

URL: https://jurnal.uns.ac.id/pjl

ISSN (Print): 2503–2658 E-ISSN (Online): 2527–2969



The Occurrence of Arabic to Javanese Phonological Interference in *Bahtsul Masail* Discussions at Darul Huda Islamic Boarding School, Ponorogo

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Article Info

Article history:

Submitted June 24, 2025 Revised September 29, 2025 Accepted October 16, 2025 Published November 5, 2025

Keywords:

bahtsul masail; javanese language; phonological interference; arabic language

ABSTRACT

Interference can be considered a form of error in language. The emergence of interference can damage the linguistic rules of a language, potentially leading to confusion and disorder, as it deviates from established norms or grammatical structures. One of the most common forms of interference is phonological interference, particularly in bilingual contexts such as Islamic boarding schools (pesantren). This study aims to describe the forms of phonological interference from Arabic into Javanese that occur during Bahtsul Masail activities at the Darul Huda Islamic Boarding School in Mayak, Ponorogo. Additionally, this research seeks to identify the consonant patterns that contribute to the interference and the underlying causal factors. This study uses descriptive qualitative method with data collection techniques including interviews, audio recordings, and field notes. The researcher directly participated in the Bahtsul Masail sessions, engaged in dialogues with participants, and recorded instances of phonological interference that emerged during students' arguments. The findings reveal that: (1) the forms of phonological interference include sound substitution, simplification of pronunciation, and accent adaptation in the articulation of Arabic by Javanese speakers; and (2) Phonological interference is influenced by several factors, including the learning environment in pesantren, students' everyday language use, and Arabic teaching approaches that inadequately cover phonological elements.

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INTRODUCTION

Interference often occurs in core areas of sociolinguistics, with phonology being one of the most affected aspects. Phonology refers to the study of sound systems, including the investigation of sounds and their functions in distinguishing meaning within a particular language (Ellis, 2008). Phonological interference tends to emphasize theories related to the language practices of a group of learners within their environment phonological knowledge is often applied in communication and social interaction.

According to Krida Laksana (2008) in his book *Language in Contact*, interference is evident in the changes that occur within a language system, including its phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures. Since interference affects the system of a language, it is commonly referred to as systemic interference. Conversely, interference





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ISSN (Print): 2503–2658 E-ISSN (Online): 2527–2969



may also emerge due to a lack of mastery over the linguistic codes during speech. This condition gives rise to significant differences in language characteristics—especially among bilingual speakers—where the level of interference tends to increase, particularly among those who are still in the process of learning a second or third language.

The Arabic language possesses highly diverse characteristics. According to Azwar (2010) Arabic has 28 letters, all of which are consonants. Vowels in Arabic writing are represented by diacritical marks known as syakl. There are six vowels in Arabic: three short vowels and three long vowels, namely $(u, a, i, \bar{u}, \bar{a}, \bar{i})$. The short vowels u, a, \bar{a} and i are marked by diacritics called dhammah, fathah, and kasrah, respectively. Meanwhile, long vowels involve the use of consonants waw (و), alif (۱), and ya (و) following the corresponding short vowels. In certain Arabic alphabets, there are allophones or phonemic variations where the phoneme /a/ may shift to /o/ in consonants such as Zha (غ) , ghin (خ) , dhad (ف) , shad (ص) , zai (ز) , ra (رز), zha (ظ), and qaf (ق). According to Akasyah, consonant sounds in Arabic can be categorized based on their articulatory organs into eleven classifications. The first is al-Ashwat al-Jaufiyah, or cavity sounds, which refer to long vowel sounds (mad). The second classification is al-Ashwat al-Hanjuriyah, known as glottal sounds, represented by the letter hamzah (\$\epsilon\$). The third, al-Ashwat al-Khalqiyah, refers to pharyngeal sounds such as $ha(\tau)$ and $ghin(\xi)$. Fourth, al-Ashwat al-Lahwiyah includes uvular sounds like *qaf* (ق), while the fifth, *al-Ashwat al-Thabaqiyah*, comprises velar sounds such as ra (ح) and ن (nun). The sixth group, al-Ashwat al-Syajariyah or Ghariyah, includes palatal sounds like jim (ج) and syin (ش). The seventh, al-Ashwat al-'Ulya, refers to alveolar sounds such as zai (ز) and ya (و). Eighth, al-Ashwat al- Latswiyah al-Asnaiyah, includes dental-alveolar sounds like dhad (ض) , dzal (غ) , ghin (غ) , syin (ش) , sin (س) , tsa (أ), and dal (ع). The ninth classification, al-Ashwat al-Asnaiyah, comprises dental sounds such as dzal (غ), sin (س), and zha (ڬ). The tenth is al-Ashwat al-Syafawiyah al-Asnaiyah, or labiodental sounds, exemplified by the letter fa (ف), and finally, al-Ashwat al-Syafawiyah, or labial sounds, are represented by the letter ta (5).

