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Multilingualism, Technology, and Religious Moderation in Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools

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Abstract

Communities that can speak more than one language as a daily habit are not only happening in the present era but have long existed in the *pesantren* environment. However, multilingualism in *pesantren* is often only seen as a capacity enhancement of the *santri*'s knowledge. On the other hand, the multilingual ability of the *Santri* is an asset in forming an attitude of religious moderation. This article then presents the results of qualitative research using the concept of additive multilingualism which focuses on *pesantren* students in Indonesia. Through observations, interviews, and literature review, this research can describe the reality of multilingualism in *pesantren* and its impact on the religious attitudes of its *santri*. It turns out that the religious moderation attitude of the students is closely related to the multilingual learning process in

pesantren that takes place with technological restrictions. The application of additive multilingualism is aligned with the pillars of religious moderation in four ways. First, respect for locality is reflected in the *Santri's* habit of using local languages. Second, multilingualism is an expression of anti-violence, this is reflected in *Santri's* acceptance of linguistic and ethnic diversity as a brotherhood base. This is what manifests in the Third pillar by making *santri* a tolerant community as a result of learning from the reality of ethnic and linguistic diversity in their environment. Fourth, the introduction of *santri* to foreign languages is directed to reaffirm their national commitment through the use of foreign languages in flag ceremonies. The limitation of technology in multilingual learning is also intended to keep students from the bad influence of technology and to maintain the discipline of students in maintaining a *pesantren* culture that is friendly to locality and sensitive to the times.

Keywords: Multilingual; educational technology; *santri*; *pesantren*; religious moderation

Introduction

The trend of changing language use rapidly from one language to another (multilingual) is currently happening and going viral in the world community through the social media (Ainin et al., 2020; Dougruöz et al., 2023; Noorbar et al., 2023). The tendency to use social media to express multilingual needs is a form of learning that seeks to keep up with technological developments. In the current era of globalization and information, being multilingual is also one of the requirements for being part of a cosmopolitan society (Abduh et al., 2023). The ability to speak multilingually is more readily accepted in a cosmopolitan environment (Cummins, 1981; Edwards, 1995; Kemp, 2009).

Multilingual practices have long taken place in the *pesantren* environment. Even before the *pesantren* made English an important language in the *Santri* environment, this multilingual speech habit had already taken place. In one manuscript, Hikayat Indera Pura, in the text LOR 3170 in Malay letters pegon dated 1843, tells about the *Santri's* encounter with the Chinese people as well as describing the multilingual language skills in the *pesantren* environment (*Hikayat Indera Pura*, 1843). The *Santri* at that time could speak Malay, Javanese, Chinese and Arabic (Baso, 2012b). The reality of using foreign languages without excluding other languages can be identified as a form of additive multilingualism. It is a concept used to examine multiple languages as adding value, enriching communication, and creating an inclusive environment. Language users who switch from one language to another can utilize language diversity as cultural richness, facilitate understanding of religious texts, and enrich the learning experience.

This multilingual *pesantren* environment also illustrates a process of grounding foreign languages in the local context. Abdurrahman Wahid called it a process of foreign language *pribumisasi* (Wahid, 2001). Arabic is contextualized with the local language culture. For example, the word *duile* in Betawi is the result of grounding Arabic, *La Ilaha Illallah* (Wahid, 2018). Similarly, in Bugis, when people are surprised or amazed by one thing, they will say *hammae*, a word also derived from Arabic, *Muhammadarrasulullah* (Syamsurijal et al., 2020). By indigenizing foreign languages, languages that come from outside become part of the local culture. This process shows an encounter that respects local traditions, an important indicator of religious moderation (Tim Penyusun, 2019). Until now, the contextualization of foreign languages with the *pesantren* environment, which has its local language, continues to occur. Multilingual practice does not distance speakers from their culture; on the contrary, language creativity emerges that combines global and local languages. This goes on until now and can still be found in several *pesantren* (Bin Tahir, 2015).

