Kyai and His Family's Criticism and Praise toward *Santri* at *Pesantren*

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Abstract

The communication system in *pesantren* tends to be figurative. Kyai and his family often use figurative patterns to convey criticism and praise to *Santri*. This study describes the form, type, and function of criticism and praise of *kyai* and his family to *santri*. The theory used to explore criticism and praise is a descriptive and socio-pragmatic theory with the ethnographic method of communication. This research is qualitative. The method used in data collection is the participant observation method. The researchers observed conversations between *kyai* and their families with the *santri*, especially those involving criticism and praise. We conducted interviews with *koai*, *pesantren* families, and *santri* equipped with recording and note-taking techniques. The collected data was then reduced and classified based on categories. Subsequently, we transcribed the data in orthographic form and translated it into Indonesian. The results showed that there were two categories of speech in *the pesantren* environment, namely criticism and praise; (1) The form of criticism of *kyai* and his family to *santri* are reprimands, command, satire, advice, and praise; (2) The forms of praise are motivation, praise, and reprimand. In the motivation and praise, speakers always use subtle, figurative, and direct sentences, while in the reprimand, speakers always praise the interlocutor by criticizing a third person.

[Sistem komunikasi di lingkungan pesantren cenderung berpola kiasan. Pola kiasan tersebut sering digunakan oleh kyai dan keluarganya dalam menyampaikan kritik dan sanjungan kepada santri. Penelitian ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan bentuk, jenis dan fungsi kritik dan sanjungan kyai dan keluarganya kepada santri. Teori yang digunakan untuk mengeksplorasi kritik dan sanjungan adalah deskriptif dan sosio-pragmatik dengan metode etnografi komunikasi. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif. Metode yang digunakan dalam pengumpulan data adalah simak-libat-cakap. Peneliti menyimak semua percakapan kyai dan keluarganya kepada santri, khususnya tuturan kritik dan sanjungan. Peneliti juga melakukan wawancara pada kyai, keluarga Pesantren, dan santri yang dilengkapi dengan teknik rekam dan catat. Data yang sudah terkumpul direduksi dan diklasifikasikan berdasarkan kategorinya. Kemudian, peneliti melakukan transkripsi data dalam bentuk ortografis dan menerjemahkannya ke dalam Bahasa Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ada dua kategori tuturan di lingkungan pesantren, yaitu kritik dan pujian. (1) Bentuk kritik kyai dan keluarganya kepada santri adalah berupa teguran, perintah, sindiran, nasehat, dan pujian; (2) bentuk pujian kyai dan keluarganya kepada santri berupa motivasi, pujian dan kritikan. Dalam kalimat motivasi dan pujian, penutur selalu menggunakan bahasa halus, kiasan dan kalimat langsung, sedangkan dalam kritikan, penutur selalu memuji mitra tutur dengan mengkritik orang ketiga].

Introduction

Language behavior in *pesantren* can be seen from a linguistic and sociolinguistic point of view. From a linguistic point of view, speakers use connotative speech or figurative language when conveying messages to their interlocutors. Meanwhile, from a sociolinguistic point of view, (1) the speaker conveys the message to the speech partner through the intermediary of another person, or (2) the speaker conveys the message directly to the speech partner with connotative speech or figurative language. This language behavior is a gap in the communication system in *the pesantren* milieu environment in terms of conveying messages.

The phenomenon of delivering the message is a symptom of politeness in language that can reflect one's personality, character, identity, and culture of courtesy. Tiani states that a person's personality, character, or personality can be identified through speech, speaking style, way of conveying messages, or use of language.[1] Thus, the communication system in *the pesantren* environment is likely indicated by the use of smooth/soft language and efforts as much as possible to avoid using abusive language, as how *kyai* speaks to his family, *pesantren* family to *santri* and *santri* to *pesantren* family. This is a characteristic of the pattern of community communication in the *pesantren* milieu, which is always maintained, enforced, preserved, and passed down from generation to generation.

Pesantren is an institution as a place of settlement for students who are studying religious knowledge. *Pesantren* is Islamic educational institutions that have at least three general characteristics, namely *kyai*, dormitories, and mosques.[2] It is a form of Islamic education that has been permanently institutionalized in rural areas.[3] The forms of education are referred to as formal colleges and mutual assistance unions. *Pesantren* is one of the Islamic educational institutions that has

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[1] Riris Tiani, "Kajian Perilaku Pragmatis Terhadap Tindak Tutur Santri Terhadap Kyai di Pondok Pesantren di Wilayah Kota Semarang," *HUMANIKA* 23, no. 2 (December 1, 2016): 32–39, https://doi.org/10.14710/HUMANIKA.V23I2.13643.x

[2] Mahfud Junaedi and Mansur, *Rekonstruksi Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama RI, 2005).

[3] Kuntowijoyo, *Menuju Kemandirian Pesantren dan Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa* (Bandung: Mizan, 1988).

an educational system and model different from the education system in other educational institutions.[4] Therefore, *pesantren* that use the concept of classical education is called *salaf pesantren*. It maintains the teaching of classical Islamic books as the core of education.[5]

Pesantren is also a place for *santri* or students who are studying the Quran.[6] In the pesantren milieu, there are several distinctive terms called *kyai, nyai, gus, ning, lora, bhindara,* and *santri.*[7] As stated by Zakiyah (2018) and Khumaidi (2006), in *pesantren*, there are special and distinctive salutations such as *kyai, nyai, gus, ning, kang,* and *cak.* *Kyai* is a salutation for the founder, caregiver, or leader of the *pesantren*, while *nyai* is the designation for *raji* (wife) of the *kyai*. Meanwhile, the terms *gus, lora, bindere* and *ning* are names for sons and daughters of *kyai. Ustaz* and *ustazah,* meanwhile, are the designations for teachers.

