Santris' Selves Positioning through Their Use of Affective Stance markers

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Abstract—**This article aims at finding out how santris positioning themselves through the use of affective stances. This is a qualitative study with santris of *Madrasah Aliyah bertaraf Internasional Amanatul Ummah* (MBI AU) both males and females of the grade XII as the respondents. The data are taken from their whats-app group in which each group is exclusively for male group, or for female group. The data reveals that santris are using affective stance for particular meanings, namely to utter affective token as their expressions of their affectionate feeling, to show support, to tease their friends and to express disappointment. The affective stance uttered by santris also define how santris position themselves in that they are mostly construct their identity by showing their authenticity. Female santris are taking adequation position to express their affectionate feelings in a jokingly childish manner, while the male non Javanese speaker use this position by using expression authentically uttered by Javanese speakers with Suroboyoan dialect. While swearing for male santris are considered authentic identity, the same use by females santris are not accepted. The authorization position is used to include their own community to take stance for the other community, and not internally within themselves.**

Keywords—affective stance, identity, positioning, santri

I. INTRODUCTION

In working on the field of identity, stance is one of the basic principles governing the study as in finding out subjectivity or inter-subjectivity one must rely on the stance taking used by the speakers of any language. Within sociolinguistic concept, stance is considered as social action, and study on stance explores how stance markers used habitually can be referred to how a language speaker positioned him/herself in relation with others both in showing his identity and in showing their interpersonal and social relationship (Jaffe, 2009).

Stance taking is inevitably conducted by any speakers of language, as part of doing communication is not only to get the message across but also to align or dis-align with what is being said or with who said it. Even teenagers, who are assumed to be the ones seeking their identity are using stance marking to show their stance positions. It is

particularly interesting to see how teenagers who are also santris at the same time are constructing and revealing their identity. Many pesantrens, especially the modern ones, provides a formal study equivalent to junior and high school level with the nasional curicullum. Thus, santris going to these pesantrens study both formal school and Islamic study. Such type of school is *Madrasah Aliyah bertaraf Internasional Amanatul Ummah* or MBI AU. It is interesting to study how santris in this school show their positions through the stance markers they uttered.

Santris are known to have a particular life style that are based on the principles of teachings which emphasize on the brotherhood, selflessness, simplicity in living and self-sufficiency (Lukens-Bull, 2000). With such principles they take a high value of good morality and behaviors which then becomes their basic guidance in having communication with others. On the other hands, they are also at the age of teenagers who also develop their own circles of friendships that may be affected by their surrounding. It is, therefore, interesting to see how such factors influence santris' constructed identity, which can be exposed, among others, through their stance taking.

II.   LITERATURE REVIEW

One of linguistic signs that can be used in determining identity is related with interactional stances. It might take the forms of utterances showing belief or doubtfulness that in the end can be related with particular social category such as gender or social class (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Dubois mentioned a term called stance accretion (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005); a term that is used to see how accumulated stance taking forms particular structure of identity. The connection of stance taking and the formations of identity is determined through linguistic units used as the actualization of the interactional norms within particular social class.

Stance can be expressed overtly by using particular grammatical devices, and it can also be expressed less overtly by using value-laden word choice or paralinguistic devices (Biber, 2006). Stance can be shown through the use of utterances with epistemic, evaluative, and affective meaning (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Biber, et.al. 1999). With the epistemic stance, the speakers show the degree of his authority on particular information that they share. The speakers may personally add the degree of the accuracy of the information based on their privileged personal knowledge, or based on the generalized social expectation. By using epistemic stance, speakers of language show that they have the ability to give out information or the ability to evaluate piece of information shared by the interlocutors based on the prior knowledge they had (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Various forms of degree of certainty can be used by the speakers as the strategy to acknowledge the information (Johnstone, 2009) . Aresse (2015) illustrates that the strategies to use the epistemic stance in confirming the validity of a piece of information may be seen as way speakers position themselves within that interaction.

Affective stance, on the other hands, represents the expression of mental state which involves evaluation, self - presentation and positioning. It can also show the various social and moral-based indexicality which in turns may reveal the social differences, hence using affective stance markers continuously will confirm the claim over particular identity, or will evaluate other identity claimed by others (Jaffe, 2009). The basic principles of taking stance is that by using particular stance markers, a language speakers define his self-position by bringing the interlocutor closer or farther. Goebel (2008) shows that the affective stance can be used as a clue in showing the close relationship of the participants. In his study on a TV show in Indonesia, he mentions that affective stance such as *teh* 'sister', *tea* 'only', or *euluh-euluh* in Sundanese language show ethnic identity, and the used of it by non Sundanese speakers to Sundanese interlocutors tend to bring him closer to the interlocutors (Goebel, 2008). Affective stances have intended meaning, that is a speaker of a language are uttering affective stance with particular intended meaning. Ochs (1993) summarizes that the intended meaning may include complaining, greeting, giving compliment, displaying intimacy, and threatening among others.