The research on multilingualism so far can be mapped into three trends. First, there is a growing interest in the linguistic identities of multilingual learners and students (AL-Qadri et al., 2023; Lin, 2023). Such as research that explores factors such as language, culture, and educational context that shape the linguistic identities of learners and students, providing an in-depth understanding of these complex dynamics (Calafato, 2023; Zhunussova et al., 2023) Second, there is a trend of research exploring the culture of economic education in educational curricula in multilingual environments (Ruoss et al., 2023; Schneider, 2018). Some studies specifically investigate the culture of economic education through curriculum comparisons, providing insights into how language diversity can reflect and enrich the economic education experiences of multilingual students (Preece, 2019). Third, there is a growing interest in understanding cross-border and multilingual language learning journeys with an emphasis on language investment and the intersectionality of multiple identities (Fehlen, 2002; Massó et al., 2023). Such as studies that explore learners' experiences in transnational contexts, examining language investment and the complexity of multiple identities in their learning journeys (Roy, 2015; Sung, 2022). Overall, these three trends highlight important aspects of understanding and developing multilingualism as a resource in educational contexts. As for the study of multilingual elements and the use of technology on religious attitudes, it seems that few still explore it.

This article aims to enrich additive multilingual learning objectives that use technology assistance to improve language skills professionally. Multilingual practices are seen as having additional benefits apart from deepening knowledge with reading and writing skills in foreign languages. Other uses in additive multilingual methods in the *pesantren* environment are assumed to strengthen the attitude of religious moderation. Therefore, this article seeks to answer how the reality of technology-based multilingualism in *pesantren* education can enhance the perspective of religious moderation among *Santri*.

Furthermore, this article will further explore how multilingual learning in *pesantren* utilizes technology. Along with the development of technology, *pesantren* also develop language learning methods by using language laboratory devices equipped with various technological devices. But at the same time, there are still restrictions on using technology for *Santri*. In this case, technology or modernization, in general, is not only considered to interfere with the discipline of *Santri* but also sometimes collides with the values adopted by *pesantren*. This uniqueness of *pesantren* makes Abdurrahman Wahid call it a subculture (Wahid, 1974). Therefore, observing the utilization of technology in multilingual development is interesting because it is not only a matter of tool availability, whether language technology is used or not, but also related to the negotiation of values and ideology.

Literature review

Additive multilingualism

The term "Additive Multilingual" can be interpreted as an approach or practice of using more than one language additionally or simultaneously without replacing or eliminating one of the existing languages (Abduh et al., 2021; Cenoz, 2003; Zhang et al., 2023). In the context of *pesantren* or educational institutions, this refers to using multiple languages as part of the learning environment or daily interactions without overriding the home language or primary language used in the *pesantren* (Baso, 2012a, 2023) In other words, "Additive Multilingual" highlights using multiple languages as adding value, enriching communication, and creating an inclusive environment where learners can utilize language diversity to enhance their understanding of culture, religion, and science (Cummins, 2017). In the context of *pesantren*, the use of local,

national, and possibly international languages can be an example of Additive Multilingualism, enriching the learning experience of *santri* and contributing to the formation of religious moderation attitudes.

Technology for language learning

The utilization of technology in language education develops along with the development of technology as well. The language education technology in question uses hardware and software to support language learning (Golonka et al., 2014; Kern, 2006; Zhao et al., 2023) hardware in the form of audio-visuals such as radio tapes, televisions, cellphones, and computers. Software is in the condition of using special applications made for language learning, such as alkaline and Duolingo. Alfalink is a language learning application with even the latest language learning technology developed using artificial intelligence with more sophisticated capabilities.

Religious moderation

Religious moderation is a holistic approach to building a balanced, tolerant and peaceful spiritual life in Indonesian society, which has ethnic, faith and linguistic diversity (Arif, 2021; Kawangung, 2019). The religious moderation approach was chosen as an ideal concept to stem the growing issues of extremism, radicalism, and liberalism in society (Mufid et al., 2023). The omission of the rise of extremism, radicalism, and liberalism is seen as a threat to the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). This is what underlies the birth of the formulation of religious moderation by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, which boils down to national commitment and is elaborated in four pillars: national responsibility, tolerance, non-violence, and accommodating local culture (Arifinsyah et al., 2020; Pajarianto et al., 2022; Rahman et al., 2020; Tim Penyusun, 2019).

