Students' Arabic Prokem
in the Modern Islamic School Environment

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Abstract

The phenomena of using Arabic language in modern Islamic boarding schools can be various since Individuals in contemporary Islamic schools tend to communicate in Arabic for formal and informal occasions, like in Gontor, East Java, a modern Islamic boarding school. The variations of using Arabic language in Gontor can be called Arabic prokem. This problem results from the interaction of speakers from various backgrounds and environments. At the same time, those circumstances make the Arabic prokem in Gontor unique for its dialect. Therefore, library research is applied in this qualitative study using qualitative descriptive as the method. The data were collected from *Bahasa Arab Khas Gontor,* a book by Hisyam Zaini. This book clearly describes words, sentences, forms, and expressions spoken out by students in Gontor. The result of the study shows that the Arabic prokem used by students in Gontor comes from Indonesian vocabulary, the Arabic prokem is delivered in the form of interjection, the Arabic prokem has the changes of phoneme, and the Arabic prokem has *Dhamîr* pattern.

Keywords: *variety of languages, Arabic prokem, modern Islamic school*

Introduction

As social beings, language is fundamental for humans to communicate. Language has been used as a form of communication since the beginning of human existence (Wicaksono, 2016). Without language, groups of society will not form. Language is one of the most distinctive and human traits that separates humans from other species. The use of language as a means of communication is an integral component of culture (Devianty, 2017). We can understand what is expected of the material and metaphysical universe by using a language with a distinctive linguistic structure (Noermanzah, 2019: 306). Therefore, language reveals a community's cultural identity, which is then known as language or speech community. Experts sometimes use this term to describe majority language users (Baker & Jones, 1998: 96). Language

fluctuates due to the variety of social interactions in the community, which is made up of heterogeneous or different populations (Khoirurrohman & Abdan, 2020). In fact, a language community can be formed when a minimum of two people communicate in the same aim with their own characteristics. In addition, a language is a powerful tool that can help a country achieve its national and international goals (Nasution, 2007).

Generally, language characteristics spoken out by each speaker are various. Specifically, these characteristics are associated with vocal tract system, gesture of speakers, source of excitation, also segmental and supra-segmental elements in producing language (Rao et al., 2015: 9). These characteristics are influenced by social environment. It produces the principle of language (Ross, 1994: 176).

The variety of languages in terms of the speakers consists of a variety of prokem or slang languages. According to Alwasilah (in Rosalina et al., 2020), slang is a form of language characterized by novel and fast changing vocabulary used by a group of individuals, typically young people, to communicate. Young people primarily utilize slang when they dislike the rigid restrictions of their own language. Slang or prokem is a type of informal language spoken within a group to keep information private and set the group apart from others (Fauziah & Suhartono, 2021: 153). The prokem variety is not commonly used by speakers, so its meaning is only understood by minority. Thus, this language tends to be marginalized (Batibo, 2005: 51). However, the marginality does not only mean to be underrepresented because this language intentionally has secret meaning. A group of people use this language for their community only, not to be known by others.

Basically, minority language is only used by certain people. For instance, particular language employed in academic environment. In the field of law, many language terms in law are used by lawyers and judges. These terms must not be familiar for each person. In the field of education, the term may relate to the context of learning and research (August & Hakuta, 1998: 89).

Similar to minority languages, prokem is used by specific individuals in particular places. Generally, prokem is far away from standard vocabulary and language structures. Consequently, not all of people know the prokem words and their meaning. Prokem can be found in several places, such as in the night streets where community of transgender, homosexual, drug addicts, criminals or pickpockets gathered (Jatmika, 2009: 31).

As explained by Chaer and Agusina, prokem is also known as slang, a language with specific meaning. The meaning is only understood by a community and purposely secreted from other societies. Slang has nothing to do with grammar and phonology, it relates to vocabulary and phonology. Prokem is temporary and undisclosed, so people assume it is negative and bad communities use it. In fact, it is also used for noble reasons. Besides, its undisclosed meaning makes prokem changes often in both the form and the meaning (Abdul & Leonie, 2014). The area's experiences or situations influence the emergence of slang in the young circle. Additionally, the social group, age, and even educational status of the community have an impact on how slang develops among its members (Setiawan, 2018: 215). People should think about how they use slang in social situations because not everyone can understand it (Ulandari, 2018: 2).

