

Codeswitching in Islamic Religious Discourse: The Role of Insha'Allah¹

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This paper examines the patterns and meanings of codeswitching induced by the Arabic term **insha'Allah** in a study involving three languages: Indonesian, Javanese and Arabic. The data was obtained from Islamic religious meetings called *musyawarah* in Malang, East Java, Indonesia. To help interpret the data, Situational and Metaphorical approach (Blom and Gumperz, 1972) and politeness theories (Brown and Levinson, 1987) were applied. The patterns of Indonesian-Javanese and of Javanese-Indonesian CS are indicated by the significant use of Javanese *kromo* words *nggih*, *ngoten* and *saget*. However, the patterns of Indonesian-Arabic and of Arabic-Indonesian CS are indicated by such Arabic expressions as **barokah**, **alhamdulillah jazakumullohu khoiro** and **assalamu'alaikum**. The participants' reason for switching appears to be mostly influenced by metaphorical factors. In relation to this, the use of these Arabic expressions is foremost to gain religious merits. While other studies show that the meaning of **insha'Allah** has been considerably corrupted from its religious meaning, in the present study, however, **insha'Allah** was used to represent a total submission to God and as a greater sense of politeness.

Introduction

Codeswitching (hereafter CS): the use of two or more languages in conversation, has long been a topic of interest in linguistics. Investigation on CS has been carried out by many researchers from diverse disciplinary backgrounds in a variety of contexts such as within an educational setting (e.g. Martin-Jones, 1995; Cheng, 2003), a courtroom setting (e.g. Drew, 1990; David, 2003), a family situation (e.g. Williams, 2005), and a workplace environment (e.g. Venugopal, 2000). However, very little attention has been paid to examining CS in a religious domain (Spolsky, 2003). In fact, 'until recently, the interaction between language and religion as topics relevant to bilingualism or multilingualism has been relatively little explored' (Spolsky, 2003:81), with the notable exceptions being Barnes and Mahomed (1994) and Wong (2000).

Barnes and Mahomed (1994), for example, examine code mixing between Arabic and English in a community of South African Indian Muslims. Their data were collected from the Islamic community in Ladium, a suburb of Pretoria where 90% of the Indian population of South African Indian Muslims live. The people in this community are bilinguals of English and one of their ancestral languages (such as Awadhi, Bodjpuri, Gujarati, Konkani, Memon, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu or some other lesser known varieties). Barnes and Mahomed (1994) focused their study on bilinguals of English and the varieties most commonly spoken by Muslim Indians such as Gujarati, Urdu, Memon and Konkani. The results of their study show that code

¹ This paper was presented to the Second Annual Rhizomes: Re-visioning Boundaries Conference of The School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies, The University of Queensland, in Brisbane, 24–25 February 2006.

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mixing with Arabic occurs most frequently when the participants discussed topics pertaining to worship or other religious events.

Another relevant study was carried out by Wong (2000), who examined the cultural functions of CS among bilingual speakers from different communities. To obtain the data, she surveyed nine bilingual speakers, four females and five males, via e-mail. Unfortunately, she did not explain her participants' language background. She points out that various participants switch to more intimate language for religious purposes, simply because they feel more comfortable or because the religion is perceived in a specific language. Mimi, for example, who is a Catholic, feels more comfortable confessing her sins to a priest in Spanish. Also for prayers she prefers Spanish because she learned all the prayers in that language.

Although each of these studies identified instances of CS in relation to religious matters, they overlooked a number of critical issues. For example, the findings of these studies were not based on the naturally occurring conversation data obtained from religious contexts. Barnes and Mahomed (1994), for instance, only examined the instances of CS between English and Arabic. They did not extend their analysis to identify the role of cultural aspects in the occurrence of CS and their study failed to consider the diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the participants. Wong (2000), on the other hand, whose focus was an examination of the cultural functions of CS, in fact, did not explore the linguistic background or the countries of origin of her participants. Consequently, she lacked a comprehensive picture that could have influenced the findings of her study.

The present study investigates CS in the religious context of the *musyawarah* (Islamic religious meetings) conducted by the members of the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Association (IIDA) in Malang, East Java, Indonesia. The term *musyawarah* refers to meetings carried out by the members of IIDA in a regular basis for religious purposes. The *musyawarah* is attended only by the members (male) of the organizing body of IIDA. The *musyawarah* was chosen as the site of the present study because (1) the lack of CS studies in the religious context and (2) the participants are free to use the language that they feel confident with, that is, Indonesian, Javanese and Arabic. Having such specific characteristics, the results of the present study will reveal rich data from the interaction not only between these languages but also between cultures that each language is drawn from. These three languages used in the *musyawarah* maintain their own functions and roles.

Indonesian serves many different functions. During the Dutch and Japanese imperialism, Indonesian was used as a medium of activism in the struggle for independence. Nowadays, it serves as official, state, national, unifying and unification language (Nababan, 1979, Nababan, 1991). As an 'official language', Indonesian is used by government bodies for official communication. As a 'state language', it symbolizes an independent nation that has its own government; while the term 'national language' indicates that Indonesian is used as an instrument to express a national identity. It is also called a 'unifying language' since it unifies all ethnicities in the region into the Indonesian nation. Finally, it is used as a 'unification language' signifying the unification of geographical regions into one country. Thus, Indonesian has been used as a medium of communication in political affairs, education (Indonesia, 1989:29), economic activities, religious affairs, and media and journalism (Sudarsono, 1993). For many people in some urban places such as Jakarta, Indonesian is the primary language, but in smaller cities like Malang, East Java, it is a second language. It is

argued that people who can speak Indonesian fluently and accurately hold themselves the impression of being educated and modern (Sneddon, 2003).

The Javanese language, the mother tongue for Javanese people, has the largest number of speakers compared to other ethnic languages in Indonesia (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo, 1982; Kaplan and Baldauf, 2003; Sneddon, 2003). Javanese is a complex language due to its linguistic and cultural factors. From the linguistic point of view, Javanese speakers use at least three speech levels: Javanese *kromo* 'high', *madyo* 'middle' and *ngoko* 'low'. Javanese *kromo* is spoken by people of lower social status to people of higher social status or reciprocally between people with a distant relationship. Javanese *madyo* 'middle' is spoken, to a lesser extent, to people whom one wants to show a certain level of respect, but not as high as that shown by speaking Javanese *kromo*. Javanese *ngoko* is chosen when speaking between intimates or by someone of higher status to someone of lower status (e.g. an aristocrat to commoner or adult to child). From a cultural perspective, Javanese speakers should consider two important aspects: first *who* the participant is, requiring the speaker to consider such factors as the social status, age, gender, level of education, heredity and social rank of the interlocutors. Second, *how* the users express the language, this requires the speaker to consider the socio-cultural elements of the Javanese culture such as speech manners, respect, awkwardness and indirection. Failure to establish these aspects in interaction can result in disharmonious conversation and the speaker will be considered *durung Jowo* 'not yet Javanese' or *ora duwe unggah-ungguh* 'lacking in politeness'. In Javanese society, these terms have a 'negative' connotation, indicating that the speaker cannot yet control their emotions, and as a result, may violate an interaction.

