarding schools are already popular among Indonesians worldwide because they focus on providing traditional Islamic education in rural communities (Ridlwan, 2019).

However, in its development, Islamic boarding schools underwent modifications, so according to Dhofier (2019), they were known as *Salafiyah* (traditional) and *khalafiyah* (modern) pesantren. Salafi Islamic boarding schools such as the Tebuireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School in East Java, the Ciwaringin Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon, the Sukahideung Islamic Boarding School in Tasikmalaya, the An-Nidham Islamic Boarding School in Sukabumi, and others. While examples of modern Islamic boarding schools, such as Pondok Modern Gontor Darrussalam in Ponorogo, East Java, Pondok Modern Al-Basyariah in Gondewah Bandung, Pondok Modern Darrussalam Subang, Pondok Modern Assalam Sukabumi and others.

Based on the Indonesian Ministry of Religion's Islamic Boarding School Database (ditpdpontren. kemenag RI, 2020) that the number of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia is 26,964, consisting of Types of Islamic Boarding Schools with Education Units totalling 12,523 Islamic Boarding Schools and Types of Islamic Boarding Schools Organizing Education Units amounting to 14,441 Islamic Boarding Schools. Meanwhile, there are 8,307 Islamic boarding schools in West Java, consisting of 5,465 Islamic boarding schools or salaf, and 2,842 Islamic boarding schools that provide education units or Khalaf (ditpdpontren. kemenag RI, 2020). Then specifically for pesantren in Sukabumi, there are 756 pesantren (Emispendis. kemenag, 2021) consisting of the salaf and *kholaf* pesantren (the exact number is unknown). Of the two types of pesantren, two pesantren are the object of this study, namely the Salaf Islamic Boarding School (traditional) An-Nidzam Sukabumi and the Khalaf Islamic Boarding School (modern) Assalam Sukabumi.

Indeed, both Islamic boarding schools share some characteristics, but there are also significant differences between the two. Pesantrens, both Salafi and khalafi, have the same features, including huts or dormitories for students to live in, a leader of the Kyai boarding school (ustadz), students who study, and a mosque where they can worship. Center of devotion and sacrament. It's also worth noting that

there are major differences in education and learning methods, scientific priorities, culture and administration, and religious doctrine. Since the beginning of time, both models of pesantren have maintained their advantages over each other. Classical books such as (1) Kitab Al-Ajurumiyyah, (2) the Book of Amsilah At-Tashrifiyah, (3) the Book of Mustholahul Hadith, (4) Arba'in Nawawi, (5) Taqrib Book, (6) Aqidatul Awam Book, (7) Ta'limul Muta'alim Book and other books are essential to the excellence of salaf pesantren. It's 2019 (Dewi). In contrast, the modern pesantren (Khalaf) has a distinct advantage in its ability to speak both Arabic and English fluently. For example, Gontor, Darunnajah and Al-Basyariah are all examples of modern pesantren and the Assalam Islamic Boarding School (Damanhuri et al., 2013). Furthermore, salaf pesantren and kholaf pesantren have distinct communication cultures. The research presented in this paper focuses on the differences in pesantren communication culture.

METHODS

The approach used in this study is qualitative. The qualitative approach is considered more relevant to this research because it is easier to describe and analyze social and religious phenomena, including the cultural wonders of pesantren. In this context, Denzin and Lincoln (in Lexy J. Maleong, 2008) say that qualitative research uses a natural setting to interpret phenomena that occur and is carried out by involving various existing methods. The method used in this study is the ethnographic method because this method is relevant to the focus of this research, which examines the language used, communication patterns and communication culture of pesantren, Littlejohn & Foss (2011) said that the communication ethnography looks at (1) the communication patterns used by a group; (2) means that all these communication activities exist for the group; (3) when and where group members use all of these activities; (4) how communication practices create a community; and (5) the diversity of codes used by a group.

This study's data collection techniques include interviews, observation, and documentation review. Interviews were conducted in-depth (in-depth discussion) to the resource persons. Sources of data used in this study include primary and secondary data sources. Primary data sources include Kyai, ustadz and students from modern Islamic boarding schools Assalam and Salafi pesantren An-Nidzam Sukabumi, West Java, Indonesia. While the secondary data sources consist of guardians of students, officials of the Ministry of Religion of Sukabumi Regency, supervisors of schools/Islamic boarding schools at Madrasah Tsanawiyah and District Aliyah.

