



**WESTERN SYDNEY**  
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A Discourse Analysis of *Islam Nusantara*  
in Said Agil Siradj's Speeches

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for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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## STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICATION

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND TECHNICAL TERMS

### Abbreviations

BNPT ( <i>Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme</i> )	: National Agency for Combatting Terrorism
DA	: Discourse Analysis
DSA	: Direct Speech Act
FPI ( <i>Front Pembela Islam</i> )	: Islamic Defender Front
FTA	: Face Threatening Act
HTI	: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia
H.	: Haji
IN	: <i>Islam Nusantara</i>
ISA	: Indirect Speech Act
ISOMIL	: the International Summit of the Moderate Islamic Leaders
IFID	: Illocutionary Force Indicating Device
<i>Ketum</i> PBNU	: General chairman of the NU executive board
K.H.	: <i>Kiai Haji</i>
KMNU ( <i>Keluarga Mahasiswa Nahdlatul Ulama</i> )	: the Student Family of Nahdlatul Ulama
MUI ( <i>Majelis Ulama Indonesia</i> )	: Indonesian Ulama Council
NU ( <i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i> )	: the revival of Ulama
NSA	: Number of Speech Act
NKRI ( <i>Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia</i> )	: Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia
NIM	: New Islamic Movements
PBNU ( <i>Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama</i> )	: the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama
PC ( <i>Pengurus Cabang</i> )	: the branch boards in towns or districts
PKB ( <i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i> )	: the National Awakening Party

PMII ( <i>Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia</i> )	: the Indonesian Islamic Students Movements
PPP ( <i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> )	: United Development Party)
PW ( <i>Pengurus Wilayah</i> )	: the Regional boards in provinces
<i>Pengurus Ranting</i>	: the Twig boards in villages (keluruahan)
<i>Pengurus Istimewa luar negeri</i>	: Special branch board
SAS	: Said Agil Siradj
SAC	: Speech Act Category
SAT	: Speech Act Theory
SBY	: Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono the President of the Republic of Indonesia (2004-2014)
TD	: Total Distribution
TSA	: Total Speech Acts,
SAC	: Number of Speech Acts Categories

### **Foreign and Technical Terms**

Anshor	: (NU youth organization)
Aswaja	: Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah
<i>Akhlakul karimah</i>	: good morality
Berdikari	: self-reliance
Darussalam	: a peaceful country
Fatwa	: a formal ruling or interpretation on the point of Islamic law given by a qualified legal scholar (Britannica online 2022)
<i>Hubbul Watton Minnal iman</i>	: love the country is part of faith
Haram	: forbidden, prohibited
<i>Halaalan thayyiban</i>	: guaranteed
<i>Ijtihad</i>	: independent interpretation

Kiai : Title which is gifted to the person who has great morality, religiosity, and religious knowledge of Islam and manages Pesantren especially in Java.

Muktamar : the national congress

*Mustasyar* : the Advisory Council

*Mufassir* : an expert in Qur'an and Hadith interpretations

NU Garis lurus : NU straight path

Pesantren : the traditional of Islamic school

*Qiyas* : analogical reasoning

TGPF (Tim Gabungan Pencari Fakta): Indonesia's National Commission for Human Rights

Santri : the popular name for an Islamic student who studies at a traditional Islamic school (*pesantren*).

*Syuriah* : the Supreme Council

Sunnat, Mustahab : recommendable, desirable

*Tanfidziyah* : the Administrative Council

*Taqlid* : to imitate

Ulama : religious scholars of Islam

Wajib : obligatory

*Wasathiyah Islam* : middle way

## ABSTRACT

This thesis is an analysis of Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speech utterances on *Islam Nusantara* (IN) discourse. It does this by analysing the selected SAS's speeches during his leadership in the *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) (2010-2021). The analysis describes the application of IN discourse and its relationship with the NU aims that maintain the *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (Aswaja) ideology. The study employs the Speech Act of Illocutionary Acts to investigate SAS's speech feature and its contribution of IN discourse to the NU community. Given the context, the speaker highlighted the important messages to protect the NU members from the New Islamic Movements (NIM) that flourished in society. Furthermore, this project is essential to give insight and maintain unity for the importance of inclusive religious teaching within a pluralist society in Indonesia.

To achieve the aims of this study, the analysis availed the spoken discourse of SAS's speech utterances on IN, particularly since its declaration in Jombang 2015. The data were gathered from SAS's selected speeches on YouTube channels by downloading and transcribing them using NVivo and Microsoft Excel. Then, the transcription process was done carefully to access the objective data of spoken discourse becoming part of the research analysis (Leeuwen, 2008); Litosseliti (2010).

The result of the study shows that there is an indication in SAS's speech utterances of IN correlated with the aims of the NU purpose, e.g., the attention of the speaker's utterances on the importance of nationalism, tolerance, anti-radicalism, the preservation of local culture, and so on. Those issues have become the attention and feature within the ideology of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (Aswaja) in the NU. The relation of SAS's speech utterances with the NU's aims was represented in his acts while delivering the speeches. For instance, the speaker (SAS) performed his speech utterance by using various acts: Representatives, Directives, Commissives, Expressives, and Declarations. In those acts, the speaker used Register forms and the context of Discourse as other aspects to attract the attention and deliver his messages. The speaker performed the act of Illocutionary Acts of Speech Act Theory (SAT) to give information, commands, requests, and make declarations in terms of Islamic discourse, to his community. In addition, the speaker highlighted the use of the special terms or register forms for performing the religious practices in his community, such as *slametan*, *tahlilan*, *istighosah* and *mauludan*. The speaker produced those registers to give an example of the inclusive religious practices in his community and to promote IN concept. In the NU community, those

religious practices have become one of the features of Aswaja religious practices. Meanwhile, the form of Direct and Indirect Speech Acts were produced by the speaker as part of polite interactions and to maintain the relationships with the NU members.

# CHAPTER 1.

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

This chapter describes the research background of this project in analysing Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speech utterances on *Islam Nusantara* (IN) discourse. First, the section presents the exploration of the development of Indonesia and the creation of the *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) and its evolution. Then, the section describes the nature of Islam Nusantara and its controversial aspect in the contemporary politic of Indonesia. In addition, the section presented the politic within the NU and the manoeuvre of SAS as the elite and a leader of the NU (2010 – 2021), especially in promoting IN discourse through his speeches to counter the New Islamic Movement groups that flourished in Indonesia. IN was narrated by the speaker (SAS) as a counter ideology to radical groups and to protect the NU members from their existence in the society. As a summary, the research background gives an overview of the importance of this research project, particularly in contributing to language analysis.

### 1.2 Research background

Indonesia is a country with a Muslim majority (Hefner, 2000; Mietzner, 2020); within that context, it has become one of the most studied Muslim countries in the world (Abdullah, 2020). Although the Muslim population has become the majority, Indonesia does not become an Islamic country but agrees with the ideology of *Pancasila*<sup>1</sup> as the sole basis for the state. In the religious context, the Indonesian government officially recognized or legitimated six religions: Islam, Catholic, Protestant, Buddhism, Hinduism and Confucian (McDaniel, 2017). Within that context of religious and social relations, Indonesia has a dynamic and complex arrangement for maintaining the interrelationship and harmony among religions, particularly within the pluralist Muslim community groups. In recent years, religious harmony has been under threat since the *New Islamic Movements* (NIM) with exclusive religious thought have flourished in the society, particularly in the post-Soeharto era (Nashir, 2015). The NIM within this context is labelled to identify and describe the Islamic movements that have a strict

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<sup>1</sup> *Pancasila* (pronounced *Panchaseela*) is the five principles and the state philosophical basis of the Indonesian government. 01 June 1945 is the birth of this ideology for the state (some argue that 18 August 1945 is the birth of *Pancasila*). *Pancasila* was formulated by Committee Five, and they consisted of Soekarno, Hatta, Soepomo, Yamin, and KH. Abdul Wachid Hasyim (Ismail, 1995)

interpretation of religious teaching, and their religious doctrine is derived from *Salafi-Wahabi* movements that flourished in the Middle East. They aspire to establish the *shari'ah* law in Indonesia, and they oppose the Muslim traditionalists. In addition, other religions even said that *Salafi-Wahabi* groups have a no tolerance approach to other religions and the practice of traditional Islam (McDaniel, 2017). As a result, there has been a strong rejection from the Muslim traditionalist groups, who constitute the majority of Indonesia's Muslim communities (Burhani, 2018; Lukens-Bull, 2008).

Recently, as a democratic country, the political landscape in Indonesia has developed within a dynamic situation, specifically after more than thirty years under the power of President Soeharto. In May 1998, Soeharto stepped down; this situation brought Indonesia from the authoritarian system into democratic consolidation, and it encouraged the rise of the Islamic movements previously discredited by the *Orde Baru* (*Orba*, New Order) through the political repression. During this phase, the Islamic movements that went underground during the period of the New Order were able to rise in the public sphere. In further development, those movements synthesized and assimilation through the democratic sphere to propagate the aspiration of a return to Islamic purity and to establish the Islamic state. Major examples include the *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia*<sup>2</sup> (HTI), *Salafi*, and *Wahabi* movements (Barton, 2002; Bruinessen, 2011; Burhani, 2018; Nashir, 2015). Within the aspiration to return Qur'an and *Hadith* or the purification of the Islamic teaching, part of these groups, such as HTI and the NIM propagate the ideology of *Khilafah*<sup>3</sup> by offering a promising life in Indonesia. Furthermore, the supporters of the NIM argue that the Islamic system should remove the democratic system as it is against Islamic principles.

The unprecedented rise of these radical groups, which infiltrate institutions such as schools, bureaucracy, mosques with the propagation of *Khilafah* ideology, have shocked the government and attracted the attention of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (Burhani, 2018). In response to that situation, NU as the Indonesia's largest Muslim organisation, and even it is

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<sup>2</sup> On July 19, 2017, the Indonesian government officially revoked the legal status of *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI) and officially disbanded the organization due to his doctrine of *Khilafah*. HTI is the Indonesian chapter of Hizbut Tahrir (HT, Party of Liberation), a trans-national Islamic movement that promotes a pan-Islamic caliphate based on Shari'ah, founded by Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani (1909–1977) in 1953 (Burhani & Nadzir, 2021).

<sup>3</sup> The terminology of *khilafah* itself has been long debated by Muslim scholars. This term was previously found only in the Qur'an and hadith. The scholars differ on whether the verses and hadiths that this word and its derivative have contain the link between religious affairs and political affairs. According to Ibn Taimiyyah, some of these words mean leadership [*imamah*] or kingdom [*mamlakah*] in the general sense under the Islamic system (Hidayatullah, 2017). In Indonesia the *Khilafah* doctrine was recognized by HTI activists as an ideological antithesis that is ready to rival the position of the nation-state concept (NKRI) which is considered final in Indonesia (Zulkarnain, 2020).



estimated by some as possibly the largest in the world (Mietzner, 2020; Upal & Cusack, 2021), awake to consolidate and revisit the organisation's role to counter the existence of radical groups. The NU elites and cadres see that the NIM and their propensity movements have threatened religious harmony within Indonesia's Muslim communities that are pluralist. It is because they aspire to remove the sole basis of Pancasila with *khilafah* ideology and are a contradiction to the pluralist Indonesian society. Therefore, as the counteractive movement, the NU community, in collaboration with the government, built the narrative of "religious tolerance" to fight the ideology of the transnational Islamic movements that seek exclusivity of religious practice.

In the post-Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono<sup>4</sup>(SBY) presidency in 2014, there have been significant transnational Islamic movements, and it has become a new trajectory for the Islamic movement in society. The NU community identified that possibly, those groups had grown in influence under the presidency of SBY (2004-2014). For instance, some mosques previously occupied by the NU community have been taken over by radical groups-affiliated preachers (Mietzner, 2020). This situation has made the ideological contestation, even tight confrontations, between the NIM and the NU community in the public sphere. The escalation emerged when the Jakarta gubernatorial election was held in 2017<sup>5</sup>.

The Jakarta gubernatorial election in 2017 attracted huge media attention, because, in this election, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, popularly called Ahok<sup>6</sup>, the incumbent Jakarta governor, ran for a second term while controversially accused under the blasphemy law<sup>7</sup>. This election had consumed a lot of energy; each supporter used a divisive campaign that exposed ethnic and religious divisions to reach victory. It continued in the presidential election of 2019. Analysts portrayed this situation as the resistance of the traditionalist Muslims to the NIM, and it became

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<sup>4</sup> The President of the Republic of Indonesia (2004-2014)

<sup>5</sup> The election was held in February and April 2017. During this event, the constellation of the political identity emerged, and it was signed with the Islamic rally mass demonstration that in 2016 had never been seen before. They asked to sentence Ahok. In this election, Ahok was defeated by his rival, Anis Baswedan (the governor of Jakarta 2017-2022).

<sup>6</sup> Ahok is Christian and a member of a minority group in the majority Malay-Muslim community in Jakarta and Indonesia.

<sup>7</sup> He caused controversy when he cited Qur'anic verse al-Maidah 51. He stated that Muslims have been deceived by those who use Qur'anic verse al-Maidah 51 to claim that Muslims should not vote for him. The verse states that Muslims are not allowed to be led by non-Muslims. Therefore, the judge found that Ahok's wording was "using the al-Maidah verse 51 of the Qur'an to deceive Muslims". Ahok was alleged to have violated blasphemy laws of the Indonesian constitution because he had viewed the verse as the source of a lie, and therefore he had insulted the verse (Mujani, 2020).

the main factor for the division of Muslim society during Jokowi's<sup>8</sup> government (M. Mietzner, 2018).

Although Jokowi has recruited Prabowo<sup>9</sup> to his alliance in his second-term cabinet, he could not draw and reach Prabowo's supporters for reconciliation. As a result, the conflict remains between the NIM groups with the traditionalist Muslims. Politically, the government seems to keep the distance to suppress and marginalise the NIM groups in the name of safeguarding Indonesia's pluralist values. Even further, Jokowi built the image by supporting the Islam Nusantara concept which represents moderate Islam, and it becomes his campaign and establishes a close relation with his supporters, particularly the NU community<sup>10</sup>. For instance, NU's traditional Islamic boarding schools [*pesantren*] received substantial government funding for *pesantren empowerment*<sup>11</sup> and even further, many elites and cadres have a strategic position in Joko Widodo's (Jokowi) government<sup>12</sup>. According to Mietzner (2018), Jokowi's government policy tends to repress the Muslim opposition in his government, including affiliation groups such as HTI, and FPI<sup>13</sup> (*Front Pembela Islam*, Islamic Defender Front).

Indeed, the NU is a non-political organisation, whose elites and cadres have run political campaigns in favour of moderation and tolerance against the religio-political intolerance of the current government. Their narrative of fighting radicalism has seen the NU make a coalition and alliance with the government, enabling them to keep their dominance in the society (Damm, 2018; Mietzner, 2020). Even further, on a large scale, Said Agil Siradj (SAS)<sup>14</sup> used a strategic method by introducing the new brand of the NU's community (Islam Nusantara "Archipelagic Islam", or IN) as the moderate and tolerant Islam, to support the government against the NIM. In addition, the NU also has been regarded as the safeguard of *Kebinekaan* (diversity) in Indonesia. In other words, politically, the concept of Islam Nusantara discourse is essential for establishing and protecting the NU community's ideology from the NIM.

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<sup>8</sup> Joko Widodo is popularly called Jokowi. He is the current president of the Republic of Indonesia (2014-2019, 2019-2024).

<sup>9</sup> Prabowo Subianto, popularly called Prabowo, was the rival of Jokowi during the presidential election in 2014 and 2019. He becomes the Ministry of Defence in the second term of Jokowi's government.

<sup>10</sup> Aspinal (2019) asserted that the official NU during the presidential election in 2019 was claiming to be mobilizing for Jokowi to defend NU's vision of pluralism, moderation, and its traditional religious practice, and to oppose the NIM, which they saw as mobilizing behind Prabowo. Also see Upal (2021, p. 117) about the political support to Islam Nusantara.

<sup>11</sup> This program became available in abundance after the Islamist mobilization against Ahok in 2016. Both Jokowi and NU felt threatened by the unprecedented Islamist movement, so tens of millions of dollars were disbursed to NU for a de-radicalism program (Mietzner, 2020).

<sup>12</sup> For instance, the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kementerian Agama RI) is recruited from NU's cadre (Rozali, 2020).

<sup>13</sup> Since 30 December 2020, FPI has been banned by the government.

<sup>14</sup> Said Agil Siradj (SAS) is the chairman of the executive council of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) since 2010-2021.

As elaborated above, the study of Indonesian Islam and its relationship with the state has prompted scholarly discussion and research (Barton, 2002; Fealy, 2020; Hefner, 2000; Mietzner, 2020; Ricklefs, 2012; Woodward, 2017). For instance, Barton (2002), in his book titled *Abdurrahman Wahid: Muslim democrat, Indonesian president*, described the role of Gus Dur<sup>15</sup> as the first Indonesian president from a traditionalist Muslim group (NU). He pointed out that Gus Dur made a significant contribution to the establishment of democracy in the post-reformation era. Meanwhile, Ismail (2011) wrote in “The Nahdlatul Ulama: Its Early History and Contribution to the Establishment of Indonesian State” about the NU's critical contribution to Indonesia's establishment. In the current political context, Fealy and Bush (2014) in their paper “The Political Decline of Traditional Ulama in Indonesia”, provided a critical analysis of the figure of religious leader or ulama both in NU and Muhammadiyah.

Even though there has been some research on the NU and its figures, the religious leaders' study based on linguistics analysis is still considered a neglected area, especially from the spoken discourse and speech acts analysis. Therefore, this study seeks to fill the gap by investigating this topic within the frames of discourse analysis and pragmatics. More specifically, this thesis analyses SAS's speech utterances of Islam Nusantara discourse.

### 1.3 The creation of NU and its evolution

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is a Muslim traditionalist movement, becoming one of the leading religious organisations and it becomes the largest Islamic organization in the country. NU was established on 31 January 1926 as the instrument for the *ulama'* to guide the Islamic community in achieving Islam's glory and a Muslim Indonesia. This organisation's establishment was initiated by the several Muslim scholars called *Kiai* and it is as a response to the Wahabist movement in the Muslim world, mainly in Java (Upal & Cusack, 2021). This organisation holds firmly one of the four *madhahib*<sup>16</sup> of traditionalist Muslim ideology.

The NU has committed to maintaining and developing the theological ideology of Sunni Islamic jurisprudence schools (madhabs) as the foundation of Islamic legal thought and considers the Shafi'i madhab as their primary jurisprudence school. The community in the NU hold the ideology of *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah* [Aswaja] as the main feature of the religious practices which adopts and accommodates the principles of the Sunni madhabs (Hanafi, Maliki,

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<sup>15</sup> KH. Abdurahman Wahid, popularly called Gus Dur is the fourth president of Indonesia, 1999 to 2001. He is *kiai*, the prominent religious leader and the former chief in PBNU.

<sup>16</sup> The traditionalist Muslim holds the ideology from four madzhab: the *Hanafi*, the *Maliki*, the *Shafii*, and the *Hanbali* schools as the Islamic teaching (Barton, 2002). However, practically, NU members mostly follow the Shafii school.

and Hanbali) as legitimate Islamic legal sources as well for the Islamic teaching (Burhani, 2012, pp. 573-574; Safitri, 2019). The Aswaja ideology in the NU is distinct from other Islamic groups that applied fundamental practices, such as Arabized forms of Islam and liberal orientation to the religious interpretation. To understand NU's present picture, it is important to know the history, particularly the conflict between modernists and traditionalists in Indonesia.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, modernist Muslims in Indonesia, for instance, in Java and West Sumatera<sup>17</sup> began a movement that was influenced by the Muslim world's Islamic movements, particularly the *Wahabist* group in the Middle East, promoted to return to Islamic purity. In Java, Yogyakarta exactly, Muhammadiyah was established by Ahmad Dahlan is one of the Muslim organisations that firmly hold to reform the Muslim movement<sup>18</sup>. One basic premise of the Islamic reform in Muhammadiyah was the assumption that tradition is the culprit for the backward condition of the Muslim society (Fuad, 2004). Since then, the Muhammadiyah movement with *tajdid* [reform] became the opposition with Muslim traditionalist groups that still maintain tradition or local culture inherent in their Islamic practices. For instance, assaulting and condemning traditionalist Muslims' religious practices, such as *qunut*, *tawassul*, *slametan*, and *tarekat*<sup>19</sup>. The Muslim modernists rejected those kinds of religious practices and regarded some of them as *bid'ah* [religious innovation], which had to be abandoned.

On the different side, the traditionalist Muslims that opposed the modernist Muslims argued that their religious practices were not *bid'ah* and contrary to Islamic teaching. As a result, there were religious disputes between the two groups, which consumed a great deal of energy, and time in arguing with one another (Ismail, 2011; Lukens-Bull, 2008). In responding to the modernist Muslim movements, *kiai*<sup>20</sup> and *ulama* from traditionalist Muslims established the organisation to protect their ideology from the modernist groups<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> The modernist Muslims aspired to go back to Qur'an and *Hadith* or return to pure Islam.

<sup>18</sup> Muhammadiyah was established on 18 November 1912 by Kiai Haji Ahmad Dahlan or called Muhammad Darwis. This organisation platform is an Islamic modernist reform movement that has opposition with the traditionalist groups.

<sup>19</sup> *Qunut* is reciting *do'a* in the morning prayer [*Subuh*]. *Tawassul* is giving *do'a* for the dead person or mentioning the name of the prophet or *ulama* while reciting *do'a*. *Slametan* are ritual activities to obtain blessing from God. In traditionalist Islam, it has become a tradition such as *slametan*: for the birth of a person and so forth (Ricklefs, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> The meaning of the title *kiai* has a similarity with the title *ulama*. However, *kiai* and *'ulama* are not used arbitrarily. In Java, *kiai* is gifted to the person who has great morality, religiosity, and religious knowledge of Islam.

<sup>21</sup> The modernist Muslims derived their inspiration and influence primarily from Wahhabism (Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792)). The ideas of reform were disseminated by Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897) (Ismail, 2011).

The embryo of the NU organisation formed when the *Sarekat Islam*<sup>22</sup> held the congress, namely, namely the *Komite Khilafat* [Caliphate Committee]. The *Komite Khilafat* was founded as a response to the Indonesian Muslim leaders, to the idea of the Egyptian government which planned to hold a congress in 1924 to establish a new caliphate. Later this committee also tried to narrow the gulf between modernists and traditionalists. This committee appointed Wondoamiseno of *Sarekat Islam* as the chairman, and its vice-chairman was K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah (Abdul Wahab) of the traditionalists. However, at the congress in Surabaya on 4 October 1924<sup>23</sup>, Abdul Wahab and his allies withdrew from the *Komite Khilafat*. Therefore, after being advised by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari<sup>24</sup>, they initiated the organization of the leading *kiai* and *ulama*' from several cities in Java. This committee became the *Komite Hijaz* (Hijaz Committee). They planned to meet directly with King Ibn Saud<sup>25</sup> to discuss religious matters that concerned them. This was an important manoeuvre of Abdul Wahab as a starting point of the birth of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

To realize his idea, on January 31, 1926, K.H. Abdul Wahab invited some prominent *ulama* to his house in Surabaya to discuss what they had talked about in their meetings in several cities (Surabaya, Pasuruan, Jember, Semarang, Lasem, and Pati) in Java. The leading *ulama* who attended the meeting were K.H. Hasyim Asya'ri of the Pesantren of Tebuireng (Jombang), K.H. Bisri Syamsuri of the Pesantren of Tambakberas (Jombang), K.H. Raden Asnawi of Kudus, Ma'mun of Lasem, Ridwan of Surabaya, H. Abdullah Ubaid of Surabaya, Alwi Abdul Aziz of Malang, H. Abdul Halim (Cirebon), H. Doro Muntaha of Bangkalan (Madura), Dahlan Abdul Qahar of Kertosono, and H. Abdullah Faqih of Gresik. This meeting resulted in two important decisions that would colour subsequent Indonesian Islamic history. Firstly, they formally established the *Komite Hijaz* whose term would end when its delegation returned from Saudi Arabia to Indonesia. Secondly, they established an organisation to act as an instrument for the '*ulama* to guide the Islamic community in achieving the glory of Islam and of the Muslims. Hence, this organisation, on the suggestion of K.H. Alwi Abdul Aziz, was called the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Thus, the NU was formally established in Surabaya, East Java, on

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<sup>22</sup> *Sarekat Islam Dagang Islam* (Islamic Trade Association, 1911) renamed Sarekat Islam in 1912 was an Islamic movement struggle for the economic interest against the Chinese big traders.

<sup>23</sup> The congress was held as a response by the Indonesian Muslim leaders to the idea of the Egyptian government which planned to hold a congress on the caliphate in 1924 to establish a new caliphate.

<sup>24</sup> K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari is a charismatic *kiai* for the traditionalist Muslim. His title Hadratus syeikh "Maha Guru" means "the great teacher" in the NU community. He was the first chief and the initiator of PBNU.

<sup>25</sup> The king of the government in Mecca. This delegation requested that Ibn Saud continue to maintain the teachings and practices of the four *madhahib* which had been applied before he came to power. The King responded positively to their requests by promising to respect the teachings and practices of the four schools of Islamic law.

January 31, 1926. The composition of this organization is found in Appendix 1 (a. composition of the NU board).

The executive board's composition consisted of *Syuriah* and *Tanfidziyah*. The *Syuriah* consisted of the *ulama*, who occupied the highest positions in the NU and served as its controllers, supervisors, and policymakers. Meanwhile, *Tanfidziyah* were to be the executors of the day-to-day activities of the NU in accordance with the policies and decisions made by the *Syuriah*.

The leaders and the members of NU played an active role in the fight for Indonesian independence and were in some periods, involved in the political contestation. The first period was from 1926 until 1945, during which the NU existed as a socio-religious organisation. In the second period, from 1945 until 1952, NU joined a federative political organisation called the *Masyumi* (*Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia*, or Indonesian Muslim Consultative Council). *Masyumi* was the only Islamic political party that was expected to accommodate Islamic political aspirations in Indonesia.

The NU became an independent political party from 1952 until 1973, when due to the New Order (Orba) regulation it was obliged to unite with the other Muslim parties. From 1973 until 1984, the NU became part of the PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*, or United Development Party). From 1984 until now, the NU has returned to its original purpose as a socio-religious organisation<sup>26</sup> (Ismail, 2011). However, this position became much more complicated in 1998 after the stepping-down of President Soeharto and when Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) declared the National Awakening Party (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*, PKB). Gus Dur declared PKB was based largely on an NU constituency, and this became even more significant when he decided to run for the presidency. It is a clear sign, that although NU is a socio-religious organisation, the synergy between PKB and Gus Dur in the past showed how the NU could not be separated from the political sphere particularly when elite figures within the NU circle availed their organisation for political purpose. In other words, to some extent, the NU needs political support to advance the organisation and vice versa. This success and relation can repeatedly be seen in the 2018 East Java regional elections (Fikom, Sumartias, Hidayat, & Sugiana, 2021) and the presidential election of 2019. Therefore, in Indonesia's

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<sup>26</sup> The NU withdrew from formal politics as part of the *Kembali ke Khittah 1926* (Return to the Guidelines of 1926). The adoption of Khittah 1926 at NU's Situbondo National Congress (*Muktamar Nasional*) in 1984 represented a victory for a group of intellectuals and activists over the politicians who had dominated NU for decades (Barton, 2002, p. 49).

political context, the endorsement of the NU still becomes a determining factor for the victory of the next president in 2024.

### 1.3.1 The nature of Islam Nusantara and its controversial aspects

Currently, Islam Nusantara is the main topic of discussion among Muslim scholars and activists, mainly when it was introduced as the new brand of NU. Islam Nusantara's theme was officially declared at the *Muktamar Nasional* (National Congress) in Jombang 2015 (Burhani, 2018; Upal & Cusack, 2021)<sup>27</sup>. Since then, the term *Islam Nusantara*, or “Archipelagic Islam”, began to be referred to in various discourses and public discussions. Islam Nusantara (henceforth IN) is understood as a way of religion that is gentle, peaceful, tolerant, anti-violent, and able to dialogue with diverse local cultures. The diversity in this context is considered to be an expression of Islam that is most in line with the heterogeneous character of the Indonesian nation in terms of religion, ethnicity, race, language, and culture (AF & Sahrasad, 2019). Islam Nusantara presents the uniqueness of Islam by linking it with the locality found in the archipelago which differentiates it from Arab-Islamic culture and to promote a tolerant, and moderate attitude for Muslims with a nationalist message (Upal & Cusack, 2021).

According to SAS (the chairman of PBNU), IN can protect Indonesian Muslims from the influence of liberalism and radicalism (Burhani, 2018, p. 21). There are four features of Islam Nusantara: (1) *al-rūh al dīniyyah* [religious spirit], (2) *al-rūh al-wataniyyah* [nationalistic spirit], (3) *al-rūh al-ta'addudiyyah* [plurality spirit], and (4) *al-rūh al-insāniyyah* [humanity spirit]. Given the context, IN has characteristics designed to be peaceful, tolerant, friendly, and primarily directed to counter the radical groups' character. Further, the nurture of Islam Nusantara's concept was inspired by the *da'wah of the nine saints* [Wali Songo<sup>28</sup>] as the predecessor of the traditionalist Muslims' tradition (Schmidt, 2021).

Within the NU community, IN is not a new term; it is the manifestation of the intellectual ideas that derive from Gus Dur's idea in the 1980s and 1990s; the concept is about the indigenisation of Islam, or “pribumisasi Islam” (Burhani, 2018; Fitriah, 2013). This fulfils Gus Dur's idea about an expression of Indonesian Islamic identity, religious orthodoxy, and authenticity.

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<sup>27</sup> Nusantara is the Indonesian word for the Indonesian Archipelago, rooted from the time of the Majapahit Kingdom when Patih Gajah Mada declared his oath in 1336 to unite the whole ‘outside’ islands under the Majapahit power (Evers, 2016; Vlekke, 1965).

<sup>28</sup> Wali Songo is believed by the traditionalist Muslim as the nine saints [Wali Songo] that spread out the inclusive *da'wah* in Java. See Atlas Walisongo (2016) for more historical background on the role of *Wali Songo* in Islamic *da'wah* in Java in the post Majapahit Kingdom.

Further, the notion of *Pribumisasi Islam* is not only a starting point for cultural awareness. It is also a protest against the old perception of Islam in Indonesia.