This study focuses on the criticism and compliment of *kyai* and his family for *santri* at *pesantren* in *Tapal Kuda* area (Situbondo, Bondowoso and Jember). The community in *pesantren* uses Madurese Language (ML) as their everyday language. ML is not only used by Madurese in general, but also among special communities such as students in *pesantren* milieu.

In everyday life, language behavior, such as criticism and praise from the community in *pesantren*, still pays attention to the rules or norms of language politeness. Social interactions in *pesantren*'s speech community, such as *pak kyai, bu nyai, santri, ustaz,* and *pesantren* administrators, are always based on the norms of the *pesantren*.[8] The

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[4] Millatuz Zakiyah, "The Meanings of Salutations at Islamic Boarding Schools: An Anthropological-Linguistic Study (Makna Sapaan di Pesantren: Kajian Linguistik-Antropologis)," *Leksema: Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra* 3, no. 1 (June 2018): 11–22, https://doi.org/10.22515/LJBS.V3I1.1014.

[5] Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren; Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES, 1984).

[6] Akhmad Sofyan et al., "The Analysis of Conversational Implicature Between Students and Teachers at Al-Azhar Islamic Boarding School," *RETORIKA: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa* 8, no. 1 (April 2022): 65–72, https://doi.org/10.55637/JR.8.1.4042.65-72.

[7] Sofyan et al., "The Analysis of Conversational Implicature between Students and Teachers at Al-Azhar Islamic Boarding School."

[8] ST Mislikhah, "Kesantunan Berbahasa dalam Interaksi Sosial di Pondok Pesantren Mabdaul Ma'Arif Jombang Jember," *FENOMENA* 17, no. 1 (2014): 13-24, https://adoc.pub/kesantunan-berbahasa-dalam-interaksi-sosial-di-pondok-

norms of *pesantren* in question are accuracy in using speech levels based on the context and body language when speaking.

It is a culture of *tawadhu'* or polite custom in the *pesantren* environment that has been entrenched for generations. This symptom of politeness in language is mainly used by *salaf pesantren*s in Tapal Kuda, especially *pesantren* that use ML. Linguistic symptoms and figurative expressions are not infrequently found, but they are often used to criticize and compliment *santri*. Uniquely, the language used in criticizing and complimenting is ML. Symptoms of politeness in language are often used by *pesantren* community in criticizing and complimenting students. This research only focused on *pesantren* in the cities of Situbondo, Bondowoso, and Jember. It is because the three *pesantren* use ML as the main choice for showing language politeness in everyday life.

To map the urgency of this research, it is necessary to study previous studies that have similarities in order to produce new research results. Several researchers have carried out studies on criticism and compliments of society in general, but those studies have never been carried out in *pesantren*. The study of criticism and praise as a phenomenon of the community communication system in *pesantren* is needed to observe social phenomena in the form of language behavior and politeness. Therefore, this research is expected to add novelty in empirical studies that dissect the development of criticism and praise in the context of language politeness in *pesantren*. The following are some previous studies that have similarities with the research to be carried out.

Sukarno's research aims to explore the politeness strategies of Javanese society in responding to compliments. The results showed that there were five strategies used in responding to compliments: (1) disagreeing and condescending, (2) disagreeing and asking questions, (3) accepting and refusing, (4) accepting and giving explanation, and (5) accepting only or accepting and offering.[9] Hasanah, Sofyan, and Sariono's research, meanwhile, aims to explain types and forms of *pangalem* in the public's view and their understanding of *pangalem*. The results show that the meaning of *pangalem* is not only derived from

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pesant22ec4b2d87e2ecb79a0402aa37b0d4c078303.html#google_vignette.

[9] Sukarno, "Politeness Strategies in Responding to Compliments in Javanese," *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 4, no. 2 (January 2, 2015): 91–101, https://doi.org/10.17509/IJAL.V4I2.686.

the text but also from the context of the situation and culture.[10] Another research by Rianto aims to describe and identify the form of strategy and scale of politeness to refuse among students with a Javanese cultural background. The results showed that (1) there were two types of refusing politeness strategies, namely direct and indirect refusal, (2) the refusal politeness scale was found to be 5 five scales.[11]

Research by Sofyan aims to discuss the patterns and characteristics of the use of Madurese criticism in social media. The results of the study reveal that the Madurese community uses various patterns and models of criticism.[12] On the other hand, Muta'allim, Sofyan, and Haryono's research explored the functions of superlative adjectives in the Kangean dialect of the Madurese language (KDML). The results of this study indicate that superlative adjectives of KDML have different functions, such as giving motivation, praise, reprimand, satire, advice, orders, blemishes, and accusations.[13]

Also found Sofyan, Hidayatullah, and Badrudin's research, which aims to reveal the patterns and characteristics of the use of Madurese criticism in social media. The results showed that the Madurese community used a critical model with humor, figurative, subtle satire, and lyrical (poetic) patterns because the community could accept this model. Besides, Sofyan's research aims to determine the choice of language, motives and initial language expressions. The results showed that (1) the people of Situbondo used code switching and mixing, humor and allegory, (2) hierarchical aspects influenced the

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[10] Maulidia Hasanah, Akhmad Sofyan, and Agus Sariono, "Pangalem Tradisional Dalam Masyarakat Etnik Madura di Kabupaten Jember," *SEMIOTIKA: Jurnal Ilmu Sastra dan Linguistik* 18, no. 1 (August 21, 2017): 29–41, https://doi.org/10.19184/SEMIOTIKA.V18I1.5181.