Besides Indonesian and local language, some people also speak a foreign language(s), such as English, German, French, Japanese and Arabic. Among these foreign languages, English is the most important language for educational and economic reasons. Therefore, it is compulsory for students from junior high schools to university to learn it (Lengkanawati, 2004). Arabic is also an important foreign language in Indonesia. However, the reason for learning Arabic differs to English. The main reason for Indonesian to learn Arabic is for religious purposes: to understand the Koran (Muslims' Holy Book) and Hadiths (the Prophet Muhammad's messages). That is to say, because Indonesia is the largest nation with a Muslim majority population (Azra, 2004), the Arabic language, then, has become an important language to learn. Many Indonesian, including many Javanese, are familiar with Arabic. For Javanese Muslims, they may not speak only Indonesian and Javanese but more likely to some degree also speak Arabic.

The present study is of importance because none of the earlier CS studies undertaken in the Indonesian context had a particular focus on the religious context, nor have they looked at more than two languages. Previous researchers have investigated CS in such areas as in public encounters (e.g. Santoso, 1996; Errington, 1998), neighbouring contexts (Goebel, 2000), in *ludruk* 'East Java folk theatre' performances (Gunarwan, 2000), in family environment (e.g. Rokhman, 2001), and in radio broadcasts (e.g. Villyasari, 2002). These studies indicate that Indonesian-Javanese CS is used to indicate familiarity or a friendlier attitude to interlocutors; to appeal for in-groupness; to revert to traditionalism; to mark informal situations and to reduce assertiveness. On the other hand, Javanese-Indonesian CS signals more distant relationships, increased assertiveness, a more modern attitude, to show authority and formality, and to avoid status ambiguity/discomfort. This paper has two main purposes: (1) to identify

the location of **insha'Allah** in CS data and (2) to examine the meaning of CS influenced by **insha'Allah**.

Method

This study employs triangulation method to collect the data: recording the naturally occurring conversations, distributing questionnaires and carrying out interviews. The conversational data were obtained from six meetings of the *musyawarah* conducted by the members of IIDA in Malang, East Java, Indonesia over a period of four months (December 2002-March 2003). The total number of the participants involved in these six meetings were 195 attendees; however, only 91 participants took part in the interactions during the *musyawarah*. The total duration of recordings was 13 hours of the *musyawarah* and this produced 43,621 words. All of these *musyawarah* were performed in the evening at different mosques. In addition, open-ended or semi-structured interviews were also employed. The purpose of conducting interviews was to obtain further in-depth explanations about the rationale for the participants to use **insha'Allah** in CS context in the *musyawarah*. In order to do this, 16 informants were chosen to interview based on their use of the term **insha'Allah** in their codeswitching utterance.

This study draws on Situational and Metaphorical approach (Blom & Gumperz, 1972) in which situational CS refers to a language choice which is induced by topics, participants and settings and conversely metaphorical CS concerns language choice which is not influenced by the speaker's stylistic purpose. This theory was the results of Blom and Gumperz's study in Hemnesberget, a fisherman village in northern Norway. They investigated two dialects in the village, called *Bokmal* (Norwegian standard dialect) and *Ranamal* (local dialect). They found that situational CS occurred when residents used *Bokmal* on formal occasions such as in school and church, and switched to *Ranamal* when they were involved in casual and informal conversations. Metaphorical CS, in contrast, occurred when both bilingual speakers used *Bokmal* and *Ranamal* in the same transaction. This situation took place because both speakers and interlocutors shared similar social identities (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). A specific example of the metaphorical CS occurred when people in Hemnesberget interacted at the post office. People used *Ranamal* for greetings and inquiries about family members, while *Bokmal* was used to talk about the business part of the transaction. Based on that observation, Blom and Gumperz (1972) concluded that the speakers need to use their shared knowledge in order to establish a harmonious community.

The Meaning of Insha'Allah

The Arabic phrase **insha'Allah** has a literal meaning similar to the English "if God wills". Historically, Muslims have to say **insha'Allah** when referring to something they want to do in the future. The term **insha'Allah** is also mentioned several times in the Koran. For example, it was uttered by Isaac when his father, Abraham, told him about a dream in which Abraham was asked by God to slaughter Isaac (sûrah 37, As-Sâffât: 102, Part 22, page 603). Wisely, Isaac replied to do what God had instructed by saying:

"O my father! Do that which you are commanded, Insha'Allah [**insha'Allah**] (if Allah wills), you shall find me of *As-Sâbirûn* (the patient)."

This illustrates the literal meaning of **insha'Allah** used religiously as an expression of total submission to God. By fulfilling the command of God, he believed that God would classify

them as patient persons. This view is found similar with that explained in *the Dictionary of Islamic Terminology* (Gayo, 2004:225). The term **insha’Allah** must be used by Muslims to express a certain condition as whether or not one can fulfill doing something by relying on the Will of God. This is to say that the speaker should specify if they intend to come, by saying, “**Insha’Allah**, I come”. On the other hand, if they cannot come, then should say, “**Insha’Allah** I cannot come”.

In daily communication, however, Muslims use it for different reasons. Johns (1985) and Nazzal (2001) who examine how Muslims interpret the use of **insha’Allah** in Indonesian context and in Arabic speaking context find several similar reasons. For example, both of them note that **insha’Allah** is used when the users do not want to make a commitment. This instance occurs when the speaker is not interested in the interlocutors’ request, offer, or invitation. The reason for saying **insha’Allah**, according to Nazzal (2001), is to mitigate the speaker’s rejection. In a similar sense, Johns (1985) finds that it is used to avoid offending interlocutors’ feelings. This is also common in Javanese culture where people generally feel awkward about saying ‘No’ to express disagreement. Thus, when used in response to an invitation, there is often confusion over whether the invitation will be taken up or not. This Arabic phrase, according to Nazzal can also be used to release one from the responsibility for carrying out a request or accepting an invitation. The aim to use **insha’Allah** in this instance is to avoid social conflict, to maintain face, and to preserve harmony if one fails to fulfill one’s request or invitation. The recitation, as Nazzal claims, can bring a lot of merits and payoffs for both the speaker and interlocutor. For example, the speaker does not need to worry about incurring any cost or staking the interlocutor’s self-image if the speaker is unable to accomplish the interlocutor’s request.