Elites and cadres within NU's community argue that IN is the typology of Islam in Indonesia. They believe that this concept offers the inclusive religious practice that can be emulated in any part of the world to fight intolerant groups and radicalism (Burhani, 2018). At the state level, Islam Nusantara's concept is the counterbalance to the NIM or fundamental Islamic groups that seem incompatible with pluralist and heterogeneous society. Even further, Jokowi promoted IN as the typology of "Moderate Islam" in his campaign for an Islamic Indonesia (Mietzner, 2020). To disseminate this concept, within his cabinet, the idea of moderate Islam became the main agenda for the counteraction of radical Islam or the NIM (Upal & Cusack, 2021).

However, to the *Salafi-Wahabi* and its affiliation, such as HTI, Islam Nusantara's concept is misleading and irrelevant for Islamic teaching, particularly in Indonesia. According to these groups, labelling Islam with *Nusantara* is inappropriate because Islam has ultimate/divine guidance. Like Salafi-Wahabi and its affiliation, Muslim groups in West Sumatra rejected the linking of Islam with Islam Nusantara (Ridwan, Syahputra, Tarigan, & Siregar, 2019). They argue that Islam is a religion that has reached peak perfection. This context of rejection may explain why Sumatra is the basis of the modernist Muslim movements, particularly at the beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, the rejection of Islam Nusantara's concept reflects on the past ideological conflict between traditionalist Muslim and modernist Muslims<sup>29</sup>. Wahabi-Salafi<sup>30</sup> movements inspired modernist group movements in Saudi Arabia, but they have not been as successful in Indonesia.

Surprisingly, although Islam Nusantara has been declared officially in Jombang 2015, within the NU communities, there was a rejection of this concept. For instance, KH. Idrus Ramli<sup>31</sup> from NU straight path *Garis Lurus*<sup>32</sup> said that the NU *Garis Lurus* wants to protect NU's

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<sup>29</sup> See the conflict between the Padri and the *adat* chiefs which resulted in the outbreak of the Padri War (Ismail, 2011).

<sup>30</sup> *Wahabi* is the movement that was inspired by the idea of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (1703-1792). They aspired to purify the Islamic teaching based on Qur'an and *Hadith*. Meanwhile Salafi is the Islamic movement that has aims similar like. Salafi movements in Indonesia proliferated and were inspired by the global dynamics of Muslim countries, particularly the Salafis' mushrooming in the Arab region. The scholars identified that Salafi and Wahabi are similar (Meijer, 2009).

<sup>31</sup> Preacher or Kiai in NU, East Java, was born in 1975. He graduated from Pesantren Sidogiri, Pasuruan East Java in 2004.

<sup>32</sup> The literal meaning of *garis lurus* is "straight path". In Indonesian and Islamic terminology, however, straight path is understood as "true path" or "correct path".



original aim and principles as *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah*<sup>33</sup>. For this reason, Islam does not need to be “localized” or “Indonesianized”. They reject any adjectives to the term of Islam, as they want “only Islam” or “pure Islam”. Like the NU *Garis Lurus*, Hasyim Muzadis’ group, particularly in East Java, rejects the idea of Islam Nusantara (Arifianto, 2017). Hasyim Muzadi is the previous chairman of PBNU two terms (2000-2010), replacing his predecessor KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur).

### **1.3.2 The contemporary political context and Islam Nusantara**

As a socio-religious organisation, NU played an essential role in the establishment of the Indonesian state and in the war to liberate Indonesia from colonialism (Ismail, 2011; Ricklefs, 2012). Therefore, in the current Indonesian political context, NU has become the leading Islamic organization with more than 90 million members. As a result, the NU is one of the most researched and important Islamic organisations. In relation to state policy, NU actively supports governmental anti-radicalist/extremist campaigns, but NU also works to reform projects regarding the inclusive religious practice and religion-state relationship, arguing that devotion to Islam and support for Indonesian secular government are without contradiction (Burhanudin & Dijk, 2013, p. 45).

The spirit of IN is directed against the new Islamic movements (NIM) that flourished in Indonesia. The concept of IN is without ignoring local culture, an inclusive Islamic practice (Burhani, 2018; Woodward, 2017). In the political context, the existence of radicalism has become a threat to unity, religious tolerance, and social harmony. Indonesia is pluralist, consisting of various ethnic groups, religions, customs or traditions, and differences in other regional respects (Ma'arif, 2020).

IN represents a response to both protect traditionalist ideology and counter transnational radical movements. Concurrently, the NU movement correlated with the effort of government concerns and efforts to fight radicalism. As identified by the *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme* [National Agency for Combating Terrorism, or BNPT], radical groups' characteristics are easy to identify from other Muslim religious practices (Burhani, 2018). Further, for the religious practice, these groups only follow their *ustadz*, and it is in line with

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<sup>33</sup> The Islamic teaching which has continued to adhere to the thoughts and opinions of the *ulama* regarding the concepts of Islamic law, *tafsir* [exegesis of the Qur’an], and *kalam* [Islamic theology] which were developed from the seventh century (prophetic era, *sahabat* and *tabiin*) until the Thirteenth Century (Ismail, 2011).

Salafi groups' movements. Indeed, radical groups tend to have exclusive religiosity and will lead individuals or groups to extremism and terrorism<sup>34</sup>.

### 1.3.3 The politics within NU and SAS political manoeuvre

NU is ostensibly a non-political organisation that follows the ideology of traditional Islam *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah*. It is because many elites and figures within the NU engage with the political sphere, including both individuals and groups within the organisation. For instance, the competition in the Gubernatorial election in East Java 2018 among the NU cadre<sup>35</sup>: this competition showed how elites and figures in the NU used their position both directly and indirectly to capitalise on their followers to win the Gubernatorial election in East Java 2018 (Fikom et al., 2021).

The uniqueness of the NU lies in the characteristics of having a symbolic leader or charismatic leader within the community. For example, in each *pesantren* or region, a figure of *kiai* can control their members or *santri*. Given the context, the NU circle is distinct, when compared with other Muslim organisations, such as Muhammadiyah. As the majority of members are from the traditionalist Muslim community, NU has deep roots in the villages as their basis of members. Given its role as a socio-religious organisation, NU serves the *umma*, or their members depend on the role of '*ulama* and *kiai* to navigate the organisation. Therefore, *kiai* becomes the main pillar to serve the organisation, they become a strong influential person in moulding the social, cultural, political, and religious life at *pesantren* and in the Muslim community, particularly in traditionalist Muslim groups. The meaning of the title *kiai* has a similarity with the title *ulama*<sup>36</sup>. The next pillar in the NU circle is *pesantren* (Islamic boarding), it is a place for studying traditional Islamic education, consisting of *kiai* and *santri*<sup>37</sup> (Baso et al., 2017; Dhofier, 1980; Geertz, 1985). Thus, within NU, the three pillars of *kiai*, *santri* and *pesantren* interrelate with each other in maintaining and supporting the organisation.

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<sup>34</sup> See Rosadi, A., (2019) "The Dynamics of Salafism in Pekanbaru: From Deprived Muslims to a Community of Memory", and (Erdianto, 2017) "Kapolri: Islam Nusantara Bisa Menangkal Radikalisme".

<sup>35</sup> Khofifah, as the chief of *Muslimat* NU (she becomes East Java Governor 2019-2023) competes with Saifullah Yusuf. Both governor candidates (Khafifah and Saifullah) have similar backgrounds as elites in the NU.

<sup>36</sup> A figure who has good morality, religiosity, and a deep religious knowledge of Islam. *Kiai* and *ulama* have special qualities, such as fearing and obeying God, understanding, and carrying out the message of the Prophet, being sensitive to the interests of the Muslim community, having good knowledge of religion, and devoting their knowledge to the God's purpose.

<sup>37</sup> *Santri* is the popular name for an Islamic student who studies at a *pesantren* [ a traditional Islamic school]. According to a report made by the Indonesian Department of Religious Affairs, there were 28.194 thousand *pesantren* and 5 million *santri* living at *pesantren* in Indonesia 2020. See Geertz (1985), the classification of Javanese people; *Santri, Priyayi and Abangan*. See also Baso, Sunyoto, and Mummaziq (2017); Ismail (2011)

In the post-Soeharto era, NU's leaders played a dynamic political role in contributing to the establishment of the state. For instance, Khofifah Indar Parawansa<sup>38</sup>, KH. Ma'ruf Amin<sup>39</sup>, Gus Dur<sup>40</sup>, Hasyim Muzadi<sup>41</sup>, Said Agil Siradj (SAS) and so forth. In this context, NU tends to have a more political role as the dominant religious organization in Indonesia. Another reason for this role is that the overwhelming majority of NU leaders have a strong foundation and background in the living tradition of *pesantren* and *kiai* lineage, so its social capital makes a significant contribution to the political domain. Through the figure of *ulama* and *kiai*, they can be used to mobilise *santri* and former *santri* for political purposes within NU. For traditionalist Muslims, the figures of *ulama* and *kiai* are respected and directly influence their community. Therefore, in both local and national contexts, a figure of *kiai* has a significant role to play in the political sphere (Geertz, 1985).

Given this context, NU's leaders tended to perform an accommodative political role when the government used repressive action against the Muslim opposition. Therefore, many Modernist and Western scholars saw NU as a social organisation that easily compromises its Islamic ideals, to gain material benefit particularly for religious dominance. Additionally, this manoeuvre was regarded as negative and it was characterised as opportunistic (Damm, 2018). By contrast, Fealy (2009) tried to understand NU with a more sympathetic view, preferring to interpret opportunism as a kind of flexibility in responding to the ever-changing situation of Indonesian socio-political life. For the NU, this flexibility indicates one effort to protect their ideology and *umma* from the threat of the NIM groups or radical groups that have flourished. Therefore, it is not surprising that under SAS' leadership, NU played a sensitive role by supporting its cadre as the running mate Jokowi<sup>42</sup>. Though not involved in the political contestation directly, SAS's tactics often intersect with a political issue, and they triggered a public dispute. For instance, SAS's statements bolstered support for the victory of Jokowi in his second term (see SAS 04 line 10). As a result, SAS often received personal criticism, even at the institution, due to his controversial comments.

SAS is the current chairman of the executive council of NU (PBNU), and he has the lineage of *kiai* and strong connections with *pesantren*. Accordingly, his speeches either consist of

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<sup>38</sup> The current Governor of East Java. She is the chief of Muslimat NU (2016-2021).

<sup>39</sup> The current vice president of the Republic of Indonesia. The former of chairman of Ulema Council of Indonesia (MUI). He is also the former of chief of PBNU (*Rais Aam* of PBNU)

<sup>40</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, colloquially known as Gus Dur, the former president of the Republic of Indonesia, 1999-2001.

<sup>41</sup> The chairman of PBNU, 1999-2010. Hasyim Muzadi was the founder and director of the Al-Hikam Islamic boarding school.

<sup>42</sup> K.H. Ma'ruf Amin is a *Rais Aam* [Supreme leader] in NU. Jokowi elected Ma'ruf Amin as his running mate in that election (2019). He has become the Jokowi vice president in his second term (2019-2024).

religious or political issues; and they have attracted the interest of intellectual Muslims. Therefore, cross dispute and debate in the Muslim community emerged when introducing Islam Nusantara as a typology of Islam in Indonesia (Burhani, 2018; Ridwan et al., 2019). Despite having a critical and provocative prominence in society, SAS keeps campaigning on this platform by producing numerous statements through his speeches. As the proponent of Muslim traditionalists and its supporters, Islam Nusantara is firm in its role to counter radicalism and intolerant groups. Meanwhile, other Muslim groups argue that Islam Nusantara is irrelevant because Islam as a religion has the ultimate authority and does not need other attributes.

#### **1.4 Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) background**

KH. Said Agil Siradj (SAS) is the religious leader and the current chairman of NU's executive council [Ketum PBNU], from 2010 to 2020 (two periods). In NU, SAS is one of the most prominent and formidable Islamic thinkers after Gus Dur. He was born 3 July 1953 in Cirebon (Faizun, 2017; Siroj, 2006). He is the second son of five brothers in his family. He has a lineage of *kiai* from the family background. His father, *kiai* Agil Siradj continued with the *pesantren Kempek* in Cirebon that he inherited from his parent, the grandfather of Said Agil Siradj (SAS). Therefore, from the family side, SAS inherited the lineage of the *pesantren* family.

SAS has an extensive academic background in Islamic studies, both in-country and overseas. In-country, he attended elementary school in Cirebon and continued his education in the Islamic traditionalist school in Ponpes Lirboyo Kediri and Ponpes Al-Munawir Krapyak Yogyakarta. As a brilliant student, SAS attended university in Saudi Arabia, graduating first from King Abdul Azis University in Saudi Arabia with a bachelor's degree in *Ushuluddin* with *da'wah* as a major. Also, SAS studied at Ummul-Qura University with a master's degree majoring in comparative religion and then a doctorate in Islamic philosophy (Faizun, 2017; Harun, 2015; Siroj, 2006).

From his youth, SAS has actively engaged in socio-religious activities. Therefore, after completing his studies, he returned to Indonesia, teaching at different universities including PTIQ (Institute for Qur'anic Studies) and at the Post Graduate School of Syarif Hidayatullah Islamic State University. Concurrently with his teaching activities at the universities, SAS promoted issues on fighting, anti-discrimination and upholding human rights. In 1998, SAS

became Indonesia's National Commission for Human Rights (TGPF)<sup>43</sup>. SAS is recognised as one of the world's most influential Muslim leaders (Themuslim500, 2021).

Politically, SAS was the secretary of the Indonesian Islamic Students Movements (PMII, *Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia*) in Yogyakarta while studying at Ponpes Krapyak. Then, while studying in Makkah, he was chief of the Student Family of Nahdlatul Ulama (KMNU, *Keluarga Mahasiswa Nahdlatul Ulama*) from 1983 to 1987. In 1999, at the 30<sup>th</sup> congress of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Ponpes Lirboyo Kediri, SAS became the chairman. During the congress, he was elected as *Rais Syuriah* PBNU from 1999 to 2004. Then, in 2010, SAS became chairman of the executive council of NU (PBNU). Under his leadership, the NU network has expanded into 30 regions with 339 branches, 12 specialised branches, 2,630 representative councils, and 37,125 sub-branch representative councils across Indonesia (Themuslim500, 2021). SAS has utilised his background to propagate NU as a traditionalist Muslim organisation geared toward establishing the modern and moderate Muslim in the world. Under his leadership, to counter radicalism and extremism, SAS seeks to expand the organisation into educational development, anti-corruption, and measures for social reform, all rooted deeply in Islamic principles.

### **1.5 The Significance and rationale of the research**

Because of SAS' prominence in the NU movement, in Indonesian political and religious power circles, and because of his expertise in employing his scholarly knowledge of Islam in his public speeches, he is a subject worthy of research. Additionally, the campaign of Islam Nusantara as the typology of moderate Islam has attracted the scholarly attention of Muslim scholars and activists. This issue is addressed to counter radical ideology that became the major concern in the Jokowi government. Therefore, the material analysis of the theme and subject of this research is a worthy and important study. The material analysis is important, particularly in giving the insight that language analysis can through language description, contribute to the point of view in Islamic discourse.

This study goes beyond the accounts of the speech analysis on the religious theme and delves into the identification of the meaning of utterances and the register of the speaker. The types of illocutionary acts and registers are used to identify and describe the speakers' utterance meaning. In the context of analysis, forms of the register are used to identify and describe the speaker's terms in the Islam Nusantara (IN) discourse. Additionally, illocutionary acts are used

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<sup>43</sup> The Investigation team for human rights or *Tim Gabungan Pencari Fakta* (TGPF), was formed to investigate the heartbreaking incident that happened after the downfall of New Order Regime, 1998.

to reveal the meaning and intention of the speaker's utterances in his speeches. Thus, the significance of this study contributes to the spoken discourse and the analysis of religious speeches. The Speech Act Theory (SAT) analysis and registers will be the insight and contribute to the pragmatics study.

## **CHAPTER 2.**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter aims to establish the framework of Speech Act Theory, Discourse Analysis and Register for the study. This part gives information about the essential tenets of speech analysis within the Speech Act Theory (SAT), while Discourse Analysis and Register are presented in Section 2.2, and further elaboration is given in subsections 2.2.1, 2.2.2, 2.2.3, 2.2.3.1, 2.2.3.2, 2.2.4, and 2.2.5. In section 2.3 reviews a sample of previous analyses of various world leaders' formal speeches and presents a thematic discussion of Islam Nusantara. Then, research gaps in 2.4 and 2.5 for research questions. Therefore, in this research the discussion will concentrate on Speech Act analysis, Discourse Analysis and Register as the backbone of the study to describe the Islam Nusantara texts.

This chapter is important for further insight, following Chapter 1, specifically from the perspective of language analysis. The emphasis in this part will connect the speech analysis in terms of Islam Nusantara in Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speeches as a part of the Islamic discourse in the contemporary Indonesian political context with the language analysis as the framework.

#### **2.2 Speech Act Theory, Discourse Analysis and Register**

Speech Act Theory is a part of the Pragmatics study that discusses speech analysis, both written and spoken. This theory is often used by scholars to explain the speech analysis and the interpretation of the meaning of the speaker's utterance for the particular context as well as how the context influences what is said (Yule, 1996). Historically, this concept was initiated by the Oxford philosopher J.L. Austin through his lectures in the period from 1952 to 1954, which were finally published posthumously with the title "How to do things with words" in 1962 (Huang, 2007, p. 93). Then, the Speech Act Theory was further developed by Searle (1979), who explained that the central tenet is the analysis of utterances.

Today, Speech Act Theory has developed in various ways. For instance, the explanation of the description of characteristics and validities was carried out, especially by Austin and Searle, and has developed with the Speech Act strategies developed by Parker and Riley (2010). In this study, the application of Speech Act Theory and Discourse Analysis is expected to contribute to the revelation of the meaning in the speaker's utterances. Discourse Analysis can help to describe the context of the speaker's utterances in the Speech Act Theory analysis.

Furthermore, Speech Act Theory is an important theory for the analysis of the speaker's utterances. Building on ideas utilised from Pragmatics theory, analysis can evidence that the speaker can perform one kind of act with various types of utterances and contrarily, one type of utterance can be used to express many kinds of speech acts (Wijana, 2021).

Furthermore, the discourse itself can be applied to describe the act of the discourse context in the speaker's utterances. In relation to that context, discourse can mean a stretch of talk or text, including semiotic icons, as well as a form of knowledge and the social processes of production and consumption (N. L. Fairclough, 1985). For instance, the speaker produces numerous terms such as *tahlilan*, *slametan*, *istighosah*, *mauludan* and many others. Given the context, SAS produced those terms to describe the samples of religious practices for his discourse on Islam Nusantara (IN). Based on the ideological context, by producing those terms, the speaker wants to inform the religious practices within the NU community.

For the social context, the position of the religious leader is a dominant factor in the sustainability of the organisation, especially in the Muslim community. It is because they become role models which means their voices are always listened to and respected. Therefore, many politicians attract religious figures to the world of politics for both personal and institutional purposes. Further, as it relates to the religious leader within the institutional circle, the theory of discourse can highlight the contribution of language and has the power to show how some people dominate others (N. Fairclough, 1989). Given the context, SAS's speech utterances and his position as a prominent Muslim scholar and a leader in the NU circle have given him the capacity to influence his community to promote IN discourse.

The spirit of tolerance and inclusive Islamic teaching has become the major issue in promoting IN. It is in line with SAS's speech utterances in introducing IN as a new brand of the NU to his community and to influence the Muslim society in the wider scope for a tolerant Islam in Indonesia. In order to attract public attention, SAS promoted IN through his speeches by using clever communication strategies. For that reason, he performed various utterances, such as adopting some Arabic-language terms (borrowings) that can attract public sympathy, particularly with his followers. SAS's speech terms can be found within his speech structure segment, such as in the opening, content and closing segments. Therefore, to understand SAS's speech utterances on IN, this study availed Discourse Analysis as developed by Fairclough (N. Fairclough, 1995a) to analyze the discourse context. The following is a sample excerpt, with Arabic-language expressions included in italics, and with translated equivalents in brackets:

[3]



## Data 01

Listen! Listen! *Syuhuudan siyasiyan* [role of politics]. So, in 2019, we must be the winner in order that NU plays a role *syuhuudan siyaasiyyan* [role of politics], *syuhuudan* [role]? *Siyaasiyyan* [politics], *siyaasiyyan* [politics]. (SAS's Speech 01)

The above excerpt gives insight and considers how the speaker produces and constructs his argumentation using the Arabic language that refers to Islamic terms, to inform and explain to his audience. In this context the speaker wants to show his authority and influence for a particular purpose, such as persuasiveness on a political issue for the presidential election in 2019<sup>44</sup>. Furthermore, the attendance of hundreds of thousands of members of the NU at that moment prompted a positive public perception of the existence of both symbolic and psychological power in the current political context. Therefore, it is essential for SAS as a leader, to build emotional salience related to persons or objects within his community that may evoke socio-psychological processes of group identification (Schäffner, 1997).

Contrarily, SAS's movements in promoting IN had been identified by the out-groups of the NU communities as a kind of political manoeuvre. Based on the political perspective, SAS's manoeuvre correlated with Charteris-Black's description of political construction. He states that politics is concerned with acquiring, maintaining and sustaining power, how resources are collected and how social actions are harmonised for predetermined purposes (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 4).

There are special terms or special language within SAS's speech utterances that can be categorized as Register. Many scholars mention that Register is special language which used in the community and it is a part of the Sociolinguistic study which deals with language usage in society (Wardhaugh, 2015, p. 72). For further exploration on SAS's speech utterances, this study adopts the theory of Register to describe and identify the meaning of terms within the speaker's utterances. This framework is important to connect Discourse Analysis with whatever registers are used in speech to describe the social and political context around speech events. The context of politics can refer to any circumstances that are happening, forming the setting for an event, the statement, or idea, and the speech that can be fully understood. Meanwhile, the speech event refers to any circumstances surrounding the utterances, including other utterances. For further understanding on the case of SAS's speech here is the description from Charteris-Black about political speech:

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<sup>44</sup> The political context in Indonesia in 2019.

I define a political speech as a coherent stream of spoken language that is usually prepared for delivery by a speaker to an audience for a specific purpose on a political occasion. Broadly speaking, there are two main classes of political speech: the first is concerned with the making of political decisions; and the second, with establishing shared values. We may think of the first type as policymaking and the second as consensus building (Charteris-Black, 2013, p. xiii).

Furthermore, to interpret the discourse context of communication, Hymes (1974) paid attention to the speaker and participant, which involved the communication and consideration of the aspects of SPEAKING. That is, this acronym consists of “S” for setting and scene; “P” for participants; “E” for ends; “A” for act sequences; “K” for key; “I” for instrumentalities; “N” for norms of interaction, and “G” for genre. Furthermore, this acronym is explained in detail, below:

“S” for *Setting and Scene*: Setting refers to the time and place of the concrete physical circumstances in which speech occurs. The scene refers to the abstract psychological setting or the cultural definition of the occasion. “P” for *Participants* includes various combinations of speaker-listener. “E” for *Ends* refers to the conventionally recognised and expected outcomes of the exchange as well as to the personal goals that participants seek to accomplish on particular occasions. Then, “A” for *Act sequence* refers to the actual form and content of what is said. “K” for *Key* in the context of the speech, the speaker offers cues as how to interpret the message content: it also refers to the tone, manner, or spirit in which a particular message is conveyed, such as serious, precise, pedantic, mocking, sarcastic, pompous, and so on. The next point is “I” for *Instrumentalities* referring to the choice of the channel, such as oral, written, or telegraphic, and to the actual form of speech employed, such as the language, dialect, code, or Register that is chosen. Then for “N”, is *Norms of interaction*, referring to how the speaker interacts with the listeners, formally and or informally, or by using some code or Register. Lastly, “G” for *Genre* relates to clearly demarcated types of utterance, such things as poems, proverbs, riddles, sermons, prayers, lectures, and editorials.

Further elaboration on the terms of SAT, Discourse Analysis, and Register are described in the following subsections:

### **2.2.1 Speech Act Theory (SAT)**

Speech is part of communication dealing with social activity which involves more than one person such as the speaker and hearer. In this context, the speaker can perform a series of words or sentences of language to convey their message to the hearer (receiver). The speaker conveys

the message using direct or indirect utterances. In language analysis, particularly in the field of Pragmatics, the communication between the speaker and hearer can be described further by Speech Act Theory (SAT).

Speech Act Theory (SAT) is a part of pragmatic discussion which relates to what a certain sentence and utterance communicate between speaker and hearer. Yule (1996) states that SAT is the study of how the speakers and hearers use language. Meanwhile, according to Austin (1962, p. 6), a Speech Act is, “To utter the sentence (in, of course, the appropriate circumstances) is not to describe my doing of what a person should be said in so uttering to be doing or to state that a person is doing it: it is to do it”. This means by saying something, we are doing something. In other words, Speech Acts are actions that are performed via utterances (Cutting, 2002).

As described above, SAT has an important role in Pragmatics for interpreting the speaker’s utterances during the communication. It is because the speaker has a central role in producing the utterances. Throughout the act of sorting words or language, the speaker can influence, command, prohibit and provide other requests to the hearer. Therefore, SAT is an important aspect in examining the speaker's utterances and their meaning, both expressed and hidden. Yule (1996) further defines Speech Acts as actions performed via utterances within the specific label such as an apology, complaint, compliment, invitation, promise, or request. The speaker may perform several words or sentences in the act of actions. For example, when a speaker says, “Close the window”, it means the speaker performs the act of ordering and expects the hearer to recognise the speaker’s intention by closing the window. Actions performed when the speakers utter the sentence are called Speech Acts. This idea shows that when people make statements, they not only utter sounds or words with grammatical structure, but they also perform some actions in speaking.

### **2.2.1.1 Direct and Indirect Speech Act**

Speech Act can be classified into Direct Speech Acts and Indirect Speech Acts. A different approach to identify the type of Speech Acts is to make a distinction based on the Speech Act literature, between directness and indirectness. This relates the Speech Acts to the analysis of Basic Sentence Types and three structural forms (Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative). The basic sentence analysis for SA can be recognised from the three general communicative functions (statement, question, command/request) (Yule, 1996, p. 54). The examples are as follows.

- [4] a. You wear a seat a belt. (Declarative)  
 b. Do you wear a seat belt? (Interrogative)  
 c. Wear a seat belt! (Imperative)

It means that whenever there is a direct relationship between structure and function, it is a direct Speech Act. Otherwise, whenever there is an indirect relationship between structure and function, it is an Indirect Speech Act. The sample [4a] above using the Declarative statement is a direct Speech Act, but it is an indirect speech act whenever a Declarative is used to make a request.

- [5] a. it's cold outside.  
 b. I hereby tell you about the weather.  
 c. I hereby request of you that you close the door.

The utterance [5a] above is a Declarative. Whenever the utterance is used to make a statement, such as in [5b], it functions as a direct Speech Act. Furthermore, whenever it is used to make a request or command, such as in [5c], it is an indirect Speech Act (Yule, 1996, p. 55).

In a communicative event, indirect Speech Acts are generally used and associated with greater politeness than direct Speech Acts. Similarly, Leech (1983) states that the indirect Speech Acts tend to be more polite because of the increasing optionality, and it diminishes their force. Furthermore, in the theory of Speech Acts, there is a customary distinction between the direct Speech Act, where the speaker says what they mean, and the indirect Speech Act where they mean something more than what they say (Searle, 1979).

### **2.2.1.2 Illocutionary Force**

In relation to the act of the speaker's utterances, Speech Act has an Illocutionary Act as the important part for spoken discourse of analysis. The Illocutionary Act is a form of an utterance with some kind of function in the speaker's mind (Yule, 1996). The Illocutionary Act is an instance of a culturally defined speech act type characterised by a particular Illocutionary Force. For instance, they are promising, advising, or warning. This action is performed via the communicative force of an utterance known as the Illocutionary Force, which is the speaker's intention in producing the utterance. According to Yule (1996, p. 48), the Illocutionary Force is the utterance performed via the communicative force of an utterance. This means the speaker assumed that the hearer would recognize the intended Illocutionary Force. Based on this

perspective, the speaker must consider two things: Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID) and Felicity Conditions.

#### **2.2.1.2.1 Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)**

An Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (henceforth IFID) comprises any elements which can be literally used to indicate that an utterance of a sentence containing that element, has a certain Illocutionary Force or range of Illocutionary Forces. It is an expression to show what the illocutionary force of an utterance is. The scholars mentioned intonation contour and stress, word order, mood, and performative verbs as examples of IFID (Searle & Vanderveken, 1985). The Performative verb is the most obvious device in IFID because the speakers do not always perform their speech act explicitly, but they sometimes describe the speech act being performed. The performative verb is often realised in the form of performative sentences in presenting this, and the speaker performs the performative verb by representing himself as performing the act. Here is the example (performative verb italicized) : (5a) “I *promise* that I will come tomorrow”, (5b) “I *apologize* for what I have done” (Searle & Vanderveken, 1985, p. 3).

In this research, the speaker’s (SAS) utterances which are indicating performative form, can be identified. In this context, the speaker performed the performative form to represent himself for his future action. Here is the example in the utterance: [6] SAS 01, line 29: “In the national congress of NU 2020, *I will not run* for the next term. Please others, anyone, I don't have any candidate...”. This excerpt showed how the speaker performed the act of promise. The speaker uttered that he will not run for the next election to become the NU leader for the third term. It expresses a certain illocutionary force.

#### **2.2.1.2.2 Felicity Conditions**

Speech Act is at the heart of Pragmatic studies; however, there is limited research found in analysing the topic of Felicity Conditions. Felicity Conditions are an essential discussion in Pragmatics studies since they provide a sufficient explanation of utterances that cannot be explained by using truth-conditional semantics. An utterance of the speaker cannot be said as true or false only by considering whether it fits the world. For instance, a promise will be felicitous if the one who makes it fulfils it in the future; consequently, a promise cannot be made in the past. The following is the example:

[7] a. I would come to your wedding party.

b. I will come to your wedding party

The utterance in [7a] is not a promise since it is produced in the past; therefore, the right utterance for a promise is [7b]. The use of the verb *would* instead of *will* does not meet the condition of a promise because the propositional content in which a speaker predicts a future act is not fulfilled. Therefore, some conditions of an utterance will lead the speaker to produce felicitous utterances. Felicity Conditions in SAT also offer a description of conditions for the successful performance of the different Illocutionary Acts (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001, p. 84).