III.   METHOD

This is a qualitative study focusing on how the subject of research are using the affective stance to position themselves within their own community of practice. The subjects of the research are santris studying at MBI AU, both males and females of grade XII. The santris are grouped into their home origin, resulting into three categories, the Javanese with Suroboyan dialect, the Javanese with non-Suroboyan dialect, and the non Javanese santris.

The data are taken from their utterances at their whats-app group from 2022 - 2023. These santris were not taking their mobile phones to pesantrens, hence the data were only gathered during their breaks or holidays. The what-apps group is exclusively for male and for female santris only, so there is no interaction between male and female santris. The what-apps groups examined are the whole batch groups, so most of the discussions are jokes and are not addressing serious matters.

The sampling used is purposive sampling by focusing on the words, phrase or clauses showing their stance takings. The data then are qualitatively analyzed by taking a look at their forms, their meaning, and their functions in the given context.

IV.   RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The data from whats-app group show that santris at MBI AU are mostly communicating in Javanese language regardless of their native language. Hence, many santris who originally are not from Javanese speaking areas are also using Javanese language. This is due to two main reasons. First, the fact that these santris have been interacting together with mostly Javanese speakers for nearly three years enables them to learn to use Javanese language quickly, especially because they are staying at the same dormitory, studying and living at the same place. Second, the whats-app group is designed to be used for informal communication where santris can just joke and chat, or share light information. Due to such nature of use, using Javanese language is considered appropriate. Short expression of informal Bahasa Indonesia is used here and there in the context as part of the code mixing.

A.   The Meaning of Affective stance

The affective stance used by santris are in the various forms with various intended meanings. The data shows that the display of affective stance uttered by santris can be grouped into four categories, those are showing their affectionate feelings, support, teasing and showing disappointment. The table below summarize the use of affective stance and their intended meaning.

Table 1. Affective stance intended meaning uttered by santri MBI AU

No.	Santris MBI AU	Affective stance intended meaning			
		Affective token	Showing support	Teasing	Showing disappointment
1	Male with Suroboyoan dialect	3%	42%	9%	12%
2	Male with Non-Suroboyoan dialect	0%	9%	0%	11%
3	Male with Non-Javanese	0%	3%	0%	11%
	Total				100%
1	Female with Suroboyoan dialect	15%	0%	22%	15%
2	Female with Non-Suroboyoan dialect	3,5%	7,5%	14%	3,5%
3	Female with Non-Javanese	3.5%	3,5%	0%	15%
	Total				100%

It can be seen from tabel 1 that male and female santris are using stance for different intended meaning with male santris are using affective stance mostly for showing supports to their friends, while female santris are using affective stance mostly for teasing and showing affective token.

a) The affective token is an expression used showing affectionate feeling. There is one form used by santris that is *sayang* and its variants, such as *sayang limolas* 'love fifteen' (fifteen refers to their batch name, so this love expression is directed to the whole class of fifteen batch), *sayang Beni* 'love Beni', *sayang kalian* 'love you all', *love you segambreng, love you sekebon, lop you pol.* The clause *sayang beni* or *sayang limolas* is a popular expression for children or teens in Indonesia as it is mimicking the popular expression often said in popular Upin Ipin shows. Only one datum is recorded from male santris, while the rests are uttered by female santris.

b) More male santris use affective stance for showing support. The most common expression to show support is *semangat* 'be motivated', with its variants such as *semangat yo, semangat bos, semangat lur, semangat Beni, semangant ngab,* and *ganbatte* 'keep fighting', *sangar lur* 'that's cool'. Such affective stance is used to motivate their friends who are facing some challenges Another meaning intended by santris in using affective stance is to support their friends due to bad situation. The word/phrase they are uttered include *kalem gan* 'stay calm gan', *wes wes yan* 'please, it is enough yan', *wes wes prei* 'please stop it', *sabar boss* 'be patient boss', *sante ndan* 'stay calm, ndan'. Such words/phrase are uttered to calm their friends from anger or worry.