Then observations were made by direct observation when the researchers were every week for a year, during the Mudifah schedule (visiting students), both to the Assalam Islamic Boarding School and the An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding School. At the time of Mudifah, the researcher was in the two pesantren, accompanied by two students to collect data in the field together. The data were collected in the form of Islamic boarding school communication culture, Islamic boarding school ethics and cultural norms, learning communication, Islamic boarding school communication symbols and Islamic boarding school communication moral messages. Meanwhile, the documentation study was carried out by collecting and analyzing written data in transcripts, guide books, magazines, wall magazines, bulletins, photographs and other important notes related to the pesantren culture. In addition, essential documents on policies, rules or laws relating to the existence and position of Islamic boarding schools in the eyes of the Indonesian government. Even the researchers also opened access via the internet, looking for websites and important articles relating to the development of the pesantren world and the communication culture as a complement in enriching this research.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Islamic Boarding School Cultural Values and Norms

"Islamic boarding schools have their own set of values and norms that they adhere to." Pesantren's values are derived from Alquran and the Sunnah/Hadith (Akbar & Hidayatullah, 2016). Students at our pesantren are taught the importance of honesty, truth, and justice, as well as politeness

and friendliness," says KH. Muhtar of the An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding School (interview, 5/2020). Similarly, Ustadz KH. Ep, head of the As-Salam Islamic Boarding School (interview, 6/2020), said that the values and norms taught in boarding school include good values, correctness, compassion for others, respect for elders, and always speaking politely. Students are taught about the theory during their time in Islamic boarding schools, but they are also expected to put it into practice when they return home.

Al-Hadith and the Qur'an all teach us to be truthful, honest, and polite in our actions, words, and attitudes. "...and say you to all humans in a good way." 2:83 [Qur'an]. "Then speak to both of you with gentle words," says another verse. 20:44 (Qur'an). According to the Prophetic Hadith, "Whoever believes in Allah and the Day of Judgment, then either speak well or be silent," these two verses are reinforced by either speaking well or remaining silent. Muslims (HR..Muslims). You must be honest because honesty leads to goodness, and goodness leads to heaven, another hadith states. Bukhari Muslim narrated this story.

Pesantren An-Nidzam and Assalam are based on these verses and hadiths to instil honesty, truth, and kindness in all aspects of the pesantren's life. All pesantren residents, including Kyai and ustadz/ustadzah, as well as their students, are expected to adhere to these values. These values and norms guide them from the time they wake up until they go to sleep again. The *ustadz* at a pesantren instructs students to recite the prayers when they want to sleep, wake up, enter a mosque, leave a mosque, and exit a mosque. As a result, other students are required to greet the ustadz or cleric when they meet them. It is an honourable way to pray for one another to respond to greetings or Assalam Alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh by saying wa'alikumussalam. These are the teaching standards and values of these two teachers.

Characteristics of the Salaf Islamic Boarding School "An-Nidzam" and "Khalaf Assalam"

a. Characteristics of Pondok Salaf An-Nizam

An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding School, as one of the Salaf Islamic Boarding Schools, has its characteristics or characteristics, as stated by the leadership of Pondok An-Nidzam Kyai Muhtar (Interview, May 2020), as follows:

- a) There is an emphasis on mastering the classics or the yellow book (*kutub attyrast*), which is often called the bald book;
- b) Maintaining the sorogan, wetonan, and bendongan recitation systems in teaching and learning activities;
- c) The Kyai's emotional relationship with the santri at Pondok An-Nidzam is much closer than the modern pesantren. Because the kyai is the central figure in addition to being a teacher, spiritual guide, and teacher of religious sciences, the kyai also acts like a parent who always gives life advice;
- d) Not taught general sciences, such as mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology, and other available sciences;
- e) The cost of pesantren education in An-Nidzam is much cheaper and affordable for all people. So that all social strata of society can enter this An-Nidzam Islamic boarding school, and there is no strict selection of student admissions;
- f) Pondok An-Nidzam emphasizes morality and manners, especially when interacting with clerics, foster parents, the community, and fellow students.

Based on Kyai Muhtar's explanation above, pure Salaf Islamic boarding schools such as An-Nidzam, only focus on teaching religious sciences based on the recitation of classical books, commonly known as the bald book. These bare books, starting from the most miniature books, such as in the field of fiqh: *safinat-annajah*, *sulan taufik*, and *fathul muin*. While in the area of monotheism: *Tijan*, *Fathul Madjid*, *Ihya Ulumuddin*, and in the science of *nahu sorop*, *Jeremiah*, *Smriti*, *Alfiah* and *Johar*

Magnum. While in the field of morals/Sufism, the study of the book of *ta'lim muta'alim*, morals of development, and in the field of interpretation, the analysis of the performance of Jalalen is studied.

There are no classes at the An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding School that teach non-Islamic subjects like mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology, anthropology, sociology, and the like. This shows that the pesantren education model is alive and well today, despite the increasing modernization of education. In order to preserve the uniqueness of pesantren such as An-Nidzam, the community's needs require the birth of young scholars. A May 2020 interview stated that, according to Kyai Muhtar "On the one hand, many elderly ulemas have died, but on the other hand, there have not been any new clerics born in Indonesia, especially in West Java. There are a growing number of qualified Islamic religious scholars. Therefore, salaf Islamic boarding schools are a must-have for the future."