Phonological interference often emerges in the context of *Bahtsul Masail*, which refers to scholarly discussions conducted within Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and initiated by *Nahdlatul Ulama*. These forums primarily address Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), aiming to discuss and resolve various legal and religious issues. Linguistically, interference occurs when habitual patterns of pronunciation in one language influence another, especially in bilingual contexts (Chaer, 2015). This is commonly seen in the mispronunciation of phonemes during discussions where Arabic is used by native Javanese speakers. The interference arises due to the phonological differences between the two languages and is exacerbated by frequent contact between them. Whenever two languages are in contact, there is an inevitable mutual influence, and phonological aspects are among the most affected.

Based on the observations conducted by the researcher, instances of phonological interference were clearly found during *Bahtsul Masail* discussions. For example, when participants pronounced the Arabic word al- $M\bar{a}$ ' $\bar{u}n$, it was often articulated as al- $M\bar{a}$ 'e, especially when they were presenting arguments to explain that "not all purifying water can be used for purification." The researcher marked the altered pronunciation with an asterisk (/*/) to indicate that such pronunciation deviates from that of native Arabic speakers, thus leading to confusion in meaning.

This confusion is a result of the transfer of phonemes from the speakers' native language to the target language. For instance, in their first language, speakers





URL: https://jurnal.uns.ac.id/pjl ISSN (Print): 2503-2658

E-ISSN (Online): 2527-2969



may not differentiate between the phonemes /d/ and /t/, while in Arabic, distinct phonemes such as / $\dot{}$ / (ta) and / $\dot{}$ / (ta), or / $\dot{}$ / (ta) and / $\dot{}$ / (ta), or / $\dot{}$ / (ta) and / $\dot{}$ / (ta), are used. Such distinctions, which are significant in Arabic, are often not recognized or reproduced by native speakers of Javanese or Indonesian, leading to structural interference—namely, the transfer of Arabic phonological structures into Javanese.

As a consequence, phonological interference in *Bahtsul Masail* discussions can significantly affect Arabic language education, particularly in the domains of listening and speaking skills. Students who are accustomed to pronunciation patterns influenced by Javanese may struggle to comprehend standard Arabic pronunciation. Moreover, these phonological errors often impact students' speaking abilities; many may feel hesitant or anxious about speaking due to fear of mispronunciation. Such errors can distort word meanings, hinder comprehension, and ultimately render communication ineffective.

Not all educational institutions implement *Bahtsul Masā'il* activities. One of the institutions that consistently conducts this forum is the Islamic educational institution of *Pondok Pesantren* Darul Huda. At this *pesantren*, the researcher observed that the students (*santri*) not only focus on their formal educational curriculum but also actively engage in *diniyah* (Islamic religious) studies. The *Bahtsul Masā'il* forum becomes a platform through which students develop their ability to analyze and address social-religious problems. Through this forum, *santri* are trained to express their arguments, ideas, and thoughts in a structured, clear, concise, and understandable manner. As a result, this discussion-based learning process enhances both their Islamic academic knowledge and their communication skills from a sociological and educational standpoint.