Prokem consists of various types and forms. Swandy (Swandy, 2017: 4) states that prokem as a kind of slang, formed by reversing the words order, giving insertions, taking acronyms and abbreviations, changing the vowels and the consonants, changing the overall sound or total sound. As the effect, it is difficult to predict the form of prokem since the word change is unsystematic. For some people, the prokem can be changed into strange, funny and unpredicted words (Swandy, 2017: 4).

Prokem is classified as non-formal language. In general context, formal and informal languages are in the same position (Marcus, 2007: 15). On the other hand, the position of these languages is different in the context of language politics. There are clear differences when language is used in daily life and in a national event. Prokem is obviously categorized as informal language. In other words, slang may be different with its original words due to the word changes. The slang can be funny, weird, and unpredictable in form and meaning (Swandy, 2017). Slang internal variations are typically transient and slang usage varies over time according to the times (Margiyanti & Yuliayanto, 2021: 165).

In Indonesia, there are numerous communities have prokem to communicate. In Jakarta, for example, young people tend to say *"elu-elu gua-gua"*, *"Boljung dah"* or *"ampe ngacirr"*. This prokem is commonly used by modern Betawi people (Susanto, 2008: 28). There is also prokem in Yogyakarta. The prokem here is formed through affixation. It changes the form of original words. For instance, *motor* in prokem words is *dogosku,* not *dogosnyu* (Kurniawati, 2013: 107). In the 1980s, there were numerous regional variances in the slang used by various community groups. It indicates that a certain location has its own distinctive slang (Suhardianto & Suryani, 2018: 164). Gunawan (as cited in Setiawan, 2019:139) stated a new slang language named Alay arose in the 2000s. The Alay language evolved after the widespread use of cell phones with short messaging service (SMS) capabilities.

Many previous studies related to slang on social media (Aryanti et al., 2019; Goziyah & Yusuf, 2019; Ismawati, 2020; Istiqomah et al., 2018; Putra & Hartanto, 2020), Indonesian language learning (Juanda, 2012), and novel (Fahrudin & Kharisma, 2021; Jannah et al., 2020). Meanwhile, in this study, the authors focused on students' Arabic prokem in the Gontor modern Islamic boarding school environment.

Prokem is also used in modern Islamic boarding school like Gontor. This school is one of pioneers modernization in Islamic boarding school. The change of Gontor from *salafi* to modern makes Gontor a place to get Islamic education for urban people unfamiliar with conventional and traditional education systems. The characteristic in Gontor is the tight way of disciplinary system and the way of using Arabic and English in daily activities (Kompri, 2018: 22–23).

In language learning, Gontor has their own curriculum, which is different with other Islamic modern schools. For example, students in other schools learn Arabic, followed by *Nahwu and Sharf* and another Islamic knowledge. In Gontor, students are required to speak Arabic in daily life, so that they can master it fast and then learn *Nahwu, Sharaf* and other Islamic lessons through Arabic books (Zaini, 2013).

For this reason, prokem in Gontor is mostly found in Arabic language. This Arabic prokem is known as *Arab 'Amiyyah*. Generally, Arabic language is divided into *Arab Fushhâ* (formal) and *'Amiyyah* (informal). The *Arab Fushhâ* can be found in Al-Qur'an and in a formal condition, such as in schools, mosques, or meetings. This Arabic is based on *nahwu* and *sharaf*. In contrast, *Arab 'Amiyyah* has nothing to do with *nahwu* and *sharaf*. Thus, it is easier to learn since this Arabic is commonly used to communicate in daily life (Darmin, 2019: 4).

The condition above exposes that *Arab Fushhâ* is essential to education system in Islamic modern school. Even though there is a fact that this Arabic is influenced by students' local dialect (Wekke, 2019: 25). There are some factors that form Arabic prokem in Gontor. First, students are required to speak in Arabic. Second, Arabic is used in the classroom and social activity, such as in boarding houses, dining rooms, canteens. Third, students' Arabic is influenced by dialect of their native language, both on Indonesian and local languages. That what makes Arabic prokem in Gontor is interesting to study.

Method

This study is qualitative and the data are classified into primary and secondary. The primary data words or language facts in a book, entitled *Bahasa Arab Gontor* by Zaini (2013). This book describes words, sentences, structures, and expression spoken in detail. This language fact is main focus in this study. After that, the data are collected, analyzed, interpreted and summarized (Sugiarto, 2017: 8–9). This study's secondary data are journals, articles, and books related to prokem.

