

The Use of Diglossia in *Sumenep* Regency, *Madura*

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze the use of diglossia in *Sumenep* Regency, *Madura*, and its implementation in society. This research uses a descriptive qualitative method by using observation, documentation, and interview with the selected informants to obtain the data. The results find three variations of diglossia in *Sumenep* Regency; the high, middle, and low variety. A high variation of diglossia intends to speak to a higher social status (religious leaders, parents, teachers). Meanwhile, the middle variety is to communicate between the older to younger, and the low variety diglossia tends to speak between friends or classmates. Besides, the result also discovers that the more formal the situation and the higher a person's social status in society, the higher the variation of diglossia is applied. The high diglossia is mostly used on official occasions, including government and religious activities. Meanwhile, the middle and low variations are implemented in non-formal situations such as family life, friendship, and sales and purchases. In addition, the closer the social distance, the lower variety of language is employed.

Keywords: Diglossia, Variety, Sociolinguistics, *Sumenep*, *Madura*

1. INTRODUCTION.

Language plays an essential part in communication since it is the key to build a social connection. Human beings use languages to transmit messages and ideas to communicate. In daily life, the different way people communicate to neighbors, parents, friends, even respected people form the standard-set. This phenomenon of various languages used to speak with diverse people is called diglossia.

Diglossia has been discussed from time to time. Diglossia is related to social interaction with social distance because it affects how speech is delivered. A variety of diglossia might become an interesting topic to discuss since each region has a diverse cultural background where each culture has various languages.

Diglossia has become a study in the sociolinguistic discipline. Fasold (1984) defines diglossia as a high and low variation of a social unit. Bloomfield (1993) in his book, entitled *Language* claimed that diglossia is the speaker's capacity in using two

languages simultaneously. Furthermore, Ferguson (1959) in Ibrahim and Salim (2020) refers to diglossia as the performance in various contexts of two versions of the same languages. He also suggests that diglossia refers to a language with two or more variants, separated into high and low varieties. The high variety diglossia is usually used in formal situations such as books, newspapers, TV news, education, and religious activity. Meanwhile, the low variety is used in informal occasions such as shopping and gossiping.

Among numerous regions, the author is interested in examining how *Batuan* people, *Sumenep* Regency use diglossia and its application in society. *Madura* is one of the *East Java* provinces, located on the island connected to *Suramadu Bridge*. This island is also known as *Salt Island* since it contributes to salt production. In this area, people mostly live as fishermen and traders. According to history, this location is a heritage where it was still a palace led by the king before the independence of Indonesia. It is represented by the historical legacy of *Keraton Sumenep* (Palace Sumenep), which now becomes the most visited tourist destination. Therefore, the historical value is still retained where language varieties might be one of those inherited values. Language variety has a significant impact on society since they use the language to communicate in daily life becomes a habit passed on previously by ancestors then stratified in compliance with the social standards.

The purpose of this research is to answer how diglossia is used and implemented in the *Sumenep* Regency. The author found some previous studies related to this topic. The first is Chalimatus & Fathur's work (2018) entitled *Diglossia in Javanese-Indonesia in Senior High School Educational Domain: Sociolinguistics Study in Tegal Regency*. They analyzed the pattern of diglossia in *Tegal* in the educational institution using the observation and conversational method. The findings show that the high variety becomes the standard used in formal circumstances, whereas the low variation of diglossia is mostly used in the non-formal activity.

The second research was written by David G. K. Taylor, entitled *Bilingualism & Diglossy in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia* (2017). The results reveal that language interaction is almost universal in *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, but there is still variation in local circumstance needs to be considered. Besides, in *Northern Syria*, the dialect of *Aramaic* is rarely written but much more frequently spoken. The *Aramaic* dialect widely develops in wide-area likely *Edessa* (North of *Syria* like *Hatra*, *Palmyra*, and *Babylon*, to the South area as *Nabatea*, *Palestinian Jewish*, and the Christian community.