The Number and Position of Insha’Allah in Codeswitching Data

Based on the naturally occurring conversation data, **insha’Allah** occurred 422 times in the corpus of 43,621 words. Of 422 occurrences, 52 instances were found as markers that influence its speakers to switch between Indonesian, Javanese, and Arabic in the *musyawarah*, and each instance can be distinguished as having one of three functions as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Number and functions of CS influenced by **insha’Allah**

No	Types of CS	Situational function	Metaphorical function	Linguistic function
1	Indonesian-Javanese <i>ngoko</i>	1	1	1
2	Indonesian-Javanese <i>madyo</i>	-	4	-
3	Indonesian-Javanese <i>kromo</i>	-	20	-
4	Javanese <i>ngoko</i> -Indonesian	-	2	-
5	Javanese <i>madyo</i> -Indonesian	1	1	-
6	Javanese <i>kromo</i> -Indonesian	4	4	-
7	Indonesian-Arabic	-	9	-
8	Arabic-Indonesian	1	3	-
	Total	7	44	1

As shown in Table 1, the phrase **insha’Allah** was used 27 times in Indonesian-Javanese CS, 12 times in Javanese-Indonesian CS, 9 times in Indonesian-Arabic CS and 4 times in Arabic-Indonesian CS. The reasons for switching were mainly influenced by metaphorical functions, which were represented by 44 usages, and almost half (20 usages) of these usages occurred in

Indonesian-Javanese *kromo* CS. In contrast, the total number of usages with situational functions was 7.

The position of **insha'Allah** as a CS marker in the present study varied. In Indonesian-Javanese CS, the position of **insha'Allah** occurred in ten different positions (see Table 2). Most of its occurrence appeared before a clause of conclusion in Indonesian-Javanese *kromo* CS (13 instances). On the other hand, the use of this marker in the other positions was found relatively infrequently.

Table 2: The position of **insha'Allah** in Indonesian-Javanese CS

No	Position of insha'Allah	Indonesian-Javanese <i>ngoko</i> CS	Indonesian-Javanese <i>madyo</i> CS	Indonesian-Javanese <i>kromo</i> CS
1	Before a clause of signification	1	-	-
2	Between subject and predicate	1	-	-
3	Before a clause of qualification	1	-	-
4	Before a clause of opportunity	-	1	-
5	Before a clause of confirmation	-	2	2
6	Before a clause of inability	-	1	1
7	Before a clause of extent	-	-	1
8	Before a clause of conclusion	-	-	13
9	Before a clause of ability	-	-	2
10	Between a clause of cause and effect	-	-	1
	Total	3	4	20

In Javanese-Indonesian CS, however, **insha'Allah** occurred in five various positions within a sentence (see Table 3), yet most of which appeared before clauses of confirmation (4 instances). The highest frequencies of these instances were found in Javanese *kromo*-Indonesian CS. In other positions of the sentence, the use of this marker occurred less often.

Table 3: The position of **insha'Allah** in Javanese-Indonesian CS

No	Positions	Javanese <i>ngoko</i> -Indonesian CS	Javanese <i>madyo</i> -Indonesian CS	Javanese <i>kromo</i> -Indonesian CS
1	Turn-initial position	-	-	1
2	Between subject and predicate	-	-	1
3	Before a clause of suggestion	1	2	1
4	Before a clause of confirmation	1	-	4
5	Before a clause of addition	-	-	1
	Total	2	2	8

Furthermore, in Indonesian-Arabic CS and in Arabic-Indonesian CS **insha'Allah** occurred in only two main positions within a sentence each (see Table 4). In Indonesian-Arabic CS, **insha'Allah** came up mainly before clauses of expectation (6 instances), while in Arabic-Indonesian CS **insha'Allah** occurred mostly before clauses of confirmation (3 instances).

Table 4: The position of **insha'Allah** in Indonesian-Arabic and Arabic-Indonesian CS

No	Positions	Indonesian-Arabic CS	Arabic-Indonesian CS
1	Before a clause of expectation	6	-
2	Before a clause of acknowledgement	3	-
3	Before a clause of conclusion	-	1
4	Before a clause of confirmation	-	3
	Total	9	4

Indonesian-Javanese CS

The reasons for the participants to switch from Indonesian to Javanese were mainly influenced by metaphorical factors. This was particularly noticeable with Indonesian-Javanese *madyo* CS and Indonesian-Javanese *kromo* CS which served only metaphorical functions. Indonesian-Javanese *ngoko* CS, however, was induced by situational, metaphorical and linguistic factors.

In respect to Indonesian-Javanese *kromo* CS, it was found that the reasons for switching were solely induced by metaphorical factors which were significantly indicated by the repetitive use of the Javanese *kromo* words ***nggih*** ‘yes’, ***ngaten*** ‘in that way’ and ***saget*** ‘be capable of’. These Javanese *kromo* words in such contexts were used as signals to show that the speakers were about to finish their utterance. The fact that the speakers finished their utterance by using Javanese *kromo* words was a typical cultural marker indicating that they had expressed their utterance politely. However, further analysis is required to identify whether ***nggih***, ***ngaten*** and ***saget*** provide similar or different meanings when compared to each other. These Javanese *kromo* words appeared 4, 13 and 3 times respectively in Indonesian-Javanese *kromo* CS. Within these instances, the metaphorical meanings of CS were found to have both similar and different aspects. The points of similarity were that these Javanese *kromo* words were all used by the speakers either to suggest, to conclude, to request or to verify. In spite of this fact, their individual application in each utterance provided different emphases. For example, codeswitching in suggestions appeared most frequently with ***ngoten*** (eight times) and ***nggih*** (twice) and a different type of suggestion was expressed with each. When used with ***nggih***, the meaning of CS fits with the principles of positive politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) implying that the speaker was somewhat reluctant to make a suggestion (see example 1).

Example 1 was a statement given by Syarif, a 18-year-old Madurese preacher concerning the form of financial contribution that was to be distributed to the members of IIDA especially those who belong to the group level of Kerinci. The purpose of asking for financial contribution was to help renovate the mosque. Example 1 is a part of Syarif’s arguments stating that it would be better to distribute the form of financial contribution in the next *musyawarah* because there would be a lot more participants attending that meeting. For this reason, he believed the form should not be distributed at that current time. As shown in example 1, Syarif started his utterance in Indonesian and at a certain point he switched to use Javanese ***nggih*** after using ***insha’Allah***.