This study is library research, meaning that the data source associate with library in finding topics in this study (Djiwandono, 2015: 27). The method applied in this study is descriptive qualitative which indicates that focusing the problem in the current condition by describing it, it is not to find causes-effect of the problem (Yusuf, 2016: 63). Through this method, the problem found on language fact is revealed. In short, this study describes real condition of language fact and offers a way to solve it (Kimbal, 2015: 64).

Result and Discussion

Results should be clear and concise. The results should summarize (scientific) findings rather than providing data in great detail. Please highlight differences between your results or findings and the previous publications by other researchers.

The writer found interesting Arabic prokem which is not common in general Arabic. This prokem is collected from *Bahasa Arab Gontor,* a book written by Hisyam Zaimi. The meaning of this prokem cannot be understood if there is no research on it. Actually, this prokem is produced and reproduced by students in Gontor so that they naturally and spontaneously use this prokem in daily life. This also happens because the students must communicate in Arabic. However, since they have their own dialect from their native local language, their Arabic sounds different with the general one. It turns to Arabic prokem in Gontor. The Arabic prokem in *Bahasa Arab Gontor* by Hisyam Zaini can be seen in the table below.

Table 1
Prokem Bahasa Arab Gontor

No	Page	Arabic Prokem	Be read	Meaning
1	19	قدم دم	*Qudamdam*	ancient people
2	22	يتفنكفنك	*Yatafankfank*	funky style
3	25	صاع	*Sha'*	Ostentatious
4	27	هيه	*Heh*	Interjection
5	28	طريق- طريق	*Thariq-thariq*	Walking around
6	35	كجك	*Kajaka*	likewise
		هجا	*Haja*	This
		أفا	*Affan*	apology
7	42	مديك	*Mudik*	Funny
		جيل	*Jel*	*Man*
8	47	خذت	*Khudztin*	take
		كمطرا	*Kematharan*	Get rained on
9	48	باص	*Bashi*	Fusty
		غندوق	*Ghanduq*	Angry
10	67	كمان	*Kaman*	More
11	73	هذاؤه	*Hadzauh*	This
		ذلكه	*Dzalikuh*	That
12	82	إنسانه	*Insanuh*	The person
		إدّمه	*Iddamuh*	The dish
13	90	فقط لاه	*Faqath lah*	Just
14	119	لا ماذا ماذا	*Laa madza madza*	Never mind

Based on the data above, Arabic prokem used by students in Gontor can be divided into several types:

1. Arabic Prokem in Context of Indonesian Language (Indonesian Arabic)

This kind of prokem is rooted from Arabic by adding Indonesian syllables, as seen in this following table.

Table 2
Arabic Prokem in Context of Indonesian Language

No	Arabic Prokem	Be read	Meaning
1	قدم دم	*Qudamdam*	ancient people
2	يتفنكفنك	*Yatafangfank*	funky style
3	جيل	*Jel*	*Man*
4	غندوق	*Ghanduq*	Angry
5	كمان	*Kamaan*	More
6	كجكز	*Kajakaz*	Likewise

In the table above, *"qudamdam"* is Arabic prokem used by students in Gontor which is not found in Arabic language for *Arab 'Amiyyah* and *Fushhâ*. This prokem comes from *"qadim"* which means ancient or old. *"Qudamdam"*as prokem gets syllable *"dam"*. This syllable comes from Indonesian language to show plural thing.

Then, the prokem "*Yatafankfank"* is not rooted from Indonesian but English, "funky". This Arabic prokem has "funky" as its basic morpheme. In Arabic, funky is similar with *"jabaan"* or *"namtun"*. The prokem of *"Yatafankfank"* is the combination of the third person pronoun *"yes mudhâra'ah"* and the word *"fung"* is repeated, so that it becomes *"yatafangfank"*. This prokem refers to his/her funky style. His or her is to show the third person.

Next, the prokem *"jel"* and *"ghanduq"* are arbitrary. This prokem is naturally formed and students in Gontor familiar with it because it is easy to remember. Then, the prokem *"man"* comes from English which is similar with *"al-rajul"* snf not *"jel"* in Arabic. The prokem *"ghanduk"* which means angry is similar with "غضة" in Arabic. The use of Arabic prokem in Indonesian language is stated in the table below.