c) The word/phrase used to tease others may take the forms of light swear words which are said in lightly and jokingly manner. Some of the light swear word used to tease are *anjay, njir, uanjay gurinjay, anjir.* Those words are modification of the word *anjing* 'dog' which is considered rude to utter. Thus, although for older people such modified words are still considered being rude, for teenagers such words are okay to be uttered in joking contexts. There is also a harsher swear word utterd by santri, that is *bacod se* 'you talk' which is used to comment in responding to an information given by other in which such information is commonly known or not adding further knowledge. For example in this context *bacod se* is used to respond the information stated that it is maghrib time so it is time to break the fast. Other utterances used to tease others are *sumpah* 'swear', *peh, uwuwuwuwu, opose. Sumpah* is commonly other by female santris to tease others for not doing what is supposed to be expected. For example when one of the friends is not saving her phone number, this santri said *sumpah, demi apa nggak nyimpen nomerku* 'swear, for what you didn't save my number'. *peh* and *uwuwuwu* is used to tease others for romantic situation. For example when a female santri gave comment saying *pehh, kangen.. awakmu saiki mbek munir a san?*

Or when a male santri said *uwuwuwu* in responding to a story mentioned by their friend about his broken heart feeling.

d) The affective stance can also be uttered to express disappointment. As shown in table 1, both male and female santris uttered affective stance to show their disappointment. The most common affective stance said by both male and females santris are *ealah/oalah* and *astagfirullah.* Both utterances are uttered to show surprised feeling that lead to a disappointment. For example, one female santri said *yang belum ngisi ya astaghfirullah* 'whoever hasn't fill out the form ya, astaghfirullah', with the context that she had asked her friends to fill out forms needed and it has been days and she has reminded everyone everyday and yet some people are not yet filling out the forms. Another forms of affective stance with such meaning is the phrase *Ya Allah* 'my God', and *Ya Rabb* 'my God' which quite prevalent used by female santris. Such Arabic expression are quite popular in moslem society (Wulandari, 2013), however none in the data does the writer find the use of the other common Arabic expression, such as m*asya Allah*, *tabarokallah* or s*ubhanallah*. Another expression uttered by santris in showing their dissapointment is the curse word/swear word. Most of these expression are uttered by male santris, although a few female santris may also utter them. The most common words uttered by santris are *jangkrik, matane, anjing, asu, taek, telek, asem, kirik, jancuk.* Those words are uttered to express their disappointment whenever it is not addressed to the hearer/interlocutor, and it is used to express anger whenever it is addressed to the interlocutor.

B. *The Function of the Affective Stance*

The affective stance may create particular function in positioning the speakers and the interlocutors. The most basic one is that by using Javanese ngoko, these santris are emerging the identities of personal talk (Goebel, 2010) because Javanese ngoko is considered more appropriate in addressing the personal issues, compared to using bahasa Indonesia which is more open for out-personal topics. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005) speakers of a language may use affective stance for revealing their relationality toward particular identity in the forms of adequation or distinction, authentication or denaturalization, and authorization or illegitimation. The following table summarize the function of the affective stance uttered by santris.

Table 2. The function of affective stance uttered by santri MBI AU

Santris MBI AU	Meaning of affective stance	Fre	Adequ-ation	Distinc-tion	Authen-tication	Denatura-lization	Authori zation	Illegiti mation
Male with Suroboyoan dialect	Affective token	1	1					
	Showing support	14	1		13			
	Teasing	3			3			
	Showing disappointment	1			1			
Male with non suroboyoan dialect	Affective token	-						
	Showing support	3			2		1	
	Teasing	-						
	Showing disappointment	4			4			
Male with non Javanese language	Affective token	-						
	Showing support	1	1					
	Teasing							
	Showing disappointment	4	4					
Female with Suroboyoan dialect	Affective token	4	1	3				
	Showing support	-						
	Teasing	6			6			
	Showing disappointment	4			3			1
Female with non-Suroboyoan dialect	Affective token	1	1					
	Showing support	2			2			
	Teasing	4			4			
	Showing disappointment	1			1			
Female with non Javanese language	Affective token	1	1					
	Showing support	1			1			

Teasing	-							
Showing disappointment	4			4				

a) From table 2 we can see that most of the affective stance uttered by santris MBI AU are reflecting their authenticity. The utterances they produce are the reflection of what they believe a speaker of that language should be; they are the utterances they are most comfortable to produce as they believe they genuinely speak that way (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Affective stances in the forms of swear words used to express disappointment are considered common to utter especially for the male Javanese with Suroboyoan dialect. The words such as *jancok, asu, matane, jangkrik* are considered as part of the authenticity of the language and their uses are also ratified by the interlocutors (Jaffe, 2009). A special issue arises at the use of harsh swear word by female. Though it is considered fine to be uttered by male speakers and it is ratified by their own communities, such used when it is uttered by female is not ratified by the interlocutors. It is considered as illegitimation as the utterances are not accepted (Park, 2004), as in the following datum:

> Santi   : *Asu* 'dog'
> Zahwa : *Seng sabar, gaopo San.. barokah e org puasa a* 'be patient.. it is okay San.. isn't a blessing for the fasting person?'
> Santi   : *Anjir* 'anjir'

The datum shows that when Santi is angry and curses with the word *asu* 'dog', Zahwa asks her to be more patient and reminds her that she is still fasting. Knowing this fact, Santi modified her sword word into *anjir*. Hence, the datum shows that although swearing is considered okay to be said and is considered as the authentic identity of male santris, it does not apply to female santris.