[11] Udik Riyanto, "Strategi Kesantunan Menolak pada Kalangan Santri Berlatar Belakang Budaya Jawa Pada Pesantren Darul Ihsan Muhammadiyah Sragen" (Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2017), https://eprints.ums.ac.id/52098/.

[12] Akhmad Sofyan, "Kritik Masyarakat Madura di Ranah Media Sosial," in *Seminar Nasional "Sastra dan Perkembagan Media"*, 2018, https://pbsi.fbs.uny.ac.id/sites/pbsi.fbs.uny.ac.id/files/Prosiding Seminar Nasional Bahasa dan Sastra dalam Perspektif Interdispiner 2022.pdf.

[13] Muta'allim Muta'allim, Akhmad Sofyan, and Akhmad Haryono, "Superlative Adjectives of Kangean Dialect of Madurese Language: A Pragmatic Study (Adjektiva Superlatif Bahasa Madura Dialek Kangean: Sebuah Kajian Pragmatik)" 5, no. 1 (June 2020): 15–26, https://oldjournal.iainsurakarta.ac.id/index.php/leksema/article/view/2057.

motive for choosing language codes in the context of diglossia society, identity politics; dimensions of ethnic groups and psychological and cultural motives.[14]

With the same formation yet different theme, Sofyan, Hidayatullah, and Badrudin's research aims to describe the phenomenon of the use of critical expressions in the family of the Madurese community in Besuki Raya. The results showed that (1) the forms and models of criticism used were direct criticism, using the third person, using sound markers, and using metaphorical language; (2) criticism is delivered in the context of the family; and (3) the formulation of a selected form of criticism can be accepted through the choice of diction, the third person, sound markers, and metaphorical (figurative) language.[15]

Sofyan's research examines the use of expressions of criticism of the Madurese community in the context of association and neighbors in Besuki Raya. The results of the study show that: 1) criticism is conveyed in the context of communication in the family realm, including debts and receivables, between neighbors, and needs; 2) the forms and models of criticism used are using metaphors, humor, advice, harsh language, subtle threats, singing, third person, written letters, objects, animal objects, flattery, and grumbling *(ngaronyam);* 3) the function of criticism in the realm of association and neighbors includes a form of concern by expressing the faults and shortcomings of others, a form of intimacy between friends and neighbors, an expression to express annoyance. Sofyan, Yudistira, Muta'allim, Alfani, and Ghaffar's research aims to describe the types and meanings of conversational implicatures. The results showed that there were four types of conversational implicatures, namely general, scale, special and conventional conversational implicatures.[16]

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[14] Akhmad Sofyan, Panakajaya Hidayatullah, and Ali Badrudin, "Various Language Expressions in The Criticism of Madurese People on Social Media Field," *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 28, no. 1 (June 12, 2020): 141–71, https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v28i1.2352.

[15] Akhmad Sofyan, Panakajaya Hidayatullah, and Ali Badrudin, "Ungkapan Kritik Dalam Ranah Keluarga Masyarakat Madura di Besuki Raya," *Mozaik Humaniora* 21, no. 1 (January 10, 2022): 13–28, https://doi.org/10.20473/mozaik.v21i1.26282.

[16] Sofyan, Hidayatullah, and Badrudin, "Konteks Penggunaan dan Penyampaian Kritik Masyarakat Madura dalam Ranah Pergaulan."

Meanwhile, researches about *kyai*'s communication were done by Ghaffar, Haryono, & Tallapessy;[17] Hariyanto;[18] Haryono;[19] Mahardhani, Nawiruddin, Jalaluddin, Julhadi, & Muta'allim;[20] Nurcahyo, Sukarno, and Salikin.[21] As for researches about praise, politeness, conversation, and the role of language and local wisdom were done by Hidayat, Wibisono, and Sukarno;[22] Wibisono & Haryono;[23] Yudistira, Muta'allim, Nurcaya, Julhadi, & Pattiasina.[24] Researches about political communication, function of the illocutionary speech act, and communication patterns can be well represented by Yudistira & Muta'allim;[25] Sofyan, Badrudin, Fitriani, & Muta'allim;[26]

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[17] Abdul Azizul Ghaffar, Akhmad Haryono, and Albert Tallapessy, "Pola Komunikasi Kyai dan Santri di Pondok Pesantren at-Taufiqwringin Bondowoso," *KREDO : Jurnal Ilmiah Bahasa dan Sastra* 4, no. 2 (April 21, 2021): 594–610, https://doi.org/10.24176/KREDO.V4I2.5629.

[18] Hariyanto Hariyanto, "Kyai's Communication Approach in Developing Religious Culture At the Nurul Qornain Islamic Boarding School Jember," *QALAMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, dan Agama* 13, no. 2 (September 18, 2021): 443–56, https://doi.org/10.37680/QALAMUNA.V13I2.930.