Mohammad (2021) also examines the diglossic features of the Australian Arabic-speaking community. The results reveal that the number of years spent, age, and educational level of the members determine the high and low variety of diglossia. He also claims that educated Arabian-Australians prefer to speak English in technical conversation. Furthermore, Ibrahim and Salim (2020) examined the impact of diglossia on phonological processing in *North Israel*. They claim that the lexical gap has a significant effect where PA spoken language is simpler than MSA. Meanwhile, the naming speed of a spoken language is better than others.

Comparatively, the previous research focused on examining diglossia in some aspects. David (2017) and Muhammad (2021) conduct studies that focus on specific communities. Another work by Chalimatus and Fathur (2018) investigate how diglossia is used in the educational institution by Javanese-Indonesian students while Ibrahim and Salim (2020) observe the phonological aspects of diglossia. Meanwhile, this study examines how diglossia levels are generally employed and implemented in the society of Batuan Regency.

Therefore, by conducting this study, it is expected that readers or other investigators and *Madurese* will know how diglossia should be used in the *Madurese* community. It is essential because diglossia is related to how a person can speak politely under the norms in society. Inappropriate use of diglossia can lead to misunderstandings because it is considered impolite behavior in the social community.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is descriptive qualitative. Subroto (1992) adds that qualitative research is observation in the form of sentences, situations, words, pictures, and discourse. In this present study, the author uses observation, documentation, and interview to obtain the data. Creswell (2012) defines observation as the activities to gather direct information by identifying people in specific locations. Besides, according to Maykut & Morehouse (1994), the researchers collect observation and interview data in the form of field notes and audiotape recordings, which are then transcribed for analysis.

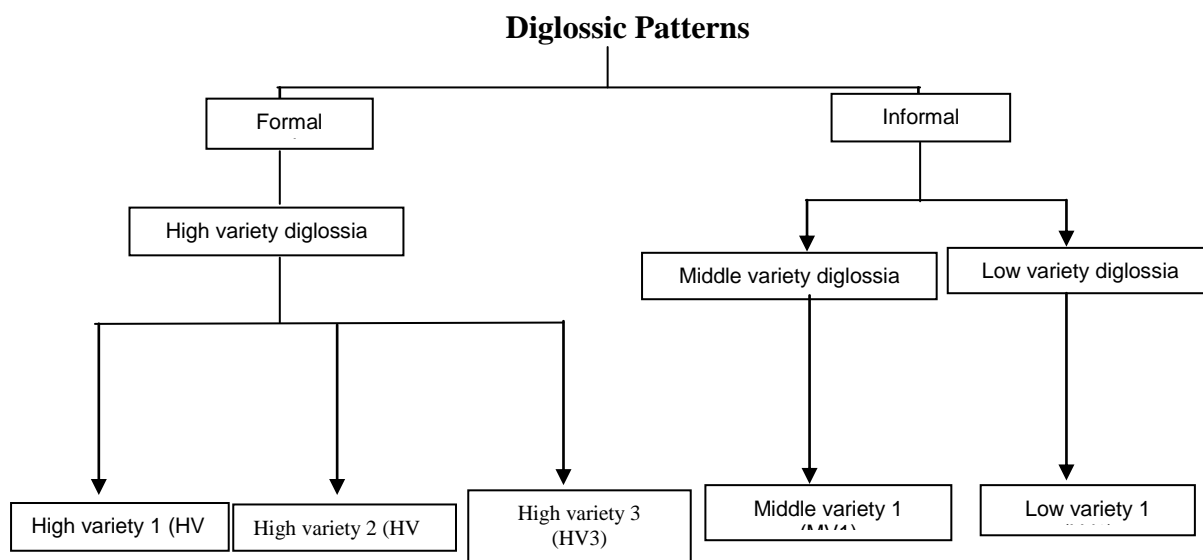
Thus, the author collects the data by observing the social phenomena to see the religious and traditional market activities in *Sumenep* Regency. It is chosen for 10 participants from different settings to see their everyday activities in performing diglossia. Besides, several formal activities are documented such as school, government, and

religious activities. The author classifies the data and transcribes the data to put in the analysis.