Furthermore, the application of Felicity Conditions can be found within pluralist Indonesian society, such as represented in the Banyumas<sup>45</sup> people in their daily communication. A study of Felicity Conditions was conducted by Hadiati (2019). She conducted the research on the Banyumas dialect by using descriptive analysis. She collected the data of the research from instances of natural communication in the daily conversation in the Banyumas dialect. The study revealed that the language phenomena in Banyumas indicated that what the people say and say what the people mean in daily practice can be pragmatically inferred through it. The finding of this research shows that Felicity Conditions of the Banyumas' dialect are realized in five Speech Acts: Representatives, Directives, Commissive, Expressives, and Declarations.

In particular, Hadiati's research found that the realization of the Felicity Conditions of Representative happened (in the natural conversation between mother and a daughter): in this context, a mother describes the quality of Javanese peanuts compared to Indian peanuts. Meanwhile, the realization of the Felicity Conditions of the Expressive occurs when the speaker admires the quality of the Javanese peanut. This is a kind of feeling or evaluation of certain things within the conversation. Then, the realization of Felicity Conditions for the Directive happened when a man comes to his neighbour to deliver a message. Felicity Conditions of Commissive were found in the conversation while the speaker promises to deliver the goods at four o'clock to the hearer (neighbour). Finally, the Felicity Conditions of Declaration are found when a man who is in debt to his friend intends to pay his debt.

Felicity Conditions were initially postulated by Austin (1962). He stated that an utterance was not merely an utterance; a speaker does something through the utterance. By uttering something, a speaker also performs an action. As such, the utterance does not necessarily conform to truth-conditional sentences.

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<sup>45</sup> Banyumas is a part of a region in Central Java, Indonesia. In this region, the people have *Ngapak* language for communication within the society. Hadiati conducted this research titled "Felicity Conditions of the Speech Acts in Banyumasan Daily Conversation"(2019).

Austin in Levinson (1983, p. 229) states that an utterance must have at least three conditions, known as the Felicity Conditions, as follows:

- a. (i) There must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect.  
(ii) The circumstances and persons must be appropriate, as specified in the procedure.
- b. The procedure must be executed (i) correctly and (ii) completely.
- c. Typically, (i) the person must have the requisite thoughts, feelings, and intention, as specified in the procedure, and (ii) if consequent conduct is specified, then the relevant parties must respond appropriately.

In a further development, Searle introduced four conditions in order for the utterance to be felicitous: preparatory condition; propositional content; sincerity condition, and essential condition (Searle, 1969). The preparatory condition is a conventional procedure of the utterance, such as when a speaker can perform an utterance and he or she is not under the control of another's power. Then, propositional content is a circumstance in which an utterance is produced. The sincerity condition is a condition in which the speaker is sincere in committing what he or she has uttered. The essential condition clearly states that a speaker intends to act as indicated in the utterance and that he or she is also able to perform it. Here is the example:

[8] a. I promise, I will not run for the next election.

In this utterance, the promiser or the speaker is committing to not join the competition for the next election. The speaker will be felicitous when he/she committed to his/her promise and is sincere in doing it. Otherwise, it will be defective when the speaker is under outside control or does not commit to the promise.

### **2.2.2 Types of Speech Acts**

There are three types of related acts in SAT: Locutionary, Illocutionary, and Perlocutionary. Austin (1962, p. 108) identifies the three basic concepts of the Speech Acts when producing an utterance. The first is a locutionary act, and it is an act of saying something or generating an utterance. The second is an Illocutionary Act, which is the intention of the utterance, and which is designed to influence the hearer. The last is a Perlocutionary Act. It is the actual effect or influence on the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the listener/hearer, unlike locutionary acts. Perlocutionary Acts could be inspiring, persuading, consoling, promising, encouraging.

### **2.2.2.1 Locutionary Act**

The Locutionary speech act is roughly equivalent to uttering certain utterances with certain sense and reference, which again roughly corresponds to meaning in the traditional sense (Austin, 1962). In line with this, Cutting (2002, p. 16) states that locutionary refers to what is said. Meanwhile, Yule (1996) also states that the locutionary act is the basic utterance or a meaningful utterance. A speaker can also use and produce one locution of their utterances for many different purposes, for example “it’s cold in here” means there could be a complaint, the explanation or a request to close the window (Wardhaugh, 2015, p. 251).

As a parallel explanation above, the locutionary act is the act of saying something with a certain sense and reference, and it is the basic act of utterance or production of a meaningful linguistic expression. The locutionary act is also known as locution or utterance of action. Within the locutionary act, there are two parts: the utterance act and the propositional act. An utterance act is an item of language that comprises the verbal employment of units of expression such as words and sentences. Propositional acts are clear and expressive with a specific definable point, as opposed to mere utterance acts, which may be meaningless sounds. Here are examples:

[9] a. Close the door, please!

b. Open the window, please!

The example [9a, b] shows that the meaning of that utterance has clear reference, [9a] the speaker asks someone to close the door, and [9b] asks someone to open the window. The utterance [9a, b] has clear and explicit meaning because the speaker makes the locution with clear reference in this sentence. In this matter, the meaning of lexical items used to construct the utterances have the same meaning as what the speaker intends to convey.

However, the speaker can produce one utterance with more purposes, such as “it’s hot in here”. This could be a complaint, an explanation, or a request to open the window.

### **2.2.2.2 Illocutionary Act**

The most significant level of action in a speech act is the Illocutionary Act because the force, which the speakers have desired, determines this act. Unlike the Locutionary Act, the Illocutionary Act is an utterance performed via the communicative force, such as promising, apologising, or offering (Yule, 1996). This act is also called the act of doing something by saying something or is focused on the kinds of act possibly performed by the speaker through an utterance (Wijana, 2021). Leech (1983, p. 99) states that an Illocutionary Act is performing



an act in saying something, i.e. prohibition, expectation, information and so on. In a similar way, the Illocutionary act is the act of the speaker's utterance that can make the listener do something (Wardhaugh, 2015). Here is the example:

[10] a. I have just made some fruit juice.

b. You must be a smart student.

The example [10a] is not just a statement but also an offer or explanation, which signifies that the speaker could have more than one expectation by making the statement (an Illocutionary Act). In addition, the example [10b] can be meant as expectation, command and so on, for the hearer.

In this current study, the application of the Illocutionary Act can be seen in SAS's speech utterances. For instance, when the speaker expected his members to win the presidential election in 2019. Here is the example:

[11] SAS 01, line 19:

Listen! Listen! *Syuhuudan siyasiyan* [role of politics]. So in 2019, we must be the winner in order that NU plays a role *syuhuudan siyaasiyyan* [role of politics], *syuhuudan* [role]? *Siyaasiyyan* [politics], *siyaasiyyan* [politics]"...

The excerpt [11] above indicates that the speaker may expect his members to support him in winning the presidential election in 2019 by giving their vote for the current president. In this matter, the context of the speaker's utterance was that it was performed in front of the incumbent president (Joko Widodo) who attended and listened to his speech. To conclude, the Illocutionary Act is the act of the speaker via utterances that can make the hearer (receiver) do the action.

### **2.2.2.3 Perlocutionary Act**

The Perlocutionary Act refers to the Speech Act intended to affect the listener, or what effect the utterance has on the thoughts or actions of the other person. A Perlocutionary Act is specific to the circumstances of issuance and is therefore not conventionally achieved just by uttering a specific utterance, but also includes all those effects, intended or unintended, often indeterminate, that some particular utterances have in a particular situation. In this matter, the speaker creates an utterance to influence the listener, on the assumption that the listener or hearer will recognize the effect of the speaker's intention. This context is then generally known as the Perlocutionary Effect (Leech, 1983).

The Perlocutionary Act is also naming an action or state of mind which has been brought about as a result of something said. Furthermore, it is because of listening to the hearer when the speaker intends to follow what they are saying. In other words, the speaker by saying something normally performs a kind of act, such as one that is intimidating, informing, persuading, convincing, scaring, enlightening, inspiring and so on, to the hearer.

In summary, the three types of speech acts (Locutionary, Illocutionary, and Perlocutionary) can be seen in the following example of utterance “Stop, or I will Shoot” (Ohmann, 1971):

Locutionary Act: Saying “Stop, or I will shoot you”.

Illocutionary Acts: Ordering, threatening, ...

Perlocutionary Acts: Frightening, enraging, ...

Therefore, in the context of the current study, the sample utterance can be illustrated from SAS’s speech [11] when the speaker uttered “...in 2019, we must be the winner.” This will have an impact on members as the listeners. For instance, it will arouse the listeners’/hearers’ spirits to win the election 2019.

### **2.2.3 Speech Acts classification**

#### **2.2.3.1 Austin’s Speech Acts**

As described previously, Austin (1962, p. 150) developed SAT and divided the classification into five basic classes of Illocutionary Acts: Verdictive, Exercitives, Commissive, Behabitives, and Expositive. The first, Verdictive acts, are typified by giving a verdict, making judgments, or findings as the name implies, by a jury, arbitrator, or umpire. For example, an estimate, appreciation, reckoning, value, or appraisal. The second is Exercitives, which are the exercising of powers, rights, or influence. For instance, naming, sentencing, appointing, voting, claiming, ordering, urging, advising, and warning. The third, Commissive, are typified by promising or otherwise undertaking. The fourth, Behabitives, are a miscellaneous group and have to do with attitudes and social behaviour. For example, apologizing, congratulating, commanding, condoling, cursing, and challenging. The fifth, Expositives, are difficult to define, because we must make plain how our utterances fit into the course of an argument or conversation. It also depends on how we use the words which are expository. In general, Expositives are used in the act of the expounding of views, conducting the argument and clarifying. For example, I reply, I argue, I illustrate, I concede, I assume, and I postulate.

### 2.2.3.2 Searle's Speech Acts

Since Austin (1962) introduced the classification of Speech Acts, there have been many attempts to develop his classification. One of these attempts was Searle's classification. Searle (1979) built on Austin's work to develop a classification that is considered the most influential tool for analysis. He elaborated on Austin's theory of Speech Acts on Illocutionary Acts. In a Speech Act, a Locutionary Act is a basic act of utterance or of producing a meaningful linguistic expression. Meanwhile, an Illocutionary Act is the intentional force of the real actions performed by the utterance. This kind of utterance creates an impact on the listener with function in mind. Thus, Searle identifies the communicative force of an utterance as an Illocutionary Force. The Perlocutionary Act represents the effects of the utterance on the listener, revealing the speaker's intention.

Searle argued that the appropriate condition of Austin's theory is only for ritual and ceremonial speech, such as pronouncing a couple husband and wife. He further explains that Austin did not clarify the difference between speech act verbs and actual Speech Acts. He noted some verbs can be found in more than one class, such as mentioning the verb "to describe" in the two classes of Verdictives and Expositives. Furthermore, some verbs were classified under a certain type, but they did not satisfy the definition for that type. For example, the verbs "appoint", "nominate", and "excommunicate" do not designate the "giving of a decision in favour of or against a certain course of action" (Sameer, 2017). Therefore, Searle (1979) builds three dimensions around his taxonomy; they are the Illocutionary Point, the Direction of Fit, and the Propositional Content. The dimensions are explained as follows:

(i) The Illocutionary Point

Searle identifies the Illocutionary Point as part of, but not the same as, the Illocutionary Force. In this context, the Illocutionary Point of a request is the same as that of a command (both attempt to get the addressee to do something), but the Illocutionary Force is different. Furthermore, one can say that several elements participate in forming an Illocutionary Force and that an Illocutionary Point is one of them.

(ii) Direction of Fit

There has been a difference in the Direction of Fit between words and the world. Some illocutions have as part of their Illocutionary Point to match the world of words, others to get the world to match the words.

(iii) Propositional Content

The difference in the Propositional Content is determined by indicating devices for Illocutionary Force. This dimension relies on the differences between a report and a prediction. A prediction must be about the future, whereas a report is about the past or the present.

(Searle, 1979, pp. 12-17)

Furthermore, Searle pointed out six (at least) difficulties in Austin's taxonomy (Searle, 1976).

They are in ascending order of importance:

1. There is a persistent confusion between verbs and acts,
2. not all the verbs are illocutionary verbs,
3. there is too much overlap of the categories,
4. too much heterogeneity within the categories,
5. many of the verbs listed in the categories don't satisfy the definition given for the category and,
6. most important, there is no consistent principle of classification.

#### **2.2.3.2.1 Searle's Illocutionary Acts**

As described above, Searle's classification on Speech Act is a further description based on the Austin taxonomy. In this context, Searle organises forms of the Illocutionary Acts into five basic classifications; they are Representatives, Directives, Commissive, Expressives, and Declarations (Searle, 1976, pp. 10-15; 1979, pp. 1-19). An explanation is as follows:

1. Representatives are statements that may be judged as true or false because they purport to describe a state of affairs in the world – “predict, classify, describe, identify,” such as in, “It is a beautiful day outside”; “I predict that he will come.”
2. Directives are statements that attempt to make the auditor's action fit the propositional content or request, beg, plead, to do something. Typical verbs are to ask, order, command, request, pray, entreat, invite, and advise, such as in, “Shut the door, please!”; “I order you to leave.”
3. Commissive are statements which commit the speaker to a course of action as described by the Propositional Content, for example “I promise I will be there at 7:00”; “I vow to get revenge”; “I promise you the money.”
4. Expressives are statements that express the sincerity condition of the Speech Act. These Expressives characteristically require a gerund transformation of the verb, and examples of Expressives are: “I am feeling happy today”; “I really enjoy watching films”; “I thank you for giving me the money”; “I apologise for my bad behaviour.”

Furthermore, the paradigm of expressives' verbs are "thank," "congratulate," "apologize," "condole," "deplore," and "welcome" (Searle, 1975, p. 356).

5. Declarations are statements that attempt to change the world by representing it as having been changed. Searle calls this is a very special category of Speech Acts, and they include: resigning, dismissing, christening, naming, sentencing. For instance: "My work here is done"; "I pronounce you man and wife"; "I appoint you chairman"; "I declare the meeting adjourned"; "I resign." Table 1 shows the key features of the five general functions of Speech Acts.

Table 1 The key features of Speech Acts

<b>Speech Act type</b>	<b>Direction of fit</b>	<b>S = speaker X = situation</b>
Declarations	Words change the world	S causes X
Representatives	Make words fit the world	S believes X
Expressives	Make words fit the world	S feels X
Directives	Make the world fit the words	S wants X
Commissives	Make the world fit the words	S intends X

(Yule, 1996, p. 55)

For further description of the basics of Searle's classification of Illocutionary Acts, *Representatives* are utterances used to describe a state of affairs. The direction is that words fit the world. For example, "she is a diligent student", "she is rich": the intention of this utterance is to describe the student's attributes. In addition is the example of stating and asserting, such as "Bali is becoming the host of G20 in 2022". Then for *Predicting*, such as, "it will not rain".

Meanwhile, the term Directives is the statement of the speaker that attempts to get the hearer/listener to do something, or to ask the listener to not do something. The propositional content is always that the hearer makes some future action. The verbs involved in this class are *ask, order, command, request, beg, plead, pray, entreat*, and also *invite, permit, and advise*. For instance, *requesting*, "brother, please give me money!"; *advising*, "you must study everyday"; *recommending*, "please read this book to enrich your literature review!".

The next category is Commissives. This Illocutionary Act commits the speaker (again in varying degrees) to some future course of action, or the speaker commits to do something. The direction of fit is the world fits the words. Then, the sincerity condition is intention, and the

propositional content is that the speaker will do some future action. For instance, “I will not join the Marathon rally this year”.

The next category is Expressives. The Illocutionary point is to express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a situation specified in the propositional content, or it is used to express the emotional state of the speaker. The expressive verbs in this class are to thank, congratulate, apologize, condole, deplore, and welcome. For instance, “I apologize for having stepped on your toe”, “I congratulate you on winning the race”, “Congratulations for the achievement”.

The last category is Declarations. Searle nominates this as special category of Speech Acts. The direction is that the words change the world. As pointed out above, this is a special category used in the ceremony, religious ritual, and other activities. The utterances included in this category are utterances that are used by the speakers for changing the status of some entity. For example, “I appoint you as chairman”.

#### **2.2.4 Politeness Strategy**

Politeness is important in social life because it constitutes the unwritten norm in society, particularly in religious society. Therefore, managing politeness is a critical issue for politicians and public figures because it is part of the communication strategy involved in interactions with people. Politeness can be understood as a collection of social norms established by a society that regulates the behaviour of its members, prohibiting some forms of conduct and favouring others (Wise, 2009). The major approach of politeness has been formulated by Brown and Levinson within their Theory of Politeness (1987). Leech (1983) also developed the politeness theory into the politeness principles, which adopted Grice’s Cooperative Principle (1975) and his four conversational maxims (the Maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relevance, and Manner) and it constructs a model to include politeness maxims and a set of rules. Leech argues that the major purpose of the Politeness Principle is to regulate the social equilibrium and friendly relations, with the foundational idea that we can assume that our interlocutors are cooperative in the first place (1983, p. 82).

##### **2.2.4.1 Brown and Levinson’s Politeness**

Within the theory of politeness, Brown and Levinson introduced two types of face – negative and positive. Positive face is the want of every member that they want to be liked/accepted by at least some others. Meanwhile, negative face refers to an individual’s desire to be unimpeded

in his/her actions; that is, the desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition (1987, p. 62).

Brown and Levinson (1987) describe positive and negative politeness within the act of communication. Positive politeness is one strategy that is oriented toward the hearer's positive face by indicating or presupposing in some way that the speaker wants what the hearer wants. Hence, this situation can be achieved by treating the addressee as a member of an in-group, a friend, or as a person whose personality traits are known and liked; this involves expressions of solidarity, informality, and familiarity. Meanwhile, negative politeness is oriented towards the hearer's negative face and essentially assures the hearer that the speaker recognizes and respects his/her negative face wants and will not impose on his/her freedom of action. This strategy is characterized by formality and restraint and includes acts such as apologizing, expressing deference, and using hedges (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Brown and Levinson outline fifteen positive politeness strategies and ten negative politeness strategies. The abbreviations "H" for the addressee and "S" for the speaker are used in the following list of positive politeness strategies (1987, p. 102):

1. Notice, attend to H (their interests, wants, needs, goods).
2. Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H).
3. Intensify interest to H.
4. Use in-group identity markers.
5. Seek agreement.
6. Avoid disagreement.
7. Presuppose/raise/assert a common ground.
8. Joke.
9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants.
10. Offer, promise.
11. Be optimistic.
12. Include both S and H in the activity.
13. Give (or ask for) reasons.
14. Assume or assert reciprocity.
15. Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation).

Furthermore, negative politeness is addressed to the hearer's desire to have their freedom of action unhindered and their attention unimpeded. Hence, Brown and Levinson distinguish negative politeness from positive politeness by clarifying that positive politeness is free-ranging, while negative politeness is specific and focused; it performs the function of

minimizing the particular imposition that the Face Threatening Acts (FTA) unavoidably produce (1987, p. 129). As politeness, they list ten features of negative politeness as follows:

1. Be conventionally indirect.
2. Question, hedge.
3. Be pessimistic.
4. Minimize the imposition,  $R_x$  (the ranking of the imposition).
5. Give deference.
6. Apologize.
7. Impersonalize S and H: Avoid the pronouns 'I' and 'you'.
8. State the FTA as a general rule.
9. Nominalize.
10. Go on record as incurring debt, or as not indebting H.

Adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 131)

#### **2.2.4.2 Leech's Politeness Strategy**

Leech builds the concept of politeness strategy based on the theory of Grice's Cooperative Principle and four conversational maxims (the maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relevance, and Manner) (Grice, 1989). Further, Leech links his maxims of politeness to the kinds of Illocutionary Acts with which they are associated. The followings are the maxims of his Politeness Principle (Leech, 1983, pp. 132-137):

- (i) Tact Maxim (in Impositives and Commissives): a. minimizes cost to other; b. maximizes benefit to other.
- (ii) Generosity Maxim (in Impositives and Commissives): a. minimizes benefit to self; b. maximizes cost to self.
- (iii) Approbation Maxim (in Expressives and Assertives): a. minimizes dispraise of other; b. maximizes praise of other.
- (iv) Modesty Maxim (in Expressives and Assertives): a. minimizes praise of self; b. maximizes dispraise of self.
- (v) Agreement Maxim (in Assertives): a. minimizes disagreement between self/other; b. maximizes agreement between self/other.
- (vi) Sympathy Maxim (in Assertives): a. minimizes antipathy between self/other; b. maximizes sympathy between self/other.



Within the context, in some societies some maxims tend to be valued more highly than others. For example, he points out that China and Japan tend to value the Modesty Maxim more highly than Britain (Wise, 2009).

To sum up, the Tact Maxim pertains primarily to the Speech Acts of Directives and Commissives. These acts may be evaluated in terms of what the speaker assumes to be their cost or benefit to the speaker or hearer during the conversation. Therefore, Leech proposes a cost-benefit scale (above) to illustrate the relationship between the speaker and hearer when a Speech Act is performed.

### **2.2.5 Discourse Analysis**

The framework of Discourse Analysis is a tool that enables researchers to describe the social and political context around speech events. Discourse Analysis (DA) is widely used in Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics as the domain of research that investigates written and spoken language and which includes visual images (Jorgenson, 2002). It means that DA is a flexible theory for wide areas of interaction. While the meaning of DA is not always consistent across the different branches of disciplines, lexically, discourse can be delineated into two main usages. The first meaning of discourse is that it is an abstract collective noun that cannot be made into a plural and that it occurs without definite and indefinite articles. The second meaning of discourse can be defined as a concrete countable noun, which can be preceded by a definite or indefinite article in the plural form (Reisigl, 2015).

Historically, the term discourse was used by Zellig Harris in 1952 and continued with his successors in the 1950s and 1960s with a focus on describing the sentence level (word order) and syntactic phenomena, such as generative semantics (Zienkowski, 2011). For many scholars of Linguistics, discourse refers to anything beyond the sentence (Schiffrin et al., 2001). Meanwhile, Brown and Yule (1983) see discourse as language in use, while Fairclough (2003) sees it as a social practice. Mills further explains the meaning of discourse as follows:

Discourse is linguistic communication seen as a transaction between speaker and hearer, as an interpersonal activity whose form is determined by its social purpose. Text is linguistic communication (either spoken or written) seen simply as a message coded in its auditory or visual medium (1997, p. 6).

To have a consistency with the associate terms of discourse and Discourse Analysis, this section elaborates to obtain a clear perception of their definitions. As mentioned above, most linguists state that discourse is everything beyond the sentence, and others argue that it is language in use that considers context and interaction (Schiffrin et al., 2001). Meanwhile,

Discourse Analysis is a broad field that is rapidly growing and evolving. Therefore, these two terms have various definitions, but there are three main categories that associate discourse and Discourse Analysis. They are (1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and non-specific instances of language (Schiffrin et al., 2001, p. 23).

Let us consider one example. Regarding the practice of discourse in a religious institution, language has an important role to play in communication between a preacher and their followers. In the religious community, language becomes a viable tool in the hands of the religious leaders to ensure a continuous following for religious guidance. For example, recently, Ustadz Adi Hidayat, popularly called UAH<sup>46</sup>, was able to mobilize the fundraising for Palestine of more than IDR 30 billion within only six days. Given the context, religious speech is important, and it is a part of social practice, relating to how a person can communicate and deliver the discourse, whether the content is a personal idea or an institutional idea to many people. Therefore, the above example highlights the importance of context in Discourse Analysis within the religious circle. In the context of this research, a Discourse Analysis of Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speeches will identify and analyse the political components within the religious speeches. SAS has a significant role in the religious and political domain in Indonesia. In the hands of SAS, the NU, as the largest Muslim organization, has coloured social and religious discourse in the Indonesian political context. His position as the executive council chief [Ketum PBNU] in the NU directly influences the members, the wider Muslim community, and Islamic discourses in Indonesia and beyond.

### **2.2.6 Register**

In social communication, the style of the language used by the people of a community typically has special features to distinguish it from others. For instance, in the hospital community, medical staff have specific terms for communication with others. Therefore, linguists identify this phenomenon as a set of language items associated with a distinct society or occupation which is called a Register. A Register helps people to construct an identity at a specific time or in a specific place. Therefore, a Register is “a linguistic repertoire that is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices”

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<sup>46</sup> UAH is a young prominent Muslim scholar and famous Islamic preacher in Indonesia. He runs the Quantum Ahyar foundation concerned with education for memorizing the Qur'an (see <https://quantumakhyar.com/>).

(Agha, 2006, p. 23). While Registers vary across social life, there are common characteristics to identify a Register, such as the following:

- (a) No fluent speaker of a language commands more than a few of its Registers.
- (b) Most speakers can recognise more Registers than they can speak.
- (c) An individual's Register range permits entry into a range of social practices.
- (d) Registers are linked to distinct spheres of activity by judgments of appropriateness.
- (e) Some Registers are 'more equal' than others. They are institutionally formulated as baseline norms, relative to which other Registers appear deviant or defective.

(Agha, 2007, p. 147)

Additionally, others add the characteristics of Registers based on the form and situation. In this context, motivation can involve functional communicative requirements such as purpose, social relations, and production constraints (Biber & Finegan, 1994, p. 46). Given the context, SAS's Register might refer to the institutional purpose which builds social relations with its members. Meanwhile, Halliday (1989, p. 44) defines Register as specific lexical and grammatical choices which are made by speakers depending on the situational context, the participants of the conversation and function of the language in discourse. Therefore, discourse within the discussion of SAS's speeches can refer to the specific lexical choices of the religious discourse which the speaker used in his speeches.

## **2.3 Previous Studies on the Speech Analysis**

### **2.3.1 The Speech Analysis of the world leaders and Islam Nusantara theme**

In social life and political context, language is a unique attribute of humans and an important aspect of communication. For ordinary people, language is a means of communication between speakers through which they fulfil their daily needs. Meanwhile, for preachers, leaders, and politicians, language is vital for building interpersonal communication, exchanging ideas, and transmitting information. In the political spectrum, it is essential to make an effort to struggle for power to put certain political, economic, and social ideas into practice. Given the context, for a politician to win any political office, they must master the art of rhetoric (language), which means that they can communicate effectively and convincingly. Additionally, for religious leaders, the art of rhetoric can help them capture their followers' attention, persuade, and deliver religious messages.

Further, other scholars, mainly linguists, define language as the systematic process of the conventional use of sounds, signs or written symbols in human society for communication and self-expression (Crystal, 2008). Effective and successful communication relies on mutual feedback on the interaction between communicating participants. To achieve communication,

both speakers and listeners must consider the context of utterances. The study of contextual meaning has become a concern in the Pragmatics field for decades, and Pragmatics has evolved considerably. The act of people saying words is known as a Speech Act. Discourse Analysis focuses on analysing utterances when they are performed. In the ground of this frame, a religious leader's speech, for example, has an important role in society because their utterances directly impact the community.

The study of Speech Act Theory (SAT) has been initiated and conducted by scholars, and some of their main concerns have been political speeches. For example, the research conducted by Okoro (2017) used a descriptive survey study to investigate two political speeches of President Muhammad Buhari<sup>47</sup>. The researcher analysed the data using SAT to find that President Muhammad Bukhari used more Assertive and Commissive expressions in his inaugural speeches. These expressions show sincerity and intentions, making promises and assuring the masses. By comparison with Okoro's study, Dylgjeri (2017) examined the political speeches of Edi Rama<sup>48</sup>. In this article, he concluded the largest percentage of Illocutionary Acts performed was Commissive acts, then Assertive and Expressive acts. In the same vein, Altikriti (2016) conducted a study of Barack Obama's political speeches in 2009 and 2013, when he was President of the United States of America (USA). The results showed that Obama used more sentences employing constative Speech Acts than other any other Speech Acts classification. Another result of the research found that Barack Obama used more Assertives to persuade his American audiences. In a similar topic, Gusthini, et al. (2018) conducted research analysis of the speeches of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the USA Presidential candidates' debates in 2016. The study identified that both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton used their speeches as power instruments in the presidential debates. In this research, they described the speakers within the debate using Speech Acts as instruments of a communication strategy consisting of Representatives, Commissives and Expressives within the debate. In this debate, both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton demonstrated their power and capability through the speeches. Both presidential aspirants tried to convince the audiences of their eligibility to be the next US president.

Furthermore, the analysis study on political views using SAT was referred to by Alattar (2014). He analyzed the four of the US presidents' speeches (Ronald Wilson Reagan, Bill Clinton,

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<sup>47</sup> President Muhammad Buhari was elected as the president of Nigeria. He made history in Nigeria as it was the first time that an incumbent and a member of the ruling party, the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP), was voted out of office and the main opposition took over the mantle of leadership as the President and Commander-in-Chief in a democratic dispensation.

<sup>48</sup> Edi Rama gave the speech in front of Albanian people after winning the general elections of 2013.

George W. Bush, and Barack Obama), entitled “A Speech Act Analysis of American Presidential Speeches”. In this study, he used SAT as a framework for analyzing the selected speeches of the US presidents. Austin’s Speech Acts Theory, as developed by Bach and Harnish (1979) was adopted to analyse the data. The study used the selected speeches from the four American presidents which represented important events in the life of the American people. The research identified that socio-political events witnessed by the country have a great impact on the types of Speech Acts performed by the American presidents, resulting in a presidential speech that can either be emotional, informative, persuasive, or motivational.

Shifting away from the different public figures and regions, Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) researched on a Pragmatic analysis of the Inaugural Speeches of President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua<sup>49</sup>. They used the SAT of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), which focused on analysing the pragmatic functions on Locutionary, Illocutionary and Perlocutionary Acts. The findings of the research showed that the Overall Relative Frequency Percentages (ORFPs) for the selected speeches of Umaru Musa Yar’Adua were: Assertive-60%, Directive-35%, Expressive-15%, Verdictive-40%, Commissive-30%, and Declarative-20%. The speaker used sentences that included Verdictives and Directives to assert his authority and exercise his power as the President. In conclusion, the Speech Act analysis of the political discourses of Umaru Musa Yar’Adua provided the understanding that political leaders in Nigeria perform various acts through their speeches.

Meanwhile, more focused on Austin’s and Searle’s SAT, Akinwotu (2013) explored the speeches of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Chief M.K.O. Abiola (Presidential candidate of the Unity Party of Nigeria -UPN- in 1979), and Chief Abiola (Presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party -SDP- in 1993). This research used the insights from Austin’s (1962) SAT and five categories of Speech Acts identified by Searle’s theories (1969, 1976). In this analysis, Akinwotu revealed that the candidates who used the acceptance of nomination speeches are characterised by Illocutionary Acts that are used to persuade. Hence, the data are characterised by a preponderance of Assertive, Expressive and Commissive acts that are mostly used as mobilisation strategies, especially in political campaigns, where it is essential for candidates to persuade their listeners to vote for them in elections.