The authenticity of non Javanese speakers or Javanese speakers with non-suroboyan dialect in this case is referring to the use of common expression not specifically suroboyan dialect, for example the supporting word *semangat*, or the modification of swear words like *anjay* or *anjir* or the use of popular Arabic phrase such as *Ya Allah* or *astaghfirullah* (Wulandari, 2013) which is applied to be used by all santris.

b) The affective stance uttered by santris MBI AU also reveals the adequation proses, in a way that santris MBI AU are using their stance to closely resemble the intended community. The most common adequation position is the use of the phrase *sayang kalian/sayang limolas/sayang (name)*. This phrase taken originally from Upin -Ipin show suggests the expression of affectionate feeling without sounding overreacting with some joking sense. For teenagers, expressing their affectionate feeling may be considered as face threatening, hence to be able to say it in a light jokingly manner is more preferable, especially when such expression has received popular acknowledgement, as in the way Upin and Ipin say it.

The other adequation position can be seen from the way male non Javanese speakers use swear words to express their disappointment. The data show that they are using the word *jancok, kirik, asu,* and *asem*. For non Javanese speakers such cursing words are not part of their native language as those words are originally Javanese language and are specifically derived from Suroboyoan dialect. By using such words, the non Javanese speakers are crossing their position (Goebel, 2010) in a way to resemble closely to the Javanese speakers, especially the ones with suroboyoan dialect.

c) Other interesting data show the position of distinction that is the opposite position of adequation. In this position the speakers are marking their differences; how they are distinct from the intended community (Besnier, 2004). Some of the affective stances showing the affectionate token uttered by female are based on the 'I love you' that is modified differently as in the following examples of *love you sekebon* 'I love you as big as a garden', *love you segambreng* 'I love you indefinitely' and *love you pol* 'love you maximum'. These utterances are considered as distinction position because the way the speakers try to distinct themselves from saying the general, common 'I love you', into the phrase that sounds closer to themselves; the teenagers of Javanese speakers (Goebel, 2008).

d) There is not many data revealing the authorization position. This may be due to the fact that all santris here are sharing equal relationship although some santris become the leaders of their students' organization. There is one datum revealing authorization position in a way that santris put their community in a stance with others, as can be seen from the following datum

> VickAzl: *Cuok sangarrr* 'Cuok greatt'
> Pewe: *Wkwkwk, **adewe** kok dipadak e **wong wong ane kono** yo adoh bree* 'wkwkw 'we are not comparable then they are, we are far much better,wkwkw'

In that datum, VickAzl gave comment on how great Pewe's work is, after Pewe reported his work. Pewe responds it by saying that the are as a community are not comparable to other. By saying that Pewe is putting stance of he and his community themselves to the other community. The authorization position that he acknowledges is the fact that he is referring himself to the whole community that he is in. In other words, he is including the whole community as the reference of himself (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005)

V.   CONCLUSION

Santris MBI AU are uttering affective stance with different meanings and functions. By uttering affective stance, santris MBI AU are not only showing what they meant but also constructing and confirming their positions. The most differences between male and female santris in uttering their affective stance is that males santris are using affective stance mostly to support their friends, while female santris are using affective stance for teasing their friends. Only females santris are easily uttering particular affective token showing their affectionate feelings towards their female friends, and male santris prefer to say their attention to male friends through affective stance showing support. Male santris show their disappointment by using more swearing words, while female santris are showing their disappointment by using popular Arabic expression such as *astaghfirullah*, or *Ya Allah*.

The positions santris are taking through the affective stance they utter are mostly referring to the authenticity of their identity. Thus santris are showing their positions by reflecting on their authentic identity, especially for santris originally speaking Javanese with Suroboyan dialect. Some adequation positions are taken by santris to help them cross to the intended community, in this case santris who are not Javanese speakers who are creating particular language behavior toward the language behavior of the major intended community, i.e., the Javanese speakers with Suroboyan dialect. Another case is when santris are using the expression popularly said in Upin Ipin show to be sounded less overreacting in expressing their affectionate feelings in uttering affective token. In contrary with the adequation position, santris also position themselves distinctively from particular community to be sounded more like themselves. Santris also take the authorization position by including their whole community as he reference to himself, and the female santris particularly take the illegitimation stance by not approving the harsh identity constructed by female santris by uttering swear words.

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