Research method

Research design

This research is a qualitative study that adopts an ethnographic approach to communication (Carbaugh, 2008). This research utilizes pragmatic and ethnographic perspectives to examine specific local conditions, explicitly focusing on multilingualism in *pesantren* settings in the five target provinces. Data collection involved participant observation, including note-taking and interviews. The collected data were then analyzed using interactive techniques proposed by Miles and Huberman (Miles et al., 1994).

The research locations were selected based on the criteria of historical *pesantren* that are more than fifty years old. This limitation is intended to obtain certainty that most peace-loving Indonesian people have historically supported the *pesantren* (Azyumardi, 2010). The selected *pesantren* are also seen in the curriculum used by both the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education, which is considered to support the religious moderation movement. Thus, the selected research participants can be ensured to have been active as a driver of religious moderation. Participants from *Santri* are chosen from those who are still students or *Santri* who are alumni and are still actively following the development of their almamater. Participants were also selected from the elements of the coaches and alums students who have still lived in the boarding school until now. The characteristics of the participants can be seen in the following column:

Table 1. Participants and research locations

No	Initials Name	Gender	Age	Description	Location
1	ASM	Woman	24	Santri/Alumni	Pesantren A Kalimantan Selatan 1914
2	FJR	Man	44	Teacher/kiai	
3	HRT	Man	26	Santri/Alumni	
4	HZB	Man	32	Santri/Alumni	Pesantren B Jawa Timur 1899
5	HFZ	Woman	45	Teacher/kiai	
6	HSM	Man	24	Santri/Alumni	Pesantren C Sulawesi Selatan 1930
7	KMR	Man	25	Santri/Alumni	
8	JMR	Woman	26	Teacher/kiai	
9	MHN	Man	25	Santri/Alumni	Pesantren D Jambi-Sumatera 1951
10	SRF	Woman	22	Santri/Alumni	
11	RIS	Woman	45	Teacher/kiai	Pesantren E Jawa Barat 1931
12	WRD	Man	24	Santri/Alumni	
13	NRM	Man	25	Santri/Alumni	
14	ISN	Woman	46	Teacher/kiai	
15	DDG	Man	35	Santri/Alumni	

Data collection

This research was conducted over a period of two months. The main focus of this study was to investigate the participants' collective memory of the multilingual reality during their time in the *pesantren* environment. The data collected consisted of their memories of daily conversations by applying multilingualism. The memories of *Santri* in daily communication, memories in learning *kitab kuning*, and memories of *Santri* in public speaking training. To ensure accurate data collection, a series of observations were conducted by the researcher. These observations specifically targeted the *pesantren*, by observing their interactions with fellow *Santri*, supervising teachers, and *kiai/ulamas*.

Data analysis

Data analysis in this study followed the interactive model proposed by Miles and Huberman (Miles et al., 1984), which includes three essential components: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. During the data reduction phase, the researchers carefully selected and simplified the most relevant data for the study. Subsequently, the data was presented as interview transcripts to ensure contextual information was easily interpreted. This approach enabled a comprehensive understanding of the data and facilitated the exploration of meaningful insights into the research findings.

Results

Additive multilingual practices in *pesantren* are observed in daily conversations, teaching *kitab kuning*, public speaking training, and the use of language learning technologies.

Additive multilingualism in daily interaction

The *pesantren* that is the focus of the observation is a *pesantren* that has a diversity of *Santri*'s regional origins accompanied by ethnic diversity, each of which has a different regional language. The difference in regional languages requires the *santri* to maintain the continuity of Indonesian communication. The five observed *pesantren* are also modern *pesantren* that have adopted a tiered class system with the government curriculum (Ministry of Religious Affairs and

Ministry of Education). Therefore, these *pesantren* use Indonesian as the dominant medium of instruction in the teaching and learning process.