In line with Akinwotu’s research theme using Searle’s SAT, Sameer (2017) analysed the Inaugural Speeches of two Egyptian presidents, El-Sadat and El-Sisi. In this study, Sameer adopted the analysis models from Searle (1969), and his research was supported by Ferrara’s

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<sup>49</sup> Umaru Musa Yar’Adua was the President of Nigeria from 2007 to 2010.

theory (1980). Searle's model (1969) was used to analyse the data specifying the kind of sentences produced, whether Commissive or Directive. Then the model of Ferrara (1980) was used to prove that Speech Acts contract relationships with one another in a sequence. The result showed that there was a very small difference between these two speeches from two Egyptian presidents, which were analysed according to Searle's SAT. In El Sadat's speech, Commissives came to occupy the first place. Meanwhile, in El-Sisi's speech, Assertives occupied the first place. Speech Acts were tools they used to convey what they wanted and to obtain support from their audiences.

A different analysis method was used by Devanadera and Alieto (2019) in their research entitled "Speech Act Analysis of Duterte's Commemorative Speeches". They used quantitative and qualitative analysis within the SAT and DA. Their research identified how the features of Speech Acts connote the pragmatic meaning of Duterte's speech. Duterte is the current President of the Philippines. In this study, they used quantitative-qualitative research methods to probe into the dominant Speech Acts used in the commemorative speeches of President Duterte. The research identified that the dominant Speech Acts used by Duterte are Assertives and Expressives. In most sentences, Assertives were used to describe the present state of the government and the country. The Assertives in his speeches were used for the government's war against drugs, corruption, and trafficking. By contrast, the use of Expressives shows the president's typical character of expressing his appreciation, gratitude and even his anger and disappointments to people or institutions in the country. In conclusion, Duterte's speeches reflect the character of a political leader who is not afraid to say whatever he has in mind.

The other relevant research employing SAT was performed by Ramanathan and Hoon (2020). Their research used qualitative analysis from Wodak's discursive strategies and Searle's Speech Act taxonomy. The study investigated the lexical choices utilised in the election tweets through Wodak's discursive strategies. Meanwhile, Searle's SAT was used to analyse the election campaigns on Twitter of Former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Najib Tun Razak. The study found that political figures can establish power through mutual consent with citizens using Twitter. Furthermore, the study also investigates how the 140-character tool can influence the political decision-making of a community - the citizens of Malaysia.

Shifting away from the presidential speeches theme, Precilla and Amalia (2018) conducted research analysis into John May's speech at an award ceremony<sup>50</sup>. The research found John

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<sup>50</sup> It was held in 2017 in Nusa Dua Room (Level 14), Gran Melia Hotel, Jakarta. John May is the Secretary General of the Duke of Edinburgh's International Award; referring to himself as "a campaigner, storyteller, teacher, youth

May used Illocutionary Acts to congratulate the awardees in completing the program, achieving the award, and encouraging the audience. The authors illuminated how John May used more Expressives in his speech because his purpose was to congratulate the awardees.

In the Indonesian context, scholars have been concerned with presidential speeches as well. For example, Kusumawati (2011) studied the speeches of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), the sixth president of the Republic of Indonesia. The study analysed SBY's speech text by using Fowler's Critical Linguistics Theory (1979). The research found that SBY used word choice and sentence elements to attract international sympathy. Meanwhile, the more relevant current research was from Rahmawati and Sulistyarningsih (2021). They studied the selected speeches of Joko Widodo (Jokowi), the seventh president of the Republic of Indonesia. Their research analysed the Speech Acts used in Jokowi's speech text at the World Economic Forum on ASEAN in Hanoi, Vietnam, September 12, 2018. The research found the Locutionary Acts in Jokowi's speeches texts consist of Declaratives, with 86% while 11% is Interrogatives and 3% is Imperatives. Meanwhile, the Illocutionary Acts comprised 55% Assertives, followed by Directives, Expressives, and Commissive, respectively 26%, 17%, and 2%. Further, the Perlocutionary Acts consisted of the hearer generally doing something (27%), and other responses including when the hearer is impressed (24%), convinced (17%), attracted (11%), feels irritated (7%), feels frightened (6%) and inspired (3%). In conclusion, the Perlocutionary effects in Jokowi's speeches were inspiring for other countries to boost policies related to human resource development programs and technology-based creative economy and promoting collaboration and partnership among nations.

A different angle of speech analysis was taken in the research by Husain et al. (2020). They conducted research analysis of the presidential debate in Indonesia in 2019. In this research, they used Linguistics theory to describe the utterances employing the Illocutionary Act. The data in this research was a video produced by the candidates taken from the Kompas TV channel on YouTube. The research concluded that the candidates mostly used the Promise Speech Act in producing utterances. Meanwhile, Burhanudin and Triyono (2019), used the descriptive qualitative method to analyse the video of Prabowo<sup>51</sup> vs. Jokowi in the presidential election debate in 2019 using SAT. Their study showed that there were 83 Illocutionary Acts found in the video of Prabowo Vs. Jokowi - the presidential debate in 2019. The most

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worker, independent diplomat, writer, broadcaster, urban cyclist, avid park runner, lifelong Scout, habitual chocolate cake eater and mischief-maker" (see <https://www.lidji.org/john-may-duke-of-edinburgh>). He spent his career working with and for young people in the United Kingdom and around the world.

<sup>51</sup> Prabowo is the current Minister of Defence of the Republic of Indonesia in the second term of Jokowi government (2019-2024).

frequently found were Assertives (with the total 41 or 49%), and the least used were Commissives (with a total of 1 or 1%). Additionally, Directives, Expressives, and Declaratives were frequently found (for 14 or 17%, 17 or 20%, and 11 or 13% respectively).

Other Speech Acts analyses of politicians include the study performed by Odeh et al. (2021), who analysed Dame Patience Jonathan's speeches (the wife of the Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria)<sup>52</sup>. In this paper, they outlined three speeches from Dame Patience Jonathan (DJP), which are: the speech in reaction to the abduction of the Chibok girls (henceforth referred to as Speech A), campaign speech at Umuahia (Speech B), and campaign speech at Calabar (Speech C). They used SAT to analyse the three speeches. The research found the Speech Acts utilized were Declaratives, Representatives, Commissives, Directives, and Expressives. In Declaratives, there were utterances that established DPJ's stance on a certain matter and her knowledge about a particular issue. Representatives were utterances that commit the speaker to what she has said, while Commissives were utterances that committed her to some future action. On the other hand, the Directives included words that aim to make her hearers do something, while Expressives were utterances that stated the way the speaker feels. This research also recommended that any political figure who wants to make a speech or address the citizens should weigh the speech and its consequences, selecting from options for the most utilitarian types of Speech Acts to convey the intended message.

Another study on religious speech themes was produced by Boussalis, et al. (2021). They conducted research analysis of clergy sermons. The study used the dataset of over 110,000 sermons and made an analysis using the computational text analysis approach and multiple forms of validation. The study found that more than a third of religious sermons consist of a political sermon, and seven out of 10 pastors discuss political topics at some point. This study has confirmed that, in these samples, religion and politics always seem to be connected both in nature and design by their leader.

Other studies have been conducted into textual products of political organisations and their use of textual resources, which are not Speech Act based. The study of the Islam Nusantara theme has been interesting for scholars. For instance, Woodward (2017) conducted an analysis using semantics and symbolism of the two films which NU produced: "The Blessing of Islam Nation (Oceans of Revelation: Islam as a Blessing for All Creation) and Launching the Film The Blessing Islam Nusantara". The results showed the films described the potential of Anshor (NU

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<sup>52</sup> Dame Patience Jonathan's served as Nigeria's First Lady from 2010 to 2015. On July 12, 2012, she was appointed as permanent secretary in Bayelsa State by the Governor, Henry Seriake Dickson.



youth organisation) to combat extremism and terrorism. In addition, elements of Sufism, Javanese and some other Indonesian cultures can oppose the hard-core and violent Salafi-Wahhabi extremists. In this study, Woodward used Goffman's theory (1974) of observation as framing and reframing, and Sperber's frame of symbolisation (1975) to communicate meaning and emotion in the films.

Meanwhile, in the context of social media, Safitri (2018) conducted an analysis of Islam Nusantara debates in social media. The analysis identified the competitive nature of the debates between the opposing groups regarding the practice of cultural assimilation with Islamic values. The opposing groups of Islam Nusantara competitively build an image perception to persuade the reader and to obtain public sympathy. A similar enquiry was conducted by Burhani (2018), entitled "Islam Nusantara as a Promising Response to Religious Intolerance and Radicalism". He concluded that Islam Nusantara is a unique form of Islam or a template for tolerant Islam that Muslims can emulate in other parts of the world, especially in terms of its ability to accommodate local cultures/multiculturalism.

A more current research study of Islam Nusantara was conducted by Schmidt (2021), "Aesthetics of authority: 'Islam Nusantara' and Islamic 'radicalism' in Indonesian film and social media". In this study, she described the role of NU as the leading Islamic organization in Indonesia which was initiated as an antidote against radicalism that flourished within the frame of *Rahmat Islam Nusantara*. In her study, Schmidt used two NU initiatives for the study of Islam Nusantara: (1) the documentary film of *Rahmat Islam Nusantara* (2015), which challenges how 'radical' groups interpret the Quran, and (2) the "Cyber Warrior Initiative" in which volunteers contest radicalism terms in social media. The study used visual and narrative analysis of *Rahmat Islam Nusantara*, and the Cyber Warrior Initiative. She introduced her method in this study as "narrative aesthetics of authority", which investigated concepts and terms of *kiai* and *ulama* as the chain of the religious authority against radicalism. The study showed that social media provides an effective way to promote Islam Nusantara and the position of the NU to stand behind inclusive Islam. Through social media, the NU can promote inspirational authoritative figures. Furthermore, the promotion of 'moderate Islam' within the concept of Islam Nusantara helps the NU become popular in fighting terrorism.

Even though speech analyses of political leaders and Islam Nusantara have been performed, research on the NU leader is still rare. For example, Lutfiyah (2017) wrote the paper on Said Agil Siradj (SAS) speeches at *Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri*. The data of this research was obtained

from the transcription of a video recording the speech of SAS at *Pesantren Lirboyo*<sup>53</sup> in 2016. Lutfiyah used the SAT proposed by John Searle (1969) to analyze SAS's speech on "Pembacaan 1 Milyar Sholawat Nariyah at *Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri*". The research showed that the types of Illocutionary Acts mostly used in the SAS speech are Representatives and Directives. This result related the goal of the speech to making the audience believe and obey what had been said by the speaker. Furthermore, the study also asserted that in his speech SAS used more direct Speech Acts than indirect Speech Acts. Meanwhile, Hariyanto (2020) wrote about the role of KH. Said Agil Siradj (SAS), entitled "The Contribution of KH. Said Agil Siradj's Leadership in Fighting Radicalism: A Language Communication Strategy". In this article, Hariyanto used a general description of SAS's speech at Fatayat NU 73<sup>rd</sup> in 2019. His analysis found five types of Illocutionary Acts: Representatives, Directives, Commissives, Expressives, and Declaratives that were used to express command, persuade, and warn the listeners. SAS also utilised Islamic terms to build connections and promote a good relationship in the community. However, this research needs further exploration and analysis to find the specific features and function of each speech, such as the Speech Act distribution and Register functions.

#### **2.4 Research gaps**

Based on the previous studies and the explanations in the literature review above, the study of the speeches of religious figures is still rare. It can be identified from research studies such as Gusthini et al (2018), which found that most of the research analysis focuses on presidential speeches and various functions of Speech Acts (e.g. Danang, 2012; Hashim, 2015; Altikitri, 2016; Sameer, 2017). Meanwhile, Devanadera & Alieto (2019) analysed selected speeches by Barack Obama using the frame of Persuasive Speech Acts developed from Bach and Harnish's taxonomy (1979). Furthermore, in the Indonesian context, research studies of the speeches of Indonesian leaders have also been conducted by some researchers (e.g., Burhanudin & Triyono, 2019; Husain et al., 2020; Rahmawati & Sulistyaningsih, 2021). These researchers applied their focus to various categorizations of Speech Acts using the percentage of speech distribution. Furthermore, in a similar subject to this current study, the analysis of Islam Nusantara topics was conducted based on symbolism and semantic approaches with a different object of the study, e.g., Woodward (2017). In addition, Safitri (2018), Burhani (2018), and Schmidt (2021) all highlighted the importance of Islam Nusantara with different analytical approaches.

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<sup>53</sup> The traditional Islamic Boarding school in Kediri, East Java, Indonesia.

Although research on Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speeches was performed by Lutfiyah (2017) and Hariyanto (2020) through the Speech Act approach, their study was limited to one aspect of speech and with a generalised analysis. Due to SAS's position as a leader in the NU and his role in the overall Indonesian context, addressing the research on the figure of SAS is important because he was the leader spanning two periods (2010-2021). For the context of Islamic discussion, SAS became the initiator of Islam Nusantara discourse. Therefore, this research builds on the existing research and contributes specifically to filling the analysis gap of the religious figure through the religious leader's speeches. Then, within the framework of Speech Acts Theory of Illocutionary, Discourse context and Register, this current study reveals and describes IN in SAS' speech utterances.

## **2.5 Research questions**

This study seeks to give a critical analysis of Islam Nusantara in SAS's speech utterances. The following are the research questions:

What are the discourse features of Islam Nusantara discoverable in Said Agil Siradj's speeches?

The following sub-questions supplement the main question:

1. Are these discourse features relevant to the overall aims of NU?
2. Are these discourses likely to be an instrumental, effective, and persuasive way for his audiences?
3. How significant are the discourse features for the context as features produced by the speaker for his community?

## **2.6 Summary**

This section presents the summary of the above discussion. As elaborated, this chapter discussed the framework of Speech Act Theory, Discourse Analysis and Register for the study, which serves as the basis of the theoretical background for the study. Then the section mentioned the previous research in relation to the speech of the religious leader in country and overseas, as the basis and to fill the research gap. In reviewing the literature review, this chapter highlighted the limited research analysis of spoken discourse of the religious leaders, especially in the Islam Nusantara discourse in Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speeches. Therefore, this present study contributes to bridging the gap in the analysis of the spoken discourse of the religious leader's speech.

## **CHAPTER 3.**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Chapter 3 discusses the research design and methodology used in this study. The research design is an important component in promoting the accuracy, flow, and scholarly acceptance of the research. The research design is a framework or scaffold around which the study is organised (Litosseliti, 2010, p. 57). Hence, the first section identifies the Speech Act Theory (SAT) and the Discourse Analysis (DA) framework to describe the discursive features of Islam Nusantara (IN) in Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speeches (eight videos). The next section provides the critical analysis of SAS's speeches (three videos) as complementary data information and to enrich the core data analysis of the study. Therefore, this section describes the elements/segments of the research, which include the design, consisting of the qualitative and quantitative method, mixed-method, source of the data, data collection procedures, and data analysing techniques. Those pieces of information are important steps in this study.

#### **3.2 Research design**

The research presents mixed-method analysis with a primary framework of the descriptive qualitative approach, and it employs SAT of an illocutionary act to analyse the utterances which were performed and feature in SAS's speech. The qualitative method is used to explain the utterance elements of SAS's speeches through the Speech Act Theory (particularly Illocutionary Acts), as well as through Register and Discourse Analysis, all with the aim of answering the research questions. Meanwhile, the quantitative method counts the incidence/quantity of the SAT features of Illocutionary Acts. Therefore, this study provides insight into mixed methods of the research on the spoken discourse because it combines qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis.

##### **3.2.1 Qualitative method**

The core of the descriptive qualitative method is to analyse and study a phenomenon from the data and hence evaluate the phenomenon descriptively. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretative and material practices that make the world visible (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). Additionally, qualitative research is about the interpretation of data aspects in the study (Blumer, 1969; Denzin & Lincoln, 2013; Strauss & Juliette, 1998). Meanwhile, Creswell (2014) and Merriam (2016) state that the other feature of the qualitative method is its

production of the interpretative study. Therefore, from the YouTube channel on Islam Nusantara discourse, this study used a qualitative method as the primary approach to analyse the features of utterances in SAS's speeches. The qualitative method is important to describe the language phenomena speech utterances through the Illocutionary Speech Act, Register, and Discourse context on Islam Nusantara within SAS's speeches.

### **3.2.2 Quantitative method**

The discussion of the quantitative method is provided as a necessary tool to describe numbers and numerical-quantitative aspects of data that are present. The quantitative approach is used to count the incidence/quantity of the existing SAT features in SAS's speeches. The quantitative method is a method of analysis that applies the reality in terms of numbers or a numerical value for the research analysis (Creswell, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2015). Furthermore, quantitative methods are powerful and important tools to help the researcher investigate many of the intricacies of data (Mellinger & Hanson, 2017). For instance, to gain deeper analysis before further descriptive analysis is produced, this study employs the quantitative method to count the quantity/incidence of the utterances exhibiting features of SAT. Therefore, the specific emphasis of the quantitative method contributes to the technical approach applied to count the quantity of SAT within the utterances of SAS's speeches on the Islam Nusantara theme.

### **3.2.3 Mixed methods research**

Mixed methods research is a common approach for integrating qualitative and quantitative methods in analysing the data for the research purpose (Clark & Ivankova, 2016). Qualitative and quantitative methods are important systems for gaining a deep analysis of SAS's utterances and speech features. Hence, the study utilises quantitative methods to count the quantity/incidence of SAT features before analysing the data descriptively. Further, the qualitative method is used to describe the SAT features of the data and the effects, based on SAT and Hymes' theory.

However, some argue, both qualitative and quantitative methods have strengths and weaknesses, such as "...quantitative methods are high in reliability and low in validity and qualitative methods are high in validity but low in reliability" (Hale & Napier, 2013, p. 12). The mixed methods approach, therefore, overcomes the inadequacies of both by employing both systems to counteract weaknesses and to benefit from their respective strengths. That is why the study broadened to focus on qualitative as well as a quantitative view; this research recognises the mixed methods approach because the research inserted both qualitative and

quantitative methods for integrated analysis. Hence, it aligns with the main purpose of mixed methods research that integrates qualitative and quantitative methods (Clark & Ivankova, 2016; Creswell, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2015).

### 3.3 Data source

This section describes the source of the data and the selection process. The source of data was obtained from the transcription of SAS's speeches on the Islam Nusantara theme within the period 2015 - 2020. This period is chosen because many of SAS's speeches engaged with IN discourse and it was under his leadership period in the NU. There are eight videos selected, and three additional Contra videos are used as complementary data. The selection criteria for the videos identified the most appropriate content of the speech relating to this research topic about Islam Nusantara. Eight videos from SAS's speeches were selected because they provide relevant and adequate information about the theme of Islam Nusantara discourse. Additionally, a number of users' comments are considered for this selection. Meanwhile, three other Contra videos are included to show dissenting Muslim community responses about the Islam Nusantara concept, and the figures in the video are preachers and prominent scholars in their community. All the data sources of this research are open to the public and specifically can be accessed from the YouTube channel, as listed in Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2 SAS's selected speeches with the number of views and comments on the videos.

No	Title (English)	Title (Indonesia)	Link	Year	View
1	Smart! The speech of the executive chairman of PBNU KH. Said Agil Siradj at the 73 <sup>rd</sup> Muslimat NU anniversary	<i>CERDAS! Ceramah KETUM PBNU KH. Said Aqil Siradj di Harlah Muslimat NU ke-73</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2fpxLlIMung">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2fpxLlIMung</a>	2019	228,306 views, 3,225 Comments
2	The Consolidation of Nahdlatul Ulama toward the 34 <sup>th</sup> National Congress	<i>Konsolidasi Nahdlatul Ulama Menuju Mukhtamar Ke-34</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rF1C0xG3Q-M&amp;t=4675s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rF1C0xG3Q-M&amp;t=4675s</a>	2019	27,110 views, 121 Comments
3	The Santri's day and the fall of the Shari'ah based NKRI theory	<i>Hari Santri dan Gugurnya Teori NKRI Bersyariah</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3oC3fF8Twcs">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3oC3fF8Twcs</a>	2019	363,437 Views 2,068 Comments
4	The Speech of Said Agil Siraj - the 93 <sup>rd</sup> NU anniversary	<i>Tausiyah KH. Said Aqil Siraj - Harlah NU ke 93</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EJdDvvDCjks">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EJdDvvDCjks</a>	2019	52,079 views 232 Comments

5	Islam Nusantara in Ulema meeting- Santri's day	<i>Islam Nusantara dalam Halaqoh Alim Ulama - Hari Santri</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fsyzBcW3mHU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fsyzBcW3mHU</a>	2018	61,716 views 435 Comments
6	Public speech on the Inclusivism of Islam Nusantara at UNISNU Jepara	<i>Kuliah Umum tentang inklusifisme Islam Nusantara di Kampus UNISNU Jepara</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MQCCOKPUQ8c">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MQCCOKPUQ8c</a>	2017	119,054 views 281 Comments
7	The NU, Pancasila, the proud of Islam Nusantara according to Said Agil Siradj	<i>NU, Pancasila, kebanggaan Islam Nusantara ala kang said</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DIqatn0fF58">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DIqatn0fF58</a>	2016	56,165 views 175 Comments
8	The inauguration of PC-NU and Muslimat NU Tulang Bawang Lampung	<i>Pelantikan PC-NU dan Muslimat NU Tulang Bawang-Lampung</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_TxuwuQYgsQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_TxuwuQYgsQ</a>	2016	779,010 views 2,643 Comments

Table 3 Critics of SAS's speech with number of views and comments on the videos.

No	Title (English)	Title (Indonesia)	Link	Year	Views
09	The fallacy of Islam Nusantara	<i>Kesesatan Islam Nusantara</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yi2RedRn9ww">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yi2RedRn9ww</a>	2018	478,507 views 3,616 Comments
10	Islam Nusantara on scales	<i>Islam Nusantara dalam timbangan</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4EVnTXlo9Mc">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4EVnTXlo9Mc</a>	2016	284,250 views 893 Comments
11	Fundamental error of Islam Nusantara concept	<i>Kesalahan Dasar Konsep Islam Nusantara</i>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIYJFM0DhjE&amp;t=798s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIYJFM0DhjE&amp;t=798s</a>	2015	336,828 views 189 Comments

### 3.4 Data collection techniques

The first of the two-stages for data collection was to watch and download the videos from the NU channels and other channels via YouTube. In this point, the researcher watched the videos to meet the criteria of whether they suited the research project or if they were not sufficient to answer the research questions. Then, the selected videos were purposely retrieved for further processing. The reason for the data selection was to answer the research questions in terms of

the Islam Nusantara discourse within SAS's speech utterances, and it was because they captured the attention of thousands of people, as evident in their viewership (see Table 2). The data selection is important to fulfil the criteria and avoid unnecessary data which are unrelated to the research questions.

The second stage was data processing. There were two stages of the procedure involved in transcription and translation. First, transcription NVivo software (Version 12) was used to help with checking the transcription of the videos. NVivo is useful and one of the options for storing, managing and analysing qualitative data (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019). Meanwhile, Microsoft Excel software was used to count the numerical data and display the chart for further analysis. Microsoft Excel is useful for counting numerical data with mathematical operators through its formulas and functions (Berk & Carey, 2010). Then, in this data processing, transcription is an important step in the Discourse Analysis of spoken texts because it is part of the research analysis (Leeuwen, 2008; Litosseliti, 2010).

The second stage was the translation of the data transcriptions into English. The researcher conducted this process, session by session, for each speech and rendered it carefully into English before sending it for further checking or validation from the language centre (PPB) of the State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga. The language centre of UIN Sunan Kalijaga was chosen because this institution has legal authority for language services. For instance, PPB provides English language training for the university staff, and it provides the translation service of the Indonesian language into the English language. Another consideration was that the language centre of UIN Sunan Kalijaga is the researcher's home institution. The validation process is performed to render results more accurately and to avoid errors in the meaning of the translation product from the source language (SL) to the target language (TL).

### **3.5 Data analysing techniques**

For the analysis, the study deployed Speech Acts Theory (SAT) of illocutionary acts from Searle (1979). As explained previously, the analysis considers the speech structure and sociocultural context to reveal SAS's speech utterances on IN.

The analysis of data findings first classified SAS's speeches into the generic form of the speech structure (opening, content and closing segments). This categorization refers to the general form of speech categorisation. Then, from that classification, the analysis categorized the data according to the SAT of Illocutionary acts distribution: (a) Representatives, (b) Directives, (c) Commissives, (d) Expressives, and (e) Declarations. In further analysis, the study described the Islamic terms or register and their functions in the speech. Beside this qualitative analysis,



the quantitative analysis was conducted to count and arrive at the percentage of the Speech Acts in each speech. These procedures were used to describe the discourse features of Islam Nusantara within SAS's speeches and its usage with the overall aim of the NU, looking to see how they functioned in an instrumental way to persuade the audience/the community.

The flow of the analysis is as follows:

### 3.5.1 The speech structure

As mentioned in the steps above, the generic form of the speech is structured into opening, content, and closing segments. In the opening, the analysis identifies the speaker's utterances, whether as ritual language or sacral language that perform a link to the organisation. Further, for the content of the speech (sequence of events), the analysis identifies how the speaker while building the argumentation, integrated the religious and political message by inserting the religious story within the speech and comparing it with the situation in other countries. For instance, in one sample text, the speaker inserted the story of the respect of the religious figures, such as the figure of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari<sup>54</sup>.

The analysis then identifies words and phrases that are performed within the speaker's speech utterances to validate his argumentation. This identification is important to link each story within the speech, and whether the speaker's utterances are part of a political or religious message. In the closing section, the analysis underlines the speaker's utterances. In underlining the speaker's utterances, the analysis describes the ritual statement, prayer or greeting which concludes the speech. After organising identification and categorisation into three generic forms of the speech, the analysis provided more specific identification by identifying its register forms and its functions (see Table 4).

Table 4 General form of Register and its function

No.	Register			
	Word/phrase	Position	Meaning	Function
1	<i>Assalamu'alaikum wr. wb.</i>	Opening	Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing	To open the speech both formal or informal, and it is a ritual expression and a prayer within the Muslim society.

<sup>54</sup> KH. Hasyim Asy'ari is one of the founders and the former chief of PBNU. He has the special title *Hadratus syeikh* [the great teacher] in the NU community.

2	<i>Bismillah</i>	Opening	In the name of Allah (God)	An expression of prayer. In general, this word is used to begin the activities.
3	<i>Alhamdulillah</i>	Opening	Praise be to Allah (God)	To express gratitude, feeling happy and to give thanks to God for his goodness
4	<i>Washalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulana wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa 'alaa aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah</i>	Opening	Peace be upon him, the chief of the prophets, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until the hereafter	This expression is used as a ritual expression and a prayer to the prophet Muhammad.
5	<i>Alhamdulillah</i>	Content	Praise be to Allah (God)	To appreciate his audience.
6	<i>Istighosah</i>	Content	mass praying with a lot of people	It refers to religious practice
7	<i>ummatan wastahan</i>	Content	middle society	Refers to society
8	<i>Syukron</i>	Closing	thanks/thank you very much	An expression of thanks
9	<i>wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwamiththariiq</i>	Closing	Allah is the One who guides to the straight path	An expression of prayer and is a ritual prayer in the NU to close the speech
10	<i>Wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.</i>	Closing	May peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you	An expression to close the speech, both formal and informal. It is also used as a prayer within the Muslim community

The table above illustrates how the speaker performed his utterances in Arabic language which formed a special term or Register during his speeches within the Muslim community. The speaker performed those terms in the opening, content and closing segment. For the opening segment, he used the greeting “*Assalamu'alaikum wr. wb.*” [Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing]. This term is used as formal greeting and informal greeting, and Muslims are expected to use this greeting when meeting with other Muslims. Furthermore, the speaker offers further greetings when he opened the speech by adding a kind of prayer to the Prophet Muhammad such as “*Bismillah, Alhamdulillah, Washalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa*

*sayyidinaa, ...*”. In the content segment there are many terms used by the speaker, such as *ummatan wastahan, bid’ah, munajah, istogosah, and many others*. The speaker used those terms to describe the religious practices and the Islamic discourse in his community. Lastly, in the closing segment, the speaker used the special terms such as “*wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwamiththariiq, syukron, and wassalamu’alaikum wr. wb.*”.

### 3.5.2 The speech distribution

As elaborated in the speech structure, the generic form of SAS’s speeches consists of opening, content, and closing. At this phase, the analysis identifies the distribution of the speaker’s utterances based on SAT of Illocutionary Acts: Representatives, Directives, Commissives, Expressives, Declarations. This distribution is important to reveal the meaning and purpose of the speaker’s utterance: for instance, to identify any kind of persuasive utterances (see Table 5). This approach links to and identifies how the speaker addresses the organisation's overall aim to his audience.

Table 5 Checklist distribution on Speech Act of Illocutionary

Scheme		Illocutionary acts				
Position	Statements	Representatives	Directives	Commissives	Expressives	Declaratives
Opening	The Excellency Mr. President of Republic of Indonesia with Mrs. Iriana Jokowi <i>aa’adzahullah</i> [may Allah protect him] The President of the Republic of Indonesia 2019-2024. (SAS 01,line4)				√	
Content	Then, we also give a great appreciation to President Jokowi who has shown his courage to disband HTI, revoke HTI's legal entity. Then, HTI is an illegal organization. We do support the measure and do the same for other	√				

	<p>radical groups. (SAS 02, line18)</p> <p>To all the NU cadres, I have a message, I advise the word from Allah: “<i>Wa laa takfu maa laysa laka bihii ‘ilm, innassam’a walbashara walfu’aada kullu ulaa’ika kaana ‘anhu mas’uula</i>” ..[ And pursue not that of which thou hast no knowledge; for every act of hearing, or of seeing or of (feeling in) the heart will be enquired into (on the Day of Reckoning)]” (SAS 02, line55)</p> <p>Therefore, in welcoming the upcoming election, either the presidential or legislative election, NU should succeed in the election with peace, safety, comfortable and relaxed. (SAS 04, line10)</p> <p>This is the Islam Nusantara [Archipelagic Islam], polite Islam, friendly Islam, Islam that has respect for the culture, Islam with the character, having integrity, that is Islam Nusantara. (SAS 01, line30)</p>		√			√
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Closing	Thank you for coming this morning, Mr President. <i>Insya Allah</i> , our friendship with the president, will continue forever. <i>Insya Allah</i> . [God willing] (SAS 04,line21)				√	
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### 3.5.3 Types of Speech Acts (direct and indirect)

This identification describes the directness and indirectness of the Speech Acts in the speaker's utterances. The analysis categorises them based on the basic sentence structural form (Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative). It is in line with three general communicative functions for making statement, question, or command/request (1996, p. 54). The following is the table demonstrating this classification:

Table 6 a sample of Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

Position	Statements	Type of Speech Acts		Types of Sentence		
		Direct	Indirect	Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative
Content	Listen! Listen! <i>Syuhuudan siyasiyan</i> [role of politics]. So in 2019, we must be the winner in order that NU plays a role <i>syuhuudan siyaasiyyan</i> [role of politics], <i>syuhuudan</i> [peran]? <i>Siyaasiyyan</i> [politics] <i>siyaasiyyan</i> [politics]. (SAS 01,line19)	√				√

### 3.5.4 Religious and political messages

In this stage, the analysis considers Hymes' theory of SPEAKING for the context of speech. Furthermore, Fairclough's (1992) opinion on language as a social practice is also considered.