The *Bahtsul Masā'il* activity also plays a pivotal role in encouraging students to better understand the Arabic language. Mastery of Arabic is essential for them, particularly in extracting and articulating religious arguments derived from classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*), which are predominantly written in Arabic. These arguments are then often conveyed in Javanese to fit the communicative needs of their environment. It is within this bilingual context that interference— as a linguistic phenomenon arising from the interaction of two or more languages—emerges, producing both positive and negative effects. According to Abdul Chaer (2015), he said that "interference can be seen as an initial step through which foreign vocabulary becomes integrated into the primary language and eventually adopted as loanwords." However, this also leads to the transfer of native language patterns and dialects into the second language.

A significant linguistic challenge encountered in the mastery of Arabic, especially among students, is the lingual factor—specifically, interference from the mother tongue. This study focuses on how such interference manifests in the Arabic language proficiency of students at *Pondok Pesantren* Darul Huda Mayak, Ponorogo. The most prominent aspect investigated in this research is the interference in the use of Arabic during *mahārah kalām* (speaking skills), particularly when students are required to explain excerpts from *kitab kuning*. In this context, there is a high possibility of interference occurring in the form of Javanese linguistic influence.

This research places specific emphasis on phonological interference—the transfer of pronunciation habits from the students' first language (Javanese) to Arabic. The presence of mother tongue articulation patterns in the pronunciation of Arabic words is a central concern. In a linguistically diverse environment such as a *pesantren*, language interference becomes a noticeable and important phenomenon. It manifests across various linguistic





URL: https://jurnal.uns.ac.id/pjl

ISSN (Print): 2503–2658 E-ISSN (Online): 2527–2969



levels, including phonology, morphology, and syntax, as well as in vocabulary, phrases, and sentence structures.

While there have been numerous studies related to Arabic speaking skills (*mahārah kalām*), research in the field of sociolinguistics that focuses specifically on Arabic phonemes remains limited. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of phonological interference, especially regarding imperative sentences in Arabic as they are used in *mahārah kalām*. The researcher hopes that this work will enrich knowledge among language learners and scholars— particularly in Arabic language studies—and serve as a useful reference. Ultimately, it is anticipated that this study will help reduce the effects of language interference on speaking proficiency in second language learners.

THEORY AND METHOD

This research employs descriptive qualitative approach. According to Creswell (2017) qualitative research is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observed behavior. This type of research does not focus on statistical data or numerical figures but rather seeks to deeply understand the phenomena occurring in the field. This approach is deemed suitable for the object of study, namely the phenomenon of language interference in *Bahtsul Masā'il* activities, where all participants use Arabic to convey their arguments, yet interference frequently occurs in various forms, especially in the phonological aspect.

The type of research used is Participatory Action Research (PAR). In this method, the researcher does not act merely as a passive observer but actively participates with the stakeholders involved, including the practitioners of the Bahtsul Masā'il activity itself. This active involvement allows the researcher to capture authentic instances of linguistic interference in students' mahārah kalām (speaking skills) while understanding the sociolinguistic dynamics of the forum in real time. By engaging directly with participants and co-interpreting the data, PAR not only facilitates a contextualized understanding of the forms and sources of interference but also supports the development of practical strategies for improving Arabic language teaching in Islamic boarding school environments. While other qualitative methods, such as ethnography, could provide long-term insights into cultural and institutional factors, and conversation analysis could offer fine-grained examination of interactional patterns, PAR is particularly effective in this context because it combines in-depth observation, active participation, and actionable outcomes, allowing the study to address both research and pedagogical objectives simultaneously.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In the *Bahtsul Masa'il* activities held at Pondok Pesantren Darul Huda Ponorogo, the use of Arabic, especially in deriving legal evidence from the *kitab kuning* (classical Islamic texts), is not only an academic practice but also an essential part of developing the Arabic language skills of the students. This intensive interaction shows the dynamics of Arabic language use by native Javanese speakers (first language or L1 speakers), which in practice results in language interference phenomena, particularly in the phonological domain.