[19] Akhmad Haryono, "Communication Patterns Among Kyais of Nahdlatul Ulama in the Madurese Ethnic Group," *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 7, no. 3 (January 31, 2018): 714–26, https://doi.org/10.17509/IJAL.V7I3.9822.

[20] Ardhana Januar Mahardhani et al., "View of the Kyai's Position in Rural Local Democracy Based on Patronage Politics at Tapal Kuda," *Muslim Heritage* 8, no. 1 (2023): 115–23, https://jurnal.iainponorogo.ac.id/index.php/muslimheritage/article/view/6004/2631.

[21] Heriyanto Nurcahyo, Sukarno, and Hairus Salikin, "The Use of Engghi-Bhunten Speaking Levels by Madurese Students in Al-Azhar Islamic Boarding School: A Sociolinguistic Study," *RETORIKA: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa* 9, no. 2 (September 4, 2023): 144–56, https://doi.org/10.55637/JR.9.2.5935.144-156.

[22] Sukarno, "Politeness Strategies, Linguistic Markers and Social Contexts in Delivering Requests in Javanese," *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 7, no. 3 (October 30, 2018): 659–67, https://doi.org/10.17509/IJAL.V7I3.9816.

[23] Bambang Wibisono and Akhmad Haryono, "Turn-Taking in Conversation Uttered by Madurese Community in Jember," *JOALL (Journal of Applied Linguistics and Literature)* 7, no. 2 (2022): 362–77, https://doi.org/10.33369/JOALL.V7I2.20773.

[24] Riyantino Yudistira et al., "The Role of Linguistics and Local Wisdom on Knowing Harmony Between Religions At Tana Toraja," *Muslim Heritage* 7, no. 2 (December 26, 2022): 409–31, https://doi.org/10.21154/muslimheritage.v7i2.5023.

[25] Riantino Yudistira and Muta'allim Muta'allim, "Code Mixing as an Anti-Political Indiscretion Among Farm Laborers at Ajung, Kalisat, Jember," *LiNGUA: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa dan Sastra* 18, no. 1 (June 27, 2023): 25–36, https://doi.org/10.18860/LING.V18I1.20312.

[26] Akhmad Sofyan et al., "Types and Functions of Illocutionary Speech Acts on Inter-

and Muta'alim, Nawawi, Alfani, Ghaffar, & Wafi;[27]

Based on some studies above, researchers have not found research that examines criticism and praise in *a permanent* environment. Thus, we are very interested in uncovering the form and function of criticism and praise within *pesantren* milieu. We intentionally formulate some problems, namely what is the form and function of the criticism and praise of *kyai* and his family to the *santri*? To answer the problem formulation, it is necessary to use a socio-pragmatic approach. Socio-pragmatics is a combination of two branches of science, namely sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Sociolinguistics is the study of language that explores the relationship between language and society. Sociolinguistics is a descriptive study of the influence of society on the way language is used.[28] Besides, sociolinguistics describes the use of language by individuals by classifying utterances according to their different functions[29] while pragmatics is a study that explores the relationship between language and context in which context is the basis for determining the meaning of speech.[30]

The use of speech in a pragmatic context differs from speech in a linguistic context. The pragmatic field indicates that context is always outside of the text. The text referred to in pragmatics is a 'proposition of meaning', a unit of language containing a unified meaning. This is

Character Dialogue in Tilik Short Films," *Lingua: Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra* 18, no. 2 (September 13, 2022): 148–56, https://doi.org/10.15294/lingua.v18i2.36163.

[27] Muta'allim et al., "Codes Switching and Codes Mixing of Sellers and Buyers in Traditional Markets: Case Study of Market Kampong Asembagus Situbondo," *RETORIKA: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa* 7, no. 2 (October 17, 2021): 121–29, https://doi.org/10.22225/JR.7.2.2627.121-129.

[28] Ilya Nikolaevich Garayev, Dmitry Evgenyevich Martynox, and Yulia Aleksandrovna Martynova, "A Sociolinguistic Survey of Fourth Movement 1919 in Zhejiang: Participants' Attitudes and Linguistic Perspectives," *Journal of Research in Applied Linguistics* 10, no. Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Applied Linguistics Issues (ALI 2019) July 19-20, 2019, Saint Petersburg, Russia (July 1, 2019): 1300–1306, https://doi.org/10.22055/RALS.2019.15373.

[29] Sonia. Ellul, "A Case Study in Bilingualism : Code-Switching between Parents and Their Pre-School Children in Malta," 1978, 33, https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/92764.

[30] Elizabeth Closs Traugott, "William Labov, Sociolinguistic Patterns. (Conduct and Communication, 4.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.," *Language in Society* 4, no. 1 (April 1975): 89–107, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004528.

because pragmatics requires a relationship between speech and function in its context, thus referring to the ability to understand a language.[31] Besides, pragmatics is a study that discusses the use of language in communication, which is related to the meaning, function, and context of language speech between speakers and speech partners.[32] Therefore, the text referred to in pragmatics does not have to be a complete sentence. That is, pragmatic context is related to the ability to understand and convey the exact meaning behind an utterance. Thus, the pragmatic context is only outside the speech text. This is understood as the speaker's intention through the language used or understanding the communicative function of language use.