He defined language as a social practice that implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) which frame it. These include: i) what is going on, ii) who is involved, iii) what relations are at issue, and iv) what is the role of language (vocabulary and structure of the sentence). These theories are adopted to analyse discourse context within the speakers' utterances regarding meaning: the religious and political messages.

In this phase, the analysis considers some aspects: such as the theme of the speeches, participant/audience, social and political context when the speeches are delivered.

For example, in data 01, entitled "Smart! The speech of the executive chairman of PBNU KH. Said Agil Siradj at the 73<sup>rd</sup> Muslimat NU anniversary", the speaker delivered his speech in front of a hundred thousand of the Muslimat NU, and President Joko Widodo and his cabinet members attended it. The context of this speech was during the presidential election campaign in 2019. Therefore, the speaker used some of his utterances in his speech containing political messages. The following is the sample excerpt.

[05]

Listen! Listen! *Syuhuudan siyaasiyan* [role of politics]. So in 2019, we must be the winner in order that NU plays a role *syuhuudan siyaasiyyan* [role of politics], *syuhuudan* [peran]? *siyaasiyyan* [politics] *siyaasiyyan* [politics]. (SAS's Speech 01)

Sample excerpt 05 indicates that the speaker tries to get the attention of his audience to support his candidate in the presidential election in 2019. In this context, the speaker addressed the incumbent Joko Widodo, who attended the event.

### 3.6 Summary

This chapter describes the method of this current study. As pointed out above, this study employed mixed methods with a primary framework of the descriptive qualitative approach, and it uses SAT of the illocutionary act to analyse the speaker's utterances about the Islam Nusantara discourse. The quantitative method is used to count the incidence/quantity of SAT features of Illocutionary Acts. Meanwhile, the qualitative method is used to explain SAS's speech utterances on IN through the Speech Act Theory (particularly Illocutionary Acts), as well as through Register and Discourse Analysis. This section provided the steps of the description on the spoken discourse of the transcription and the analysis.

**CHAPTER 4.**  
**FINDING OF SAID AGIL SIRADJ'S (SAS) SPEECH FEATURES**  
**AND ITS DISTRIBUTION**

**4.1 Introduction**

Chapter 4 presents the Speech Acts (SA) analytical findings of KH. Said Siradj's (SAS) Speeches on Islam Nusantara discourse and the relation of these features to the overall aim of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Previously, Chapter 1 presented an introduction to the history of the NU and its political role within the context of Indonesia's political sustainability. Chapter 2 provided the framework and literature review as the main backbone of this study. Then, Chapter 3 described the research methodology, and the research analysis aims.

Based on the structure of this thesis outline, Chapter 4 presents the findings from the SA analysis of SAS's selected speeches on the discourse of Islam Nusantara theme. The focus of the analysis consists of the two data sets: SAS's speeches on Islam Nusantara and critics' responses to SAS's speeches. Chapter 4 presents this information in the form of a numerical table and a chart, before a discussion of the whole findings on Speech Acts distribution, Direct and Indirect Speech Acts, and the registers form for the Islamic terms.

More precisely, the table organises the findings into identified Illocutionary Acts: Representatives, Directives, Commissives, Expressives, and Declarations. The identification of these features via SA is further analysed using a tabulation of types of Speech Acts which are based on the main structure of the speech; they are opening, content, and closing elements. Additionally, the table on Direct and Indirect Speech Acts is also listed. Meanwhile, the use of the utterances in the Islamic terms are then categorized into the Register forms. The following is the tabulation of the SA distribution in the form of a table and chart, and the numerical table for direct and indirect speech acts.

Table 7 Distribution of SA of Illocutionary on SAS's Speeches

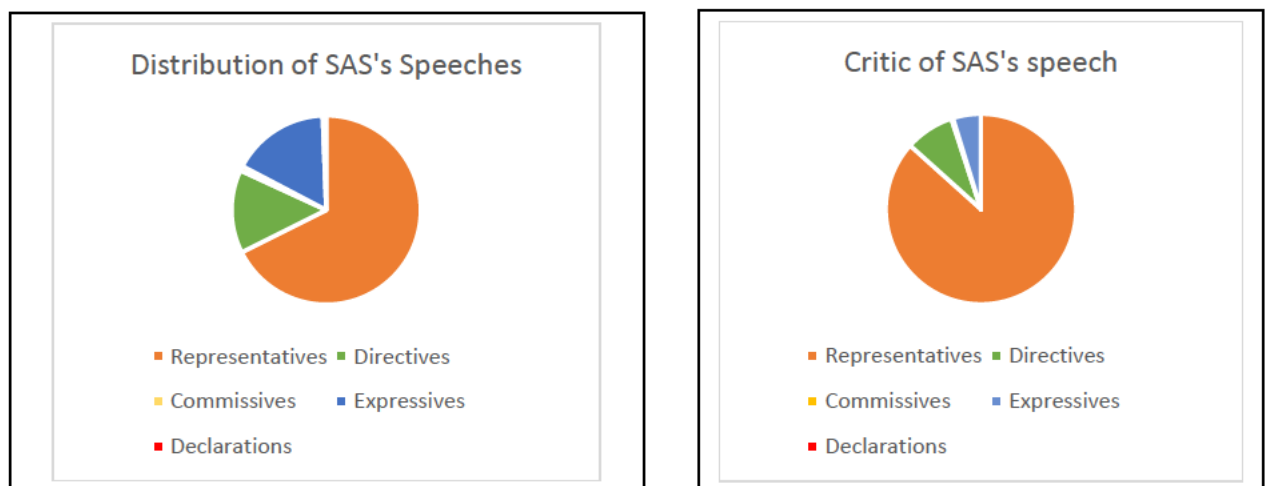
Data Speech	Speech Acts				
	Representatives	Directives	Commissives	Expressives	Declarations
01	12	7	1	16	1

02	40	10	0	20	0
03	36	5	0	4	0
04	17	4	0	5	0
05	71	6	1	6	0
06	64	13	0	7	0
07	22	8	2	6	1
08	70	17	0	18	1
Total	332	70	4	82	3
Percentage*	67,62%	14,26%	0,81%	16,70%	0,61%

Table 8 Distribution of SA of illocutionary on Critics of SAS's Speeches

Data Speech	Speech Acts				
	Representatives	Directives	Commissives	Expressives	Declarations
09	41	8	0	3	0
10	100	9	0	10	0
11	151	11	1	3	0
Total	292	28	1	16	0
Percentage*	86,65%	8,31%	0,30%	4,75%	0,00%

Figure 1 Chart of SAS's Speech and the Critics



\*The Formula for the percentage:

The total distribution of SAT is divided by the number of speech acts,

TSA= Total Speech Acts, SAC= Number of Speech Acts Categories



$$X = \frac{TSA}{SAC} \times 100$$

Table 9 Direct and Indirect Speech Acts of SAS's speeches (SS)

Data	Category of Speech Acts	Types			Total	Total Utterances	Direct	Indirect
		Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative				
SAS 01	Direct	21	2	1	24	31	24	7
	Indirect	5	2	0	7			
SAS 02	Direct	59	0	3	61	62	62	1
	Indirect	1	0	0	1			
SAS 03	Direct	40	0	1	41	43	41	2
	Indirect	2	0	0	2			
SAS 04	Direct	19	0	0	19	21	19	2
	Indirect	2	0	0	2			
SAS 05	Direct	68	1	1	70	80	70	10
	Indirect	10	0	0	10			
SAS 06	Direct	58	1	2	61	73	61	12
	Indirect	11	0	1	12			
SAS 07	Direct	23	0	1	24	26	24	2
	Indirect	2	0	0	2			
SAS 08	Direct	70	7	0	77	95	77	18
	Indirect	16	2	0	18			
						432	377	54

Table 10 Critics of SAS's Speeches (CSS)

Data	Category of Speech Acts	Types			Total	Total Utterances	Direct	Indirect
		Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative				
CSS 09	Direct	32	1	1	34	46	34	12
	Indirect	11	1	0	12			
CSS 10	Direct	58	5	0	63	105	63	42
	Indirect	38	3	1	42			
Direct						98	10	2

CSS 11	Indirect	48	1	1	50	160	110	50
						311	207	104

## 4.2 The Features of SAS's speeches

SAS's speeches can be structurally divided into three main segments: opening, content, and closing. Speech categorisations are commonly used within the structure of religious speeches, especially for the leaders of the Islamic organisations who adhere to the *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (Aswaja) ideology while delivering Islamic teaching in their society. The following is the characterisation of the three main segments of SAS's speech structure:

### 4.2.1 Opening segment

The opening segment is an important part of the speech, and there are some stylistic differences and language variations according to the audience/listener in each of the speech moments. For instance, when addressing the religious leaders and Islamic organizations, such as in the NU community, the religious greeting is an important part of speech, and it becomes mandatory and expected for the community to use it when they open formal and informal meetings. When beginning the speech, all speakers must use the greeting, and this includes SAS because he is a leader and part of the NU community. The structure of the opening can vary, and it can be stated in the earlier speech or after giving a salutation to the audience.

For the context of SAS's speeches, the speaker begins his speech utterances by using the religious greeting *Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.* [Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing] to start the speech. Variations of this greeting distribution can be found on the Data SAS 01 until SAS 08. This greeting *Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.* is used in both formal and informal situations of the Muslim meeting. For instance, in the application of the greeting, the speaker can combine the religious greeting with the national or local greeting such as *Selamat pagi* [good morning] and *sugeng enjing* [good morning] – an utterance used by the Javanese community. As a result, it is a common practice to combine, or synthesize, a formal standard religious greeting with the local greeting when a speaker begins the speech in both formal and informal situations, and this is a common element in SAS's speeches.

Furthermore, there are various utterances using patterns of speech structures in the opening speech. This variation might be used to make the opening segment more attractive and get the

audience's attention. Hence, most of the speakers commonly continue their greeting with some attributions, such as by inserting the salutation to the God and the Prophet Muhammad SAW and his family into the greeting segment. The following is the sample excerpt:

SAS 01, Line 3: '00:00:58-00:01:22

*Bismillah, Alhamdulillah, washshalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulaana wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa' alaa aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah.*

[In the name of Allah, the most merciful, all praise belongs to Allah. Peace be upon him, the chief of prophets, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until the hereafter.]

#### 4.2.2 Content segment

The next part of SAS's speech structure is in the content segment. The speaker used various ways to convey his speech messages by inserting the Islamic discourse, particularly related to Islam Nusantara. The use of the Islamic terms dominated the theme within SAS's speech utterances. It supports SAS's position as the NU leader, and it is evident that he has an educational background in Islamic studies.

Furthermore, SAS's position as the leader in the NU community contributed to his speech styles. Thus, as the leader, he has an institutional mandate to establish the organization ideology to uphold the teachings of the four *mazdhab*s and undertake all possible endeavours for the advantage of Islam, particularly *Aswaja* ideology.

SAS is a cleric and *kiai*, which means he has strong roots with his *santri*, so socially, people give him a special position and always offer him respect in the community. Hence, SAS is the executive chairman of PBNU, which institutionally introduced the brand of Islam Nusantara in the National Congress [Muktamar NU] 2015 in Jombang, East Java. This brand is related to the organization's main purpose, especially to maintain the ideology of *Aswaja* (Ismail, 2011; Saleh, 2008).

The result showed that in the content segment, SAS's speech utterances enabled the narrative stories to articulate the messages of the Islam Nusantara discourse to his members. The speaker adopts the narrative stories from the prophet's stories and companions in the speech messages. In addition, the narrative stories were used to arrange his messages and to interact with his audiences while addressing some Islamic themes.

The prophetic stories and references refer to the ancestors who the speaker adopted to describe the religious practices in Indonesia under the ideology *Aswaja*. For this context, SAS gave the

example of narrative stories from some figures as role models and guidance to his members. Given the context, the speaker wants to say that it is important to educate the people about inclusive Islamic religious teaching in society based on *Aswaja* ideology. Therefore, the concept of Islam Nusantara as the new brand of the NU has become a persuasive way for the Muslim community, particularly to counter the New Islamic Movement (NIM) groups. The speaker (SAS) addressed his topical themes on the Islamic discourse as constituting insights and paradigms for the organization and the society. The following are some thematic messages of SAS's speech utterances that can be identified within the content segment:

#### 4.2.2.1 The Story of the prophet's life and the companions

The themes of SAS's speech messages include the story of the prophet's life, and stories relating to the companions, and they can be found in: SAS 01 line 22, SAS 03 line 30, SAS 05 line 24, SAS 06 line 57.

SAS 01, line 21-22: 00:10:39 - 00:11:02

In the Qur'an, there is no special *surah*, except *surah an-Nisa*, Women. There is no *surah ar-Rijaal*, the Men. None. Men are lost and always lost to women. That's it! The first *syahid* in Islam to defend the faith is a woman.

Her name was Sumayyah, who was killed by Abu Jahal, before her husband, Ammar Yasir. Ammar, their son, pretended to be an apostate, but then he reported to the Prophet (Rasulullah) that he just pretended to be an apostate. No worries. A verse of Qur'an came down *illaa man ukriha faqalbun muthmainnun bil iimaan* [If you are forced, pretending to be an infidel with true faith in his heart is forgivable.]

SAS 01 line 24: 00:13:01 - 00:13:44

There is a *Hadith* confirming that the Messenger of Allah (the prophet Muhammad) said "I command, I order you to guard, respect, and love your wives. This is excellent. There is no Hadith order to care for your husband. None. Another Hadith will make men more jealous of women: *khairukum khairukum li nisaa'ikum wa anaa khairukum li nisaa'ikum*. The best husband is the one who loves his wife "I" said Rasulullah "I am the best husband to wives.

The utterances in data SAS 01, lines 21-22 and 24 (above) demonstrated that the speaker used utterances in referring to the Hadith to tell the story of the prophet Muhammad. The sources of the Qur'an and *Hadith* are used to explain how Islam gives special attention and respect to women. The speaker explained the position of women by making reference to the Quran, and he mentioned that women have a special place in Islam since the Qur'an has a specific chapter for women, *Surah an-Nisa*. By contrast, the speaker referred to men's position in Islam, and he mentioned that there is no verse of men [ar-rijal] in the Quran. In addition, he highlighted in his message that the statements in the Qur'an and

Hadith are samples and proof of how respectful Islam is to the position of women, something which could not be found previously during the period of Mecca.

Furthermore, the speaker confirmed to his audiences that women had made great contributions to the Islamic *Da'wah*. For instance, he mentioned the first woman who died in protecting the faith – Sumayyah (see SAS 01, line 21). She was the first woman who died in Islamic *Da'wah* during the earlier Islamic period or the first prophetic era of Muhammad. The prophet Muhammad also mentioned that he was the best husband to his wife because he loved her (SAS 01 line 24).

#### 4.2.2.2 Islam and Nationalism

The next theme of SAS's speech is a message of Islam and Nationalism, and it can be found in the data of SAS 01 line 28, SAS 02 line 22, SAS 03 line 36, SAS 04 line 6, and SAS 07 line 14. The following are sample excerpts of utterances from SAS 02, line 34 – 37: 00:15.36- 00:16.39:

Line 34:

Perhaps many people who are attending here still do not know this story. There was a *santri*, his name was Dul Kamid, or Abdul Hamid. Javanese will call him Dul Kamid. He was in *pesantren* of KH. Hasan Besari, Tegal Sari, Ponorogo.

Line 35: 00:15.55- 00:16.15

He learnt Islamic teaching, completing reciting the Quran, who is he? He was a son of Hamengkubowono III, namely the prince Abdul Hamid Diponegoro, a national hero who had terrorised the Netherlands from 1825 to 1830. Pangeran Diponegoro was a boarding school student, and he did not go to any formal school.

Line 36: 00:16.16- 00:16.31

Secondly, Ki Hajar Dewantara, the father of national education, his original name was Suardi; he was a *santri* for Kyai Zainuddin Sulaiman Prambanan. He has finished the Quran.

Line 37: 00:16.32- 00:16.39

And Kiai Abdul Hamid also finished the Quran and Fathul Qarib. Even he wrote the book of Taqrib with his own hand. Pangeran Diponegoro.

SAS 03, line 3: 00:02:35 - 00:03:53

Ladies and gentlemen, today is October 22, 2019. 74 years ago, Hadratus Syeikh K.H Hasyim Asy'ari issued a *fatwa* known as the Jihad Resolution. In the *fatwa*, Hadratus Syeikh K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari stated that it is obligatory for every Muslim to fight against the invaders to defend independence. *Fardhu 'ain* means that everyone is obligated, male and female, rich and poor, educated or uneducated, the elite or the laymen are all obliged. This *fatwa* became the basis for the people in

Surabaya and its surrounding areas, Pasuruan, Madura, Sidoarjo-Gresik, Mojokerto, Jombang to do battle against NICA.

Line 38: 00:39:43 – 00:41:19

Islam Nusantara is also integrated with nationalism. Nationalism must be given the spirit of Islam. This is what Hadratus Syeikh K.H Hasyim Ashari taught; nationalism is part of faith. K.H. Hasyim Ashari, a nationalist cleric. President Jokowi is a *santri* nationalist. Kiai Ma'ruf Amin, a *santri* nationalist. Therefore, together we must encourage the practice of Indonesian Islam to become a religious reference in the world. Not only to Muslim countries in the world but also to non-Muslim countries that implement a democratic system. Today, we can be proud to be the largest democracy in the world. The implementation of a complicated election that has fragmented the nation tends to prioritize the post-truth pattern and hate speech... .

SAS 07, line 10: 00:11:36 - 00:12:13

Even, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari has the jargon of *Hubbul Watoon Minal iman* [love the country is part of faith]

Whoever has believed in Allah, the angels, the holy Qur'an, the prophets, the Day of Judgment, and Qada-qadar (i.e., the six faiths) but has not defended his homeland, his faith is not complete.

You will not find scholars in the Middle East who have the same teaching of *Hubbul Watton Minnal Iman*. Trust me, I've lived in Arabia for 13 years.

The data of SAS's speeches from SAS 02, line 34 – 37; SAS 03, line 3; and SAS 07, line 10 (above) identified the speaker's intention on the important role of *Kiai* and *Ulama*, particularly *Pesantren*, in contributing to building the nation within the Indonesia context. The speaker mentioned that *Kiai* and *Ulama* made a great contribution to struggling against colonialism during the independence era, and many of them became heroes, such as the Prince of Diponegoro (Carey, 2014). Diponegoro is a figure of *Ulama* and a nationalist who made a major contribution to fighting against the Dutch colonialists. Another figure of *Ulama* and nationalism is Ki Hajar Dewantara; he is 'the father of national education'. Then, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, the founder of the NU, had a motto: *Hubbul Watoon Minal iman* [loving the country is part of faith]. This motto was effective in fighting the colonialists. Based on the sample figures above, the concept of *Islam Nusantara* is feasible for building the nation. Finally, Islam and nationalism can work together and contribute to build the nation without any contradiction.

#### 4.2.2.3 Tolerance

The message of tolerance can be identified in SAS's speeches. They are found in: SAS 03 lines 29 and 37, SAS 06 line 7. The following are sample excerpts from the data SAS 03 line 37: 00:38:28 - 00:39:42

Islam practised in Indonesia is a representation of the vision of how to be merciful to the universe. We are a representation of religious commitment and attitude that emphasizes moderation, tolerance, and peace. The civilization built by Islamic countries in the future will refer to the religious practices that we have carried out here. That is religious practices that respect diversity and culture. This is well known as 'Islam Nusantara'. It is not a new school (ism), but a typology of the people of the archipelago. 'Islam Nusantara' is not an -ism, not a new sect or *mazhab* which is developed here. Islam Nusantara is the one practised, preached and developed according to the characteristics of society and culture in the archipelago. As long as it is not against Islamic law. We can give an example of how Islam can be included in Indonesian culture such as the use of drums [*bedug*] to mark prayer times. The drum was originally a musical instrument, then accepted by the Islamic scholars, and its use was changed to start prayer times.

In the excerpt above (SAS 03, line 37), the speaker explained the values of tolerance which is practised within the cultural behaviour of Indonesian people. The excerpt showed how Islam opens to and receives the local culture. The speaker mentioned that Islam during the first period came to Indonesia without war because the citizens received and welcomed it, which meant Islam was able to acculturate with the local culture. For this context, the speaker gave the example of the Islamic cultural practice of blending with the local culture, such as the use of *Bedug* [drums] to mark prayer times in Islam. *Bedug* was originally a musical instrument for Javanese people.

#### 4.2.2.4 Moral values

SAS's speeches also highlighted the importance of Moral Values. This sample excerpt is from SAS 03, line 41: 00:43:18 - 00:44:06.

The values we have like integrity, honesty, trustworthiness, *akhlaqul karimah* [noble character such as good attitude and morality] will be an important capital in welcoming Indonesia Gold in 2045. Of course, I advise students to continue to develop creative, innovative, and critical thinking traditions. That is why through this pulpit, I want to appeal to all attendees to involve students as active subjects in the entire process of nation and state development. *Santri* inherited the legacy left by the Islamic scholars in the golden age of Islam. Therefore, the rise of Indonesia and Islam will be largely determined by their roles.

In this excerpt, the speaker explained the important role of *Santri* and their contribution in building the nation. The speaker said, *Santri* is known as having good integrity, good morality, and an attitude of *akhlaqul karimah*. For that reason, SAS mentioned that *Santri* has an opportunity and the human capital to welcome the Indonesia Gold in 2045 (Indonesia will be a sovereign, advanced, fair, and prosperous nation). In order to be able to participate in that era, SAS advised his audiences that *Santri* should be ready to face the golden age of Islam with good integrity, good morality, and an attitude of *akhlaqul karimah*.

#### 4.2.2.5 Preserving the culture

The messages relating to preserving the culture were identified in SAS speeches. For instance, SAS 03, line 37: 00:38:28 - 00:39:42

...Islam Nusantara is the one practised, preached and developed according to the characteristics of society and culture in the archipelago. As long as it is not against Islamic law. We can give an example of how Islam can be included in Indonesian culture such as the use of drums [*bedug*] to mark prayer times. The drum was originally a musical instrument, then accepted by the Islamic scholars, its use was changed to start prayer times.

The sample excerpt of SAS's speeches above is about preserving the culture. The speaker stressed that the principles of Islam do not contradict the culture, and it is not against Islamic law. Adopting the local culture in Islam is not strange and harmful, so the application of *bedug* or drum, to mark the prayer times is applied. *Bedug* is a musical instrument for the Javanese people.

#### 4.2.2.6 Fighting radicalism and terrorism

The speech message utterances on the theme of anti-radicalism and terrorism were found in SAS 03, line 16, SAS 07, lines 21 and 24. Here is the sample excerpt for the utterances:

SAS 07, line 21: 00:23:40 – 00:25:19

Therefore, terrorism and radicalism are our common enemies. They are not only the enemy of the NU but also the enemy of the nation....

Line 24: 00:22:50 - 00:28:21

The people of Nadhatul Ulama must consider as an enemy and reject radicalism, Wahhabism, Salafism, also terrorism... .



Another concern from the speaker that was raised within his speech message is fighting radicalism and terrorism. This issue has become one of the interesting topics and the government has particularly declared that radicalism and terrorism are extraordinary crimes. In addition, the speaker addressed this issue because radical groups, Wahabism, and Salafist ideologies have contradicted the NU ideology. Therefore, the speaker gave the alarm to his members as part of the NU community to the threat from these groups. SAS messages on these issues are in line with the NU organization that has concerned itself with maintaining the ideology of Aswaja specifically, and Indonesia in general.

#### 4.2.2.7 Protect the ideology of “*Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah*”

The last topic or theme in SAS’s message is the Ideology *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah*. The utterances were found in the data SAS (see SAS 03 line 17, SAS 04 line3, SAS 07 line 14 and 17, 06 line 71). The following are the sample excerpts:

SAS 07, line 17: 00:20:51 – 00:21:10

Therefore, for *Nahdhatul Ulama*, Islam does not need to be formally constitutionalized. Islam is practised in our daily lives, colouring our daily lives. That is the Islam *Ahlissunnah wal Jama'ah*.

Line 26: 00:29:16 – 00:29:53

I express my gratitude to Ibu Mega for taking the time to attend this evening with all her team. Thanks to all attendees. Let us once again join hands to maintain the unity of the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, *Islam Ahlissunnah wal Jama'ah* and nationalism must always be one....

SAS 03, line 17: 00:14:35 - 00:15:12

Third, people in some groups want to replace *Pancasila* as the state foundation; their number has also increased. They said *Pancasila* is against Islam. In fact, the Nahdhatul Ulama Conference in Situbondo has decided that *Pancasila* conforms to Islamic laws. Even the precepts contained in *Pancasila* reflect Islamic values. That's why Nahdhatul Ulama has become the first organization to accept *Pancasila* as the sole basis of its organization.

The data excerpts SAS 03 and SAS 07 above, show the speaker asserted that the role of NU as one of the largest Islamic organizations is to adhere to the *Aswaja* theology. This then can be identified in the message of the speaker’s utterance, where he said “...Let us once again join hands to maintain the unity of the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, *Islam Ahlissunnah wal Jama'ah* (*Aswaja*) and nationalism...”. Being committed to the *Aswaja* theology means people follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and his friends.

### 4.2.3 Closing segment

For the closing segment of the speech, the speaker used some distinguishing utterance features to end his speech. The first was giving thanks to his audiences, especially to the special guest Mr president (SAS 01, line 30), followed by the prayer and ending with the formal closing “*wassalaamu’alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh*”. [May peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you] (SAS 01 line 31). Before the closing, the speaker offered an additional attribution, *wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwamithariiq* [Allah is the One who guides to the straight path] (SAS 01 line 31), and this utterance became a specific utterance feature of the NU communities when ending their speeches. Indeed, some preachers, *kiai*, or religious leaders - including SAS – used this additional attribution when they ended their speeches. The following is a sample utterance from SAS’s speech which employed the closing segment:

SAS 01, line 30: 00:18:36 - 00:18:52

Thank you very much to Mr. President and first lady who have attended this event and Alhamdulillah when the president was coming, the rain just then stopped. This is the excellence of the rain handler.

SAS 01, line 31:

*Syukron wa dumtum fil khairi walbarakati wannajaah, wallahu yahfazdukum minal’aafaati wal’aahad ya’khudz biaidiikum, lima fiihiishshalaah walkhair* [Thank you very much, may you all always be in good condition and full of blessings and success, and may Allah protect you from all harms and bad incidences], *wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwamithariiq* [Allah is the One who guides to the straight path], *wassalaamu’alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh*. [May peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you].

## 4.3 The Distribution of Illocutionary Acts in SAS’ speeches using Speech Acts Theory

### (SAT)

As pointed out above, there are a number of SA distributions in SAS’s speech utterances. The total incidence of the SA category can be identified with the formula by Microsoft Excel (Berk & Carey, 2010) by calculating the total of SA (TSA) divided by the number of SA categories (SAC) and multiplied by 100%; here is the formula:

$$X = \frac{TSA}{SAC} \times 100$$

TSA= Total Speech Acts, SAC= Number of Speech Acts Categories.

There are 430 lines of utterances within eight selected speeches. The line categorisation in the speech is based on the pause and the meaning of the nature of each utterance. For instance, in the opening segment, the speaker uttered the opening greeting *Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh* (SAS 01, line 2), so it will become one line because it has one meaning. Then, for the long line, is as follows:

*Bismillah, Alhamdulillah, wasshalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulaana wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa' alaa aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah.* [In the name of Allah, the most merciful, all praise belongs to Allah. Peace be upon him, the chief of prophets, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until the hereafter.] (SAS 01, line 3)

The next line is longer than the previous one, and that becomes one line because it still only has one meaning. This model categorisation is in line with the interpretative nature of discourse research and makes a measurement of the transcription based on the speaker's utterances. It is in line with the goal of discourse research, which is to capture aspects of interaction (Edwards, 2007).

Based on the line classifications, there are 430 lines from eight of SAS's selected speeches. Then, there are 491 SA utterances with the categories of Representative 332 utterances, Directives 69, Commissives 4, Expressives 82 and Declarations 3 utterances. In summary, by using the above formula, the percentage of Representatives is 67,62%, Directives 14,26%, Commissives 0,81%, Expressives 16,70%, and Declarations 0,61%.

Furthermore, for each type of Speech Act, the Representative Act type consists of 247 utterances to inform; 10 utterances to make a claim; 31 utterances to argue; 22 utterances to make sure; 3 utterances to predict; and 19 utterances to make jokes. Then for the types of the Directive Speech Act consists of 7 utterances to command; 11 utterances to request and 52 utterances for suggestion or advice. The Commissive Speech Act consists of 4 utterances. Meanwhile, the Expressive Speech Act consists of 38 utterances for greeting; 16 utterances to thank; 11 utterances for prayer; 3 utterances for apologizing and 14 utterances for flattering. There are 13 utterances for Declarations of Speech Act.

### 4.3.1 Representative Speech Acts

Representatives are utterances used to describe the state of affairs, and it can be the act of claiming, informing, or describing, arguing, assuring, predicting, and making a joke. The following exemplifies those types:

#### 4.3.1.1 Claim/Judge

The first type of Representative Speech Act is a claim. Searle and Van der Veken (1985, p. 183) state that the claim/judge act may be treated in exactly the same way as to assert; however, there are significant differences between them that need to be explored. The following is the sample utterance of the claim/judge:

SAS 03, line 38: 00:39:43 – 00:41:19

...Today, we can be proud to be the largest democracy in the world. The implementation of a complicated election that has fragmented the nation tends to prioritize the post-truth pattern and hate speech....

The excerpt of SAS 03, line 38 showed that there is a Representative act that the speaker intends to make a claim and to assert to his audience. Given the context, the speaker claims that Indonesia has become the largest democracy in the world. Therefore, as the citizen of Indonesia we must be proud of this achievement.