Thus, the presence of the ulama as *warasatul anbiya* will still be needed because most of this nation's population is 85% Muslim. So the people await the birth of new scholars who have been trained by Salaf lodges who master the Islamic religious sciences. However, because the world is growing, these scholars also need to equip themselves with general knowledge, such as mastery of English and information technology, so that the whole clan becomes a scholarly scholar and a scholar who is a scholar.

As a classical Indonesian culture, the model of this salaf pesantren is in the perspective of the ethnographic theory that salaf pesantren is a form of Indonesian culture that has flourished hundreds of years ago in Indonesia (Zuhriy, 2011). Ethnography is a discussion between communication and language and discusses all three, namely language, communication and culture. The language used by Salaf pesantren in daily life is Indonesian and regional languages. A language is a communication tool used by all pesantren residents to communicate with the outside world. Language is a tool to communicate in this context, and communication is part of the culture. This means that the terms language, communication and culture are at the core of Hymes's ethnographic theory.

b. Characteristics of Pondok Khalaf (Modern) Assalam

Assalam Modern Pondok, like other modern cottages, has the same characteristics, as stated by Kyai Iskandar Nur Jaen, namely:

- a) Emphasis on the use of Arabic and English in daily conversation;
- b) Using contemporary Arabic literature books in learning at the cottage (not using classic/yellow books);
- c) Have a formal school under the Diknas curriculum and or win starting from MI/SD, Mts./SMP, MA/SMA;
- d) Specifically for religious subjects, Arabic and English, using 100% of the East Java Gontor curriculum;
- e) No longer using traditional recitation systems such as *sorogan*, *wetonan* and *bandongan*.

According to Kyai Nur Jaen's narrative, modern pesantren are alternative pesantren that are able to adapt to the advancement of science and technology. When it comes to the world of education and boarding schools, information technology is becoming increasingly entrenched in today's modern era. Therefore, a community's pesantren must adapt to its changing circumstances. Islamic boarding schools are also in high demand in rural areas and urban millennials. A Gontor-inspired modern boarding school takes root in Pondok Assalam.

Therefore, Pondok Modern Assalam, is one of the modern cottages in Sukabumi district, which is growing day by day, both in terms of its infrastructure, the quality of its teaching staff and the increasing number of students. Pondok Assalam was established in 1968, consisting of Pondok Modern Asslam Putra located on Jalan Parungkuda Kp. Cibodas, Cibodas Village, Bojonggenteng District, Sukabumi Regency, and the Modern Pondok Assalam Putri on Jalan Pelabuhanratu Kp. Sukaharja, Sukaharja Village, Warungkiara District, Sukabumi Regency.

As stated by Kyai Encep, "starting from the education system, curriculum, learning methods, and culture," Pondok Modern Assalam has maintained its uniqueness as a modern cottage since its inception. Pesantren education is integrated into schools like MI/SD, M.Ts/SMP, and MA/SMA in the educational system. As for the pesantren curriculum, it is based entirely on Pondok Modern Gontor, which incorporates elements from both Dikbud and the Ministry of Religion. The system then emphasizes classical learning and the ability to converse in both Arabic and English. Thus, a pesantren culture is created, which stresses morality in all aspects of pesantren activities.

The anthropological theory emphasizes that the modern peasant culture of Assalam is a distinctive contemporary culture that will be maintained. Historically modern cottages like Gontor and other modern lodges have succeeded in producing national figures in a variety of fields as the treasures of the Indonesian nation. For example, Nurcholis Madjid, Din Syamsuddin, Juhaya S. Praja, Yudi Latief, M. Amin Abdullah, and others (as scholars), Hasyim Muzadi, Abdussalam Panji Gumilang, Ibrahim Thoyyib, Ahmad Kholil Ridwan, Anwar Sadeli Karim, and others -others (as ulama who manage pesantren and Islamic organizations). Idham Chalid, Hidayat Nur Wahid, Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, and many other national statistics emerged in the political area, as well as in the economic, media, and other fields.

Culture of Communication between Kyai and Santri

a. Communication Culture

Pesantren culture, including the pesantren's communication culture, is shaped by Kyai in a boarding school (Hartono, 2016). Pesantren's communication practices differ from those of most other cultures. Because the pesantren's culture of communication is one of a kind. The kyai and santri relationship between the teacher and student, like the relationship between father and son, is the peculiarity. Respect for the kyai's charisma and obedience to the santri's commands are the hallmarks of the kyai-santri relationship.