Table 2. Languages

No	<i>Pesantren</i>	Languages Used in Everyday Life
1	<i>Pesantren</i> A Kalimantan Selatan	Banjar, Indonesian, Arabic, dan English
2	<i>Pesantren</i> B Jawa Timur	Jawa, Indonesian, Arabic, dan English
3	<i>Pesantren</i> C Sulawesi Selatan	Bugis, Indonesian, Arabic, dan English
4	<i>Pesantren</i> D Jambi	Melayu, Indonesian, Arabic, dan English
5	<i>Pesantren</i> E Jawa Barat	Sunda, Indonesian, Arabic, dan English

Source: Research Team, 2023

Uniquely, *pesantren* located in the city is also inhabited by students who speak the local language. The informal language in the daily life of the *Santri* outside of class hours is dominated by the local language, which attracts the attention of *Santri* from other regions to adjust themselves. Local language is a form of *pesantren* openness to the freedom of *Santri* in communicating by using several languages alternately. The following is the narrative of *Santri*, who learns to familiarize themselves with the new language while still using their local language:

The boarding school regulations do require students to use English or Arabic one day a week. But on other days, the students can speak Indonesian or any regional language they want. I like to use the Banjar language to establish intimacy with my friends (Interview, HZB, 32, Jombang, 10/10/2023).

The use of local languages in *pesantren* is surprising to some people. Especially for boarding schools located in the capital of the Regency, the *pesantren* is undoubtedly close to several public education institutions. Its strategic location in the city attracts admiration from the village community, who are interested in attending this *pesantren*. The villagers' respect is accompanied by the assumption that the use of the Indonesian language is strict, and the teachers and administrators of the *pesantren* may not understand the local language. This assumption turned out to be untrue, as expressed by ASM:

I am a villager who came to the pesantren with a feeling of worry because I could not speak Indonesian, let alone Arabic and English. But my fears disappeared when I found many people using Javanese. This pesantren is concerned with Arabic and English and is also open to regional languages. So, I felt helped; the local language made me feel like I was in a home environment. I can then learn other languages slowly (Interview, ASM, 32, Martapura, 10/10/2023).

Santri from various regions, each with distinct regional languages, contemplate the significance of local languages in their daily lives within the *pesantren* community. This attention is realized by learning to speak in the local language as a form of their obligation to participate in interacting using the language of the dominant or majority speaker group.

Greeting friends in their local language becomes an honor and fun for their people. Sometimes, the difficulty in learning the local language becomes a laughing matter and always entertains the atmosphere. The humor builds a more intimate relationship between fellow students (Interview, ISN 46, Cipasung, 07/10/2023).

The statement reflects the beauty and warmth in the practice of multilingual communication. It illustrates how *Santri's* communication cheerfully moves from the local language to Indonesian. They face life's difficulties in *pesantren* by familiarizing themselves with the local wisdom of the regional language they are using.

From my beginning in this pesantren, I realized I must learn to speak the Bugis language. Although, there was no compulsion for students from other regions to speak Bugis. If they talked to me, they used Indonesian, which I understood well. Then, they quickly talk to Bugis with other friends. So, I learned Bugis unintentionally while following the obligation to speak Arabic and English (Interview, SYM 25, Wajo, 07/10/2023).

Thus, the *pesantren* environment, inhabited by most Bugis-speaking *santri*, allows *santri* with different regional languages to learn Bugis naturally without coercion. At the same time, *santri* with other regional languages are not prohibited from using their mother tongue when meeting with their peers, when communicating using the telephone, or when sharing with families who come to visit them.

Multilingual in *Kitab Kuning* classic book learning

The five observed *pesantren* are modern educational institutions that combine the Ministry of Religious Affairs education curriculum with the internal curriculum as a characteristic of *pesantren*. One of the subjects in the internal curriculum is learning *kitab kuning*, an Arabic text without marking lines, namely *kitab gundul*. The technique of learning *kitab kuning* at the primary level is to teach *Santri* to improve their ability to read and translate Arabic texts correctly. In the following interview, one of the kiai (coaches) described the process of learning *Kitab* using several languages.