This study focuses on identifying and analyzing the types of phonological interference occurring during these activities. Based on observations, free conversation





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listening techniques, and data recording conducted by the researcher, there was a tendency for errors in the pronunciation of phonemes and suprasegmental elements in the participants' speech.

This interference appears in two main areas: segmental interference related to the substitution of certain sounds, and suprasegmental interference involving aspects such as word stress, intonation, duration, and pauses in speech. Understanding these forms of interference is important not only to assess the extent of the students' mastery of Arabic but also to identify phonological challenges that require attention in the Arabic learning process within the *pesantren* environment. It will explain the two main types of phonological interference found, namely segmental interference and suprasegmental interference in the context of deriving legal evidence during *Bahtsul Masa'il* activities.

During the *Bahtsul Masa'il* activities, when the members were expressing arguments or *dalil* (evidence) from the *kitab kuning* which served as references for the students, the speech of the *Bahtsul Masa'il* participants based on the researcher's observations through free listening, involvement in discussions, and note-taking—showed certain patterns in the extraction of arguments from the *takbir*:

(Wal baa ingu muruurun idzaa kaana fiihi jahaalatun katsiibatun)

In the Bahtsul Masa'il discussion, it was found that participants tended to pronounce the word (muruurun) مُرْوَم using the phoneme (kha) "خ" as a substitute for the phoneme (ha) " τ ". This phenomenon can be analyzed within the context of Arabic phonology and the underlying factors, particularly in the domain of segmental interference.

From a phonetic perspective, (ha) $\boldsymbol{\tau}$ is a pharyngeal fricative consonant $[\hbar]$, produced by narrowing in the pharyngeal area, whereas (kha) $\dot{\boldsymbol{\tau}}$ is a velar fricative consonant $[\chi]$, articulated at the back of the soft palate (velum). For many speakers who are not accustomed to pharyngeal sounds,(ha) $\boldsymbol{\tau}$ is considered difficult to articulate accurately. This encourages them to use sounds that are more accessible within the phonetic system of their native language, which in this case is (kha) $\dot{\boldsymbol{\tau}}$.

This segmental interference occurs not only due to physiological factors in sound production but is also influenced by a lack of exposure and practice in distinguishing phonologically similar yet different sounds in Arabic. As a result, this phenomenon becomes a recurring pattern in pronunciation, especially among the students or participants of $Bahtsul\ Masa'il\$ who are not yet accustomed to the precise phonemic distinctions in Arabic. From a linguistic perspective, such phoneme substitutions can impact the meaning of words in Arabic. Although in some contexts this sound change does not cause fatal misunderstandings, in the study of tajwid (rules of Quranic recitation) and Arabic phonology, these phonological substitutions represent inaccuracies that can affect deeper Arabic language proficiency. Therefore, the tendency of $Bahtsul\ Masa'il\ participants$ to replace (ha) " \subset " with (kha) " \succeq " is a clear example of segmental interference, occurring due to differences in the sound systems between the native language and Arabic. This phenomenon can be an interesting subject of study in language interference analysis, especially in Arabic language learning for non-native speakers whose first language has a different phonological system.





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1) Forms of Phonological Interference During the Derivation of Evidence in the Kitab Kuning

In the *Bahtsul Masa'il* activities held at Pondok Pesantren Darul Huda, the use of Arabic during the derivation of evidence from the *kitab kuning* is an integral component of the discussion. The students involved in this discussion have Javanese as their first language, which potentially leads to language interference phenomena. One common form of interference that appears is suprasegmental phonological interference.