- (1) Syarif Karena kalau dibagikan sekarang mungkin sudah ada yang *kesusu* ngisi, mungkin. Sehingga tidak maksimal, kan begitu. Mungkin dibarengkan saja setelah *musyawarah* sekalian timnya itu bekerja dan membagikan kitirnya. ***Insha’Allah nggih*** lebih maksimal lagi. **Jazakumullohu khoiro.**

‘Because if we distribute the form [of financial contribution] now, there may be some participants who are motivated to fill out the form as soon as possible. So the contributions won’t be maximal, will they? Maybe, it would be better to distribute the form after the *musyawarah*, then their team can start working and distributing the form, if God is willing, yes, it can be more maximal.’

M1/Ep.7/Extract 65

The meaning of his switching was to make a suggestion to the members of the *musyawarah*. The use of **insha’Allah** in this instance indicates that Syarif felt somewhat hesitant in giving his suggestion. One possible reason was because he was the youngest participant who attended that *musyawarah*. Despite the fact that he was a preacher, his hesitancy was apparent. This feeling is commonly experienced by young people when speaking to a person of higher social status or when the situation is formal.

When used with **ngoten**, however, the meaning of CS corresponds to the principle of negative politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987), implying that the speaker’s suggestion was more specific and decisive (see example 2). In example 2 the topic of discussion was about a widow who had financial problems. According to one of the participants in the *musyawarah*, previously she had been financially stable while her husband was alive but since her husband died she became poor because she spent most of the money paying off her husband’s medical treatment in hospital. This topic was discussed because the members of the *musyawarah* wanted to help her financially. The participant also mentioned that the widow did not like sharing her problems with other people. Therefore, in the discussion Mi’at, the moderator suggested that Rohani, the village level *imam*, and his wife visit her to gain an idea of the true situation and then consider what she really needed.

- (2) Mi’at Tapi kalau usul saya ya Pak Kyai kelompok dengan Ibu atau bagaimana dari hati ke hati atau mungkin sebatas itu. Tidak perlu diinterogasi dengan banyak pengurus ((laughing)). **Insha’Allah ngoten. Alhamdulillah jazahumulullohu khoiro.**
‘But, I think [if] the *imam* and his wife or whatever, they may ask about her problem in private. Therefore, it is not necessary that she is interrogated by several members of the management committee, if God wills, that is what I am thinking. All praises and thanks be to God, and May God bless your goodness.’

M2/Ep.7/Extract 93

Mi’at started his suggestion in Indonesian and switched to Javanese *kromo*: “...**ngoten**...” after using **insha’Allah**. In this instance, the use of Javanese *kromo ngoten* implied a decisive meaning. When used at the end of his utterance, **ngoten** modified his suggestion into a decision. However, the decision did not have a great strength because he was not the *imam*, therefore he used **insha’Allah**.

To draw a conclusion, the participants used the closing words **nggih** (see example 3) and **saget** (see example 4). Example 3 was a statement made by Mi’at concerning the financial contribution which was to be donated to the poor participants. Mi’at argued that there should be a certain person who was appointed to manage this job. According to Mi’at, the person had

to be strict and brave but flexible otherwise the program would not work. As shown in example 3, Mi'at began his statement in Indonesian but then switched to Javanese *kromo*: "...nggih kirang..." after using **insha'Allah**. The use of nggih here implied the same meaning as that used for making a suggestion in example 1 above, namely the speakers felt hesitant in drawing a conclusion. One possible reason was because Mi'at was not the decision maker.

- (3) Mi'at Jadi perlu orang khusus dalam hal ini yang mendata dan menghimpun dana. Jadi jangan dilibatkan KUNYA nanti campur dengan persenan dan sebagainya *ruwet* malah. Jadi khusus, orang khusus satu orang ini mungkin bisa dicarikan orang yang *mentoloan* bukan *mentolo* ya. ((laughing)) Orang apa yang luwes ya *toh*. Orang yang *welas asih* yang supel yang mana berani, kalau misalnya didapuk orang yang tidak begitu berani **insha'Allah** nggih kirang ya *toh*, yang berani yang *wani*....
 'So, we need a certain person in this case who will be given a responsibility to manage the money for the poor. So, don't give this responsibility to the treasurer because it will overlap with his job to manage other financial contributions. So, we need a certain person who is a little bit strict but flexible [or] a humble person but brave. If we appoint the person who is not brave enough, if God is willing, well, it won't work very well, will it?, [we need] the brave person....'

M2/Ep.7/Extract 93

The participants also used the closing word of Javanese *kromo* saget to draw a conclusion, as shown in example 4. This example shows a statement given by Eko, a junior preacher in relation to the installation of the sound system in the mosque. Eko made this comments after being asked by Rohani about the quality of the sound system in the mosque. In the preceding conversation, Rohani asked whether the quality of the sound would be still satisfactory if two sound systems were removed. According to Eko, who had a certain level of knowledge about electricity and sound system, the quality would be still fine if only one sound system was removed but not two (see example 4). An instance of CS in this case was indicated in his statement: "...Kalau diambil satu **insha'Allah** tasih saget, tapi kalau diambil dua **insha'Allah** kirang". In this example, Eko began his statement in Indonesian: "...Kalau diambil satu..." but then switched to Javanese *kromo*: "... tasih saget..." after using **insha'Allah**.

- (4) Eko Kalau diambil dua, **insha'Allah** suaranya kirang nggih. Kalau diambil satu **insha'Allah** tasih saget, tapi kalau diambil dua **insha'Allah** kirang.
 'If we take two sets of sound system [from their positions now], the quality of the sound won't be good. If we take one, if God is willing, the quality of its sound will still be good, but if we take two of them, if God is willing, it won't be good.'

M2/Ep.10/Extract 127

The Javanese *kromo* word saget in this context was used to signal his conclusion. The use of Javanese *kromo* saget provides a more conclusive meaning than that implied by the use of Javanese *kromo* nggih (see example 3 above).

Finally, the speakers used either ngoten or saget as closing words to verify and to request. As examples 5 and 6 illustrate, both ngoten and saget represent conclusive meanings. Example 5 was a conversation between Nur and Manaf. Both were preachers whose age was fairly similar. Manaf was a 35-year-old Javanese who had graduated from a university, and had a

good command of Indonesian, Javanese and Arabic. In the IIDA community, he played several roles such as a preacher, the chairperson of “Usaha Bersama” (Business Enterprises which involve only the members of IIDA), and the coordinator of the “Tim Perkawinan” (the team which helps organise marriages) for the members of the IIDA. The topic of discussion was “Sisa Hasil Usaha” (the profit of business). In this conversation, Nur asked when Manaf was going to distribute the profit to the stakeholders. Manaf answered that the profit was going to be handed out after the “Iedul Adha” celebration (the celebration involving prayer and the slaughtering of sheep, goat or cows for commemorating the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham). At the beginning of his statement, Manaf used Indonesian, but switched to Javanese *kromo*: “... ***ngoten*** ...” after using ***insha’Allah***.