The explanation of how to read and translate from the kitab kuning uses three languages, namely Arabic, Indonesian, and Malay. Arabic is the main subject, as the book's content is being studied. Indonesian is used as the language of introduction and explanation of the linguistic composition of the language, from syntactic, grammatical, and semantic aspects. The Malay language is used to translate the word for words of the Arabic sentences in the book's content (Interview, WRD, 24, Jambi, 02/10/2023).

The skill of the ulama in translating the religious scriptures into the local language also occurs in *Peantren A*, *Pesantern*, *Pesantern C*, and *Pesantern D*. This indicates that Islam did not just come and was taught by migrants from Hadramaut, or from India, or Pasai. Archipelago students also traveled long distances to Mecca, Hijaz, Medina, and Hadramaut to study or take religious knowledge directly from the source. That was the beginning of the tradition of learning in Mecca, where Islamic leaders then sent their children to deepen the teachings of Islam.

The Santris here understand that Indonesian scholars have the same authority as Arabs who destiny to be born as Arabs and can speak Arabic well. It has become commonplace for Indonesian scholars to translate and explain Arabic texts well (Interview, DDG, 24, Cipasung, 02/10/2023).

Learning the classic *kitab kuning* in three languages is a tradition that continues from generation to generation. Historically, using three languages has been the solution to overcoming the different ethnicities and languages between teachers and students. The differentiation of

language shows that the obstacle of language differences must first be resolved by learning and understanding the tongue with a good and correct understanding. So, trying to understand the language is the first step to understanding religious knowledge. So that to understand spiritual knowledge requires more effort, as the following informant said:

I found the hard work of previous scholars in understanding religious knowledge by first understanding the language. The scholars passed on the tradition of reciting the classic yellow Islamic books in three languages. As a teacher, I continue this tradition in the hope of passing on the hard work of the ulama to the students. In addition, using three languages in the recitation emphasizes the importance of the continuity of knowledge with a clear scientific lineage, or "knowledge with a chain of transmission" (Interview, FJR, 44, Martapura, 12/10/2023).

The inheritance of religious knowledge through learning yellow classical books can also be interpreted as identifying madhabs or schools in spiritual understanding. The identification of this school of thought is evidenced by the continuity of the sanad of knowledge from paths recognized by famous and trusted scholars. Trust in the context of ulama is openness to one's life journey, from small to large. A cleric must be widely known as a just and trustworthy person; not every cleric appears mysteriously without knowing his regional origins and the language he speaks.

Islam has historically given rise to not only Arab scholars but also scholars from other countries with different mother tongues, including Indonesia. So the use of Arabic, Malay or regional languages is a basic standard of competence for Nusantara scholars, just as the primary criterion for scholars from other countries also requires them to understand the local language where they live (Interview, RIS 45, Jambi, 20/11/2023).

The world's network of scholars can be united in one language they know well: Arabic. A non-Arab scholar will be of questionable quality if he cannot speak Arabic well. The identification of the validity of a scholar must be measured by his ability to use language. So, the ability to use more than two languages (multilingual) can be referred to as the characteristics or identity of Indonesian scholars. The multilingual ability is an adjustment to the needs of the Indonesian people as students or followers of ulama who consist of various ethnicities and languages.

Multilingual in speaking training

The unique world of *pesantren* education is speaking training in Arabic, English, local languages, and Indonesian, which is applied to all students. The four languages can be found in the application of the curriculum, which aims to build the ability of students to speak various languages in public. Students in speaking training are directed to use the four languages alternately. The four languages, English, Bugis, Arabic, and Indonesian, are used proportionally based on the moments the supervising teacher schedules in lectures in front of all students, which are set in an open recitation forum model.

At the da'wah training held regularly every week, I am often assigned to deliver lectures in Arabic. But I also always prepare talks in English, Bugis, and Indonesian. So, I am ready if I get my turn to study in any language. Every Santri will get a turn to deliver a speech in all four languages (Interview, MHN, 25, Wajo, 24/11/2023).