During the process of language transfer, especially in foreign language learning, suprasegmental phonological interference often becomes a challenge for native speakers whose phonological systems differ. In this context, Javanese speakers learning Arabic frequently experience difficulties in replicating suprasegmental aspects such as stress, intonation, vowel duration, and pauses. This can be observed in the pronunciation of the following sentences:

"الوقف من أفضل أبواب الخيّ، وهو دواء للمؤمن يحميه من وساوس الشيطان، ويشغله في طاعة الله

al waqfu min afdholi abwaabil khoi, wa huwa dawaaul mukminyahmiyul min wisawisus syaiton wa yasyghuluhu fii thoo ngatillahi.

One of the most prominent forms of suprasegmental phonological interference is the shift in word stress. In Arabic, the stress in the word "الوقف" (al-waqf) should fall on the second syllable, with a clear and strong qaf (ق) sound. However, Javanese speakers tend to shift the stress to the first syllable, resulting in a pronunciation closer to "ál-wakaf." This stress shift is caused by the tendency in the Javanese language to place stress at the beginning of a word, unlike the more varied stress patterns in Arabic. This phenomenon also occurs in the word "أفضل" (afḍal). In Arabic, the stress should be on the second syllable, but in the Javanese speakers' pronunciation, the stress shifts to the beginning, sounding like "ápdol." This happens because the stress pattern in Javanese tends to be less varied and is often placed at the beginning of a word or the first syllable, unlike Arabic, which has a more flexible stress distribution.

Phonological interference in the aspect of intonation is also observed in the sentence due to mother tongue interference. In Arabic, intonation patterns play an important role in constructing meaning and emphasizing key information within an utterance. For example, in the sentence "يحميه من وساوس الشيطان" (He protects him from the whispers of Satan), there should be a rising intonation pattern that emphasizes the importance of the sentence's meaning, followed by a falling tone at the end as a form of assertion. However, Javanese speakers tend to read with a flatter and less dynamic intonation pattern, which is characteristic of Javanese phonology.

In Javanese, intonation tends to be more monotonous and lacks the rising and falling variations found in Arabic. As a result, when a Javanese speaker reads or speaks Arabic, they tend to retain the intonation patterns of their native language, making the utterance sound less natural in the context of Arabic. The loss of intonational variation can lead to altered perceptions of the sentence's meaning and reduce the rhetorical power that should be present in Arabic speech. This interference occurs due to differences in the phonological systems of the two languages, where Arabic has a more complex system of stress, vowel duration, and intonation compared to Javanese.





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2) Phonological Interference of Arabic into Javanese

This section will elaborate on the process and results of data analysis based on selected samples related to the interference of words and terms found in journal writings. The data used in this study was obtained from the corrections made to Indonesian language usage during the editing phase of interviews and observations, which had been completed. Through careful examination of these data, the study aims to identify specific instances of language interference that occur during the communication process, especially when participants switch or mix between Arabic and Javanese.

Moreover, this research also explores the underlying factors that contribute to the occurrence of interference among the research subjects. These factors include linguistic background, level of proficiency in Arabic, and the habitual use of both languages in daily communication within the *pesantren* environment. Understanding these causes provides insight into why interference happens and how it manifests in spoken and written language. Furthermore, the study delves into the functions of language interference—how and why participants use it during their discussions. This includes its role as a communicative strategy, a cognitive aid in processing complex religious concepts, or sometimes as an unconscious habit formed from bilingual exposure. To clarify the concept of language interference in this context, the person responsible for *Bahtsul Masa'il* offered a practical definition:

"Language interference is the mixing of two languages or the use of bilingual languages in communication. Whether it is using Arabic or Javanese, the speakers often blend elements of both to express ideas more effectively or naturally."