- (5) Nur ***Nggih*** kontrol ***malih*** Pak Manaf. ***Engkin*** ada rencana SHU nya itu rencana kapan diberikan pada pemegang saham? Mungkin ada rencana?
 ‘Yes, Mr. Manaf, I have another thing to control. When are you going to give the profit to the stakeholders? You may have a plan regarding this.’
- Manaf Nanti setelah Qurban akan digulirkan bersamaan dengan penambahan SHU. Jadi harapannya nanti kemungkinan dibagi per lembarnya Rp. 650,- ... *Lha* sekarang nambah sahamnya berapa atau bagaimana, nanti ***insha’Allah*** bersamaan pembagiannya dengan penambahan err saham, ***insha’Allah ngoten***.
 ‘[I will give the profit] after the slaughtering ceremony, at that time additional shares will be offered. Each share values Rp. 650,-... Well now, we need to think about how many shares we want to buy or whatever. [So yes, the profit will be given] later at the same time as offering new shares, if God is willing, in that way.’

M6/Ep.5 /Extracts 53-54

The Javanese *kromo*: “...***ngoten***...” was used by Manaf to verify that he would distribute the profit from the business later when new shares would also be offered. The reasons for Manaf to use ***insha’Allah*** before ***ngoten*** suggests that his plan to hand out the profit after the slaughtering ceremony might change, and if this happened, it was beyond all control but God’s.

The Javanese *kromo* term of ***saget*** was also used in another instance in which the function was to imply “verification” (see example 6). The utterance in example 6 was made by Kisto, a preacher who already held a university degree. He was Mashuri’s son-in-law. In this region, Kisto was given a responsibility for managing the participants who wanted to go for hajj. As the coordinator of this program, Kisto needed to inform the members of the *musyawarah* that some of the participants who would go for hajj would not be able to attend the next *musyawarah* because they had a meeting regarding preparation for their hajj to Mecca held in Seruni, Surabaya. In this example, it can be seen that Kisto switched from Indonesian to Javanese *kromo* by using: “...***mboten saget nderek***...” ‘...were unable to attend...’ after using ***insha’Allah***.

- (6) Kisto ***Sakderenge*** informasi, ***ngeten insha’Allah*** err tanggal sebelas itu Lima Utama pertemuan terakhir di Seruni. Jadi barangkali yang ikut ke Seruni nanti ***insha’Allah mboten saget nderek*** musyawarah, jamnya jam ***kalih undangane, nggih*** tapi nanti ada lagi.
 ‘Before [I give additional] information, well like this, if God wills, err on 11 Lima Utama (the name of travel agent for hajj) will hold the last meeting. So, those who are going to Seruni later, if God wills, will not be able to attend the *musyawarah*.’

The reason for using Javanese *kromo* saget in this instance was to verify that a number of the participants would not be able to attend the next *musyawarah*. However, he used **insha'Allah** before making the verification: "...**insha'Allah mboten saget nderek...**" '...if God wills, they would not be able to attend...' implying that these participants might still be able to attend the next *musyawarah* if the meeting in Seruni, Surabaya was suddenly cancelled. Any changes to these plans were beyond his capacity.

Since all of these closing words (ngoten, nggih, saget) were expressed in Javanese *kromo*, it suggests that the speakers wanted to show their politeness. In fact, 74% of the respondents endorsed this reason. In addition, there were a number of functions found to have the same metaphorical meaning in two types of CS. For example, "to verify" was found both in Indonesian-Javanese *madyo* CS and in Indonesian-Javanese *kromo* CS. The level of politeness of "verification" in Indonesian-Javanese *madyo* CS would however be different from that implied in Indonesian-Javanese *kromo* CS. Example 7 illustrates the metaphorical meaning of "verification" found in Indonesian-Javanese *madyo* CS. The utterance in example 7 was stated by Manaf concerning the "security sticks". Manaf was given a responsibility for drilling these sticks. In the *musyawarah*, he reported that all of the sticks had been drilled, but they had not been inserted with strings. As shown in example 7, Manaf started his statement in Indonesian but switched to Javanese *madyo*: "...sampun dibolongi..." '...had been drilled...' after using **insha'Allah**.

- (7) Manaf Untuk tongkat **insha'Allah sampun dibolongi** semuanya tinggal dimasuki tali yang belum. 'For the sticks if God is willing all have been drilled but [we] haven't inserted the string [into the sticks].'

M3/Ep7/Ext16

Switching to Javanese *madyo* would be considered less polite than switching to Javanese *kromo*. A similar situation occurred when the same speaker switched to Javanese *ngoko* (see example 8). The topic of discussion in this example was related to the one discussed in example 2, that is, about the financial condition of the widow. On this occasion, Manaf gave additional information regarding the widow's situation. As shown in example 8, Manaf explained that apart from receiving monthly financial support from the central level of IIDA, she also tried to survive by selling peanuts in the city with the help of her older daughter and her younger son. Without her knowledge, Manaf observed her several times to discover the true situation of her peanut business. From his observations, Manaf concluded that she had few customers; in fact sometimes she had no customers all day. Her daughter and son, who sold the peanuts at different places, often faced the same situation. This condition was explained by Manaf to the members of the *musyawarah*. As indicated in example 8, Manaf began his statement in Indonesian and switched to Javanese *ngoko*: "...gawe tuku BERAS thok entek" '...the money she received from the central level of IIDA was just enough to buy some kilograms of rice'.

- (8) Manaf Kalau kita mengandalkan dari pusat **poro** jamaah sekalian, uang 90 ribu itu, 75 ribu nggih, kalau 6 orang 90 ribu, 90 ribu itu untuk beli beras **entek poro sedulur** sekalian....

Belum lagi yang lainnya **insha'Allah** gawe tuku BERAS thok entek. Lha sekarang jual kacang itu untung berapa.'

'If we depend [financially] on the central [level], the amount of 90 or 75 thousand rupiah per month won't be enough to support her six-children. 90 thousand rupiah won't be enough to buy the rice. Not even to buy other things **if God is willing** [the money she receives from the central level] will be just enough to buy some kilograms of rice. [And] the profit from selling the peanuts is not promising.'

M2/Ep. 7/Excerpt 82

Manaf switched from Indonesian into Javanese *ngoko* after using **insha'Allah** because he wanted to convince the participants that the issue he reported was essential and required attention from the members of the meeting including the imam himself. The widow needed financial assistance as soon as possible because she was poor and had several children to look after. Manaf was sure that the money she received from the central level of IIDA and from selling the peanuts was not enough to support her family's life. As a Muslim, however, Manaf did not want to preempt God's will. Therefore, he used **insha'Allah** to mitigate the plausible misjudgment regarding the woman's income. This meant that it was possible for the widow to have other sources of income that other people including Manaf himself may have overlooked because thus far the widow could still survive.