Methods

This qualitative research explores the socio-pragmatic perspective with the ethnographic method of communication. The method used in extracting the data is listen-engage-conversation. In addition, we used an introspective reflective method because we are directly involved in the use of criticism and praise in *the pesantren* milieu, which has long served and cultivated the *pesantren* culture. Data was collected by recording then note-taking. Besides, we conducted interviews to obtain information from several selected informants by asking several questions about problems that were not understood through the listen-engagement-talk method so that data were obtained to determine the speech of criticism and praise in the *pesantren* milieu based on the context.

The informants who were selected as research subjects were *dhâlem* family *(kyai, nyai, gus, lora, bhindere, ning,* and students) who were active in *Tapal Kuda Pesantren*. We conducted searches to several *pesantren* in Tapal Kuda. Several selected informants were then observed for their communication strategies based on the context. This observation was carried out in secret. After some data was collected, we took a personal approach and conducted in-depth interviews with the aim of clarifying the previous data and digging deeper into ethnographic information. Some of the data collected was then orthographically transcribed and analyzed.

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[31] Lyle F. Bachman, "Communicative Language Ability," *Fundamental Considerations in Language Testing*, 1990, 81–109.

[32] Stephen C. Levinson, *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: *Cambridge University Press*, 1983,

The informant selection stage is based on several considerations, namely a person or group who can show speech typically used in the *pesantren milieu*. The first category is *dhâlem* family in each *pesantren*, namely *kyai, nyai, gus, lora, bhindere* and *bing*. The second is active students, both juniors and seniors, especially those who understand the context of ML speech. This choice is based on the reason that students interact more with *dhâlem* family. The interview phase in this study was conducted using structured and unstructured interview techniques. The interview begins with an informal conversation (kind of interview), which is carried out at several events based on the context. The interview technique used is an unstructured interview technique (which is fluid) using the informant's language (Madurese and Indonesian languages).

Technically, we noted the important things from the conversation during the interview, whether they were expressed explicitly or implicitly (certain cultural gestures or symbols). All interviews were documented through a digital voice recording device. Other ethnographic records were obtained through participatory observation activities. After conducting interviews, interview data in the form of ethnographic notes (writing, pictures, recordings) were collected and classified based on their type, form and function. After being classified, data analysis is carried out, namely re-examination of field notes to look for relationships between one another. The last step is to write down all the results of the analysis. The data that has been inventoried is then understood based on its context of answers on what, who, where and how. For example, the object of research in the form of speech in *the pesantren* milieu (Situbondo, Bondowoso & Jember) does not only display speech but gives the function and meaning of communication based on the context.

Results

In the research on criticism and praise of *kyai* and his family to santri, it was found that there are several forms of criticism, namely reprimands, orders, satire, advice, and praise, while the forms of praise are in the form of motivation, praise, and reprimand. Below is complete information about the criticism and praise of *kyai* and his family to *santri*.

Criticism of *Kyai* and His Family to *Santri*
Data 01CKAFTS
*<Bâ'na **abhâghusan** lambek, Bal>*
(You were better on yesterday, Bal)

Context: Ikbal Hadi is a *santri* who used to be very diligent, smart and obedient. He was very loved by *dhâlem* family. Every after-*ashar* time, Ikbal was asked to recite the Qur'an in *dhâlem* using a microphone. However, lately, he has often skipped and even violated the rules of the *pesantren*. On Friday nights, activities at Al-Azhar *pesantren* Situbondo are reciting *salawat* with the *dhâlem* family in the courtyard of the *pesantren*. During the event, suddenly Ikbal disturbed the friend next to him, so *Nyai* reprimanded him with the following words:

Nyai:*<bâ'na **abhâghusan** lambek, Bal>*
(You were better on yesterday, Bal)

After hearing *Nyai*'s speech, Ikbal felt guilty and said the following:

Ikbal: *<Engghi, Nyai. Abdhina saporana>*
(Yes, *Nyai*. I am sorry.)

Data 02CKAFTS
<Mon Hambali mon badhâ oreng dhâlem, nonduk, ngunok ta' ajhâlân>
(When there are *dhâlem* families on walk, Hambali bows down, does not walk)

Context: This utterance was delivered in Salafiyah Syafiiyah Al-Azhar *Pesantren* Mojosari Asembagus, Situbondo when the Prophet Muhammad's birthday (*maulid*) was approaching. At that time, the *dhalem* family reviewed all of *santri*'s rooms for evaluation. When they came to each *santri*'s room, the *santri* were pacing back and forth. Thus, Nyai uttered the sentence *<Mon Hambali mon badhâ oreng dhâlem, nonduk, ngunok ta' ajhâlân>*.

Data 03CKAFTS
<Mon badhâ Sana rea bhârse kabbi>
(If there is Sana, things will be clean)

Context: This utterance was spoken when all *santri* return to *pesantren (beliyen).* Usually, female students serving as helpers *(abdi dhâlem)* always go to the kitchen to clean up. But at that time, a female *santri* (Sana) had not had time to clean up, so there was some dirty equipment remaining in the kitchen. Thus, Nyai reprimanded her with the words *<Mon badhâ Sana rea bhârse kabbi>*.

Data 04CKAFTS
<Huh...pola abajhâTg dhuha saebu rakaat>
(duh.... maybe you are praying dhuha a thousand rakaat)

Context: This utterance was delivered in a morning, when there was a birthday ceremony for the Prophet Muhammad pbuh at Nurul Qarnain *Pesantren,* Jember. At that time, a female *santri* also serving as *abdi dhâlem* named Safira was late to enter the kitchen because she was tired. She came at 08.00 AM as she just woke up and immediately rushed to the kitchen to help and prepare the consumption for the celebration. Seeing this, *nyai* reprimanded her with the words *<Huh...pola abajhâng dhuha saebu rakaat>*.