The kyai is the most important figure in a pesantren because he or she has complete control over all of the pesantren's policies. Determine the education system, curriculum, learning system, the appointment of ustadz and clerics, the acceptance of students, financing, infrastructure, and other aspects of education. Pesantren, according to Dhofier (2019), "can be likened to a small kingdom where the Kyai is the absolute source of power and authority" (Dhofier, 2019). In Islamic boarding schools, Kyai serves as a "centre of activity," a "center of value," and a "center of communication." The Kyai's policies are the driving force behind all pesantren activities. The Kyai's provisions are central to the values adopted by all pesantren residents. Also, the Kyai serves as the hub of communication. Kyai A's words and actions become a point of reference for everyone in the pesantren, including those who don't know him. At every level in Pesantren—from students to ustadz to ustzah—we are fully responsible for the implementation of this command, which we have heard and obeyed.

In both pesantren, the kyai is critical to the preservation of the pesantren's cultural identity. When the pesantren culture is passed on, it will live on forever. Ethnographic theory by Dell Hymes states that language and communication are inseparable and cannot be separated. In the pesantren, language serves as a means of communication between kyai (teachers and students), as well as a means of preserving culture. This means that if culture is not communicated, it will not develop. As a result, the pesantren's daily activities will always have a strong emphasis on communicating with one another.

b. Communication Patterns

Communication that takes place in Islamic boarding schools generally consists of three communication patterns, namely: (1) communication patterns between Kyai and students, (2) communication patterns between Kyai and ustadz, (3) communication patterns between clerics and students, and (4) patterns of communication between clerics and students. Communication between students and other students. Specifically, it can be explained as follows:

and decoder respond to each other. The context of the communication takes place like regular chat or two-way communication between the Kyai and the *santri*.

2. The Pattern of Communication Between The Kyai And The Ustadz

Communication between the Kyai and the *ustadz* occurs during special teacher council meetings, for example, the meeting to prepare for the acceptance of new students, the meeting before the semester exam, the meeting before the national exam, the meeting before the service of the students, the farewell meeting for the students, and special meetings that are incidental. Likewise, informal communication takes place in the context of daily interactions, such as at home, at the mosque or passing by on the street. This communication symptom is also a model of interactional communication; in other words, communication between the Kyai and the cleric/teacher occurs in response to each other.

Thus, the communication between the kyai and the ustadz is relatively relaxed and interspersed with jokes so that the atmosphere becomes fluid. Even in this atmosphere, sometimes there are complaints from several ustadz/ustadzah conveyed to the kyai. Both personal, family and student problems and learning in Islamic boarding schools. In this context, the kyai does not feel offended but is happy because he knows the real issues in the pesantren environment. As stated by the An-Nidzam Islamic boarding school leader, Kyai Muhtar invites his teachers to submit suggestions and input for the improvement of the pesantren he leads. Likewise, Kyai Iskandar Nurjaen, the Assalam Islamic boarding school leader, challenged his clerics to convey their thoughts and suggestions. With the input of ustadz and clerics, including parents of students and the community, it will be input for making policies to improve pesantren in the future.

3. The pattern of communication between the ustadz and the students

The pattern of communication between the ustadz and the students usually takes place during class learning, according to the learning schedule. This communication pattern is formal, so the atmosphere is a bit stiff, less severe and relaxed. So that the psychology of students is at a low point, especially if the ustadz is less familiar. But if the ustadz/ustazah who has a humorous disposition likes to make jokes about the tense atmosphere, it becomes fluid, and the students enjoy participating in the learning. The communication events, including the transactional communication model, are as follows:

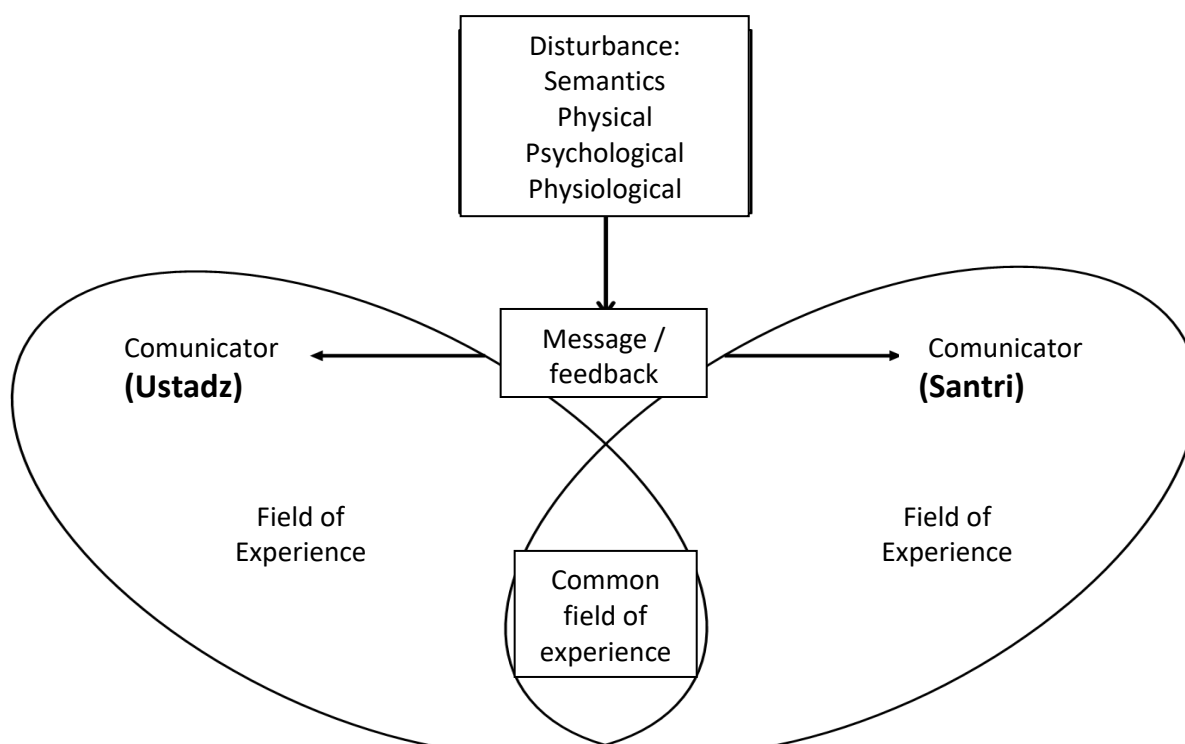


Figure. 3. Transactional Communication Model

In addition, ustadz can also communicate with students non-formally outside of class hours, for example, at the mosque, in the library, canteen or on the street when passing each other. the context of the communication is as picture 1 above. An ustadz or teacher can interact with students/students in a dialogical or two-way manner. For example, an ustadz calls a student to ask something, then the student interprets the question and is answered by the student and then sent to the ustadz. In the context of the interactional communication model between the ustadz (encoder/message sender) and students (decoder/message recipient), at the same time, the ustadz becomes the second message recipient (decoder), and students as the second message sender (encoder), and so on.

4. Patterns of communication between students and other students

Students communicate in various ways, such as face-to-face meetings, dialogical communication among three students, or in small groups. All of these types of interactions are examples of dyadic communication. Communication is in a small group. There is a lot of room and freedom for student-to-student communication. Whether it's in the hujrah, the mosque, the classroom, the canteen, or any other part of the pesantren environment, it's a good place for it. Students' communication events are widely used in a variety of dyadic communication models between a student and another student. They can also use the Newcomb symmetric communication model, as depicted in the following figure, as shown in Figure 2.

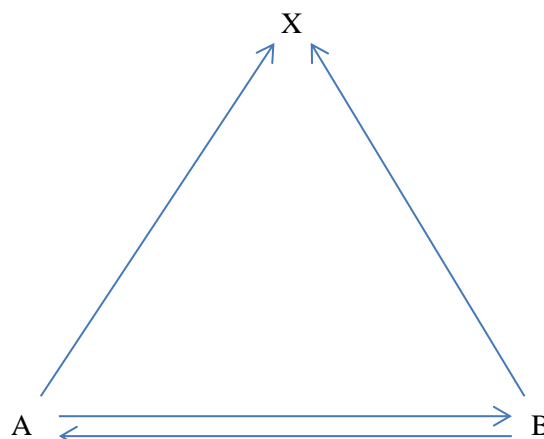


Figure 4. Newcomb. Symmetry Model

Figure 4. shows that a person A (santri) as a communicator sends a message to a B (another student) about something (X). The model considers A's orientation (attitude) towards B and towards X as interdependent, and the three form a system (Severin & Tankard, 2005). In this context, communication between student A and student B with particular messages waits for each other and responds to each other, depending on the content of the conversation. The range of their discussions is based on interviews with them about personal problems, holidays, shopping for each other's needs, including vents about the sustainability of learning at Islamic boarding schools.

It could even be that they are practising the transactional communication model from Barblund (in West & Turner, 2008). As shown in Figure 3 above, a santri with a santri or several other people convey messages in a familiar, friendly and fun way. Because between the two, both have the same experience, with each other. This same experience could be because of fellow friends in elementary school or junior high school or friends they played with when they were in their first village before entering Pondok An-Nidzam or Assalam. In this transactional communication model, although there is noise/interference that is semantic, physical, psychological and physiological, it does not become a crucial obstacle; even communication runs smoothly and communicatively because both of them have the same experience.