Javanese *ngoko* is used only when speaking to a close friend, by a person of higher social status to a person of lower social status or to a younger person (e.g. Sadtono, 1976; Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo, 1982; Soedaryanto, 1989). In the context of the *musyawarah*, sometimes it was not easy to identify to whom the speaker's statements or opinions were addressed. The participants usually addressed their statements to all of the participants who attended the meeting. Since the participants were diverse in terms of their age, intimacy and social status; Manaf's decision to use Javanese *ngoko* might have violated Javanese norms and threatened some of the participants' face according to Brown and Levinson (1987). From an older person's point of view, Manaf could be considered impolite. This is also supported by the questionnaire data indicating that no participants expected to be addressed in Javanese *ngoko* by the preacher. Most of them, however, preferred to be spoken to in Indonesian or Javanese *madyo* by the preacher. Manaf was not normally an exception to this social understanding, even though as a preacher, he often gave religious advice to the members of IIDA.

Javanese-Indonesian CS

It is important to note that *nggih* and *ngoten*, which were used mostly as the closing word in Indonesian-Javanese *kromo* CS, was found in Javanese *kromo*-Indonesian CS as the introducing words before CS marker of **insha'Allah**. Both *nggih* and *ngoten* were used to express politeness. Concerning *nggih*, when used as the answer of a question, it indicates the speaker's agreement (see example 9), but when used as a sentence filler (e.g. hesitation) its meaning is somewhat equivalent with 'well' in English (see example 10).

Example (9) was a citation of conversation between Kartono, the moderator and Siro in relation to Lulut, a delegate sent by the members of IIDA to join the national championship of traditional self-defense. Unfortunately, he sustained an injury in the competition. One of his legs was broken and needed intensive medical treatment. As a result, he could not go to work and had no income to support his family. The reason for discussing this topic was to help overcome his medical and financial problem. After a long discussion, it was decided that he

would receive financial support and medical treatment from the members. In that occasion, Siro initiated his response in Javanese *kromo*: “...nggih...” or ‘yes’ and switched to Indonesian after using **insha’Allah**.

(9) Kartono Monggo Pak Sira.
‘Please Mr. Sira.’

Siro Nggih, insha’Allah menambah dari Pak Kartono. Ini konsep pengajuan mungkin ini lebih realistik gitu ya. Jadi kalau sementara diobatkan ke sangkal putung pada waktu itu habisnya berapa.
‘Yes, if God is willing [I] support what Mr. Kartono said. This concept of the proposal may be more realistic. So, if [he] was sent to receive traditional medication, [we need to] calculate how much it had cost.’

M5/Ep.4/ Extract 30

Sira’s choice to use ‘nggih’ in this context was the answer addressed to Kartono who had politely invited him in Javanese *kromo* monggo. Siro was aware that he was respected by the moderator whose age was about similar to his. For that reason, Siro deliberately replied to the moderator by using symmetrical response ‘nggih’ as the polite answer. However, Siro switched into Indonesian after using **insha’Allah** to express his opinion about the need to calculate the total cost that Lulut had spent on medical expenses. Siro admitted that he had to use Indonesian because he considered it as a neutral language, and also it was easier to understand. By using Indonesian, he expected that the interlocutors would clearly understand his opinions. This also implied that he had avoided using Javanese *kromo*, and in fact he admitted that speaking proper Javanese *kromo* was not easy as it dealt with the correct choice of Javanese *kromo* vocabulary. If he failed to do so satisfactorily, the interlocutors might think that he was impolite.

When used as a sentence filler, however, the meaning of nggih is equivalent to ‘well’ in English indicating hesitation (see example 10). The topic of discussion was about “rebinding the cover of a number of the Koran”. The statement in example 9 was made by Mi’at in conjunction with Manaf’s comment reminding Arpan, who was given the responsibility of managing this project, to set an exact time to begin the project. As the moderator, Mi’at was obliged to accommodate Manaf’s statement. However, Mi’at also commented on Arpan’s situation. Mi’at argued that Arpan was busy because he also had to manage other activities in the community. In this example, there was an instance in which Mi’at switched from Javanese *kromo* to Indonesian after using **insha’Allah**: “Nggih tasih dipun pikir niki nggih insha’Allah mungkin secepatnya....”

(10) Manaf Mungkin pertanyaan, kira-kira Mas Arpan kapan. Nah ini kapan, ini perlu sebab kalau tanpa kapan ini kadang-kadang *lali, klendran*, kira-kira kapan, **insha’Allah ngoten**.

‘A possible question is when Arpan will [start rebinding the covers of the Koran]. If we don’t know when he will start doing that, [we just have concern because people] sometimes are forgetful, if God wills, in that way.’

Mi’at Pun nggih. Ini Pak Arpan, Mas Arpan kapan? Minggu? Nggih tasih dipun pikir niki, nggih insha’Allah mungkin secepatnya, banyak ini kegiatan muda-

mudi. *Pripun* Pak *monggo* Pak. *Nggih* mungkin *insha'Allah* secepatnya. 'Is that enough? Arpan, when are you going to start? Sunday? Yes. He is still thinking, well [we believe that he will], if God wills, start doing this job as soon as possible. [We can understand the situation because] young people have many activities. What do you think Mr. Rohani? Yes, maybe he will do that as soon as possible.'

M2/Ep.9/Extracts 121-122

The use of "...*nggih insha'Allah* mungkin...", in this CS context, indicated that Mi'at expressed his ideas hesitantly. Mi'at could not force Arpan to start rebinding the Koran in the near future. In fact, Arpan did not provide any comments when given this responsibility. One of the possible reasons why Mi'at felt a little bit hesitant to force Arpan to start doing the project quickly was because Arpan was the village level *imam*'s son. As a sentence filler, the meaning of *nggih* corresponds to what is argued by Schiffirin (1987): it is used as a signal that an upcoming contribution is not fully consonant with the set of possible responses implied by the question initiator. When used together with CS marker *insha'Allah*, the meaning of *nggih* provides greater deference.