#### 4.3.1.2 Inform

Another type of Representative Speech Act is to inform. The act of information can be used to describe to the hearers with the additional preparatory condition that the hearer does not know what he/she is being informed of. Within this act, the speaker may describe or inform something to the listener. For this type, here is the sample excerpt:

SAS 01, line 12: 00:04:49 - 00:05:55

...*Munajah* is an individual praying; *istighosah* is a mass prayer with a lot of people.

The utterance of SAS 01 above showed that the speaker tried to inform about the term *Istighosah*. Then, the speaker defined the word *Istighosah* as a mass prayer with a lot of people. He described this term to his audiences by giving the assumption that this information will give useful guidance for the NU members, especially in understanding Islamic practices. Based on the religious practice within the NU community, the application of *Istighosah* is one of the

common activities when they ask for blessing and help from God. Therefore, a knowledge-based understanding of this term is important for the NU community.

#### 4.3.1.3 Argue

The next type of Representative Speech Acts is to argue. Searle and Van der Veken (1985) define the word argue as differing from assuring, only in that the speaker gives supporting evidence. The following is the sample utterance for arguing:

SAS 01, line 14-15: 00:06:00 - 00:06:53

Ladies and gentlemen, in the Holy Qur'an, God commands the Prophet Muhammad to form an organization, which is called *ummat* [society].

What *ummat* is instructed in the Qur'an? I should say sorry that there is no mentioning of the term of Islamic *ummah* there. Not even once. Please you, the *hafidz* [persons who memorize Qur'an] have a look. Is there any phrase of Islamic *ummah* in Qur'an? No, right? There is only mentioned, *wa kadzaalika ja'alnaakum ummatan wasathan* [Thus we have made you into a middle community] (source QS. 2:143).

In the utterance above, the speaker said that there is no instruction or obligation for Muslims to form Islamic *ummah*. To support his argumentation, the speaker provides evidence from the Qur'an. He mentioned that the Qur'an as the holy book and the guidance for Muslims does not mention *Ummatan Muslimatan* when referring to Muslims, but the Qur'an only mentions *ummatan wasathan*. Hence, the speaker used the type of Representative Speech Acts to argue in front of his audiences about the term *ummah*. The speaker explained in more detail about the term *ummatan wasathan* which has the meaning of "middle community".

#### 4.3.1.4 Assure/to make sure

Another type of Representative Speech Act is to assure or to make sure. Searle and Van der Veken (1985, p. 184) describe the word assure as asserting with the perlocutionary intention of convincing the hearer of the truth of the propositional content in the world of the utterance. The sample type of the utterance can be found as follows:

SAS 03, line 38: 00:39:43 – 00:41:19

Islam Nusantara is also integrated with nationalism. Nationalism must be given the spirit of Islam. This is what Hadratus Syaikh K.H Hasyim Asy'ari taught, nationalism is part of faith. K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, is a nationalist cleric. President Jokowi is a *santri* nationalist. Kiai Ma'ruf Amin, a *santri* nationalist. Therefore, together we must encourage the practice of Indonesian Islam to become a religious

reference in the world. Not only to Muslim countries in the world but also to non-Muslim countries that implement a democratic system... .

The sample utterance above (line 38) showed that the speaker used another type of Representative to assure the hearer. The speaker highlighted the importance of the spirit of Nationalism. The speaker said in his utterances that nationalism must be given to the society. In addition, the speaker gave a sample of role models in the figures who express nationalism. For instance, he mentioned the figures Santri and nationalists, such as KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, President Jokowi, Kiai Ma'ruf Amin (vice president). Further, he assured his listeners that Santri Nationalism is important for Islam in Indonesia and for non-Muslim countries in the world.

#### 4.3.1.5 To predict

The next type of Representative Speech Act is to make predictions. The following utterances are sample excerpts:

SAS 03, line 19: 00:16:24 - 00:17:24

Ladies and gentlemen, because of these four things, I would like to take this opportunity to convey my sub-topics. These four points of view will become a strong foundation for welcoming Indonesia's 100th anniversary. This is important because 2045, as predicted by a number of institutions, will be a golden age in Indonesia. In time, Indonesia is predicted to become a developed country, as the fifth world economic power, with a dominance of the productive age. However, this golden age 2045 is determined by what we have prepared today, particularly by our religious views and attitudes.

SAS 07, line 3: 00:01:59 – 00:03:24

Tonight, it's the 92<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of *Nahdhatul Ulama* [the 93<sup>rd</sup> Hijriyah]. This means that *Nahdhatul Ulama* is almost one century old, one hundred years old. It turns out that *Nahdhatul Ulama* has always adhered to the *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah Islam* and adhered to the decision of the Banjarmasin Congress in 1936 that NU wanted our country to be *darussalam* [peace country], a country built on peace across religions, ethnicities, and cultures. It will not fade *illa yaumul qiyama* [until the end of the world].

The Representative Speech Act of prediction on the utterances of SAS's speeches (see 03 line 19 and 07 line 3 above) were used by the speaker to make predictions in the future. For example, in the utterance SAS (see 03 line 19), the speaker predicted that 2045 will mark the

golden age of Indonesia, "...This is important because 2045, as predicted by a number of institutions, will be a golden age of Indonesia". On the other hand, in the utterance of SAS (see 07 line 3), the speaker mentioned that the NU always adhered to the *Aswaja* ideology in seeking to implement *Darussalam* [peace country]. *Darussalam* means that the country will run based on the principles of peace across religions, ethnicities, and cultures *illa yaumul qiyama* [until the end of the world]. Given the context, SAS's statement became the prediction for the future of Indonesia.

#### **4.3.1.6 To make joke**

SAS 01, line 26: 00:13:47 - 00:15:14

Therefore, I myself as the example. My apologies, as when I am not in the house, when I am out, I am Prof. Dr. KH. the General chairman. All people kiss my hands. However, when I go back home, and my wife is angry with me, all the degrees, both doctor and professors are all meaningless. All collapse, no Professor, no Doctor, right? Hopefully Mr. President is not like me. You know this! which is in fact not very different. Therefore, Ladies, that's just a joke... .

The last type of the Representative Speech Acts is to make a joke. The speaker performed the act of jokes in his speech utterances to relax the audience and ease a tension during the speech. An example of the act can be seen in the sample excerpt (see SAS 01, line 26) above. The speaker illustrated himself as the example in his utterances. In that context, the speaker mentioned that he was worried by his wife's character when she was angry. Related to the speaker's illustration, he said that the position of a husband will be meaningless when their wives are angry with them, and even more than that, all degrees of both doctors and professors, would be meaningless in front of the wives. As a result, the jokes within the speaker's utterances made the audiences laugh. Therefore, SAS's jokes during the speech are important to ease the tension and to attract the audience.

#### **4.3.2 Directive Speech Acts**

These are attempts by the speaker to make the hearer do something. In this act, an utterance that requires the speech partner to take an action. The following are the types of the Directive Speech Acts within SAS's speeches are including, command, request, and suggestion:

##### **4.3.2.1 Command**

SAS 03, line 23: 00:22:21 – 00:23:22

Allah says in surah *al An'am* verse, in detail, please have a look by yourself, what *surah* and verse, it will be found in Qur'an: revile not those unto whom they pray beside Allah lest they wrongfully revile Allah through ignorance. Thus, unto every nation have We made their deed seem fair. Then unto their Lord is their return, and He will tell them what they used to do [108]. Don't abuse those who don't worship Allah, don't abuse the god they worship, in the future they will abuse Allah, that's how I make every *ummah* have a culture that they are proud of. Therefore, the Qur'an recognizes a very diverse culture that we must respect. We must not underestimate the culture of other nations, other groups, other religions.

The next type of Directive Speech Act is a command. It is used by the speaker to give a command to the hearers. The sample for this context is that the speaker cited from the Qur'an to give the explanation of the command about how to give respect to people with different cultures. The speaker emphasized his explanation by quoting from the Qur'an that people have been made by the God with very diverse cultures and so we must respect each other. The speaker used the word "must" to underline that the instruction of the Qur'an is important and it is mandatory for his audiences to follow the command.

#### 4.3.2.2 Request

The next category of the Directive Speech Acts that were found in SAS's speech utterances was in the form of the request. This act was performed when the speaker asked the hearer to do something. In this case, it was a way of expressing the fact that the speaker wanted the hearer to do something. Given the context, it can be a form of reminding by the speaker. The following is the sample of Directive Speech Acts of Request:

SAS 01, line 29: 00:17:16 - 00:17:58

...Let's keep NKRI, let's keep *Pancasila*, let's preserve the culture, character, good morality [*akhlakul karimah*].

In the utterance above, the speaker intends to ask the listener to do the act by stating "let's keep". This means, the speaker requests his audiences to maintain NKRI (the unity of the Republic of Indonesia), to keep *Pancasila* as the sole basis of the state of Indonesia, to keep the culture and to have good character. In another example, the speaker's intention put to the hearer can be identified within this utterance:

SAS 02, line 20: 00:09.08- 00:09.52

They are getting bolder everywhere, increasingly challenging, the more blatantly insulting, slandering, creating conflicts among the national figures, to the president, between the Islamic scholars and the clerics. To this time, I'm still waiting for



concrete and decisive actions from the police. So, from this pulpit, NU asks the Indonesian police to be more assertive in dealing with radical groups, not just HTI.

In the excerpt SAS 02 above, the purpose of the speech is that the speaker requested the Indonesian police to be more assertive to take action in regard to the radical groups because they cause violence not only within the society, but even to Islamic scholars.

#### 4.3.2.3 Suggestion

The next category of the Directive Speech Acts that was found in SAS's speeches was the type of suggestion. The speaker used utterances to make suggestions to the listener when providing information which obliges the hearer to respond appropriately: this kind can be as an advice.

SAS 08, line 79: 00:58:24 - 00:59:00

NU invites us to go to the right path. let's go with the priest, Imam Shafi'i, let's go with Imam Asy'ari, you know. Not with me. "No. Come with me," no no, no, no. Not me, not Kiai Isyom, no. Follow Imam Shafi'i, follow Imam? Come on together with me. Come on together with me. Come on together with Kiai Ma'ruf Amin and other kiai. Come on, come with Imam Shafi'i, come on, so that? So that's right. Earlier the Qur'an said, if you want to be right, who knows the truth, who? The Scholars...

The utterances above belong to suggestion because they were used by the speaker to suggest that the hearers follow Kiais such as Kiai Ma'ruf Amin and others, because by following them we follow Imam Syafi'i. Imam Syafi'i is one of the Imams in the Madzhab. According to the ideology of Aswaja, we must follow the companions and the ulama. Therefore, when following Imam Syafi'i, the NU members were under a similar obligation as when following the Qur'an and Hadith.

#### 4.3.3 Commissive Speech Acts

Commissive Speech Acts are acts that commit the speaker to some future course of action. Examples include commitment, promises and threats. According to Searle and Van der Veken (1985, p. 192), commissive verbs indicate the degree or strength of the commitment. For this, when we promise to do P, we are making a commitment to undertake P. The effect of a promise is to cause the hearer to believe that the speaker will undertake to do P. Wierzbicka gives the following conditions for the action of promise (1999, p. 205) :

1) I know that you want me to do P. 2) I know that you think that I may not do it. 3) I want to do it because you want me to do it. 4) I say I will do it. 5) I want us to think that if I don't do it,

people will not believe anything that I say I will do. 6) I say this, in this way, because I want to cause you to think that I must do it.

The act of the Commissive is a form of speech that has the effect of commitment that binds the speaker to an action that will be carried out in the future and will do it according to his speech. In other words, this is kind of the intention to commit to do something. The following is the sample excerpt.

#### **4.3.3.1 Promise**

The utterance in data SAS 01 shows how the speaker uttered his promise in front of his cadres and members. Below is the sample excerpt of his utterance.

SAS 01, line 29: 00:17:16 - 00:17:58

In the national congress of NU 2020, I will not run for the next term. Please others, anyone, I don't have any candidate. Any NU cadre who nominates himself to become a general chairman, you are all welcome in August 2020. But I will remain active in NU. No worries about... .

The Commissive Speech Act of promise in this excerpt is where the speaker committed to do something in the future. Based on the excerpt of SAS 01 (line 29), the speaker said in front of his members that he promised not to run for the next term to become the executive chairman of the PBNU. The utterance of SAS 01 above is the sample excerpt for his intention. In line with Van der Veken above, Wijana also stressed on the acts of intention to commit do something for Commissives Acts such as in Indonesia context, *Tunggu sebentar saya akan Kembali setengah jam lagi* [Please wait, I will be back in 30 minutes] (Wijana, 2021, p. 21).

#### **4.3.4 Expressive Speech Acts**

Expressive Speech Acts are the speaker's attitudes and feelings towards the proposition. This act is a kind of form that shows the speaker's feelings to the speech partner. The utterance is used to express the sincerity condition of the Speech Act. The paradigm of Expressive Speech Acts is used for some expressions to "thank," "congratulate," "apologize," "condole," "deplore," and "welcome" (Searle, 1975, p. 356). Furthermore, prayers are considered as a type of Expressive Speech Acts since they reveal the speaker's feelings (Smith, 1991). Similarly, greetings are also part of the Expressive Speech Acts. The following excerpts indicate the sample utterances of the greeting and invocation in SAS's speeches:

#### 4.3.4.1 Greeting

SAS 01, line 2: 00:00:34-00:00:48

*Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.* [May peace and God's mercy and blessing be upon you].

Line 3: 00:00:58-00:01:22

*Bismillah, Alhamdulillah, washshalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulaana wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa' alaa aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah.* [In the name of Allah, the most merciful, all praise belongs to Allah. Peace be upon him, the chief of prophets, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until the hereafter].

The Expressive Speech Act of greeting is used by the speaker to greet his audience. The utterance of greeting in the excerpt SAS 01 (line 2) is when the speaker used the religious greeting *Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh* to welcome the audience. In addition, the speaker added other attributional greetings such as a kind of invocation *Bismillah*, and *washalaatu wassalaamu...* and greeting prayer to the Prophet Muhammad.

#### 4.3.4.2 Prayers

The next type of Expressive Speech Acts is a prayer. The following excerpts are sample utterances for prayers as used by the speaker.

SAS 01, line 5: 00:01:52-00:02:13

Honorable, the Ministers of the Work Cabinet. *al-Mukarramah as-Sayyidah* [the excellency, Mrs] Mrs. Abdul Rahman Wahid, Mrs *Sulthaaniyyah* [the First Lady] *'atha allaahu baqaahaa* [hopefully in obedience forever], *fii shihhatin daaiman* [always in good health].

Line 32: 00:18:54 - 00:19:15

*Syukran wa dumtum fil khairi walbarakati wannajaah, wallahu yahfazdukum minal'aafaati wal'aahad ya'khudz biadiikum, lima fiihiishshalaah walkhair* [Thank you very much, may you all always be in good condition and full of blessings and success, and may Allah protect you from all harms and bad incidences], *wallaahumuwaafiq ilaa aqwamiththariiq, wassalaamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.* [May peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you].

During the opening and the closing segments, the speaker used expressive utterances for the prayers for the audiences. Data SAS 01, line 5 showed that the speaker also gave the special

prayer for the first lady Mrs. Abdul Rahman Wahid. The utterance context produced by the speaker was *'atha allaahu baqaahaa* [hopefully in obedience forever], *fii shihhatin daaiman* [always in good health]. These utterances were used by the speaker as a form of praying which included and named Mrs. Mrs. Abdul Rahman Wahid. Furthermore, in his closing segment, the speaker also gave the prayer for all his audiences. The sample excerpt of utterances can be seen in data SAS 01 line 34 after the speaker said “*Syukran*” [Thank you very much]; he continued his utterance by saying “*wa dumtum fil khairi walbarakati wannajaah, wallahu yahfazdukum minal'aafaati wal'aahad ya'khudz biaidiikum, lima fihiishshalaah walkhair*” [may you all always be in good condition and full of blessings and success, and may Allah protect you from all harms and bad incidences], which means the speaker expressed the feeling of goodwill and asked blessing and protection from the God for all of his audiences.

#### **4.3.4.3 Thanks**

The next type of the Expressive Speech Acts is to thank. The data in SAS 01, line 31: 00:18:36 - 00:18:52 showed that the speaker expressed thanks to Mr. President for his coming.

Thank you very much Mr. President and first lady who have attend this event, and *Alhamdulillah* when the president was coming, the rain then just stopped. This is the excellence of the rain handler.

The speaker used the Expressive Speech Acts to say thanks for the special guest or the listener who attended his event, and the utterance can be seen in the excerpt of SAS 01 line 31.

#### **4.3.4.4 Apologize**

The next type of the Expressive Speech Acts is to apologize. The sample utterance can be found in SAS 02, line 62: 00:25.38- 00:26.00.

My apologies, there is a person who will endow land in the middle of Karawang city, his name is H. Andi for about 7000 meters, please go upstairs accompanied by Dr. Eman Suryaman...

The type of expression of the Expressive Speech Acts is used to Apologize. The speaker expressed this utterance when he forgot to mention the contributor of the charity [fundraising moment] during the event. The speaker used an utterance “My apologies...” in SAS 02 line 62.

#### 4.3.4.5 Flattering

This type of act takes its form when the speaker feels the need to pay respect to or flatter someone. This act is similar to prayers, which are considered as a type of Expressive Speech Act since they reveal the speaker's feelings (Smith, 1991). The following is the sample excerpt:

SAS 08, line: 00:20:42 - 00:21:32

*Amin tazakkuri jiranim bidzii salamin* [Is it because you remember the lovers in *Dzi Salam*] why do you always cry incessantly, until your tears mix with blood. Is it because you miss the women in *Dzi salam* village? Or because you remember one hot day, the wind was blowing hard, in the village of Kadzimah. Or you are reminded of a pitch dark, shining night in the village of Idzhom. Why do you have a restless day, why don't you eat well? Why don't you sleep well? Surely you are drunk with love, surely you are in love.

In this excerpt, SAS 08, the intention is to give a kind of flattering to the Prophet Muhammad: it is like a poem or song, but it contains religious values. In the NU community, this is a kind of *Barzanji* lyric.

#### 4.3.5 Declarations Speech Acts

Declarations are very instrumental and special in the Speech Act. For example, it is used in rituals and ceremonies, and they also used to produce an immediate change of affairs. The paradigm cases/type cases of these utterances are declaring, baptising, resigning, dismissing, naming, and sentencing. The followings are utterances that employ declaratives.

SAS 01, line 30: 00:17:59 - 00:18:35

This is the Archipelagic Islam, a polite and friendly Islam. Islam that respects the culture, Islam with the character, having integrity, that is Archipelagic Islam. Not madzhab, not sect, but *khashaa'is mumayyizaat*, Islamic typology, Archipelagic Islamic society... .

#### 4.4 Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

Speech acts can be classified as Direct Speech Acts and Indirect Speech Acts. Direct Speech Acts perform their function in a direct and literal manner. By contrast, Indirect Speech Acts perform their function in an indirect and nonliteral manner (Dawson & Phelan, 2011). In the general communicative strategy, the use of Direct and Indirect Speech Acts is important in society, particularly for religious speech. For most general events, the application of Direct and Indirect Speech Acts is important because it relates to the communication of politeness.

For some cultures, such as those in Eastern countries, using indirectness when producing satire is more polite and ‘proper’ rather than using direct utterances. Therefore, people tend to use Indirect Speech Acts mainly in connection with politeness (Leech, 1983). The speaker often prefers Indirect Speech Acts so that they do not infringe on the hearer’s sense of face. However, the data analysis found that SAS’s speeches used more Direct Speech (DSA) Acts than Indirect Speech Acts (ISA).

Based on the way the speaker performs the utterances, SAS’s speech consisted of both Direct and Indirect Speech Acts. The following utterances are sample excerpts:

SAS 05, line 7, 13, 14:

Line 7:

When Islam was brought to our country, Nusantara. *iki kalau mau dongeng dua tahun gak selesai, dua tahun ra entuk iki* [It will take two years more if we want to tell the whole and detailed story. It needs more than two years - a joke]. How Wali Songo, the nine pious personages spread Islam, was different from Muslims in the Middle East. Islam came to Iraq by a great war, al-Qadisiyyah war under the commander Sa’ad ibn Abi Waqqash *radhiyallahu’anhu* [May Allah bless them] and won. Islam was brought to Syria commanded by Abu Ubaidah bin Jarrah. Islam entered Egypt under Amr ibn Ash’s leadership. The spread of Islam in all those countries was through conquest, even Yemen and Bahrain, but Islam came to Nusantara by peace *biduuni dammin wa laa harbin wa laa tahadiyaat* [without war and bloodshed and force]. *biduuni silaahin, wa laa harbin wa laa dimaa’in* [without weapons, without war and blood], there was no bloodshed] Then with what? With the intelligence of the pious personages who had created great and extraordinary cultures.

Line 13:

...Then he, who has converted to Muslim, was married to Subanglarang binti Gede Tapa.

Line 14:

People said, he was *Murtad* [apostate] after the marriage. *Wallahua’lam* [Allah only knows] which one is true. After all they had a great son named Prabu Kian Santang Sunan Rahmat Suci/Kigantrang Ki Setra, whose grave is in Sumedang. He is the one who had Islamized the whole people in West Java, except Patih Pucukumun with Baduy ethnicity remained with their faith, *Karuhunan Sunda Wiwitan*.

The utterances in SAS 05, line 7 and 13 are Direct Speech Acts. Meanwhile, line 14 is an Indirect Speech Act. The performative utterances from the speaker “People said, he was *Murtad* [apostate] after the marriage. *Wallahua’lam* [Allah only knows] which one is true” are a type of indirect utterance because the speaker has an intention other than what he literally

said. In his utterance, the speaker tried to refer indirectly about the essential meaning of apostate. Although in the general sense or common sense *murtad* [apostate] is defined as a person who exits or resigns from Islam, in this case the speaker tried to build his argumentation by saying *Wallahua'lam*, which means indirectly that Prabu Siliwangi was still in Islam as a kind of politeness strategy. On the other hand, the speaker continued his speech by using direct speech acts when he mentioned the figure of the king of Kian Santang, the son of Siliwangi, "...After all they had a great son named Prabu Kian Santang/Sunan Rahmat Suci/Ki Gantrang Ki Setra, whose grave is in Sumedang".

#### 4.5 Register

There are several instances of Register forms which include Islamic terms within SAS's speeches and SAS's Critics' speeches. The speaker used these special terms to explain and describe the Islamic discourse and its correlation to the development of Islamic teaching in Indonesia. The application of registers within the speeches can be identified in the following categories.

##### 4.5.1 Religious greeting

To begin the speech, the speaker used a greeting which is recognisable as a religious greeting. A greeting is an important way for the speaker to begin their speech. There are various utterances using standard collocations which are employed by the Muslim community when greeting others. The most common greeting collocation is, *Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakaatuh*. Various attributions typically follow this greeting, and they have distinctive features for each audience and community. For instance, the NU community uses attribution to give prayer for the Prophet Muhammad and his family, such as in SAS's speeches. The following utterances are the excerpt as part of a religious greeting:

*Bismillah* [In the name of Allah the most merciful],  
*Alhamdulillah* [Praise be to Allah],  
*wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulana* [Peace be upon him, our leader, and our teacher],  
*wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa'alaa aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah* [Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until hereafter].

In the excerpts above, we can identify the term *wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulana* as a kind of greeting for the prophet Muhammad. Within the NU community, this utterance becomes an identity or special term in their greeting, distinct from other Muslim groups.

#### 4.5.2 The autonomous body of the NU

The NU is one of the largest Islamic organizations, so it has various organizational names which refer to its establishment. The following are the names of the autonomous body of the NU within the organization:

PBNU (SAS 01 line7, 8), Fatayat, Anshar, Pagar Nusa, PERGUNU, ISNU, Sarbumusi, IPNU, IPPNU (SAS 01, line 10), *Jam'iyyatul Qurraa' Huffadz* [the association of the memorizers of Qur'an], *Jam'iyyatul thariiqah Mu'tabarah an-Nahdhiyyah* [the association of *thariqat Muktabarah*].

The speaker's intention while using the special term of the autonomous body of the NU while delivering the speech is to give respect and to welcome the chief of these organisations. It is because they have important role in the organisation and society particularly to disseminate the NU ideology.

#### 4.5.3 The structural position in the NU

There are several names for the structural position in the NU, they are *Mustasyar* [the Advisory boards], *Suriyah* [Consultative council], *Tanfidziyah* [Executive council]. The following is the sample excerpt when the speaker welcomes his attendance at the meeting.

*Shaahibil fadhiilah, sayyidii wa maulaay al-Kariimubnilkariimibnilkariim* [honorable the leaders] *Mustasyar* PBNU who happened to be elected as vice president. He is actually the *Mustasyar*, being a vice president is only by chance, Prof. Dr. KH. Ma'ruf Amin, *athaalallaahu baqaaha fii shihhatin wa quwwatin wa bashthathin wa 'izzah* [hopefully in obedience forever, may Allah grant the health and glory] (SAS 02, line 2).

The structural position in the NU has an important role to manage the organisation. for instance, *Mustasyar* [advisory], *Syuriyah*, and *Tandfidziyah* (Muhid, 2021). This position has significant role for the NU particularly when the leader of *Suriyah* or *Tanfidziyah* engage with political context. The excerpt above became the sample, of how the speaker intended to give his political support to KH. Ma'ruf Amin as a Rais Aam in the NU. In addition, Ma'ruf Amin became the running mate of the incumbent Jokowi in the presidential election in 2019. Meanwhile, Said Agil Siradj (SAS) became the general chairman of the NU [Ketum PBNU] the highest position in *Tanfidziyah*.



#### 4.5.4 Religious worship

*Tahajjud*, *Istigosah* (a mass prayer with a lot of people), *Munajah* (an individual praying), *Selamatan*, *Tahlilan*, *Mauludan*, *Barzanji* [reciting the history of the Prophet Muhammad], *Yasinan* [reciting verse of Yasin], *Istikharah* [praying in the night to ask guidance from God] (SAS 03).

In the NU circle, the religious practices become one of their ideology identities as Aswaja. For instance, the practice of *Istighosah*. This religious practice is popular within the NU community. At the grass root level, people hold this practice from house to house or from one mosque to other mosques when they have special request to God, or they ask for a blessing from the God.

#### 4.5.5 Religious terms

##### 1. Positive connotation

A positive connotation is a positive or good association that connects to a specific word. For instance, in the speech, the speaker uttered *Husnul Khatimah* [happy ending of life], *Ummatan wasathan* [moderate society] (SAS 05), *Akhlakul Karimah* [noble character / good morality], *halaalan thayyiban* [guaranteed] (SAS 02), *ma'unah* and *taufiq* [fortunate], *Mutamaddin* [religious community] (SAS 04).

##### 2. Negative connotation

A negative connotation is the opposite of a positive connotation. It means, to convey a more negative view. In the speech, it can be found in such terms as *Bid'ah* [innovation in religion], *Kafir* [unbelief of Allah or people outside of Islam], *Murtad* [apostate]. People often used these to identify or signify that something is bad.

##### 3. Neutral

Neutral language in the speech does not indicate whether the speakers approve or disapprove of something. For example, the use of *syuhuudan diiniyyaan* [role of religion], *syuhuudan tsaqaafiyyan* [role of civilization], *syuhuudan siyaasiyyan* [role of politics] (SAS 01), *assiyaasatil 'ulya* [high level politics] (SAS 02), *batsul masail* [a forum of *Kiai* and *Ulama* examine and solve the problem].

#### 4.5.6 Nationalistic terms

*Hubbul wathan minal iman* [love of the homeland is part of faith] (SAS 04), *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (NKRI, Archipelagic State of The Indonesian Republic),

*mu'aahadah wathaniyah* [Nation's Covenant] (SAS 02), *Khilafah* (the model of government built by the four Caliphs after the Prophet passed away; Abu Bakr, Umar ibn al-Khattab, Uthman ibn Affan, and Ali bin Abi Talib), *Daarul Ifta'* (a place from where decisions concerning Islamic law are issued) (SAS 04).

Based on the spirit or values within Islam Nusantara (IN) discourse, the speaker mentioned that *Hubbul wathan minal iman* is a kind of motto within the NU to support their members to love the nation. It is important particularly to counter radical groups that propagate another ideology such as *Khilafah*.

#### 4.5.7 Title (Attribution name)

*Hadratus Syeikh* [the great teacher, degree for Hasyim Asy'ari as the founder of the NU organisation], *Kiai* [Ulama, expert in religion in the NU], *Ustadz* [expert in religion, most religious], *Sayyidina* [chief, to call the companion of the Prophet Muhammad], *Shallallahu 'alaihi wasallam* [SAW.], *Radhiyallahu 'anhum* [RA. "May Allah bless them"], *Mufasssir* [an expert in Qur'an and Hadith interpretations].

For the Muslim communities, they have the tradition to give respect to their leader as the figures and the role model. For instance, the attribution of *Hadratus Syeikh* is given to KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, then the title *kiai* is given to those who have *santri* in the Islamic boarding school or *pesantren*. In addition, the NU community also has a tradition of adding the attribution *Sayyidina* when they mention the name of the prophet Muhammad: the term in this context means the leader of all the prophets in the world.

## 4.6 Critics of SAS's Speeches

At the beginning of this section the analytical results were tabulated and the incidental percentages of features from SAS's Speeches and Critics' Speeches were presented. The findings showed that the type of Representative Speech Acts and Direct Speech Acts dominated the utterances of the speaker in both cases. The following sections focus on a discussion of the findings for the Critics' Speeches.

### 4.6.1 SAS and the proponent of Islam Nusantara are accused of wanting to change the greeting

The speaker, the opposition of Islam Nusantara argued that Said Agil Siradj (SAS) with his alliance wanted to replace the Islamic greeting *Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi*

*wabarakaatuh* with the local greeting such as *selamat pagi* [Good morning] and other greetings. Here is the sample excerpt of the utterance:

Critics of SAS's Speeches (CSS) 09 line 26: 00:32:27 - 00:34:11

They also proposed to replace the greetings of Muslims, i.e., *Assalamu'alaikum Wabarakatu Wabarakatuh*. It used Arabic sentences. Therefore, they like to replace them with *Selamat pagi* [good morning], *Salam sejahtera*[best wishes]. Do you still remember this? In this country, there has been a *kiai*, again I should not mention him as he has been the respected person. He is a very famous figure who liked to replace *Assalamu'alaikum* with *Selamat pagi*. I don't know how then he practised his five prayers. Maybe at the end of dawn prayer he will say *salam* by saying, *Selamat subuh* [Good morning/dawn]. In the midday prayer, he would say, *Selamat Dhuhur* [Happy midday].