Language and Symbols of Communication

a. Language as Culture

The language used in Pesantren An-Nidzom and Assalam in everyday life have fundamental differences. In An-Nidzom Islamic Boarding School, the language used in daily life and association is Indonesian and Sundanese. These two languages are very dominantly used by the kyai, ustadz and santri, in the pulse of the life of the pesantren, both in learning the yellow books, tausiah, formal and informal meetings. This, as stated by Kyai Muhtar, "the language of instruction in the recitation of the yellow book uses Sundanese sometimes Javanese, because the majority of students come from Sundanese people, while informal meetings they use Sundanese as well as Indonesian." Kyai Muhtar's explanation shows that Indonesian and Sundanese are the dominant languages used in An-Nidzom Islamic Boarding School. This is a characteristic of the An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding School since its inception until now and will continue to be maintained as long as the pesantren exists to foster people.

Meanwhile, the languages used in Assalam Islamic Boarding School are Indonesian, Arabic and English. Indonesian is used as an introduction to learning in the classroom and the mosque for grades 1, 2 and 3 of TMI Madrasah Tsanawiyah. Meanwhile, for students who have advanced to grades 4, 5 and 6 or have entered Madrasah Aliyah, the language of instruction in general subjects, such as citizenship, history, mathematics, etc., uses Indonesian. Still, for Arabic issues, the like uses Indonesian. Arabic, and for English lessons using English.

However, Arabic and English are mandatory languages used by all pesantren residents, starting from the kyai, ustadz and students themselves, in social and daily life in the pesantren environment. As stated by Kyai Encep, "Arabic and English are mandatory languages that must be practised by all pesantren residents, especially if all students are in every movement of the life of the Assalam Islamic Boarding School. If a student is caught using the local language or Indonesian, the student concerned will be fined by paying a fine or infaq, which the leadership of the pesantren has determined.

Based on the explanation of Kyai Encep, it can be understood that the Arabic and English languages, which are mandatory in Islamic boarding schools, are Assalam's characteristics from its inception in 1968 until now. In this context, through his ethnographic theory, Hymes explains that the meaning of ethnography itself is the study of the role of language in the communicative behaviour of a society. The community in this study were all residents of the Assalam Islamic boarding school, both kyai, ustadz and students. All residents in the pesantren are required to use Arabic and English in their daily lives. Both languages play an essential role as a means of communication among fellow boarding school residents. Especially students who have stepped on grade 2 and above are required to use both languages, and if they violate it, they will get sanctions. Sanctions are applied according to the level of violation, light, medium and severe.

As a classical culture typical of Indonesia, the model of this salaf pesantren is in the perspective of the ethnographic theory that salaf pesantren is a form of archipelagic culture that has flourished hundreds of years ago in Indonesia. Ethnography is a discussion between communication and language and discusses all three, namely language, communication and culture. The language used by Salaf pesantren in daily life is Indonesian and regional languages. A language is a communication tool used by all pesantren residents and to communicate with the outside world. Language is a tool to communicate in this context, and communication is part of the culture.

The Assalam Islamic Boarding School model is oriented to the Gontor Modern Boarding School, and its founders and clerics are the majority of Gontor alumni. However, many Assalam alumni have become ustadz/ustadzah at their alma mater. Assalam Alumni who have graduated from S1 and S2 from various State Universities both domestically and abroad, such as from Cairo, Egypt and Turkey, return to their alma mater to serve and practice their knowledge. These alumni strengthen the quality of learning, especially Islamic sciences, tahfidz Quran, and sharpen the students' mastery of Arabic and English. Arabic and English a symbols of communication and characteristics that are continuously maintained by the Assalam Islamic Boarding School, as long as Assalam is present in educating and fostering the Islamic generation Robbi Rodiyya.

b. Communication Symbols

The communication symbols in An-Nidzam and Assalam Islamic Boarding Schools consist of verbal symbols and non-verbal symbols. Verbal symbols include the language used by the two pesantren. Verbal symbols that appear more prominent in Pesantren An-Nidzam and Assalam are the words, "Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh", wa'alaikumussalam warahmatullahi wabarakatuh, subhanallah, astagfirullahaladzim, innalillahi wainnailaihi raajiun, Laailaha Illallah, Allahu husbarna, and Asmaul served every evening before sunset. The words "Assalamu'alikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh" (May Allah bestow His salvation, mercy, and blessings), are used by kyai, ustadz or students when opening events, tausiah, lectures and training of muhadharah students, then those who listen answer, "wa 'alaikumussalam warahmatullahi wabarakatuh" (And also may Allah give you safety, love and blessings). Even those words are more beautiful when students pass by ustadz/ustadz, an ustadz with other clerics, and students with other students in the pesantren environment. The phrase, "Subhanallah" (Glory be to Allah), is used when one sees or hears something amazing, "Astagfirullahal adzim" (I ask forgiveness from Allah Most High), when one forgets or makes an unintentional mistake. Furthermore, the words, "Innalillahi wainna ilaihi raajiun" (Indeed we come from Allah and will return to Him), are chanted when someone sees a disaster or hears someone who has died.