Table 3
Examples of Using Prokem in Indonesian Context Sentences

Meaning in Indonesian Language	Arabic Prokem	Page
His style is *funky, man!*	يتفنكفنك جيل	44
What else are they doing?	لماذا كمان ؟	34
If you get hit by the caretaker, I'm also hit.	إن كان أنت يضرب مع مدبر طيعا أنا يضرب كجكز	33

2. Arabic Prokem in Indonesian Vocabulary

Arabic prokem rooted from Indonesian language is created but using Indonesian vocabulary, but it is pronounced and written in Arabic. This kind of Arabic prokem used by students in Gontor is detailed in the table below.

Table 4
Arabic Prokem in Indonesian Vocabulary

No	Arabic Prokem	Be read	Meaning
1	صاع	*Sha'*	Ostentatious
2	باص	*Bashi*	Fusty
3	مديك	*Mudik*	Laugh

In the table above, the prokem *"sha'"* is written in Arabic but it actually comes from Indonesian, *"sok"* which means ostentatious. The *"sok"* is arabizationed through *shad, alif* and *'ain* which have almost the same sound. In Arabic vocabulary, there is no word *"sa"*.

Next, *"bashi"* is prokem written and pronounced in Indonesian. This prokem means fusty. In Arabic, the same sound with this word is *ba, alif and shad.* There are four letters in Indonesian but three letters Arabic. This happens as the effect of language contrastive.

Table 5
Examples of Arabic Prokem from Indonesian Language

Meaning in Indonesian Language	Arabic Prokem	Page
Making laugh	صناع مديك	44
You've got me angry	صناع غندوق فقط أنت ذلك	85

3. Arabic Prokem in the Form of Interjection

Arabic prokem in the form of interjection used by students in Gontor is a kind of feeling expression influenced by native language. Dialect is another influence of this prokem. The Arabic prokem in the form of interjection is shown in this following table.

Table 6
Arabic Prokem in the Form of Interjection

No	Arabic Prokem	Be read	Meaning
1	آه	*Ah*	Disappointed
2	إيه	*Ih*	Wonder
3	بالحق	*Bi al-haq*	Swear
4	إيه	*Eh*	Surprise

| 5 | سيه | *Sih* | Affirmation |
| 6 | هيه | *Heh* | Wonder |

Based on the table above, at least six Arabic prokem words are commonly used by students in Gontor. Actually, the interjection prokem is also popular for Indonesian people, but this prokem is generally found in the context of sentence *(siyâq al-kalâm)* in Arabic and it is also written in Arabic. However, the meaning of the Arabic and Indonesian prokem in this form is slightly different. For example, *"ih"* in Arabic prokem means wonder but disappointed, disgusted, and scared. Then, *"ah"* in Arabic means disappointed but in Indonesian, its meaning is based on the context, it can be regret, disappointed, disagree or wonder. The following table presents examples of this prokem in a sentence.

Table 7
Examples of Arabic Prokem in the Form of Interjection

Meaning in Indonesian Language	Arabic Prokem	Page
What's wrong with you!	كيف سيه أنت!	32
Don't eat too much	إيه لا تكن تنظيف دائما	62

4. Arabic Prokem from Arabi and Indonesian Free Morpheme

Prokem, formed through Arabic and Indonesian free morpheme, is created as the effect of the mix of students' native language to Arabic. Consequently, this prokem sounds interesting, funny, and unfamiliar. This prokem is like Indonesian-Arabic or Arabic-Indonesian, as seen in the table below.

Table 8
Arabic Prokem from Arabic and Indonesian Free Morpheme

No	Arabic Prokem	Be Read	Meaning
1	خذت	*Khudztin*	*Ambilin*
2	كمطرا	*Kematharan*	*Kehujanan*
3	فقط لاه	*Fakat lah*	*Sajalah*
4	لا ماذا ماذا	*Laa madza madza*	*Tidak apa-apa*

The table above shows that the Arabic prokem is from Arabic and Indonesian free morpheme. The prokem *"Khudztin"* comes from Arabic *"akhadza"* which means take, then it gets *"tin"* which is Indonesian morpheme. Originally, that Arabic language is a command word from *"akhdaz"*, referring to *"khudz"*. *"Khudztin"* is Arabic prokem from *"khudz"* and *"tin"*. It relates to the Indonesian morpheme that "in" indicates command words, such as *ambilin*.

Another prokem influenced by Indonesian language is "kematharan", which is from Arabic *"mathar"* which means rain. Then, there is *"faqath lah"* from *"fakath"* which means only. The morpheme *"lah"* is from Indonesian words, *"sajalah"*. Next, there is *"la madza-madza"* from Arabic *"la"* which means no and *"mada"* which menas what. In Indonesian language, it means never mind.