The data taken is conversation and speech based on the activities carried out. The author interviews three informants over the age of 50 who are indigenous people who have direct life experience in this area. The selected informants are interviewed to find out how the implementation of diglossia in *Batuan, Sumenep*. These informants include religious leaders and community leaders to dig deeper into the information needed to support the data analysis.

3. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The author investigates how diglossia is used in Sumenep and its implementation in society, as described in the diagram below:



No	The use of diglossia		
	Setting	Variety	Data
1	Formal setting	HV1	<i>Ajunan</i>
		HV2	<i>Panjenengan</i>
		HV3	<i>Sampean</i>
2	Informal setting	MV1	<i>Dhika</i>
		LV1	<i>Be'en</i>

3.1. Variety of Diglossia in *Sumenep* Regency

1. High Variety Diglossia (HV)

A high variety of diglossia is often used by society in *Sumenep* for attending formal occasions. This HV has three levels; HV 1, HV2, and HV3. Here are the data included:

a. High Variety 1 (HV1)

Context: A student speaks to her teacher (a religious leader) to ask him to deliver a speech at his wedding party

- S1 : *Cangkolang kainto kyae, abdina terro ngondanga **ajunan** ceramah walimatul ursy.* (Excuse me, I want to invite **you** to deliver a speech in my wedding party)
 S2 : *Bile Jeriya?* (When?)
 S1 : *Tanggal 16 Juli kyae* (on sixteen of July)
 S2 : *Insya Allah, mon tadek halangan engkok* (God willing, **I** will come)

HV1 is the highest stage of diglossia considered as the most honorific word to speak with the highly respected people in society such as the religious leader in the Islamic Boarding School (kyai). The object *ajunan* spoken by a student is to show good behavior when communicating with people considered to have high status in society. S2 uses the word *engkok* (low variety) which refers to the student because he is much younger than the religious elder.

b. High Variety 2 (HV2)

- S1 : *Assalamualaikum*
 S2 : *Walaikumsalam*
 S1 : *Saporana ten **kaule** ru kaburu terro ngonjenga **panjenengan** acara aqiqahan* (excuse me that **I am** in hurry, I want to invite **you** to attend the delivery party for a newborn baby)
 S2 : *Insya Allah* (God willing)

The use of *kaule* is spoken by the student to his teacher. The word *kaule* refers to the student as the younger person, and the term *panjenengan* intends to show his respect to his teacher. The implementation shows that a student gives the honored attribute to his teacher for inviting him to a delivery party for a newborn baby.

c. High Variety 3 (HV3)

Context: a child is asking for money from his parents to buy a new motorcycle.

- S1 : *Ba, **kaule** terro ngobengena sapeda motor* (Father, **I** want to buy a motorcycle)
 S2 : *Bile se melea conk?* (When?)
 S1 : *Samangken mon sampeyan ageduen pak.* (Today if you have money)

S2 : *Bulen dating conk, **engkok** gitak gajian satea* (next month, **I am** not receiving salary yet).

HV3 is usually used by the younger to speak to the older such as the conversation between father and son. A son is asking for money from his father to buying a new motorcycle. The words *kaule* intends to show his respect and politeness to his father categorized into LV1 (low variety) spoken by father as a person who has more authority in the family.

Thus, it is reasonable to infer that HV1, HV2, and HV3 are used to converse with different people in society. Besides, social distance also influences the use of each variety, where the speaker prefers to use HV1 and HV2 to communicate with respected people with higher social status. Meanwhile, HV3 is mostly employed in the family where the relation of social distance is closer.

2. Middle Variety 1 (MV1)

Context: a brother is talking to her older brother

S1 : ***Dhika** mare pon, abhajang kak?* (have **you** prayed, brother?)
S2 : ***Engkok** mare abhajang ghellek, lek* (yes **I** have)

The middle variety of diglossia is employed to communicate between an older to younger in the family. The term *engkok* in the conversation above refers to his younger brother. Meanwhile, the younger uses the word *dhika* as the honorification to his brother.