Data CSS 09 line 26 above showed that the speaker criticized SAS and his groups (in this context, the speaker did not mention the name of the figure) for wanting to replace the Islamic greeting with a local greeting. The speaker claimed that they wanted to replace the Islamic greeting because it is drawn from Arabic culture, so it should be replaced with local culture, such as *selamat dhuhur* [happy midday] and so on.

#### **4.6.2 Islam Nusantara's groups accusing other Muslims as Arab Islam and stupid Islam**

The next critics from the speaker, SAS's speeches on many occasions accused other Muslims of being Arab Islam and stupid Islam.

Here is the sample excerpt for the utterances:

CSS 09 Line 33: 00:42:12 - 00:43:36

Ladies and gentleman, *rahimakumullah* [who are blessed by Allah]. Therefore, it is very logical, it makes sense that the issue of Islam Nusantara caused a lot of strong reactions, even criticism from the ulama. Of course, they are not willing that this very perfect religion of Islam is trying to be narrowed by them as Islam Nusantara. Moreover, to distinguish it from Arab Islam, they said that Arab Islam is an invader. As a fake Islam, there are some who have even very harsh words that come out of their mouths. Arab Islam is stupid Islam and various other insults.

The utterances in the excerpt CSS 09 above showed that the speaker described how Islam Nusantara's group labelled other Muslims as Arab Islam, stupid Islam and even Arab Islam as the invader: "...They say that Arab Islam is an invader. As a fake Islam, there are some who have even very harsh words that come out of their mouths. Arab Islam is stupid Islam and

various other insults”. Given the context, the speaker wanted to justify through his sample that IN members and their followers think negatively about Arab Islam.

#### **4.6.3 Critics of the interpretation of *Islam Rahmatal lil ‘alamiin***

This section describes how IN groups mislead in interpreting the meaning of *Islam Rahmatal lil ‘alamiin*. To that standpoint, the speaker accused Islam Nusantara’s group of persuading people not to be loyal to their religion. For that reason, the speaker argued by giving the examples of people who do not wear headscarves, a man who marries a man or a woman who marries a woman. These are examples of the interpretation of Islam as *Rahmatan lil ‘alamiin*. Here is the sample excerpt of the utterance.

CSS 10 line 14: 00:16.08 - 00:16.57

So, ladies and gentlemen, whatever the deviation, the distortion of Islam is always covered with the term *rahmatan lil alamin*. Apathetic, yes. Now *anthum* [you] see, what is the word *rahmatan lil alamin* for? To justify people who are not loyal to their religion. People who don't wear headscarves, Islam is *rahmatan lil alamin*. People are now engaged in *muamalah* [economic activities] with usury (profit-taking), moneylenders, *rahmatan lil alamin*. People nowadays convert to another religion, 1 day, 2-3 times, *rahmatan lil alamin*. Even men marry men, women marry women, *rahmatan lil alamin*.

#### **4.7 Summary**

This section summarised Chapter 4 as the findings of SAS’s speech utterances on Islam Nusantara. The discussion above showed how the speaker (SAS) performed his speeches into opening, content and closing segments. In the content segment the speaker conveyed his speech messages by inserting the Islamic discourse, particularly related to Islam Nusantara as a persuasive way to promote nationalism, tolerance, preservation of the culture, protection of the ideology of *Ahlussunnah wal jamaah*. The speaker realized his speeches in the forms of Representatives, Directives, Commissives, Expressives, and Declarations. In addition, the speaker realized his speech utterances as direct and indirect speech acts. Then, for the speech variation, the speaker used register forms to describe the habit of the community and their religious practices within the NU circle. For example, the speaker used special forms for religious greetings, terms of religious worship, religious terms, nationalistic terms, the attribution names, and mentioned the autonomous body and the structural position of the NU. Those terms are classified into register forms.

Furthermore, the speaker performed his speech most often in the form of the Direct Speech Act rather than an Indirect speech act. Contrarily, the opposition of IN speakers was criticised by accusing IN groups of wanting to replace the Islamic greeting and accusing Arab Islam of being stupid Islam. Therefore, in the public sphere there is tight discussion and even dispute between the IN groups (moderate Islam) and the opposition of IN (NIM or conservative Islamist groups) in the society (Burhani & Nadzir, 2021).

**CHAPTER 5.**  
**ANALYSIS ON ISLAM NUSANTARA FEATURES**  
**OF SAID AGIL SIRADJ'S SPEECHES**

**5.1 Introduction**

The analysis of IN features of Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speech utterances is the main objective of this research. There are some important findings and discussion related to SAS's speech utterance features on IN that were mentioned in Chapter 4. As background information, the previous chapters outlined the findings and mentioned the important point for the discussion here in Chapter 5. For instance, Chapter 1 discussed the history of the NU and its development in Indonesia's political context and described the IN declaration and its controversial aspects. Then, Chapter 2 presented the theoretical framework, research gap and research questions for the philosophical basis of this research project. Meanwhile, Chapter 3 provided the research methodology and data analysis procedure. Hence, data results were presented in Chapter 4, showing that many language features of SAS's speech utterances were performed to disseminate the discourse of IN concept.

Chapter 5 sheds light on the analysis of IN features in SAS's speech utterances as they relate to specific discussions on IN features, Register, and polemical utterances as a way for the speaker to persuade and promote the Islam Nusantara to his members. The following sections outline the topic discussed in this chapter:

Section 5.1 outlines the overview of the purpose of this chapter and provides the related information to Chapter 4. Then 5.2 discusses the Islam Nusantara concept and its relationship with SAS's speech features. This discussion uses the SA theory to analyse the SAS speech themes of Islam Nusantara (IN), which consists of religious spirit, nationalist spirit, plurality spirit, and a spirit of humanity. Then, Section 5.3 discusses the use of Islamic terms or Registers within SAS's speeches. Section 5.4 sheds light on the polemical utterances in SAS's speeches and how those utterances provoked public attention, particularly from the New Islamic Movement (NIM) groups. Then, Section 5.5 presents the summary of the chapter.

## 5.2 Islam Nusantara concept and SAS's speech features

This section discusses IN discourse in SAS's speech features. Before discussing this, it is important to review the history of the establishment of the NU. This information will shine more light on the philosophical basis and the struggle of the NU in that period, as the community for traditional Islam. The ideological contestation between groups of puritanist Islam or Salafi-Wahabi with traditionalist Islam at that time became one of the reasons for the controversy. Therefore, in SAS's speeches, he often highlighted the opposition of the NU with those groups that were represented in the New Islamic Movements (NIM) and its affiliation (e.g., SAS 02, line 18; SAS 03, line 24).

To disseminate the discourse of IN, SAS stressed through his speeches, the importance of IN for pluralist societies such as Indonesia. Throughout these speeches, four characteristics of IN can be identified: (1) *al-rūh al dīniyyah* [religious spirit], (2) *al-rūh al-wataniyyah* [nationalistic spirit], (3) *al-rūh al-ta'addudiyyah* [plurality spirit], and (4) *al-rūh al-insāniyyah* [humanity spirit]. Furthermore, the speaker disseminated these values or spirits by communicating effectively with his members. As a prominent Muslim scholar and a leader in the NU, SAS performed his speeches with specific features. Therefore, this section will present and identify these characteristics which were designed particularly to promote IN.

As pointed out above, the NU was established on 31 January 1926, and it has become the leading Islamic organisation in Indonesia. The majority of the NU members are followed by traditionalist Muslims who claim to be the heirs of the *Walisongo*<sup>55</sup>, the nine Sufi saints who are believed to have introduced Islam to Java (Schmidt, 2021). From this standpoint, the NU inherited the inclusive religious teaching of *Walisongo*. The main feature of the *Walisongo da'wah* is an Islam which is a tolerant religion with respect for various cultures and anti-radicalism.

Islam Nusantara (IN), as explained in the previous chapter, it is not a new *madhab* or sect, but it is the typology of Islam in Indonesia. Islam Nusantara has characteristics designed to be peaceful, tolerant, smiling, and primarily directed to counter radical groups (Burhani 2018). The characters of IN are in line with the government's perspective that moderate Islam in Indonesia must align with the attitude of *santun* [well-mannered people], *tata krama* [ordered people], and full *toleransi* [tolerance] (Upal & Cusack, 2021).

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<sup>55</sup> *Walisongo* is comprised of the nine saints who have made great contributions to *da'wah* of Islam in the archipelago, particularly in Java, see Atlas *Walisongo* (Sunyoto, 2016).

Said Agil Siradj (SAS) is the general chairman of the NU (2010-2021) and the initiator of the IN concept. SAS's verbal discourse campaign on IN concept has, to some extent, invited public dispute due to his position as the Muslim leader in the NU. Although he has invited public dispute and critics, SAS continues to promote the IN concept through his speeches on many occasions. The data showed that the use of Representatives Acts dominated SAS's speeches at the rate of 67,62%. Similarly, the critics of SAS's speeches employed Representatives 76% of the time. Thus, based on the data result, both the data SAS 01-SAS 08 and the data CSS 09-CSS 11 were dominated by the Representative Act.

In relation to SAS's speech utterances on IN, this section presents a discussion of the speaker's point of view on IN discourse. This analysis relates to the discussion of the IN features and their application. The act of the speaker through his speeches became the instrumental and effective way to persuade his members to adopt IN values and counter radicalism. Therefore, this chapter section addresses the discussion on the application of Register forms, and the polemical discourse on Islam Nusantara.

### 5.2.1 Religious spirit [*al-rūh al dīniyyah*]

The first feature of IN is religious spirit, [*al-rūh al dīniyyah*]. Religious spirit is an important aspect of religious life, and one of the functions is to encourage the people to obey the rule of religion, such as to do good deeds and avoid bad actions. In SAS's speech, the speaker performed his speech utterances using the religious spirit to achieve these functions.

In the content segment, the data showed the speaker performed Speech Acts in a religious spirit, particularly in the data SAS 01 line 21-22, SAS 03 line 30, SAS 05 line 24, SAS 06 line 57. Within those speeches, the speaker used some types of Speech Acts to tell the story of the prophet's life and the companions, to the listeners. For instance, the speaker performed the act of Representative, when saying, "In the Qur'an, there is no special surah, except surah an-Nisa, Women..." (see data SAS 01 lines 21-22). The speaker informed the listener that a woman has a special position in Islam. He argued and proved women's position to his listeners by referencing one of the *surahs* in the Holy Qur'an (see Quran, *surah an-Nisa*).

Furthermore, the speaker referred to other roles of women. In this context, the speaker mentioned a woman whose name was Sumayyah. In the story, the listener was told that Sumayyah was a hero and became the first woman who died as *syahid*<sup>56</sup> in Islam. In his

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<sup>56</sup> A Muslim who is dead in the way of Allah or when fighting defends the truth or defends the rights with patience and sincerity to uphold the religion of Allah.



utterances, the speaker informed and highlighted that women can contribute to the *da'wah* of Islam as well as men. Given the context, storytelling became an effective way for the speaker to reach his goal, i.e., to attract the listeners' attention and inform the message on the spirit of religious. On the other hand, stories give the speaker more opportunities to introduce personal information and add other messages, such as religious messages.

Furthermore, by telling the history of Sumayyah, the speaker can persuade the NU members and motivate them in regard to women's roles. The following is the sample excerpt of SAS's speech utterances relating Sumayyah's story.

SAS 01, line 21-22: 00:10:39 - 00:11:02

In the Qur'an, there is no special *surah*, except *surah an-Nisa*, Women. There is no *Surah ar-Rijaal*, the Men. None. Men are lost and always lost to women. That's it! The first *syahid* in Islam to defend the faith is a woman.

Her name was Sumayyah. She was killed by Abu Jahal before her husband, Ammar Yasir. Ammar, their son, pretended to be an apostate, but then he reported to the Prophet (Rasulullah) that he just pretended to be an apostate. No worries. A verse of Qur'an came down *illaa man ukriha faqalbun muthmainnun bil iimaan* [If you are forced, pretending to be an infidel with true faith in his heart is forgivable.]

Based on the above excerpt, the speaker's utterances include the following information:

1. To inform about *Surah an-Nisa* and to state that there is no *surah a-Rijaal* [specific for the men].
2. Islam has a woman hero as the figure, and her name was Sumayyah. She was the first woman as *syahid* [people who died in the way of Islam].
3. Pretending to become apostate is allowed as long as we have faith in our hearts and are under threat.

### 5.2.2 Nationalistic spirit [*al-rūh al-wataniyyah*]

The next feature within SAS's speech utterances that has correlation to the IN concept was the spirit of nationalist. The NU, since its return to *khittah* 1984 (returned to its original purpose as a socio-religious organisation) has committed to receiving the state Ideology that is Pancasila as the sole basis (Ismail, 1995, 2011). Therefore, nationalist spirit and religious spirit cannot be separated. They must fill each other. In relation to that context, the speaker performed the nationalist theme in his speech. It is important to inform and remind listeners that Islam requires the attention of the nation. In other words, through his speech, the speaker stated that if they are religious, the people will have more attention and love for their nation.

The message of the nationalist spirit can be found within the speaker's "Islam and Nationalistic speech". The data showed that the speaker performed the various types of Representatives when delivering the speeches, as presented on SAS 01 line 28, SAS 02 line 22, SAS 03 line 03, 36, SAS 04 line 6, and SAS 07 line 14. Meanwhile, the speaker performed a Directive act within the data SAS 02 line 22, SAS 07 line 14).

The following speech utterances performed the sample excerpts for types of Representatives and Directives.

The excerpt for the type of Representative, data SAS 03 line 3: 00:02:35 - 00:03:53

Ladies and gentlemen today is October 22, 2019. 74 years ago, *Hadratus Syeikh* K.H Hasyim Asy'ari issued a *fatwa* known as the Jihad Resolution. In the fatwa, *Hadratus Syeikh* K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari stated that it is obligatory for every Muslim to fight against the invaders, to defend independence. *Fardhu 'ain* means that everyone is obligated, male and female, rich and poor, educated or uneducated, the elite or the laymen are all obliged. This fatwa became the basis for the people in Surabaya and its surrounding areas, Pasuruan, Madura, Sidoarjo-Gresik, Mojokerto, Jombang to do battle against NICA (Netherland Indies Civil Administration)."

The utterances on the data SAS 03 line 3 above show the type of Representatives. In the speech, the speaker performed his utterances to inform the listener about *Fatwa of Resolusi Jihad* from K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari. The speaker mentioned that *Fatwa of Resolusi Jihad* made a great contribution against the invaders in 1945, and it is in line with other Muslim scholars' statements that *Resolusi Jihad*<sup>57</sup> from K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari contributed much against the invaders such as NICA (Baso et al., 2017).

By performing the act of Representative in the speech entitled "The Santri's day and the fall of the Shari'ah based NKRI theory", the speaker emphasised that the *Resolusi Jihad* [Jihad Resolution] succeeded in mobilising thousands of people against the invaders. In addition, the speaker mentioned K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari as the person declaring the *fatwa Jihad* as *fardu 'ain* [compulsory] for every Muslim who lives close to the battle area to fight against the NICA invaders.

Overall, based on data SAS 03, the speaker performed the Representative act to inform the listeners that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari is the main figure in the NU who declared the Jihad Resolution. Furthermore, the speaker highlighted that the Jihad Resolution contributed to the

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<sup>57</sup> *Resolusi Jihad* is a *Fatwa* that was issued by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari in 1945 against the invader. He stated that fighting the invader is *Fardu 'Ain* [compulsory] for every young Muslim (Baso et al., 2017).

struggle and the development of the Indonesian people, particularly giving support, both moral and material, to the troops on the battlefield.

Meanwhile, in other speech themes, the speaker performed the Directive act, as shown in the sample excerpt.

The excerpt of Directive, SAS 02 line 22: 00:10.35- 00:11.00

Indonesia will keep intact until *yaumul qiyaamah* [the hereafter], as long as the NU stands. Don't forget the "PBNU", it stands for *Pancasila, Bhineka Tunggal Ika* [unity in diversity], NKRI, UUD 1945 (the Constitution). The rigor of the security forces should be real. Never be hesitant.

SAS 07 line 14: 00:16:17 – 00:17:48

We need to counter that argument, the true history is that Pancasila's birthday is June 1st, the originator of which is Bung Karno with the sole inspiration from Allah SWT... .

In the excerpt of the data SAS 02 line 22, the speaker performed the type of command to the listeners "...Don't forget the PBNU". To enable recollection, the speaker rendered the acronym of PBNU as, *Pancasila, Bhineka Tunggal Ika* [unity in diversity], NKRI, UUD 1945 (the Constitution). The fact that the long-term meaning of PBNU is the executive board of Nahdlatul Ulama (Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama), and given the context of his acronym, the speaker seems to affirm that PBNU is close to the state ideology, Pancasila and UUD 1945.

In addition, the data SAS 07 line 14 showed that the speaker performed the type of Request act within his utterances, when the speaker asked the hearer to do something when they received misleading information on the birth of *Pancasila*. According to the speaker, the true history of *Pancasila*'s birthday is June 1<sup>st</sup>, when the celebration of the birthday should occur. In the data, the speaker said, "We need to counter that argument, the true history is that Pancasila's birthday is June 1<sup>st</sup>...". In this utterance he requested his listeners, as the NU members, to correct misinformation about the birth of *Pancasila*.

To sum up, in the context of the Nationalist Spirit [*al-rūh al-wataniyyah*] of IN in SAS's speeches, the speaker used the acts of the Representative, Request, and Directive while delivering the messages of nationalistic spirit. The speaker performed those acts to give his listeners information, to command and request.

### 5.2.3 Plurality spirit [*al-rūh al-ta'addudiyyah*]

The next value within the IN concept is the spirit of pluralism. This spirit has become one of the concerns of the NU community, particularly in restricting the existence of the New Islamic

Movements (NIM) groups. The spirit of pluralism is addressed to fight radicalism and terrorism, preserve the culture, and protect the ideology of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* [Aswaja]. The following are the points for the plurality spirit within SAS's speech utterances:

1. Fighting radicalism and terrorism

On many occasions, the speaker emphasised his speech utterances on the issues of radicalism and terrorism, particularly after the mass rally in 2016 before the Governor of Jakarta's election<sup>58</sup>.

The NU's concern about fighting radicalism is aligned with the policies of Jokowi's government. Therefore, under the Jokowi government, elites and cadres of the NU have special relations, such as the recruitment of NU members to join the Ministry of Religious Affairs within Jokowi's cabinet. Furthermore, Jokowi promotes the Islam Nusantara (IN) concept of moderate Islam in Indonesia, by promoting inclusive Islam or *wasathiyah Islam* [middle way]. The IN can protect the society from the NIM groups and liberalist ideology, so it is in line with SAS statements that the IN concept can defend society from radicalism and liberalism (Burhani, 2018).

The speaker informed the audience through his speeches that the NU community is committed to fighting radicalism and terrorism. He emphasized his commitment by the utterances (data SAS 07, line 21), "Therefore, terrorism and radicalism are our common enemies. They are not only the enemy of the NU but also the enemy of the nation...". The speaker affirmed again in further statements in the data line 24 (00:22:50 - 00:28:21):

The people of Nadhatul Ulama must consider it as an enemy, and reject radicalism, Wahhabism, Salafism, also terrorism; we must refuse drug dealers, *sabu-sabu* [methamphetamine], ecstasy, heroin, cocaine, marijuana, (bicycle) tire glue. And we must reject such movements to legalize LGBT.

In the data, SAS 07 lines 21 and 24 showed that the speaker declared and gave the command to the listeners to reject radicalism and terrorism. For the utterances in line 21, the speaker performed the act of Declaration in his speech. The speech utterances affirmed that radicalism and terrorism have become a common enemy, not only for the NU but also for the nation. Meanwhile, in line 24, the speaker performed the act of a Directive to request the listeners to do something. Given the context, the speaker gave the command to reject radicalism, Wahhabism, Salafism, and terrorism.

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<sup>58</sup> See the action (mass rally) of Muslim people in the action of 212 to judge Ahok (Basuki Cahaya Purnama) after his controversial statement at *Kepulauan Seribu* (Bulan & Kasman, 2018).

## 2. Preserving the culture

Indonesia is a country with a heterogeneous society that upholds its cultural values. Culture cannot be separated from religion and vice versa. One of the purposes of IN is to preserve the culture in the society. Islam in Indonesia was accepted in the past because Islam was acculturated to the local culture. The acculturation of Islam was performed by the *da'wah* of Walisongo in the past (Sunyoto, 2016). Thus, IN can be understood as an argument considering the condition of Islam in Indonesia. It is not a sect or new *madhab*. By accepting the local culture, Islam does not harm other cultures. The following are sample excerpts performed by the speaker showing how he used the utterances to preserve the culture.

SAS 03 line 37: 00:38:28 - 00:39:42

Islam practised in Indonesia is a representation of the vision to be a mercy to the universe. We are a representation of religious commitment and attitude that emphasizes moderation, tolerance, and peace. The civilization built by Islamic countries in the future will refer to the religious practices that we have carried out here. That is religious practices that respect diversity and culture. This is well known as 'Islam Nusantara'. It is not a new school (-ism), but a typology of the people of the archipelago. 'Islam Nusantara' is not an -ism, not a new sect or *mazhab* which is developed here. Islam Nusantara is the one practised, preached and developed according to the characteristics of society and culture in the archipelago. As long as it is not against Islamic law. We can give an example of how Islam can be included in Indonesian culture such as the use of drums [*bedug*] to mark prayer times. The drum was originally a musical instrument, then accepted by the Islamic scholars, its use was changed to start prayer times.

In the data SAS 03 line 37 above, the speaker used the Representative act form. Within the speech content, the speaker described and informed the listeners about the importance of religious practice by respecting the culture and diversity in society. The speaker performed the Representative act to inform about how the IN can acculturate to the characteristics of Indonesian society, including multi-culture and religions. He gave an example of the use of *Bedug* [drum] as a traditional musical instrument to begin prayer times in Islam.

Furthermore, the speaker performed the Directive act. The following presents the sample excerpt:

SAS 04 line 21: 00:21:05 - 00:21:55

In the future, NU has to play a greater role in building the Republic of Indonesia for the sake of our success, with the 'Islam Nusantara', with culture and personality, typology, characteristic of Muslims in Indonesia and its surroundings....

The data showed the speaker performed the Directive act. As NU members, the speaker directed the listeners to take a greater part in the wider scope of society. The role of the NU members in society is important to maintain diversity and culture as essential characteristics of Indonesian society. Therefore, the speaker gave the command to practise IN in the society to bring success to the Republic of Indonesia.

3. Protect the ideology of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (Aswaja)

SAS 07 line 14

...Shortly speaking, *ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah* and *Pancasila* for *Nahdhatul Ulama* and all moderate Muslims are final as the guideline for the Indonesian nation. Therefore, scholars or Indonesians who want to study Islamic religion, interpretation, *Hadith*, *Fiqh*, Islamic philosophy, study the Middle East to Al-Azhar to Ummil Quro Mecca or anywhere in the Middle East.

I myself graduated from Middle East education, Gus Dur, Gus Mus too, Prof Quraish Shihab was from Egypt. If you want to really understand Islam, study in the Middle East. But Middle Eastern *ulama* [scholars] must learn from Indonesia, especially NU, about how to build a nation and society who care about the state.

*Aswaja* has become the baseline ideology in the NU community since the establishment of the organization in 1926 (Baso et al., 2017). In the data SAS 07 line 14 above, the speaker underlined and paid attention to his speech utterances on the ideology of *Aswaja* and *Pancasila*. Given the context, the speaker performed the Representative act to inform *Aswaja* and *Pancasila* as the Indonesian guideline.

The speaker described and underlined in his information that the ideologies of *Aswaja* and *Pancasila* complement each other and cannot be confronted. Thus, *Pancasila* as the ideology is final for the state. To attest and provide further argumentation, the speaker mentioned as examples, ideal figures, like Gus Dur, Gus Mus and Prof Quraish Syihab, who graduated from the Middle East.

To conclude, the speaker's utterances related to the third feature of IN (Plurality spirit). The speaker performed the various forms of SAT in his speech utterances: they are Representative, Directive and the Declaration. The Representative act was used to persuade the listeners to preserve the culture. Then, the speaker performed the Directive act to command the listeners to practise the IN concept in society. Meanwhile, the Declaration act was used to announce the fight against terrorism and radicalism.

#### 5.2.4 Humanity spirit [*al-rūh al-insāniyyah*]

For the spirit of humanity, the speaker will express messages of tolerance and moral value. The following describes these values.

##### 1. Tolerance

The theme of the humanity spirit is another feature of IN. In a pluralist society, for positive social relations, the spirit of humanity is important as well as the spirit of tolerance. The meaning of tolerance itself has various definitions, for example, it is usually understood as open-mindedness and the full acceptance of cultural, religious, and political differences. In addition, Verkuyten and Kollar (2021) considered tolerance as a critical and adequate response to the challenge of conflicting ways of life, so that people can freely express themselves and coexist peacefully.

In relation to the speaker's intention of tolerance, the definition of tolerance can be described as the way of religious practice that respects diversity, culture, and religions within the pluralist society in Indonesia.

The following is the sample excerpt SAS 03 line 37:

Islam practised in Indonesia is a representation of the vision to be a mercy to the universe. We are a representation of religious commitment and attitude that emphasizes moderation, tolerance, and peace. The civilization built by Islamic countries in the future will refer to the religious practices that we have carried out here. That is religious practices that respect diversity and culture. This is well known as Islam Nusantara. It is not a new school (-ism), but a typology of the people of the archipelago. Islam Nusantara is not an -ism, not a new sect or *mazhab* which is developed here. Islam Nusantara is the one practised, preached and developed according to the characteristics of society and culture in the archipelago. As long as it is not against Islamic law. We can give an example of how Islam can be included in Indonesian culture such as the use of drums [*bedug*] to mark prayer times. The drum was originally a musical instrument, then accepted by the Islamic scholars, its use was changed to start prayer times.

The data SAS 03 line 37 above showed that the speaker performed and emphasized the important function of tolerance for the people in Nusantara with various societal backgrounds. Given the context, the speaker informed his listeners that tolerance in the IN concept offers the Islamic teaching that is appropriate to the characteristics of society in Indonesian culture.

## 2. Moral values

The next aspect within the humanity spirit is moral value. The following excerpt sample discusses morality in the data SAS 03, line 41: 00:43:18 - 00:44:06,

The values we have like integrity, honesty, trustworthiness, *akhlaqul karimah* [noble character such as good attitude and morality] will be an important capital in welcoming Indonesia Gold in 2045. Of course, I advise students to continue to develop creative, innovative, and critical thinking traditions. That is why through this pulpit, I want to appeal to all attendees to involve students as active subjects in the entire process of nation and state development...

In the data SAS 03, line 41, the speaker performed the Directive act. Given the context, the speaker requested the listeners to be creative, innovative, and to employ critical thinking. Those actions are important as part of *Akhlaqul karimah* [noble character such as good attitude and morality]. In a similar notion, the speaker uttered that *Akhlaqul karimah* is the key success to welcome Indonesia Gold in 2045<sup>59</sup>.

Overall, the speaker performed two Speech Acts within his speeches in relation to IN features for the Humanity spirit. Given the context, the speaker used the Representative and Directive acts. The Representative act was used by the speaker to inform listeners on the topic and important function of tolerance. Meanwhile, the Directive act was used by the speaker to ask the listeners to have *Akhlaqul karimah*. For his request, the speaker adds further commands; the listeners must be creative, innovative, and employ critical thinking.

### 5.3 The special terms of SAS's speeches on Islam Nusantara

Register is one of the important aspects of communication. Register is a set of language items associated with a distinct society or occupation and helps people construct an identity at a specific time or in a specific place (Agha, 2006). There are some language items on Islam Nusantara discourse within SAS's speeches. The speaker performed his speech by using some language items based on Islamic terms in each speech's opening segment, content segment, and a closing segment. Given the context, the terms are identifiable as performing the religious register of Islam in Indonesia, particularly for the NU community and the state in the wider Indonesian context. Further analysis and discussions are presented below:

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<sup>59</sup> Indonesia Gold 2045 means Indonesia will become a sovereign, advanced, fair, and prosperous nation.



### 5.3.1 Religious greeting

The greeting is the word of salutation, and it is important in Islam. It is typical to offer a greeting when a person meets someone else, and it is mandatory for the listener to answer the greeting. Historically, the prophet Muhammad ordered the Companions to greet one another with *Salam* upon entering Medina (Tahir Eesa, 2019). Islam has a specific ethical system in the communication of the personal, inter-personal and social dimensions. Islam has been guided by the Quran and Hadith, on how to greet each other. Muslims typically greet each other with the Arabic phrase *Assalamu'alaikum*. Then the complete form of the Islamic greeting is *Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakaatuh*, and the complete answer is *Wa'alaikumusalam warahmatullahi wabarakaatuh*.

In relation to SAS's speech utterances, the speaker used the greeting with some purpose, such as for peace and statements of respect. There were some additional instances of greetings within the speaker's utterances.

#### 5.3.1.1 Statement of peace and prayer

SAS 03 line 01: 00:00:18 – 00:00:48

*Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh* [Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessings]

Good night best wishes for all of us.

*Bismillah* [in the name of Allah], *alhamdulillah* [praise be to Allah] *Wasshalatu wassalamu ala sayyidina Muhammad rasulillah, Wa'ala alihi washohbih waman tabi'a sunnatahu jama'ata min yauminnahada ila yaumin nahdhoh* [Peace be upon him, our chief, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, his friends and his followers and all of the people who obey and follow him until the hereafter].

The sample excerpt above shows that the speaker performed his opening segment with the additional attribution, such as *Good Night... Bismillah .... wassalamu ala sayyidina....* It means that the speaker used the attribution as a wish of peace and a form of prayer for the Prophet Muhammad, his family, his friends, and his followers. Those terms are the features of the verbal discourse of the speaker while delivering the speech and are expressed to give respect to his listeners.

In the tradition of the NU community, offering a prayer for dead people has become a mandatory practice (religious practice), particularly for the family of the dead person. Further, praying for the dead people does not mean praying to the people but to God. Therefore, there

are many people in the NU community who do *Ziarah*<sup>60</sup>, which particularly includes visiting the grave of their family and the grave of the holy person, such as the grave of Walisongo.

### 5.3.1.2 Statement of respect

The purpose of the special term is for greeting. The utterances can be identified in the data SAS 03 line 2: 00:00:49 – 00:02:34

Ladies and gentlemen, especially the invited guests, public figures from various of social structure, they are:

the vice chairman of the DPR RI, KH. Abdul Aziz Syamsuddin from the Golkar party,

the General Secretary of the PDI-P party Ustad Hasto

the General Secretary of the National Awakening Party, Gus Hasan

*Ikhwatil Shofara' Washaqiqo al-mamlakah as-Saudiyah min dauliyati Yaman, aazakumullah.* [Dear my Sister, Najwa Qeqa the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, from Yaman country].