Religious lecture training using various languages takes place as a *pesantren* curriculum once a week as long as the students are in the *pesantren* environment. In addition to lecture

training, *Santri* can utilize their language skills in various competition moments. The multiple moments in question can be in the form of commemorations of Islamic religious holidays. It commemorates Independence Day and national holidays, such as Youth Oath Day, hero's Day, and Teacher's Day.

The most exciting speech competition event is meeting delegates from various schools at the district level on a provincial scale. On this occasion, the students have high confidence in participating in all branches of speech competitions from multiple languages. The supervising teacher can easily choose the best delegates; there is already a mapping from the training results about which Santri are experts in Regional, Arabic, English, and Indonesian languages (Interview, HFZ, 45 Jombang, 08/10/2023).

The purpose of speaking training in lecture practice and speech practice in many languages is to improve language skills professionally. Efforts to improve speaking skills are also made through Arabic, English, and Indonesian flag ceremonies.

I was once assigned a flag ceremony where I read the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in Arabic. Arabic. I was also given to read the prayer during the flag ceremony in English. As for the ceremony, using Indonesian is usually assigned to the new Santri (Interview, NRM, 25, Cipasung, 11/10/2023).

It is clear from the data presented that language switching from one language to another has become a common habit in the *pesantren* environment. The target to provide foreign language skills to *Santri* is not done by requiring *Santri* to use foreign languages only. The policy of giving *Santri* the freedom to continue using their mother tongue in daily life is a form of additive multilingual practice that impacts the religious attitudes of *Santri*.

Multilingual learning technology

The use of technology in multilingual learning has generally become part of the needs of learners wherever they are, likewise with language learners in the *pesantren* environment. The use of technology has entered and developed in the *pesantren* climate along with the demands of the student's needs. Teachers and language learning curricula need technological aids to maintain the continuity of students' learning spirit.

Table 3. Language learning technology

No	<i>Pesantren</i>	List of Technologies Used
1	<i>Pesantren A Kalimantan Selatan</i>	Radio tape, television, and computer
2	<i>Pesantren B Jawa Timur</i>	Radio tape, television, MP3 player, and computer
3	<i>Pesantren C Sulawesi Selatan</i>	Radio tape, walkman television, and computer
4	<i>Pesantren D Jambi</i>	Radio tape, television, and computer
5	<i>Pesantren E Jawa Barat</i>	Radio tape, television, CD player, and computer

Source: Research Team 2023

The utilization of technology in the five observed *pesantren* is trying to use technology to help the development of the *Santri* language. *Pesantren* generally holds technology tools in the form of computer and language laboratories.

Formal language learning is supported by using computers in the language laboratory. The students cannot use the computers here at any time. The use of computers is always under teacher supervision (Interview, NRM, 44, Cipasung, 07/10/2023).

The efforts of *santri* in overcoming the difficulties of using the laboratory are to devise creative ideas to circumvent the technology restriction regulations. Some dare to violate by using prohibited technology tools, like a CD player or radio tape, that are relatively easy to hide. Suppose the electronics are caught and secured by the supervising teacher. In that case, the students will become worried because the technology tools will be confirmed, and the students concerned will be subject to sanctions according to the applicable rules.

I like learning language through pleasant songs; I use an mp3 player with files that can be repeated to memorize the song. With the mp3 player, I can also listen to English and Arabic lessons (Interview, HSM, 24, Jombang, HSM, 24, Jombang, 06/10/2023).

It is clear that there are restrictions on the use of learning technology tools for students. These restrictions apply to the five Islamic boarding schools that were the target of the research. There is caution for supervisory teachers to limit the use of technology which is believed to have a bad impact on students.

Language learning is formally supported by using computers in the language laboratory. The laptop here cannot be used at any time by santri. The use of computers must be under teacher supervision (Interview, HRT, 26, Martapura, 09/10/2023).