Besides, Arabic prokem with Indonesian morpheme can be seen in sentences, as following table.

Table 9

Examples of Arabic Prokem with Indonesian Morpheme in Sentences

Meaning in Indonesian Language	Arabic Prokem	Page
Bagaimana sih kamu!	كيف سيه أنت؟	32
Eh jangan menghabiskan terus !	إيه لا نكن تنظيف دائما	62
Kamu sajalah	أنت فقط لاه	85
Kamu ngga apa-apa? Kok mukul saya sih	أنت لا ماذا ماذا قو تضربنى سيه	119

5. Arabic Prokem in Reduplication

Arabic prokem in the form of reduplication relates to repeated verbal and noun words. This prokem connects to Indonesian language, doubling the words to indicate plural meaning. The Arabic prokem in this case can be seen in the table below.

Table 10

Arabic Prokem in the Form of Reduplication

Arabic Prokem	Be read	Meaning in Indonesian Language
طريق - طريق	*Thariq-thariq*	*Jalan-jalan*
أكل - أكل	*Akl- akl*	*Makan-makan*
صعب - صعب	*Sa'b-sa'b*	*Susah-susah*
سكوت-سكوت	*Syukut-syukut*	*Diam-diam*
مرة - مرة	*Marrah-marrah*	*Kali-kali*
كبير – كبير	*Kabir-kabir*	*Besar-besar*

The table above shows how Arabic words are combined with Indonesian structure in repeating similar words. This reduplication form creates Arabic prokem. In Indonesian, repeated similar words are shown plural, such as *rumah-rumah* (houses). This structure is applied by students in Gontor in Arabic prokem, like *thariq-thariq*. In Arabic, *thariq* means walk (*jalan*). The prokem happens due to reduplication by repeating *thariq* to be *thariq-thariq*. Actually, walking around in Arabic is *"masyyan"*. This form is also applied to other prokem listed in the previous table.

Examples of Arabic prokem in forms of sentence used by Gontor's students can be seen in the following table.

Table 11

Examples of Arabic Prokem in the Form of Reduplication

Meaning in Indonesian Language	Arabic Prokem	Page
Diam-diam berbahaya	سكوت – سكوت ضرر	66
Orangnya besar-besar lagi	إنسانه كبير – كبير كمن	67
Sudahlah jangan banyak-banyak	خلاص لاه لا تكن كثيرا كثير	113
Makan-makan yuk	أكل – أكل يوك	112

6. Arabic Prokem in the Form of Phoneme Change

The phoneme change is also found in Arabic prokem used by students in Gontor. In this case, there is a phoneme change in the Arabic original word so that the Arabic word is no longer the same as the real one. This kind of Arabic phoneme can be in the form phoneme reduction, phoneme addition and phoneme change, as written in the table below.

Table 12

Arabic Prokem in the Form of Phoneme Change

No	Arabic Prokem	Be Read	Meaning
1	كجك	*Kajaka*	Likewise
2	هجا	*Haja*	This
3	أفا	*Affan*	Apology
4	آدة	*Aadatan*	Usually
5	جلك	*Jalika*	That
6	قلاص	*Qalash*	Already
7	سقة	*Siqqah*	True

Through the table above, it can be explained several Arabic prokem through the change of phoneme. *"Kajaka"* is Arabic prokem from Arabic word *"kadzaalik"* which means "likewise". This prokem has the phoneme change and reduction. The reduction is *"lam"* and the change is *"dza"* to *"jim"*. In Gontor, people use to have *"kajaka"* as prokem in daily life. Then, *"haja"* as Arabic proke actually is not found in *Arab fushhâ*. Its original word is *"hadza"* which means "this". There is a change of phoneme in that prokem, from *"dza"* to *"jim"*. Next, *"affan"* as Arabic prokem comes from *"„afwan"*, which means my apology. The prokem was caused by the change of sound from the sound of "wau" to the sound of "fa", so that it became Arabic with double sound (tasydid).

Another Arabic prokem is "adah" to "adah" that has phoneme change from "*ain*" to "*hamzah*", but the meaning is still the same. Then, "*dzalika*" is from "*jalika*". The phoneme change in this word is *"dza"* to *"jim"*. Next, there is *qalas"* from Arabic word, *"khalas"*. The phoneme change is *"kha"* to *"ghin"*. Finally, the Arabic prokem *"siqqah"* which comes from Arabic word, *"tsiqqah"*. The phoneme change is the sound of *"tsa"* to be *"sa"*. In the examples of sentences, the prokem can be seen as follow.