The Praise of *Kyai* and his Family to *Santri*
Data 05PKAFTS
<Se bhâgus rea Kamil carana nyabis ka guru>
 (Kamil's way is good when shaking hands to his teacher)

Context: This utterance was delivered at an evening when Al-Azhar *Pesantren* held a *tabassam* event. The *tabassam* event is held every year, namely as a routine meeting event at the beginning of the school year attended by *santri* and *dhalem* families. After the event was over, the students shook hands with *dhalam* families sitting in the front. Suddenly, one of the *dhalem* families, namely *Ustaz* Havid, reprimanded the way santri shook hands. He accentuated that the correct way of shaking hands was like what Kamil did, as in the following utterance *<Se bhâgus rea Kamil carana nyabis ka Guru>*.

Data 06PKAFTS
<Engkok bhunga andik santre se maro'om nyamana pesantren>
(I am proud to have students who make good reputation of *pesantren*)

Context: This utterance was mentioned during the *taujihat* recitation at Manbaul Ulum *Pesantren,* Tangsil, Wetan Wonosari Bondowoso. The *taujihat* was attended by all students including the administrator and chairman of *pesantren*. On the sidelines of the recitation, the *kyai* said happily that he was proud to hear that one of his students won the district level traditional book reading competition. Besides, he did not hesitate to appreciate and praise him with the utterance <engkok bhunga andik santre se maroom nyamana Pesantren>.

Data 07PKAFTS
<Engkok ce' sennengnga mola ngabhâsagi bâ'na negghuk ketab>
(I am very proud when I see you holding the holy book)

Context: The utterance took place in a morning when it was time to recite the holy book. At that time, *kyai* was sitting in his special chair to teach to students at the general level (MTs, MA & Ma'had Aly). Before beginning the lesson, he looked at the students who were holding the Qur'an and ready to recite it. Seeing this, *kyai* seemed proud and then he chanted *<engkok jha' sennennga mola ngabhâsagi bâ'na negghuk ketab>*.

The detailed explanation of the criticism and praises given by kyai and his family to santri in the table below.

Table 1: Form, Category, and Context of *Kyai* and His Family's Criticism and Praise to *Santri*

Data Code	Utterances	Context	Form	Category	Meaning
01CKAFTS	*<Bâ'na **abhâghusan** lambek, Bal>* (You were better on yesterday, Bal) 'Yesterday, you were better, Bal'	Nyai compares Ikbal's behavior from the past with his current behavior.	Reprimand	Criticism	Nyai wishes for Ikbal to behave well like he used to

02CKAF TS	*<Mon Hambali mon badhâ oreng dhâlem, nonduk, ngunok ta' ajhâlân>* (When there are dhâlem families on walk, Hambali bows down, does not walk) 'When there are dhâlem families on walk, Hambali bows down, does not walk'	Nyai reprimands the students when they misbehave in front of *dhâlem* family.	Compli-ment	Criticism	Nyai wishes for all students to have the same humility towards *dhâlem* family as Hambali does.
03CKAF TS	*<Mon badhâ Sana rea bhârse kabbi>* (If there is Sana it will be clean) 'If there is Sana, the kitchen will be clean'	Nyai reprimands the students who are not diligent or capable by praising Hasanah's serious and diligent work.	Sarcasm	Criticism	Nyai wishes for the student to work diligently, just like Hasanah does.
04CKAF TS	*<Huh...pola abajhâng dhuha saebu rakaat>* (duh.... maybe you are praying dhuha a thousand rakaat) (duh.... maybe you	Nyai admonishes Safira because after the morning prayer, she didn't immediately go to the kitchen. Instead, she continued to	Reprimand	Criticism	Safira was so satisfied with her sleep that she only woke up at 08.00 AM

	are praying dhuha a thousand times)	sleep until 08:00 AM.			
05PKAFTS	*<Se bhâgus rea Kamil carana nyabis ka Guru>* (Kamil way is good when shakehand to his teacher) 'Kamil attitude is good when shakehand to his teacher'	*Ustaz* Hafidz praises Kamil in front of the other students with the aim of motivating Kamil and encouraging him to behave well.	Motivation	Praise	Providing motivation to Kamil so that he consistently behaves well and feels comfortable at *pesantren.*
06PKAFTS	*<Engkok bhunga andik santre se maroom nyamana Pesantren>* (I am proud to have students who make the name of the *pesantren* proud) 'I am proud to have students who have succeeded in making the name of the *pesantren* proud'	*Kyai* gives very positive words and also rewards the student who successfully becomes the champion in the competition for reading the yellow book.	Compli-ment	Praise	*Kyai* is very supportive and appreciative of the students' achievements, to the extent that he gives words of praise and rewards to the winners of the competition for reading the yellow book.
07PKAFTS	*<Engkok jha' sennengnga mola ngabhâsagi bâ'na negghuk ketap>*	*Kyai* praises the students when he sees them enthusiastic about seeking knowledge.	Compliment	Praise	*Kyai* wants the students to remain disciplined, enthusiastic, active, and to study diligently

	(I am very proud when I see you holding the holy book) 'I am very happy when I see students holding the holy book'				in their pursuit of knowledge.