Restrictions on the use of technology tools in *pesantren* are a long-standing policy. Even so, supervising teachers who realize the importance of using technology still try to fulfil it to help smooth learning. Using computers during language lessons is intended to give *santri* experience in using technology. The main focus of education remains the responsibility of teachers and students.

Discussion

Multilingualism strengthens national commitment

Using Indonesian as the language of unity can effectively become an adhesive tool in the diversity of languages owned by *Santri*. The awareness of a unified language recognizes the reality of using regional and foreign languages to improve language skills and increase knowledge. Therefore, foreign languages must love the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). On the contrary, foreign languages are even used in flag ceremonies, which shows a willingness for students who use Arabic or English to use these languages to maintain the integrity of the Indonesian nation. The use of foreign languages indicates the critical role of adaptive multilingual practices oriented to the need to improve language skills, as well as a tool to deepen knowledge and as a strengthener of national commitment to be loyal to the NKRI.

Multilingualism as an expression of non-violence

Language differences have the potential for conflict that can lead to acts of violence. However, through education in the PMJ *pesantren* environment, language differences can become the adhesive potential of brotherhood, which tends to create a peaceful atmosphere. Differences are directed to find common ground with the willingness of students from ethnic and regional

languages to learn Bugis as the dominant language used in the *pesantren* environment. However, most local-speaking *santri* refrain from imposing their will or using their majority power to alienate *santri* from other regions by not inviting them to daily conversations. There is freedom to maintain the respective regional languages obtained by each *santri*. This *santri* experience in speaking in many tongues is identified as the practice of additive multilingualism, which can be interpreted as a middle.

Adaptive multilingualism as a form of tolerance

The manifestation of tolerance can be seen in the acceptance of most students who use the Bugis regional language towards minority students who use other regional languages in Indonesian communication. Patience on the part of minorities can be seen in their efforts to learn the Bugis regional language. There is an aspect of sacrifice in not showing tribal egoism that can fuel conflict. The environment also supports the meeting point of tolerance for working together to learn foreign languages to improve language skills and deepen knowledge together. So, adaptive multilingualism within the scope of the PMJ Islamic boarding school is the freedom to learn languages responsibly and together.

Adaptive multilingualism encourages respect for local culture.

The reality of accepting Bugis as an everyday language and as one of the languages studied in speaking training is a form of appreciation for local culture. Language, as an essential instrument in culture, attracts the attention of students from other ethnicities to learn and use the lingo to get to know the various Bugis cultures. A sign of gratitude from Bugis people who find people from different tribes able to speak Bugis is to consider them brothers whose honour must be protected. Thus, language learning without restricting mother tongue users from abandoning their language for a certain period is an adaptive multilingual practice oriented towards respect for the locality inherent in regional languages.

Conclusion

The reality of adaptive multilingualism in the Islamic boarding school environment is found in three forms: First, the use of four languages alternately in daily interactions. Second, the use of three languages in learning the Yellow Book. Third, the use of four languages in speaking training. Students from various regions in Indonesia gather to form a community of Bugis regional language users at the PMJ Islamic boarding school in Watampone, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. The students agreed to study a foreign language together without ignoring the regional language. This condition confirms the strengthening of religious moderation among students due to additive multilingual practices. The argument for strengthening religious moderation is outlined in four parts relevant to the four pillars of religious moderation: 1) Additive multilingualism strengthens the national commitment of students with different regional languages through unity in Indonesian. 2) Additive multilingualism becomes an expression of anti-violence, with the students successfully overcoming differences by not showing off their ethnic and linguistic egoism. 3) Most students who use the Bugis language are tolerant of Indonesian students. Meanwhile, minority students from different ethnicities tolerate the majority group by learning the Bugis language. 4) The agreement to make the Bugis language one of the languages studied together in speaking practice is a form of respect for local culture. As for the use of technology in multilingual learning, which is limited in the five Islamic boarding schools studied, the aim is to protect students from addiction to technology. So, restricting technology in Islamic boarding schools is also seen as an effort to

maintain the originality of Islamic boarding school culture, which is relevant to the principles of religious moderation.

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