3. Low Variety 1 (LV1)

Context: Speaker 1 is speaking to his friends to ask him to eat. S1 and S2 are a friend in the same age.

S1 : *Mare ngakan **be'en**?* (Have you eaten?)
S2 : *Iye, **engkok** mare ngakan* (yes I have)

In the conversation above, S1 speaks informally to his friend to ask whether he has eaten or not. The word *ngakan* (eat) is categorized into low variety for a verb. It also tends to be used to speak to classmates or friends. It will be something harsh or impolite if used to conversing with parents or teachers. The subject *engkok* is categorized into a low variety paralleled with object *be'en*. Here, if we see from the social distance, S1 and S2 have a close social distance.

Therefore, it is possible to infer that the middle and low variety are employed in the informal setting as in the classmate conversation. People with close social distance tend to use a middle and low variation to speak to others to show intimacy.

3.2. The Implementation of Diglossia in *Sumenep* Regency

The following is the implementation of diglossia in *Sumenep* Regency in the different settings of places. It is purposed to know more how diglossia is employed in a formal setting as in religious and government activities or non-formal setting as in the traditional market by social community.

1. Family Life

In the family life of Madurese communities, the use of diglossia is classified into three varieties; low, middle, and high. In general, high variety 2 and 3 are employed in family life differently since every member has a different social status. For example, a father has the highest position since he is the head of a family whereas a mother usually will use the middle variety when talking to the father. However, a father will use the low variation talking to the mother and the children. Here are some contexts in the data taken from the observation:

Context: a wife is talking to her husband

- A : *Abah, deri dimma **dhika**? Mare ngakan?* (Dad, where are **you** from? Have you eaten?)
 B : *Mare ngakan **engkok** deri onjengan gik buru.* (**I** have eaten in thanksgiving party).

Context: father is talking to his mother.

- A : ***Demma** bei cong ? mak abit tak e kanallee* (Where have you been. I am not seeing you in some days)
 B : *Sibuk **kaule** banyak lalakon e disana oreng (**I'm** so busy with my works in some villages)*

The use of diglossia in the family considers some contexts. For instance, the language used by a father to his wife and a son to his mother will be different than vice versa. The children and wife should use a high variety of language as a form of respect for their father and her husband. However, it will be different when a father talks to grandparents (his mother or father), he tends to use high variety language while the grandmother will use low variety language speaking to him. From the conversation above, it can be seen that the term *dhika* (middle variety) is used by a wife to her husband. Meanwhile, a father tends to use the lowest variety of diglossia *engkok* to his wife and a high variety of *kaule* to his mother to show his respect to his parents.

Context: the sister asks her older brother to pick her up at school

- A : *Cak, kancaen **kaule** mangkat les e sakolaan* (brother, pick **me** up to school please?)
B : *Anape mon **be'en** katibik?* (Why don't **you** go alone?)
A : *Sakek sokoh kaule, malarat se numpak sapeda motor* (my legs are injured, I can't ride a motorcycle)
B : *Iyut* (okay)

A younger sister wants to ask for help from her older brother to take her to school using a high variety (*kaule*) because structurally, an older brother has a higher social position in the family. Meanwhile, the variety used is lower by saying *be'en* when replying to his sisters' question.

2. Government

*Pangaseppo, para hadirin se bethen **kaule** a muljeagi, alhamdulillah **are mangken** bethen kaule sareng **ajunan** sedegeh bisa kompol e tempat kak dinto minangka menghadiri acara petto beles Agustus e lapangan kak dinto. Memperingati acara petto beles Agustus, salaen menambah rasa cinta dek bangsa torjuken nagere berarti kita jugen asyokor bisa arasaagi saena kemerdekaan.*

(Honorable for the elders and audiences **I** respect and glorify, thank God **today** I and all of **you** can gather in the event celebrating the Independence Day of 17 August in this place. This commemoration should increase our love for the nation and great gratitude to Allah SWT).