This definition highlights the dynamic and fluid nature of bilingual communication in the pesantren setting, where both languages play an important role in shaping the linguistic behavior of the participants. Sociolinguistic factors, such as the students' Javanese background and the bilingual environment of the pesantren, can intensify phonological interference compared to monolingual learning contexts. Students may transfer Javanese phonological patterns to Arabic, while frequent code-switching between Arabic and Indonesian reinforces cross-linguistic influence. Consequently, interference is not merely a linguistic error but a systematic outcome of the complex interaction between multiple language systems in a bilingual speaker's mind, reflecting the natural negotiation of phonological norms in this setting.

Given the perception that the Arabic language is heavily influenced by Javanese, this study also found irregularities in Javanese language structures. These deviations are categorized as instances of Javanese language interference in the use of a foreign language. To identify such interference in vocabulary and terminology, the researcher referred to the rules of Arabic language usage and also made use of Arabic dictionaries. This approach allows students (*santri*) to expand their understanding of Arabic vocabulary (*mufradat*). The following section presents examples of language interference found in the *Bahtsul Masa'il* activities, based on the researcher's observation.





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Table 1. Articulatory Features of Javanese Interference in Arabic Speech

Original sentence	Javanese language interference	Articulation area
	merierence	
هذا	Ha <u>da</u>	Apico Dental
		Avelor
إجماع	Ijm <u>a</u>	Vokal "A"
خلاف	Kilaf	Laringal
محروم	Makhrom	Laringal
′وق°ف	Wakaf	Laringal
قضاء	Ngodo	Glotal Stop
ظلم	Dholim	Apico Dental
		Avelor
عالم	Ngalim	Glotal Stop
الصلة	Sholat	Apico Palatal

Based on the table 1 and the results of the observation, phonological interference occurs not only due to differences in the place of articulation, but also within the same articulatory region. From these findings, the researcher concludes that phonological interference can be categorized into two types: phoneme interference, also known as segmental interference, which involves the omission or substitution of certain sounds that do not exist in the speaker's native language. For example, in the word " $\text{local}(mahr\bar{u}m)$, participants in the Bahtsul Masa'il discussion frequently pronounced it as "makhrom." Essentially, both sounds share the same articulatory region — the velar — but Javanese speakers tend to feel more comfortable replacing the sound "hama" (τ) with "hama" (τ), resulting in a shift due to segmental interference.

Based on the research findings presented in the previous section, various forms of phonological interference were identified in the use of Arabic within Javanese speech by participants of the *Bahtsul Masa'il* forum. This interference occurs due to the influence of the first language (L1), namely Javanese, on the second language (L2), Arabic. This phenomenon can be examined from a phonological perspective, which includes phoneme shifts, differences in articulatory regions, and simplification of pronunciation.

Through the observations conducted, several concrete examples of phonological interference experienced by $Bahtsul\ Masa'il$ participants were documented. As shown in that several Arabic words underwent changes in pronunciation when articulated by the santri during discussions. For example, the Arabic word "ki" $(h\bar{a}dh\bar{a})$, which should be pronounced with an interdental articulation, was altered to "Hada" using an apico-dental-alveolar articulation. Similarly, the word "ki" $(ijm\bar{a}')$, which involves a pharyngeal articulation in Arabic, was pronounced as "Ijma" with an apico-dental-alveolar articulation.

This phenomenon indicates several forms of phonological interference, including:

1. Sound Substitution

Certain Arabic sounds that do not exist in the Javanese language are substituted with sounds that are more familiar to Javanese speakers. For example, the interdental sound $\frac{1}{2}$ in "هذا" ($h\bar{a}dh\bar{a}$) is replaced with the apicodental sound $\frac{1}{2}$ in "Hada".





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2. Sound Simplification

3. Dialectal Adaptation

Interference also occurs in the form of dialectal adaptation and the transfer of first language (L1) phonological patterns into Arabic. For example, the Arabic word "فضاء" ($qa\dot{q}a$) is pronounced as "Ngodo" by the santri, involving a shift in the place of articulation from dorso-uvular to pharyngeal.