Similar to Indonesian-Javanese *madyo* CS and Indonesian-Javanese *ngoko* CS, the predominant position of *insha'Allah* in Javanese *madyo*-Indonesian CS and in Javanese *ngoko*-Indonesian CS was in the middle of the sentence. Additionally, most of the reasons for Javanese-Indonesian CS were metaphorical and similar those found in the Indonesian-Javanese CS, with the exception of Javanese *kromo*-Indonesian CS which held reasons based on both situational and metaphorical factors (See Table 1). Seven instances of CS induced by *insha'Allah* were found in the Javanese *kromo*-Indonesian CS and five of these represented situational functions and two served metaphorical ones. From the situational perspective, the reason for CS was mainly induced by the topics of conversation, such as the topic of meetings (see example 11). The utterance in example 11 was also used in example 6 to illustrate the use of Indonesian-Javanese CS but the statements also highlights Javanese *kromo*-Indonesian CS. In this example, Kisto, a who was reporting that some participants would be unable to attend the next *musyawarah*, switched from Indonesian to Javanese *kromo* by using: "...*mboten saget nderek*..." '...were unable to attend...' after using *insha'Allah*.

- (11) Kisto [...] err tanggal sebelas itu Lima Utama pertemuan terakhir di Seruni. Jadi barangkali yang ikut ke Seruni nanti *insha'Allah mboten saget nderek* musyawarah, jamnya jam *kalih undangane, nggih* tapi nanti ada lagi. '[...] err on 11 Lima Utama (the name of travel agent for hajj) will hold the last meeting. So, those who are going to Seruni later, if God wills, will not be able to attend the *musyawarah*.'

M3/Ep.8/Extract 29

As example 11 illustrates, Kisto switched back into Indonesian when reminding the participants about the meeting in Surabaya concerning Hajj. The nature of switching to Indonesian lends support to one of the functions for using Indonesian: it is used as an official language (e.g. Nababan, 1979). Following Myers-Scotton (1993), this kind of switching serves as unmarked choice: switching to Indonesian is caused by the change of situational variables in the interaction, such as topic. *Insha'Allah* as CS marker was used by Kisto as an expression of his total reliance to God. This implies that although the meeting had been scheduled on that

date, there was still any possibility that the meeting would be cancelled for whatever reasons. Muslim normally believed that every incident of human life is God's plan.

Concerning the metaphorical function, however, the participants' motivations for switching to Indonesian were caused by several reasons. In the Javanese-Indonesian CS, it was used to show that the speaker was being serious or solemn. In Javanese-Indonesian CS, it was employed to request or command, suggest and conclude, and finally in Javanese *kromo*-Indonesian CS, it was used to attract the interlocutors' attention and to verify a plan. Although we see that some of the metaphorical reasons for Javanese-Indonesian CS was similar to the one found in the Indonesian-Javanese CS, the nature of 'formality' were different. Switching to Indonesian brings the situation more formal and more distant relationship than to Javanese.

Indonesian-Arabic CS

With regard to Indonesian-Arabic CS, the position of CS marker **insha'Allah** was located relatively at the end of the sentence. Its use was similar to Indonesian-Javanese *kromo* CS, that is, it was used as a signal that the speaker was about to finish their utterance. Two Arabic expressions commonly used to end the conversation were found, namely **barokah** 'blessing' (see example 12) and **alhamdulillah jaza kumullohu khoiro** 'all praises and thanks be to God and may God blesses your goodness' (see example 13).

- (12) Abas Jadi merupakan suatu anggaran yang belum dilaksanakan, ya walaupun nanti pada pelaksanaannya itu kalau yang **NGGAK** perlu ya, kalau lebih bisa diirit **insha'Allah barokah**.
'So, this is a budget which has not been used, in a practical way [if we can save some of the budget by] not spending on unimportant things, it will more be economical, if God is willing, that would be blessing.'

M5/Ep.9/Extract 240

The Arabic word **barokah** was used in this context in relation to Abas' advice to the youth not to spend excessively in their budget. If they could spend less, it would be a blessing. Therefore, the meaning of switching to Arabic in this context was to expect blessing from God.

Indonesian-Arabic CS was also used to thank God, as indicated in example 13. The topic of discussion in this instance was about "kerawanan sosial" (social instability). Kartono, the moderator began his utterance in Indonesian when speaking to Yono: "...untuk Bapak Yono itu sudah tertangkap sudah tahu..." and Darman: "...Saya cukupkan untuk Pak Darman....itu sudah tertangkap, sudah tahu..." but switched to Arabic: "...**alhamdulillah jaza kumullohu khoiro**." after using **insha'Allah**.

- (13) Kartono [...] untuk Bapak Yono itu sudah tertangkap sudah tahu **insha'Allah alhamdulillah jazakumullohu khoiro**. Saya cukupkan untuk Pak Darman....itu sudah tertangkap, sudah tahu **insha'Allah alhamdulillah jaza kumullohu khoiro**.
'[...] [we have already] understood [what you mean] Mr. Yono, if God is willing all praises and thanks be to God, and May God bless your goodness. It is enough for Mr. Darman...[we have already] understood, if God wills, all praises and thanks be to God, and May God bless your goodness.'

The reason for him to switch to Arabic was to thank Yono and Darman for their contribution in this case and pray to God to bless their goodness. The use of **insha'Allah** was to confirm that Kartono had understood what Yono and Darman meant.

The Arabic expressions **barakah** and **alhamdulillah jazakumullohu khoiro** occurred five and three times respectively. From the participants' point of view, these words were special since they were used for a particular purpose: to gain 'religious' blessings. For example, the Arabic phrase **alhamdulillah jazakumullohu khoiro** is not simply an expression of thanks that can be translated into Indonesian by saying 'terima kasih' (thank you) or into Javanese *kromo* **matur nuwun** (thank you). Thus, instead of saying 'terima kasih' or **matur nuwun**, the members of this community would use the Arabic phrase **alhamdulillah jazakumullohu khoiro** because of its religious value. A reply of **alhamdulillah jazakumullohu khoiro** is **amin** 'amen'; this is because the speaker prays to God to bless the interlocutor.

Arabic-Indonesian CS

As indicated in Table 1, the position of **insha'Allah** in Arabic-Indonesian CS occurs in two places: before a clause of conclusion (1 instance), and before a clause of confirmation (3 instances). From these instances, one served as a situational function and three served as metaphorical functions of CS. An illustration of situational function of Arabic-Indonesian CS induced by **insha'Allah** is shown in example 14. The topic of discussion was about a plan of conducting "pengajian genres" (recitation of the Koran and Hadiths conducted by the youths). One of the youth delegates stated their proposal in the *musyawarah* regarding this plan. In one juncture of his utterance, he changed from Arabic into Indonesian when explaining his plan, as indicated in example 13.

- (14) The youth **Assalamu'alaikum warohmatullohi wabarokatuh, insha'Allah** ini pengajuan proposal kami untuk pengajian genres se-Malang Raya yang bertempat di Masjid Al-Muflihun pada tanggal 18 dan 19 Januari 2003.
'Peace be to you and Allah's mercy and blessings as well, if God is willing, this is our proposal to carry out the 'Koranic Recitation' for young people in Malang which will be conducted at the Al-Muflihun mosque on 18 and 19 January 2003.'