Then the lafadz, "Laailaha Illallah" (there is no god but Allah), and "Allahu Akbar" (God is Great), usually echo when chanted during the dhikr of the Maghrib, Isha and Fajr prayers. Both in the An-Nidzam pesantren and Assalam, it is relatively the same. However, there is a difference between marhabaan and shawatan; in An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding School, it is held every Friday night for Isha prayers. In Assalam Islamic Boarding School, it is not held every week but incidentally from time to time. Likewise, "Asmaul Husna" (Names of Allah), if at the An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding School, it is crammed every afternoon before the Maghrib prayer. However, at the Assalam Islamic Boarding School, Assalamul Humana, all students must read it every morning before studying together. Asma ul husna are the 99 names of Allah the Almighty that all students in the two pesantren must memorize.

These communication symbols, truly glorious and sublime, all contain prayer and a servant's acknowledgement of the greatness of God and the almighty power of God. In this context, Susane Langer, the originator of symbol theory, says that a symbol is "an instrument of thought". A character is a human conceptualization of a thing; a sign exists for something. Thus the symbols, assalamu'alaikum wr. Wb. Subhanallah, astaghfirullahaladzim, and others have a beautiful and noble goal: to always pray between fellow Muslims. Prayer in the Islamic perspective, the basis of worship is prayer, "Addu'a Huwa worship", (HR. Abu Dawud At-Tirmidhi) and proclaiming prayer is God's commandment, "Ud'uni astajiblakum" (Pray to Me, I will accept) (Surah Gafir [40]: 60). This is the greatness of Islamic teachings, and all actions always begin with prayer; all momentum, whether it brings happiness or sadness, always begins and ends with prayer. From small things to big things, there is always prayer; for example, before and after sleeping, there is a prayer, before eating and after eating there is a prayer, entering the mosque and leaving the mosque there is a prayer, including jihad the way of Allah. Prayer.

Likewise, the call, which often echoes in the Assalam Islamic boarding school, is the expression of ukhti, Ikhwan, ustadz, ustadszah, mudifah, and others. Meanwhile, at An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding School, the terms buya, brother or sister, ngintunan and adrahi are often echoed. In the perspective of Susane Langer's symbol theory, symbols are used in more complex ways by making someone think about something apart from their presence. A logo is "an instrument of thought". A character is a human conceptualization of something, and a character exists for something. The call for ukhti is a symbol for female students, Ikhwan is the symbol for the call of male students, ustadz is a symbol of calling for a male teacher, and ustadszah is a symbol of calling for a woman.

Similarly, other verbal symbols are Pondok, mudifah, hujrah, santri mukim and santri bats. Pondok is a house or building provided for the residence of students. Hujrah is rooms or rooms in the building, which are offered to students to stay while they are students. Mudifah is the students'

language, which is addressed to those who can be visited or visited by their parents. Santri mukim are students from distant areas and live in certain groups (Dofier, 2019:89). While santri bats, namely students from villages around the pesantren, usually do not stay in the pesantren.

Then there are other terms commonly used in recitation methods such as sorogan, wetonan and bandongan. Soroban is a particular recitation method (Dofier, 2019:54) or the yellow book recitation system utilizing a student facing the teacher individually. At the same time, the wetonan or bandongan method is the primary method of the teaching system in Islamic boarding schools. In this system, a group of students (santri) (between 5 and 500 students) listen to a teacher (kyai) who reads, translates and explains (one of the yellow books) (Dofier, 2019), while the students carry the same book while listening and listening. kyai reading. These symbols are only found in An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding School and other Salaf Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia.

The symbols of verbal communication are the terms found in the pesantren world. In the perspective of symbol theory, that symbol is a human conceptualization of a thing; a character exists for something (Langer, in Littlejohn & Foss, 2012). The term ustadz is used to denote male teachers; ustadzah is assigned to female teachers, santri to indicate students who live in Islamic boarding schools, Pondok as a symbol of where students live, and hujroh is a symbol to indicate rooms or rooms provided for students to stay. Thus the characters were born as a distinctive identity in the world of pesantren so that the signs live in space and time that echo every moment in the life of the pesantren.

Meanwhile, non-verbal symbols are in the form of accessories used by students and artefacts in the state of objects or buildings. Supplements attached to the body include caps, Koko shirts, and sarongs for male students. And headscarves, robes, school uniforms, and mukena for female students. At the same time, the artefacts are in the form of objects and buildings, such as mosques, hujroh, drums, speakers, symbols of the moon and stars, and others.