4. Stress and Vowel Length Changes

In Arabic, vowel length and word stress are crucial for distinguishing meaning. However, some santri tend to overlook these aspects, adapting their pronunciation according to the habits of the Javanese language. An example of this can be seen in the word "abc" (' $\bar{a}lim$), which should have a long vowel stressed in the first syllable, but is instead pronounced as "Ngalim", conforming to the Javanese phonological pattern.

Based on the interview results, the majority of the *santri* were unaware of any changes in their pronunciation of Arabic. They believed that the Arabic they spoke was already in accordance with proper linguistic rules. However, from a linguistic perspective, this phenomenon indicates that phonological interference occurs naturally due to the strong influence of habitual use of the first language.

In addition, the effectiveness of using such interference in communication within the *pesantren* environment remains a subject of debate. Some informants stated that as long as the interlocutor understands the intended meaning, interference is not considered problematic. However, from a pedagogical standpoint, this type of interference can hinder the acquisition of pure Arabic and may negatively impact the students' language skills, particularly in *maharah kalām* (speaking proficiency) and *maharah istimā* (listening comprehension).

Thus, based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that the forms of phonological interference from Arabic into Javanese exhibited by the participants of *Bahtsul Masa'il* include sound substitution, pronunciation simplification, dialectal adaptation, as well as changes in stress and vowel length. This phenomenon occurs due to the strong influence of the first language and the communication patterns established within the *pesantren* environment, where Javanese functions as the primary medium for understanding Arabic. Understanding this phenomenon is essential in linguistic studies and language learning, in order to develop more effective teaching strategies in multilingual settings such as Islamic boarding schools.

Based on the interviews conducted with several informants involved in the *Bahtsul Masa'il* activities within the *pesantren* environment, it was found that the interference of Arabic into Javanese among the santri is closely related to the learning environment factors and daily language habits. This interference occurs as a consequence of the applied learning methods, the use of Arabic in academic and social contexts, as well as the strong influence of Javanese as the mother tongue, which remains dominant in everyday communication within the *pesantren*.





 $URL: \underline{https://jurnal.uns.ac.id/pjl}$

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One member of *Bahtsul Masa'il*, namely Kg. Aris, revealed that this language interference phenomenon cannot simply be regarded as a mistake from a sociolinguistic perspective. He explained that in the *pesantren* environment, Javanese remains the primary means of communication among the *santri*, especially when explaining lesson materials or discussing the yellow books. This is due to the fact that Javanese is more familiar to the *santri's* ears, making it easier to understand compared to explanations delivered entirely in Arabic. Therefore, Arabic-to-Javanese language interference becomes something difficult to avoid because of the natural tendency to blend elements from both languages.

From a pedagogical perspective, this phenomenon has a complex impact on the Arabic language learning process within the *pesantren*. One major concern is how the Arabic teaching methods implemented in the *pesantren* actually reinforce the occurrence of language interference. For example, in teaching methods that emphasize understanding the meaning over phonological aspects, *santri* tend to more easily mix Javanese elements in their Arabic communication. This happens because they focus more on applying vocabulary in the context of comprehension rather than on correct pronunciation according to Arabic phonological rules.

Furthermore, in an interview conducted with Ustadz Zidni Alfian, who serves as the coordinator of *Bahtsul Masa'il* activities as well as a teacher at the diniyah school (MMH), he revealed that one of the main factors triggering language interference is the *santris'* habit of maintaining the sound patterns of their mother tongue when speaking Arabic. *Ustadz* Zidni highlighted that in teaching methods emphasizing correct pronunciation, *santris* tend to find it difficult to perfectly adapt to Arabic phonology. As a result, they often retain the characteristic Javanese sound patterns when pronouncing Arabic words.

This phenomenon is further reinforced by the *santris'* speaking habits outside the classroom. Although they are formally taught Arabic in class, outside of learning sessions they mostly interact using Javanese. This condition makes the adaptation process between Arabic and Javanese more complex, as there is a mixing of linguistic structures from both languages. In this case, interference does not only occur at the phonological level but also in morphological and syntactic aspects.