M5/Ep.9/ Excerpt 216

His decision to use Indonesian was caused by the fact that the speaker was reporting his plan about carrying out the recitation of the Koran and Hadiths, which, from the IIDA point of view, was important. This view was also supported by 86% of the respondents, indicating that they would use Indonesian when they were involved in a serious discussion. The reason for CS induced by **insha'Allah** in example 14 was to indicate that the speaker confirmed the meeting would be held in the (near) future. Although they were ready to carry out the activities on the date they had planned, they would not be able to change God's plan. The use of **insha'Allah** in this instance was to anticipate this.

From the metaphorical perspective, the reason for switching was to draw a conclusion (see example 15). This is the only instance of Arabic-Indonesian CS induced by **insha'Allah** which

was located before a clause of conclusion. Example 15 was an utterance made by Rohani, the village level *imam* in relation to the materials of recitation. According to Rohani, it was necessary for the preacher to present material relevant to the current situation. For example, during Ramadan month it would be better for the preacher to instruct the participants in learning Hadiths concerning fasting. Rohani's view was supported by the members of the *musyawarah*. Finally, Rohani had to bring up the decision regarding his own topic of discussion. He started his statement in Arabic to thank God by saying: "**Alhamdulillah jazakumullohu khoiro, insha'Allah...**" 'All the praises be on to God, and May God gives good things in return If God is willing...', and switched to Indonesian: "...kesimpulannya ini disetujui." 'it can be concluded that what I propose is approved [by the members of the *musyawarah*]', as seen in example 15.

- (15) Rohani **Alhamdulillah jazakumullohu khoiro, insha'Allah**, kesimpulannya ini disetujui. Dan yang paling *luwes* memang melihat sikon. Jadi pertama tetap prioritas. Semula jadi tetap urut dulu terus melihat sewaktu-waktu permasalahan. *Nah* pada saat itu nanti dari saya bisa memerintahkan pada **mubaligh** atau **mubalighotnya** untuk....
'All the praises be on to God, and May God gives good things in return, if God is willing, it can be concluded that what I proposed was approved [by the members of the *musyawarah*]. In addition, the most flexible action indeed depends on the condition at that time. So that, we keep prioritizing to present the materials that have been sequenced, meanwhile we also keep remembering if there is an actual issue to present as well. Well then, at the same time I can instruct the preachers to....'

M2/Ep5/Extract 66

The reason for Rohani to switch from Arabic to Indonesian was to draw a conclusion regarding the material given by the preacher. The function of **insha'Allah** in this instance indicates that Rohani felt a little bit hesitant to draw a conclusion. This might be caused by the fact that it was Rohani himself who proposed the topic. So that, he was reluctant, as if he was forcing his own ideas to be accepted by the members of the *musyawarah*.

Another important finding related to Arabic-Indonesian CS induced by **insha'Allah** was the fact that the participants mostly initiated their utterance by using Arabic expression **assalamu'alaikum warohmatullohi wabarokatuh** 'peace be onto you and God's mercy and blessings as well'. This greeting is an expression of the Muslim faith and is intimately connected with Islam (Al-Nassar, 1993). This greeting is related to the very core of Islam, that is, 'peace'. Rahman (1983) explains that the term Islam is derived from the Arabic root *s-l-m*, which means 'safe', 'whole' and 'integral'. The reply to **assalamu'alaikum warohmatullohi wabarokatuh** is **waalaikumussalam warohmatullohi wabarokatuh** which means 'and peace be onto you, and may God's mercy and blessing be onto you'. Most Muslims, however, often use the shortened expression **wa'alaikumussalam**. According to Islamic norms, it is important to use this greeting when coming across other Muslims because the users will receive religious blessings.

Conclusion

From the above discussions on CS induced by CS marker **insha'Allah**, we note two important things: first, is the appearance of patterns of CS and second is the meaning of CS influenced by CS marker **insha'Allah**. The patterns of CS can be summarized as follows.

Table 2: Patterns of CS influenced by **insha'Allah**

Patterns			
I	Indonesian	insha'Allah	Javanese <i>kromo</i> using <u><i>nggih</i></u> , <u><i>ngoten</i></u> and <u><i>saget</i></u>
II	Javanese <i>kromo</i> using <u><i>nggih</i></u> and <u><i>ngoten</i></u>	insha'Allah	Indonesian
III	Indonesian	insha'Allah	Arabic using barokah and alhamdulillah jaza kumullohu khoiro
IV	Arabic using assalamu'alaikum warohmatullohi wabarokatuh	insha'Allah	Indonesian

Pattern I describes the Indonesian-Javanese *kromo* CS. The participants tended to use the Javanese *kromo* *nggih* 'yes', *ngoten*, 'like that', 'in that way' and *saget* 'can' or 'be able to' after **insha'Allah**. These words were used as a signal that the participants were about to complete their utterance. *Nggih* and *ngoten* were used to serve both as similar and different metaphorical meanings of CS. For example, *nggih* and *ngoten* were similarly used to serve as making suggestions; however, the meaning of *ngoten* was more definite and conclusive than *nggih*. In this case, the metaphorical meaning of *ngoten* was stronger than *nggih*. Furthermore, *saget* was used to make a conclusion.

Pattern II illustrates Javanese *kromo*-Indonesian CS. In pattern II, *nggih* appeared at the beginning of sentence or before **insha'Allah**. The metaphorical meaning of *nggih* in this pattern was to respond hesitantly or used it as a quick reply for confirmation. Javanese *kromo* *ngoten*, however, was used to draw a conclusion. Pattern III shows the Indonesian-Arabic CS, and pattern IV displays the Arabic-Indonesian CS. In pattern III the Arabic expressions, such as **barokah**, **alhamdulillah jazakumullohu khoiro** and **amal sholih** were used after **insha'Allah**. However, in pattern III the Islamic greeting **assalamu'alaikum warohmatullohi wabarokatuh** was used before **insha'Allah**. All of these Arabic expressions were unmarked choice: these were used to serve as the actual words of God to be read or recited in Arabic (Mattock, 2001). By so doing, they provide religious merits.

This study found seven instances of CS induced by situational factors, and forty-four instances of CS influenced by metaphorical factors. Furthermore, this study found a number of similar metaphorical functions of CS; however, the level of politeness was different because the participants used different JSL. In addition, it is important to note that none of the metaphorical and situational meanings found in the present study lends support to the results of study carried out by Johns (1996) and Nazzal (2001). These authors found that **insha'Allah** is used as an indirect speech act of rejection. In the present study, however, **insha'Allah** was mostly used to express the participants' total submission to God. This was used when the participants wanted to refer to both future and past events.

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