Discussion

The data 01CKAFTS is a criticism or reprimand from the *nyai* to Ikbal. It was said so because the *nyai* mentioned it when Ikbal was joking and disturbing his friend. Basically, the sentence *<bâ'na abhâghusan lambek, Bal>* is an informational sentence or a sentence of praise that states that Ikbal's behavior in the past was better (than it is now). However, based on this context, the sentence *<bâ'na abhâghusan lambek, Bal>* is no longer an informational or a mere compliment sentence, but instead has the meaning of criticizing or reprimanding Ikbal's current behavior because it is not the same as his previous behavior. Therefore, the sentence *<bâ'na **abhâghusan** lambek, Bal>* is categorized as a critical sentence.

In this context, the *nyai* emphasizes the word **abhâghusan** (better), which represents Ikbal's good behavior in the past. This word is spoken with the intention of addressing Ikbal's current poor behavior. In the text, the *nyai* is not directly reprimanding or expressing displeasure towards Ikbal's current behavior; instead, she is praising Ikbal's behavior from the past. However, in the context, the *nyai* is indeed addressing Ikbal's current undesirable behavior. This is stated in this way because the *nyai* utters it when Ikbal is joking around and disturbing his friend. The sentence *"<bâ'na abhâghusan lambek, Bal>"* prompts Ikbal to become aware and feel remorseful.

Nyai's intention in comparing Ikbal's past behavior with his current behavior by uttering the phrase *"<bâ'na abhâghusan lambek, Bal>"* is to prompt Ikbal to immediately become aware and engage in self-reflection. This way, he can contemplate his previously commendable behavior, which was praised by the *dhâlem* family, and then regret his current actions that are deemed not as good as before. The statement is made in this manner because it serves as a strong wake-

up call for Ikbal. Consequently, through this utterance, the *nyai* hopes that Ikbal will revert to behaving well as he did in the past.

Meanwhile, the data 02CKAFTS *<mon Hambali mon badhâ oreng dhâlem, **nonduk, ngunok ta' ajhâlân>** is a sentence of warning. It is said so because in general, the sentence delivers praise which states that Hambali has good manners and behavior, which is very respectful of the *dhâlem* family by bowing and being silent. In this case, the *nyai* emphasizes the word *nonduk* and *ngunok ta' ajhâlân* which are Hambali's good behavior. These words indicate Hambali's humility or respect towards *dhâlem* family by bowing and not walking when the *dhâlem* family is passing by.

Textually, the *nyai* does not directly reprimand students' behavior through a reprimand sentence. However, in this context, she addressed the behavior of other students who do not show respect when the *dhâlem* family passes by. This implicit reprimand is conveyed through praising Hambali's good behavior. Therefore, this sentence does not function as a statement or praise sentence but rather as a sentence of reprimand addressed to students other than Hambali so that they apply good manners when meeting the *dhâlem* family. This is particularly because the students did not show any polite attitude when the *nyai* went to male students' room as Hambali did. Therefore, the utterance *<mon Hambali mon badhâ oreng dhâlem, nonduk, ngunok ta' ajhâlân>* is categorized as a warning sentence. *Nyai*'s purpose in stating this sentence is for all students to emulate and demonstrate the same humility towards *dhâlem* family as Hambali does.

As for the data 03CKAFTS *<mon badhâ Sana re, **bhârse kabbi>** is a warning sentence. It is mainly because the *nyai* told Hapsa that she had not cleaned the things in the kitchen. The keyword in this sentence is *bhârse kabbi.* This term refers to a clean and comfortable place or situation. In this context, the *nyai* uses this word to describe Sana's diligence or seriousness in her work. In general, the utterance *<mon badhâ Sana rea bhârse kabbi>* is a declarative sentence whose purpose is to praise Sana. However, in this context, the sentence does not mean to praise Sana, but it aims to reprimand Hapsa.

In that case, the statement is made because at that time, the *nyai* was not with Sana, but rather with Hapsa. The statement is therefore not directed towards Sana, nor is it intended to praise Sana. Instead, it is directed towards Hapsa, as a reprimand for not being as diligent, serious, and agile as Sana. Therefore, the sentence is spoken to Hapsa

with the intention of addressing her lack of sincerity or seriousness compared to Sana. In this situation, besides intending to reprimand Hapsa, the *nyai* also aims for Hapsa to work diligently, just as Hasna does. This phenomenon is often carried out by *ndhâlem* families in *pesantren*, namely by comparing students with one another. This is done because this method is a very alternative strategy in making students aware of what the *dhâlem* family wants.

This is quite same as 04CKAFTS *<Huh...pola abajhâng duha saebu rokaat>* as a warning sentence because it was said to Safira who had just come to the kitchen lately. The key phrase in this sentence is *saebu rokaat.* In this context, the *nyai* mentions it because Safira is very late in going to the kitchen. In this sentence, the *nyai* uses the phrase *saebu rokaat* to illustrate Safira's lateness, which consumes a lot of time. It is mentioned in this way because it is impossible for a student to perform a dhuha prayer of a thousand units of prayer (*raka'at*). Furthermore, this incident occurred unlike the usual routine, where every morning after dawn, Safira would immediately go to the kitchen to cook. However, in this particular moment, after dawn, Safira still had not come to the kitchen, even until 8:00 AM. This is what made the *nyai* angry with Safira and reprimanded her with the sentence *<Huh...pola abajhâng duha saebu rokaat>*. Therefore, the sentence expresses *nyai*'s frustration with Safira's extreme tardiness in going to the kitchen.