In interviews with the *santris*, it was found that several Arabic words have been automatically integrated into their Javanese conversations. For example, the word "faham" is more often used to replace the Javanese words "*ngerti*" or "*ngertos*" (meaning "understand"). Similarly, the term "kitab" is used more frequently than "*buku pelajaran*" (textbook) or "*serat*" (book), and the word "*muhasabah*" has begun to replace the Javanese words for "reflecting" or "introspecting" (*merenung* or *introspeksi diri*). This shows that language interference is not only phonological but has also penetrated the lexical level, where *santris* unconsciously adopt Arabic words in their everyday conversations.

Besides the factor of language habits, another aspect that contributes to the occurrence of language interference is the education system applied in the pesantren. Some *pesantren* emphasize memorization methods and reading texts without diacritical marks (known as *kitab gundul*) to strengthen the *santris'* ability to understand Arabic texts. This method has a positive impact in training *santris* to comprehend Arabic contextually, but on the other hand, it also creates opportunities for interference because *santris* tend to adapt Arabic language structures into the Javanese language system they use daily.





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Furthermore, the *santris'* learning experiences also influence the extent to which language interference occurs. For example, some *santris* who are learning Arabic for the first time at the Tsanawiyah level admit facing difficulties in understanding Arabic grammar and sentence structures. However, after becoming accustomed to reading and memorizing Arabic texts, they begin to understand Arabic more easily, even though in practice there is still a mixture with Javanese. Therefore, it can be said that this interference process occurs as part of the linguistic adaptation carried out by the santris in order to gain a deeper understanding of Arabic.

CONCLUSION

The forms of phonological interference observed among Bahtsul Masā'il participants—such as sound substitution, pronunciation simplification, and dialectal adaptation—can be understood not merely as obstacles to learning pure Arabic but as natural developmental stages in second-language acquisition. From this perspective, interference reflects the learners' efforts to navigate differences between Javanese and Arabic phonology. Recognizing these patterns as part of normal development allows educators to design targeted and supportive teaching methods that gradually guide *santri* toward more accurate pronunciation, turning interference into a stepping stone rather than a barrier in improving Arabic competence.

The factors underlying phonological interference from Arabic into Javanese among *Bahtsul Masā'il* participants—such as the learning environment, language habits, and teaching methods—can be understood as natural stages in second-language acquisition rather than purely linguistic deficiencies. From this perspective, interference reflects learners' strategies for navigating differences between the two languages. A balanced teaching approach that combines structured Arabic instruction with activities raising *santri's* awareness of phonological contrasts can guide students toward more accurate pronunciation, transforming interference into a supportive step in language development rather than an obstacle.

By analyzing how Arabic phonological patterns surface during the articulation of religious arguments in Javanese, this research bridges a gap between phonological theory and the anthropology of Islamic knowledge. It shows that sound patterns themselves become vehicles of legitimacy in Islamic legal reasoning, making phonology an essential dimension of religious authority—not just linguistic form.

Phonological interference in *Bahtsul Masā'il* discussions—such as shifts between "Javanese Arabic" and formal Arabic—can affect comprehension and meaning. Differences in sounds, word stress, or intonation may cause key figh terms to be misheard or misunderstood, weakening the clarity and logic of arguments.

Therefore, students should develop meta-linguistic awareness, understanding how their phonological choices influence perception, reception, and authority in discourse. By promoting correct Arabic pronunciation within a Javanese-influenced context, teaching can enhance both communicative accuracy and mastery of Islamic jurisprudence, supporting credibility and effectiveness without neglecting learners' linguistic backgrounds.





URL: https://jurnal.uns.ac.id/pjl

ISSN (Print): 2503–2658 E-ISSN (Online): 2527–2969



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ISSN (Print): 2503–2658 E-ISSN (Online): 2527–2969



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