These non-verbal symbols have their meanings; for example, (1) "cap or skullcap", which male students in both An-Nidzom and Assalam Islamic boarding schools, must be used by students in every activity of Islamic boarding school life, especially when carrying out activities. Salat. Because the cap or skullcap is synonymous with Muslims, although the cap does not belong to Muslims but as the identity of the Indonesian nation. (2) Koko is a symbol of Muslim clothing worn for religious activities or worship. (3) The sarong is a comprehensive piece of cloth sewn at both ends so that it is shaped like a pipe/tube. This sarong has become the culture of the Indonesian nation, which is commonly used by Muslims, especially by students in Islamic boarding schools, including the An-Nidzam and Assalam Islamic boarding schools. (4) The turban is a long and wide cloth tied over the head—generally used by the Middle East and India people. Now the use of turbans in Assalam and An-Nidzom Islamic Boarding Schools, only a small number use it, namely some ustadz and santri.

While the nonverbal symbols used by female students, such as: (1) the veil or headscarf is a kind of scarf that covers most or all of the top of the head and hair of women, in an Islamic perspective, covering the head is obligatory for Muslim women who have reached puberty, as Allah says, "And let them (women) cover their heads with their headscarves, and do not reveal their jewellery or nakedness... (Surah An-Nur [24]: 31). Then emphasized QS. Al-Ahzab [33]: 53, and QS. Al-Ahzab [33]: 59. (2) mukena is a prayer outfit for Muslim women in Indonesia. (3) Nicob is a cloth covering the head or face (for women). The niqab is an ayar'i term, a kind of cloth used to cover a woman's face. The use of the niqab in Assalam and An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding Schools is not required, so no one wears the niqab; there are only one or two clerics who wear it.

Then some symbols can be used by male and female students, such as tasbih and sajdah. Tasbih is a tool for dhikr in a necklace or bracelet made of wood, plastic or Kokka. Every santri must have a tasbih; of course, the shape, colour is very different. And prayer mats are tools made of cloth that usually have Islamic nuances and patterns. Muslims use the prayer rug as a base to keep it clean while praying. Of course, every ustadz and santri at Pesantren Assalam and An-Nidzam have a prayer mat; sometimes, they have 2 or 3 kinds of prayer mats used when praying alternately.

There are also other artefacts in the Assalam and An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding Schools, including mosques, mosque minarets, round crescents, drums and *kohkol*. A mosque is a place of worship for Muslims. The Assalam Islamic Boarding School has two mosques, the first mosque is to the west of the krai's house, and the mosque is dedicated to the family of the santri when the children are mudifah (squeezing). At the same time, the second mosque is located in the east amid hujroh students. While the An-Nidzam Islamic Boarding School has a large mosque with 1000 students. The mosque's minaret is a distinctive architecture with a tower-like structure and is often found adjacent to the mosque or integrated with the mosque. And the round crescent and star have had religious significance since pre-Islamic times and are now widely used by Muslims in Asia, which are stored in the minarets of mosques.

Drums have been used in religious rituals for thousands of years, and the Annidzam Islamic Boarding School's salaf pesantren mosque has a large collection of traditional percussion instruments. *Kohkol* is an Indonesian kentongan, or traditional communication tool, which is commonly held in patrol posts or mosques. Only at An-Nidzom Islamic Boarding School can one find *bedug* and *kohkol*, as these instruments are only found in Salafi pesantren. When it comes to the modern pesantren, such as that of Assalam, there is no drumming or *kohkol* playing. When it comes to traditional culture in terms of music, drums are an example. Traditional Islamic boarding schools, rather than modern Islamic boarding schools or kholaf, are where you'll find them.

CONCLUSION

There is a fundamental difference between *salaf* and *kholaf* pesantren. An-Nidzam salaf Islamic boarding school emphasizes the regional language/Sundanese in the association of daily life in the pesantren environment. And emphasize learning the yellow books in exploring religious sciences, ranging from the science of monotheism, fiqh, morals of Sufism, interpretation of Islam and *nahu* and *sorof*. Meanwhile, modern Islamic boarding schools/Khalaf Assalam emphasize mastery of Arabic and English in interacting with fellow pesantren residents in daily life in the pesantren environment. Likewise, the learning of religious sciences is explored through contemporary books that are classically invited. Meanwhile, the communication patterns between An-Nidzam Salafi pesantren and Asslam *kholaf* are relatively the same. Thus, it is appropriate for An-Nidzam pesantren to be called a representation of a salaf pesantren and an Assalam pesantren to be called a modern pesantren because the two pesantren have fulfilled the requirements.

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