In general, the sentence is a statement accompanied by an exclamation. However, in the situation context, the sentence *<huh...pola abajhâng duha saebu rokaat>* has the intention of insinuating Safira. It is said so because the sentence *saebu rakaat* shows a very long time. It means that *nyai* is reprimanding Safira who just came into the kitchen at 08.00 AM. The actual meaning contained in the sentence *<Huh...pola abajhâng duha saebu rokaat>* explains that Safira was so satisfied with her sleep that she only woke up at 08.00 AM. Thus, the sentence *<Huh...pola abajhâng duha saebu rokaat>* is categorized as satire.

The data 05PKAFTS *<se bhâgus rea Kamil carana nyabis ka guru>* is a speech of praise. In that sentence, there is the word *se bhâgus* (which means good). This word is directed toward Kamil to describe his good behavior. Literally, this statement is a praise for Kamil's good behavior even though in meaning, this utterance can function as a sentence of reprimand, namely admonishing students who do not know how to shake hands as Kamil did. However, in this context, the speech

was not addressed to the *santri* or not to reprimand the *santri*, but rather was addressed to Kamil. It was said so because the way Kamil shook hands was the same as what his friends did. But in this case, *Ustaz* Havid praised Kamil for making him feel at home in the *pesantren*. That said, because last year, Kamil had permission to stop studying at the *pesantren*. He was worried that his existence would tarnish the good name of *pesantren*. In addition, *Ustaz* Havid aims to motivate Kamil to behave better than before considering he is one of the most naughty students. One of the effects of the speech *<se bhâgus rea Kamil carana nyabis ka guru>* made Kamil motivated and behave better than before. Therefore, *Ustad* Hafidz praised Kamil in front of students with the intention of motivating him to continue behaving well, so that he would stay engaged in learning at *pesantren*. Thus, the sentence is categorized as praise.

The praise is also found at 06PKAFTS *<engkok bhunga andik santre se maro'om nyamana* pesantren. *Kyai* said that while smiling about one of his students who had won a book *(kitab kuning)* reading competition at the district level. In this case, there are keywords of praise, namely the words *bhunga* and *se maro'om.* The sentence *<engkok bhunga andik santre se mar'oom nyamana* pesantren> is a sentence that carries a denotative or explicit meaning. In this context, the *kyai* uses the words *bhunga* and *se maro'om* to give praise and appreciation to the student who has become the champion of the competition, thus bringing honor to his *pesantren*.

Basically, the *<engkok bhunga andik santre se maroom nyamana Pesantren>* was spoken by the *kyai* during the *taujihad* recitation. Thus, the speech is not only a compliment but also motivating other students. However, in this context, the *kyai* said this sentence in public with the aim of spreading joy so that the students and parents also knew about it. On the other hand, the *kyai* gave appreciation to the students with words of pride and gifts. Furthermore, he praises and appreciates the student who becomes the champion in front of the other students as a symbol of recognition and also as motivation. This shows that high-achieving students will be appreciated and given special attention. Thus, the speech *<engkok bhunga andik santre se maro'om nyamana* pesantren> is categorized with a flattery sentence.

In the same vein, the data 07PKAFTS *<engkok ce' sennengnga mola ngabhâsagi bâ'na negghuk ketab>* is a sentence of flattery

addressed to all students who are attending the public recitation in the morning. In this case, the keyword used for praise is *ce' sennengnga*. *Kyai* uses this word to commend the student. The utterance is an explicit speech, which is directly spoken and addressed to all students in an easy-to-understand language. The *kyai* said the sentence *<engkok ce' sennengnga mola ngabhâsagi bâ'na negghuk ketab>* because he aimed to praise the students so that they are happy and study harder. Indirectly, the utterance *<engkok ce' sennennga mola ngabhâsagi bâ'na negghuk ketab>* is not only a flattery sentence, but also a command. It is said that because *kyai* praises his students when they are orderly and eager to study. So, it indicates that *kyai* wants all of santri to continue doing like that. However, as literally, the *kyai* asked his students to remain disciplined, enthusiastic, active, and studying hard in their pursuit of knowledge. Thus, the utterance *<engkok jha' sennennga mola ngabhâsagi bâ'na negghuk ketap>* is categorized with a command sentence which is interchanged with a sentence of praise.

Conclusion

Communication systems in *pesantren* (at Situbondo, Bondowoso, and Jember) use indirect language (figuratively) to convey criticism and compliment. The purpose of using indirect language is because *dhâlem* family *(kyai, nyai, gus, lora, bhindere* and *ning)* are providing guidance, examples and subtle speech when conveying criticism and praise to students. It is said so because the purpose of the speech is not only to give criticism and praise to students but also to convey the mandate and maintain social relations between speakers and speech partners so that humanist communication and harmonious relationships can be established. The submission of speeches of criticism and compliments of *Kyai* and his family to students motivates, praises, reprimands, orders, insinuates, and advises. Research on criticism and compliments in *pesantren* is very interesting to study, and further research, therefore, still needs to be carried out more intensely, namely not only examining the criticism and compliment of *Kyai* and his family but also about criticism and compliments of *Kyai* to his family or fellow *kyai*.

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