Table 13

Examples of Using Arabic Prokem in the Form of Phoneme Change

Meaning in Indonesian Language	Arabic Prokem	Page
Biasaya kamu ke mana?	آدة أنت إلينا	32
Saya juga tidak tahu	أناكجك لا أعرف	44
Maaf Pak!	أفا بك	44
Ente Bagus sekali!	أنت ثقة جدا	75

7. Arabic Prokem in the Form of *Dhamîr Muttashil*

Arabic prokem in the form of *dhamîr muttashil* is created throuh one Arabic morpheme plus one Arabic pronoun (*Dhamîr Muttashil*). The *dhamîr muttashil* used is the third pronoun in the form of *mufrad mufdzakkar* (singular for masculine). Singular for feminine usually comes to this pronoun. This form of prokem can be seen in the following table.

Table 14

Arabic Prokem in the Form of *Dlamir Muttasil*

No	Arabic Prokem	Be Read	Meaning
1	هذاؤه	*Hadzauh*	This
2	ذلكه	*Dzalikuh*	That
3	إنسانه	*Insanuh*	The person
4	إدّمه	*Iddamuh*	The dish

5	مصدره	*Mashdaruh*	The source
6	جاكته	*Jaketuh*	The jacket

Basically, Arabic prokem in the form of *dhamîr muttashil* through *mufrad mudzakkar* is not in accordance with the Arabic grammatical structure. For example, *"hadzauh"* is prokem that is incorrect in Arabic structure for some reasons. First, that prokem is from *ism isyârah "Hadza"*. Second, the plural form for *isim* israyah for masculin (*(mudzakkar)* is *"haulai"*, the plural is not used *"wau"*, just like in *"hadauuh"*. Third, *ism isyârah* cannot be linked to *dhamîr muttashil*. Therefore, *"hadzauh"* as prokem actually comes from Indonesian word "ini" and "nya" as the third pronoun, so this prokem means "ininya". This condition also can be found in other prokem, such as *"dzalikuh", "insanuh", "iddamuh", "mashdaruh",* and *"jakituh"*. These prokem are adapted by Indonesian structure which is incorrect in Arabic structure.

The Arabic prokem in the form of sentences can be seen in the thable below.

Table 15

Examples of Using Arabic Prokem with *Dhamîr Muttashil*

Meaning in Bahasa Indonesia	Arabic Prokem	Page
Ininya di mana?	هذاؤه أين؟	40
Dia bagaimana Orangnya?	إنسانه كيف هو؟	67
Dia sumbernya	هو مصدره	70
Itunya rusak	ذالكه فاسد	73
Lauknya sangat tidak enak	غير جدا إدّمه	81
Kamu sok nyama-nyamain jaket.	أنت يهان سواء كمان جاكته؟	34

Based on the previous analysis, it can be indicated that all of the tables show Arabic prokem and the way to use it in sentences. Overall, all the prokem is influenced by Indonesian language, in the form of dialect, grammatical structure, and vocabulary. This finding aligns with what Nugrawiyati (2014) said: prokem language's function has transitioned from secret language to slang. In *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (as cited in Heru & Rukiyah, 2019), it states "slang is a variety of informal, non-standard, seasonal languages used by teens or members of particular social groups for internal communication with the goal that others will not understand". Slang is a sort of non-standard language that is still evolving in Indonesia with the intention of creating intimacy with group members, therefore it will likely always exist (Sulaeman, 2019, p. 53). By mixing words to create new meanings, slang creates a large number of new terms for the language (Fromkin et al in Rumagit & Rambing, 2020, p. 3) as found in the data above.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that the causes of Arabic prokem used by students in Gontor are native grammatical tendency of the students. The students' native language is *Bahasa Indonesia*. This process creates Arabic prokem which is only understood by students in Gontor. In fact, there is a small probability for outsider to understand this prokem without some explanation by the students or some information in research, including this conducted study. The study results show several forms and types of Arabic prokem used by students in Gontor. First, Arabic prokem in context of Indonesian language (Indonesian Arabic). Second, Arabic prokem in Indonesian vocabulary. Third, Arabic prokem in the form of interjection. Fourth, Arabic prokem from Arabic and Indonesian free morpheme. Fifth, Arabic prokem in reduplication. Sixth, Arabic prokem in the form of phoneme change. Seventh, Arabic prokem in the form of *dhamîr muttashil*.

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