In formal government events, the implementation of diglossia is applied in an official ceremony. For example, a host opens the ceremony by saying thanksgiving to Allah and thanking the audience. A high variety of diglossia is used in the terms *ajunan* and *kaule*. *Ajunan* refers to the audience, and *kaule* refers to the speaker. Besides, the adverb *are mangken* is regarded as a high variation to speak in a formal event. The lowest variety of *are mangken* is paralleled with *satia* will be considered impolite to use in the official ceremony since it tends to use in the in-formal situation like communicating with friends.

3. Religious Activity

*Patot asokkor beden **kaule** sareng **ajunan** satekje dek ajunan epon Allah Swt karna ebeirrik kesempatan agulongko edelem acara kak dinto. Shalawat serta salam ngereng ator agi dek guste kanjeng Nabi Saw sekadimma karna beliaulah bethen kaule sareng ajhunan sateje bisa arass'a agi nikmat iman tor jhugen islam.*

(Praise our (**me** and **you**) gratitude to Allah SWT who has been giving us to attend the event at this place. Salawat and greetings to the Prophet Muhammad SAW because of him, we (me and you) can all feel the blessings of faith and Islam).

The religious gathering is frequently attended by influential persons such as religious elders and public leaders. During the event, there will be a speech delivered opening the ceremony. In the speech above, the use of language variety tends to be high. It is a form of honorification to religious elders who are highly respected as role models in society. The use of *ajunan* indicates the highest level of diglossia. Besides, the language variation in the speech does not contain low variations at all.

4. Selling and Buying in the Traditional Market

- A : *Caabina gen **sanapa**? (**how much** does chilies cost ma'am?)*
 B : *Pettong polo lema sakilo (75000 for 1 kg)*
 A : *Tak bisa korang? (may I bargain)*
 B : ***Berempa** bing? (**how much** do you want?)*
 A : *Sabitek gi? Edu 'a'agina tegengna laris manis (60000, I hope your selling is going well ma'am)*
 B : *Enggi pon. Amien (alright, aamiin)*
 A : *Kalangkong buk (thanks ma'am)*

The conversation above occurs during the buying and selling transaction in the *Sumenep* traditional market. Here, a buyer is trying to politely bid on the price to the middle-aged seller to reduce the chili's price. Besides, someone who wants a lower price should persuade the seller using appropriate words to get the price wanted. The word *sanapa* indicates middle variation because the buyer speaks to an older seller in an informal setting while the seller prefers to use the adverb *berempa* indicates a lower variation.

5. Friendship

- A : *Mad entara kadimma **be'en**? (Mad, where are **you** going?)*
 B : *Amaena PS mayu noro 'a **engkok** mad ((playing PS, lets join **me**)*
 B : *Iye mayu, keng engkok entar ka tang emba gellu yeh (alright, but I have to deliver the food to my grandma)*
 A : *Apa keng? (What?)*
 B : *Ngaterra jejen yaa, ebieg ka kompoya se laen ca'en (Delivering the snacks to her other grandchildren)*
 A : *Iye lah mayu tulien (alright, let's hurry)*

The language applied in a friendship can be seen in the conversation among two classmates in an informal situation. There are no different high and low variations used. It is due to the intimacy and their friendship. In the conversation, both speakers A and B use

a low variation *engkok* and *be'en*. They are comfortable using these variations since they have the same ages and already know each other for a long time.

4. CONCLUSION

The author makes conclusions based on the result and the discussion. First, there are three varieties of diglossia in *Sumenep* Regency; low, medium, and high. A high variety tends to communicate with people having high social standing (religious leader, parents). The middle variety of diglossia tends to converse between the elder and the younger, and the low variety is used to speak with classmates and friends.

Second, the more formal the situation, the higher the social position, the higher variation will be employed. In addition, high-variety diglossia is mainly employed in the formal situation (government and religious activities). Meanwhile, the middle and low-variety tend to be employed in non-formal circumstances like family, friendship, and sales and purchases. Furthermore, the closer the social distance is, the lower variety of language is employed.

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