DKI Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan

Colleagues from Nahdhatul Ulama administrators, both *Suriyah* and *Tanfidhiyah*

Vice general chairman Professor Dr. Ir. K.H Maksum Mahfud

General Secretary Dr. K.H Ir. Hilmi Zaini Faisal Hasan

the Scholars in attendance

Professor Dr. Fachri Ali, thank you

Data SAS 03 shows that the speaker performed the Expressive act when delivering the opening segment. The speaker performed a greeting to welcome and respect the audience who attended the meeting. For example, the speaker greeted the respected guests such as the General Secretary of the PDI-P party, Ustad Hasto, DKI Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan, General Secretary Dr K.H Ir. Hilmi Zaini Faisal Hasan and many others. Those special terms were used as a kind of discourse marker to greet and respect the special guests who attend the meeting.

### 5.3.2 The autonomous body of the NU

The NU is a large organisation, consisting structurally of many autonomous bodies that support the organisation's development. The following sample excerpt presents the speaker's utterances when mentioning the names of the autonomous bodies.

SAS 01 line 10: 00:04:06 - 00:04:29

The leaders of autonomous bodies of NU: Fatayat, Anshar, Pagar Nusa, PERGUNU, *Jam'iyatul Qurraa' Huffadz* [the association of the memorizers of Qur'an], *Jam'iyatul thariiqah Mu'tabarah an-Nahdhiyyah* [the association of thariqat Muktabarah under NU], ISNU Mr. Ali Masykur, Sarbumusi, IPNU, IPPNU.

<sup>60</sup> *Ziarah* means visiting the grave to pray, asking God to pray for the dead people, and getting a blessing from God. Similarly, *ziarah* is related to the activities to visit the grave and surrounding activities of this (Shihab, 1994).

SAS 02 line 10: 00:04.17- 00:04.58

The General Chairperson of Ansor, Fatayat, IPNU, IPPNU, Pagar Nusa, SARBUMUSI, PERGUNU, ISHARI, and the leaders of Islamic mass organizations. Some of them are present here, from al-Irsyad, Perti, Ikadi, Washliyah, Syarikat Islam and others, *a'azzahumullah* [Allah bless them].

The data SAS 01 and 02 become evidence that the speaker used Register forms while greeting his listeners. The speaker performed those terms to greet and welcome the autonomous body of the NU. The leader needs to maintain his relationship with the followers and supporters, so greeting is the essential part in the speech. The speaker performed his greeting by mentioning the names of the organisation and ended with the praying form *a'azzahumullah* [Allah bless them]. That offers respect and salutation to his followers within the organisation.

In addition, by greeting the listeners, the speaker seeks to introduce the internal organisation of the NU to external members. Hence, the greeting utterances from the speaker provide respect and a welcome to the chiefs of the autonomous body, such as IPNU, IPPNU, Pagar Nusa and others, for their attendance and participation in the meeting.

### 5.3.3 The structural position in the NU

The structural position plays a vital role in the community and its existence in the society. The speaker performed many Register terms in his utterances while greeting the person with the structural position. The following presents the sample utterances for Register in the data SAS 02 lines 3,4,5 (00:01.40- 00:02.14)

SAS 02 line 3:

*Sayyidii wa maulaay, ar-Raiisil 'Aam lijam'iyah, Hadharati* [The leader and the role model, the general chairman] KH. Miftachul Akhyar, *a'azzahullah* [may Allah glorifies him].

SAS 02 line 4

*Hadharatil Mustasyaariin* [the Advisory boards], *Hadharaatil Syuriyyah*, [colleagues of Syuriyah and Tanfidziyyah] the vice chairman Prof. Dr. Ir. KH. Maksum Mahfoed.

SAS 02 line 5

...the Secretary General, Dr. Ir. KH. Muhammad Helmy Faishal Zaini Hasan Abdurrahman, his name is such a long...

In the data above, the speaker performed/utilised the Register to greet the structural position in the NU, such as *Mustasyaariin*, *Syuriyyah*, *Tanfidziyyah*, *ar-Raiisil 'Aam lijam'iyah*. The speaker used those terms to greet and welcome their coming and participation in the meeting.

The verbal discourse used forms of Expressive acts. The application of Expressive utterances used Register forms to maintain the relationships within the organisation between the leader and followers.

### 5.3.4 Religious practices

The NU is a traditionalist Muslim organisation that adheres to the ideology of four *madzhab*: the *Hanafi*, the *Maliki*, the *Shafii*, and the *Hanbali* school as conforming to Islamic teaching (Barton, 2002). However, NU members mostly follow the *Shafii* school, and it has some religious practices, such as *istighozah*, *tahlilan*, *mauludan* and *barzanji*. The following sample excerpt presents the speaker's utterances on religious worship.

SAS 01 line 12: 00:04:49 - 00:05:55

*Alhamdulillah* [praise be to Allah], This morning, on behalf of the chairman of general board of Nahdhatul 'Ulama, I thank to Allah and I am very proud of the realisation of the 73rd Muslimat NU anniversary with the attendance of more than a hundred thousand of Muslimat members at *Gelora Bung Karno* stadium (GBK), started at 03.00 am, with completing on reciting Qur'an, *tahajjud*, *istighosah*. *Munajah* is an individual praying; *istighozah* is a mass prayer with a lot of people.

SAS 03 line 43: 00:45:26 – 00:46:05

*Tahlilan*, *Mauludan*, *Barzanji* are reconciliation media for the grassroot, spending only a little cost. Yeah, they only need small food [*berkat*, term in NU tradition]...

The speaker used special terms to mention their religious practices within his utterances. Those terms are classified as the worship terms, for instance *Munajah*, *Tahlilan*, *Mauludan* and *Barzanji* (see data SAS 01, SAS 03). The speaker used those terms as instrumental in performing Representative acts to describe and explain those definitions to his members. The action of the speaker in defining those terms is important for the NU members to strengthen their belief in the religious practice.

In addition, by performing the terms of religious worship as a Representative act, the speaker can protect and counter the argument that often blamed the religious practice in the NU. For instance, the NIM groups state that the practices such as *tahlilan*, *barzanji* and *mauludan* are *bid'ah* [innovation in religion] which means there is no guidance from the Prophet Muhammad and should be rejected.

### 5.3.5 Religious terms

There are some special terms the speaker performed while delivering his speeches that were classified as religious terms. The terms are used to describe the activities within the organisation. Based on the application, the terms can have positive, negative, and neutral meanings. The following excerpt sample contains these religious terms:

#### 1. Positive meaning

SAS 02 line 46: 00:19.00- 00:19.26

Ladies and Gentlemen, Thank God PBNU just finished building an NU university in Jakarta, in Parung. It spent 30 billion. You don't need to ask me how to get that money. Surely it is *halaalan thayyiban* [guaranteed]. It has 4 stories, with a hall, functioning as the mosque.

The speaker used the term *halaalan thayyiban* [guaranteed] to describe the financial income of the NU. The term was adopted to verify that the funding of the NU was permissible and good. However, in the context of his utterances, the speaker did not provide a clear explanation of how the funding was received. The speaker only mentioned himself to guarantee that the money was clean. Given the context, the term might refer to *halaalan thayyiban* meaning *halal* [permissible], and *thayyib* [good]. The two words are Arabic. The term indicated that a Muslim is expected to eat, use, and act in accordance with what is not only permissible but also good. It is in line with the Quran, Al-Baqarah, which states, “O mankind, eat from whatever is on earth [that is] lawful and good and do not follow the footsteps of Satan. Indeed, he is to you a clear enemy.” (2:168)”. Thus, the term that the speaker performed has a positive meaning since it is used to construct a positive perception.

Meanwhile, the speaker performed other utterances that have a negative meaning. The following is a sample excerpt:

#### 2. Negative meaning

SAS 05 line 14: 00:12.29 -00:13.05

People said, he was *Murtad* [apostate] after the marriage. *Wallahua'lam* [Allah only knows] which one is true. After all they had a great son named Prabu Kian Santang Sunan Rahmat Suci/Kigantrang Ki Setra, whose grave is in Sumedang. He is the one who had Islamized the whole people in West Java, except Patih Pucukumun with Baduy ethnicity remained with their faith, *Karuhunan Sunda Wiwitan*.

The data above showed that term *Murtad* was used by the speaker to construct the negative image. The speaker used the term to describe something improper from the religious perspective. Given the context, the speaker performed the Representative act within his speech

utterances (see data SAS 05 line 14). Given the context, commonly, the term *Murtad* is used to call people when a Muslim converts to another religion. However, in this context, the speaker avoided saying the person in the story by labelling him as *Murtad*, but the speaker preferred to say *Wallahua 'lam* [Allah only knows]. Thus, the speaker tried to respect the figure in the story. Furthermore, the speaker performed another utterance that had a neutral meaning. The following is the sample excerpt:

### 3. Neutral meaning

SAS 02 line 27: 00:12.07- 00:12.41

Indeed, NU is not a political organization involved in the practical politics, but that does not mean that NU is apolitical. It does not imply we are stupid in politics. Politics for NU is national politics; it is *assiyaasatil 'ulya* [high-level politics/supreme politics] to cover the pillars and national consensus as mandated in the 1984 NU Conference and 1989.

The speaker in the data above (SAS 02 line 27) shows how he performed the Representative act. Within this context, the speaker used the special term *assiyaasatil 'ulya* [supreme politics] to describe the organisation's purpose. Given the context, the use of the term *assiyaasatil 'ulya* has a neutral meaning rather than a positive or negative interpretation. Thus, through the speech, the speaker performed the act to construct the idea of the political role of the NU to give overwhelming support to the state or government.

## 5.4 Polemical utterances in Islam Nusantara discourse

Polemical utterances regarding Islam Nusantara (IN) emerged in the public sphere since the declaration of the IN concept in the national congress (Muktamar in Jombang 2015): consequently, a series of discussions followed its introduction. For instance, the NU hosted an international conference called the International Summit of the Moderate Islamic Leaders (ISOMIL) to promote Islam Nusantara in May 2016 (Upal & Cusack, 2021).

Said Agil Siradj (SAS) is the main figure and head of the executive board of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), who initiated the IN concept. He was the person who most often performed the discourse of IN through his speech utterances. Unfortunately, his introduction of the IN concept prompted dispute and criticism from other Muslim groups, particularly from the New Islamic Movement (NIM) groups: as a result, its promotion provoked criticism of specific utterances of IN, particularly when the speaker addressed sensitive issues in his speeches. For instance, the speaker stated that the greeting *salam* can be exchanged with *selamat pagi*, *selamat siang*, and *selamat sore* [good morning, good afternoon, and good evening], and he made it clear that

references to *Islam Rahmatal lil 'alamiin* were the equivalent of 'Arab Islam' and 'stupid Islam'. In relation to the polemical dispute over greetings, this was a dispute that appeared since the period of Gus Dur<sup>61</sup>. The following material assesses the discussion of IN discourse which has provoked much public discourse and controversy:

#### 5.4.1 Changing the Islamic greeting

Islam has placed importance on greetings because greeting is a way to give respect and pray for someone else. It is suggested to say a greeting when people meet, and it is mandatory for the listener to answer the greeting.

On several occasions, the IN group was accused by the NIM groups of changing the Islamic greeting. For instance, the greeting *Assalamu'alaikum Wabarakatu Wabarakatuh* as the standard greeting for Muslims was replaced with the local greeting *Selamat pagi* [good morning], or *Salam sejahtera* [best wishes]. This is rendered in the sample excerpt below.

Data CSS 09, line 26:

They also proposed to replace the greetings of Muslims, i.e. *Assalamu'alaikum Wabarakatu Wabarakatuh*. It was said to Arabic sentences. Therefore, they like replace with *Selamat pagi* [good morning], *Salam sejahtera* [best wishes]. Do you still remember this? In this country there has been a *kiai*, again I should not mention him as he has been the late person. He is a very famous figure who liked to replace *Assalamu'alaikum* with *Selamat pagi*, [good morning]. I don't know how he practised his five prayers. Maybe at the end of dawn prayer he will say salam by saying, *Selamat subuh* [Good morning/dawn]. In the midday prayer, he would say, *Selamat Dhuhur* [Happy midday].

The data above (CSS 09, line 26), shows the speaker performing the Representative act by giving information to his listeners. The speaker mentioned that the Islamic greeting comes from Arabic sentences, and it would be replaced with *Selamat pagi* [good morning], or *Salam sejahtera* [best wishes]. The speaker accused the famous figure within the NU community of doing irreligious acts, and this controversy invited dispute in the internal organisation such as *Kiai As'ad* (Suyuthi, 2015).

#### 5.4.2 Accusations of Arab Islam and stupid Islam

The next dispute and criticism arose over SAS' speech features which accused other Muslim groups as being 'Arab Islam' and 'stupid Islam'. The speaker of the NIM asserted that their groups were being accused by the IN groups - particularly those who affiliated with Salafi-

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<sup>61</sup> Gus Dur was the executive of the board of the Nahdlatul Ulama period 1984 to 1999. He is the fourth President of the Republic of Indonesia.

Wahabi – as being Arab Islam and even as stupid Islam. As a result, there was a strong reaction from the NIM groups to the proponent of IN. The sample utterance was found on the data CSS 09 line 33. The following is the sample excerpt.

Ladies and gentlemen *rahimakumullah* [who are blessed by Allah], Therefore, it is very logical, it makes sense that the issue of Islam Nusantara caused a lot of strong reactions, even criticism from the *ulama*. Of course, they are not willing that this very perfect religion of Islam is trying to be narrowed by them as Islam Nusantara. Moreover, to distinguish it from Arab Islam, they said that Arab Islam is an invader. As a fake Islam, there are some who have even very harsh words that come out of their mouths. Arab Islam is stupid Islam and various other insults.

In the data CSS 09 above, the speaker performed the Representative act to provide description and information. In it, the speaker informed his audience that the proponent of IN judged other Muslims (the NIM groups), particularly ‘Arab Islam’, as ‘stupid Islam’.

Furthermore, the speaker advised his listeners that rejecting ‘Arab Islam’ can implicate the discarding of many terms adopted from Islam. In addition, the speaker said that there were many Islamic terms adopted in the archipelago (Nusantara), mainly in the Malay language, such as *Roh, nafas, akal, faham, jasad, jisim (jasmani), sadar, fikir, dzikir, 'ilm, yakin, jahil, alam* and many others. He even added that the Indonesian term of DPR RI (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia*) [the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia] and MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*) [the People's Consultative Assembly] were adopted from Arabic terms: *dewan* means *diwaanun (wakil)* [representative] and *rakyat* stems from *ro'iyah* [citizen/people]. Therefore, he argued, if the people reject ‘Arab Islam’ or every aspect relating to Arabic, people must delete the term DPR and MPR. The following excerpt shows how the speaker criticises the IN concept that ignores Arabic.

Data CSS 11, line 154:

The evidence that the Malays, the Nusantara people have been Islamized is the inclusion of an extraordinary number of Arabic terms into Malay language. They include *roh, nafas, akal, faham, jasad, jisim (jasmani), sadar, fikir, dzikir, 'ilm, yakin, jahil, alam* and many more. If they are discarded, I am afraid that Indonesia will no longer have a language.

### 5.4.3 Critics in the interpretation of *Rahmatal lil 'alamiin*

The third utterance that has become central in this public dispute is *Rahmatal lil 'alamiin*. Muslim scholars interpret this term as meaning that Islam is a religion that brings grace and prosperity to the entire universe, including animals, plants and jinn, especially human beings. The interpretation refers to the statement in the Holy Qur'an (QS.Al-Anbiya: 107) “And We



have not sent you [O Muhammad], except as a mercy to the worlds”. The context of the *ayah* refers to Muhammad as the messenger of Allah. God sent Muhammad for the blessing and mercy of the world, particularly people in Mecca at that time, and for all the world today. In addition, the meaning of *Rahmatal lil ‘alamiin* can have a wider meaning such as that Islam is a religion that brings peace to all beings, with a global range of peace. However, to some extent, people who have the capability in Islamic studies can interpret this term further. Therefore, when SAS and his groups presented such a wide interpretation of *Rahmatal lil ‘alamiin*, their utterances invited a public discourse of the pros and cons of this meaning and its implications. Regarding the interpretation of *Islam Rahmatal lil ‘alamiin*, the speaker of NIM argued that the proponent of IN leads Muslims to become disloyal to Islam. He argued that the IN made some deviation and distortion in the religious rules; for instance, people who do not wear headscarves, a man who marries a man or a woman who marries a woman are allowed. Further, the speaker argued that the term *Rahmatal lil ‘alamiin* was used to make distortion and deviation of Islamic rules in the society. The following is the sample excerpt in the data CSS 10 line 14:

So, ladies and gentlemen, whatever the deviation, the distortion of Islam is always covered with the term *rahmatan lil alamin*. Apathetic, yes. Now *anthum* [you] see, what is the word *rahmatan lil alamin* for? To justify people who are not loyal to their religion. People who don't wear headscarves, Islam is *rahmatan lil alamin*. People are now engaged in economic activities (*muamalah*) with usury (profit-taking), *moneylenders*, *rahmatan lil alamin*. People nowadays convert to another religion, 1 day, 2-3 times, *rahmatan lil alamin*. Even men marry men, women marry women, *rahmatan lil alamin*.

The data of CSS 10 line 14 showed that the speaker performed criticism of the IN groups' proponent by using the Representative act. The speaker used the act of judgement in his speech utterances, when saying, "...Now *anthum* [you] see, what is the word *rahmatan lil alamin* for? To justify people who are not loyal to their religion...". Contextually, he accused the IN groups of trying to breach the Islamic rules. The speaker affirmed his accusation by giving the examples: non-wearing of headscarves, moneylenders, converting to another religion, marrying with the same sex - all are part of the interpretation of *rahmatan lil alamin*.

## 5.5 Summary

This section summarised the discussion of SAS's speech utterances relating to the features of Islam Nusantara. The result showed the speaker (Said Agil Siradj) performed the verbal discourse of IN, and that this performance invited polemical responses from the public sphere

of the Muslim community in Indonesia. Said Agil Siradj (SAS) was the executive chairman of the NU (Ketum PBNU 2010-2021). The speaker performed polemical utterances in his speeches as part of his promotion of IN. The purpose of doing so is to promote Islam Indonesia as moderate Islam, or *wasathiyah* [middle way] Islam.

In nature, the characteristics of the IN concept contradict to the aims of New Islamic Movements (NIM) that bring extremism, radicalism and a strict paradigm in religious practices. On the other hand, Indonesia is a country with a large population that is inhabited by heterogeneous societies with different characteristics and tolerant societies. Therefore, fighting radicalism and anti-terrorism by offering IN is the main concern of the NU community to support the government in fighting radicalism.

Based on the discussion above, there is a correlation between SAS's speech utterances and the organisational purpose of the NU, i.e., the speaker highlighted the maintaining of the religious practices of *Tahlilan*, *Barzanji*, and *Mauludan* as part of the *Aswaja* tradition. Those religious practices are examples of Islamic practice in Indonesia that respect the culture and the implementation of religious teaching within a pluralist society, particularly for traditionalist Muslims.

There are some features in IN that correlated with SAS's speech utterances. They are: (1) *al-rūh al dīniyyah* [religious spirit], (2) *al-rūh al-wataniyyah* [nationalistic spirit], (3) *al-rūh al-ta'addudiyyah* [plurality spirit], and (4) *al-rūh al-insāniyyah* [humanity spirit]. Those features are represented in the acts of SAS's speech utterances. For instance, the speaker performed his speech content in the form of Representative, Directive, and Declaration acts. Meanwhile, the speaker utilised Register forms to explain the discourse features such as, religious greetings, the autonomous body of the NU, religious worship, and religious term.

The speaker performed various religious greetings to greet and welcome the listeners, particularly the respected guests who attended the meeting. Furthermore, the speaker used greeting terms and their attributions when referring to and addressing the autonomous body of the NU. There are several terms used by the speaker to welcome the autonomous body of the NU, for example: *Fatayat*, *Anshar*, *Pagar Nusa*, *PERGUNU*, *Jam'iyyatul Qurraa' Huffadz* [the association of the memorizers of Qur'an]. Then, the next terms relate to religious worship. In this context, the speaker used them for his audience to describe and explain the community activities during the event as integral to religious practice, i.e., *tahajjud*, *istighosah* and *Munajah*. Meanwhile, the speaker also performed the religious terms to describe the activities within the organisation. In context, the speaker's utterances can have positive, negative, and neutral meanings.

On the other hand, the speaker on the side of the NIM groups performed the Representative act to criticise SAS's speech utterances. For instance, the speaker criticised the interpretation of the term *rahmatan lil alamin* [a mercy to all creation]. The speaker accused the IN groups of interpreting the meaning of *rahmatan lil alamin* purely to justify and lead the people to be disloyal to their religion. Similarly, the speaker accused IN groups of distortion and deviation from the religious rules. For instance, Muslims should not wear headscarves, the legalisation of same-sex marriage, and usury. In addition, the speaker accused IN of wanting to replace the standard greeting of Islam *Assalamu'alaikum Wabarakatu Wabarakatuh* with the local greeting *Selamat pagi* [good morning], or *Salam sejahtera* [best wishes].

In conclusion, based on Searle's Speech Act Theory (SAT), both Said Agil Siradj (SAS) and the speakers of NIM groups performed their utterances using the Representative act. The result showed (see Chapter 4) that SAS (the speaker) performed the utterances most often using the Representative act 67,62%, Directive 14,26%, Expressive 16,70%, Commissive 0,81% and Declaration with 0,61%.

Meanwhile, the data results for the Critic of SAS Speeches (CSS), showed that the speaker performed the Representative act more frequently with 86,65%, Directive 8,31%, Expressive 4,75%, Commissive 0,30%, and Declaration with 0,00%.

## **CHAPTER 6.**

### **THE EXPECTATIONS OF SAS'S SPEECH UTTERANCES FOR THE NU COMMUNITY**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

Following on from the previous discussion, Chapter 6 is organised to discuss the expectation and the contribution of Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speech utterances to the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) community. Analysis has been presented to show that data of the speakers' utterances in terms of Direct and Indirect Speech Acts Theory occurred with the percentage 87,47% of Direct and 12,53% Indirect Speech Acts for SAS's speeches. In addition, the data analysis found that in the critics of SAS's speeches, 66,56% of utterances were in the forms of Direct, and 33,44% of Indirect Speech Acts forms. Based on these findings, the next section (6.2) is organised to discuss the Islam Nusantara (IN) discourse. Furthermore, Section 6.3 discusses the discourse analysis of IN terms used both internally and externally, by the NU community. Then, in Section 6.4, the study presents SAS's speech context within the frame of Hymes' SPEAKING theory for the NU community, and the last, Section 6.5 presents the summary.

#### **6.2 Direct and Indirect of SAS's speech utterances on Islam Nusantara**

The study found that to promote the discourse of IN, the speaker performed Direct and Indirect Speech Acts to deliver his speech messages in various situations. The Direct Speech Act (DSA) is commonly used to perform speech messages in a direct statement without linking the utterances to others. It is called DSA when the statement has a direct relationship between the form and the function; otherwise, it is called the Indirect Speech Act (ISA) when it does not have this immediately apparent relationship (Cutting, 2002). In communication, to some extent, the Indirect Speech Act is used to facilitate conditions of politeness since it eliminates the unpleasant force of the message. Furthermore, Leech (1983) states that the Indirect Speech Act tends to be more polite because of the increasing optionality which diminishes its force. In total, there were 377 (87,47%) Direct forms and 54 (12,53%) Indirect forms within SAS's speech utterances from the data SAS 01 to SAS 08. The following sub-sections discuss the Direct and Indirect forms of SAS's speeches in terms of IN discourse.

### 6.2.1 Direct Speech Acts

The Direct Speech Act (DSA) utterances of SAS's speech occurred at the rate of 87,47%. This means the Direct forms dominated the speech. In communication, performing the speech with DSAs may reduce the possibility of ambiguity and variant interpretations of what the speaker means. Therefore, as reflected on the data finding, Said Agil Siradj (SAS) as the speaker, performed most of his speech with DSAs, with the intention of reducing any misinterpretation of the message. Given the context, presenting the speech with clear utterances is important to disseminate the concept of Islam Nusantara (IN) discourse to SAS's members. To do so, performing the speech with DSAs is an effort to reduce unclear information. From a similar angle, Cutting (2002) stated that a DSA is used to communicate the utterances through literal meaning directly, and in this case, there is a direct relationship between the form and the function. Further, producing DSAs can facilitate positive communication politeness, which is used to show solidarity.

The distribution of the speaker's use of DSAs is typified in the opening, content and closing segments. The following table shows the sample distribution of the Direct and Indirect utterances from the data of SAS 01 (for detail, see Table 9).

Table 11 Sample distribution of Direct and Indirect for SS

Data	Category of Speech Acts	Types (times)			Total
		Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative	
SAS 01	Direct	21	2	1	24
	Indirect	5	2	0	7
Total					31

As shown in Table 06, there are three types of Speech Acts employed by the speaker in his speech utterances: they are Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative. Based on the table, the speaker produced many more Declarative forms than the two other types, Interrogative and Imperative. The speaker employed Declaratives to assert and convey Islamic teaching and the identity of the NU.

Here is the sample excerpt of the declarative form:

SAS 01 line 12:

*Alhamdulillah* [praise be to Allah], this morning, on behalf of the chairman of general board of Nahdhatul Ulama, I give thanks to Allah and I am very proud of the realisation of the 73rd Muslimat NU anniversary with the attendance of more than a hundred thousand of Muslimat members at Gelora Bung Karno stadium (GBK), started at 03.00 am, with completion on reciting Qur'an, *tahajjud*, *istighosah*. *Munajah* is an individual praying; *istighosah* is a mass prayer with a lot of people.

As shown in the excerpt, the speaker performed the Declarative as a form of thanks, respect, and the assertion of information. He employed a form of thanks to appreciate the Muslimat who attended the meeting, especially their participation prior to the main agenda. Given the context, the speaker mentioned a series of activities of religious practices on the anniversary of Muslimat NU 73<sup>rd</sup>. That series of activities includes reciting the Qur'an, *tahajjud*, *istighosah* and *munajah*. To further explain this series of activities, the speaker described the meaning of *munajah*, when he mentioned "Munajah is an individual praying", while *istighosah* is a mass prayer with a lot of people.

The Interrogative is employed by the speaker to generate dialogue and to give the information to the audience. The Interrogative is performed through the generation of rhetorical questions. The following is the sample excerpt of the Interrogative:

SAS 01, line 18:

Do all Muslimat have good attitudes? (Audience: good) Yes, there is some who is bad; one, two, three, ten, thirty. All are good. That is the roles of *tsaqafiyyan* [cultural], *syuhudan hadhaarian* [role of culture], the economic, welfare role, healthy role, social role, society role, have you had a role? Does Muslimat have a role in health? Union? Trade business? Only one, we've not had any role.

As shown in utterance line 18, the speaker employed the Interrogative to make a dialogue with his audience. To do so, the speaker asked Muslimat members (most of his audience) questions. As reflected in his utterance, the speaker tried to engage with the audience and support them to take a more prominent role in society. In the speech, controlling the audience's attention is a key success of the speaker.

Creating a relaxed speech situation is the key to success for the speaker to control and gain the audience's attention. Although the data showed that the speaker formulated the Interrogative through simple utterances, he was able to enliven the speech situation by producing a question to the audience, for example: "Do all Muslimat have good attitudes? (Audience: good) ..."

[*Apakah Muslimat baik semua akhlaqnya?*] and obtaining a response or the answer from his audiences – *baik* (good),...” (SAS 01).

Furthermore, as shown in line 18, the speaker produced further questions for his audiences by asking rhetorical questions. In this context, the speaker employed rhetorical questions, and does not expect a direct answer. Thus, Said Agil Siradj (SAS), as the speaker, conveyed the idea to the audience that they have to play more roles, for example, “...have you had a role? Does Muslimat have a role in health? Union? Trade business?...” (SAS 01 line 18).

Based on the utterance line 18 SAS 01, another purpose of the Interrogative form was to persuade the Muslimat members to participate more. The speaker's utterance was employed to inform and command the Muslimat to take up more roles in many sectors of society.

Likewise, in SAS's speech utterances (SAS 01 to SAS 08), the data finding for the Critics of SAS's Speeches (CSS 09 to CSS 11) was dominated by the types of DSAs, with the portion 66,56% of the total 311 utterances. Thus, Declarative sentences dominated the speakers' utterances.

The following table provides the distribution from the sample excerpt of the data CSS 09:

Table 12 Sample distribution of Direct and Indirect for CSS

Data	Category of Speech Acts	Types (times)			Total
		Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative	
CSS 09	Direct	32	1	1	34
	Indirect	11	1	0	12
Total					46

CSS 09, line 5:

All the messages that Allah has sent down since the Prophet Adam to the last Prophet Muhammad SAW are the same, it is Islam [*diinnul Islam*]. [*Innaddinna 'indallahil Islam*] Surely the (true) religion with Allah is Islam [Q.S Ali Imran verse 19]. Thus, Islam had been revealed to the Prophet Moses with his holy book the Torah, and to the Prophet David with his holy book the Zabur. It was also taught to *Isa* [Jesus] with his holy book, *Injil* [the Bible]. If we can find these holy books, it is certain that the basic principles of the faith must be the same. It is the same their *ushul shari'a*. There might be changes in some *shari'ah* and worship, but it is impossible for the *aqidah* [theologic teaching] to be different.

Further, as shown in the utterance of CSS 09, the speaker employed the Declarative to describe the essence of Islam to the audience. In this utterance, he argued that all the prophets from Adam to Muhammad have the same religion, that is Islam, *diinnul Islam* [Islamic religion]. The implicit meaning within the utterance, is that he asserts that the lesson of the Islamic religion from the Prophet Muhammad has the same characteristics and lessons as the previous religions, such as the Prophet Adam.

### **6.2.2 Indirect Speech Act**

#### **ISA in Said Agil Siradj's Speeches (SAS)**

The next feature of speaker performance when delivering the speech is the production of the Indirect Speech Act (ISA) utterances, about 12,53%, which means fewer in number than the Direct Speech Act (DSA) for about 87,47% (see Table 6). The expression of ISA is produced for the politeness communication strategy. In Eastern cultures, such as in Indonesia, people prefer to use indirect statements to accommodate their listeners, which is part of politeness in communication strategy. Regarding that, Yule (1996) defines politeness as a way to show awareness of another person's face. Thus, by employing the ISA, the speaker wants to show respect and politeness to the audience. In the same point of view, Leech (1983) states that ISA tends to be more polite because it provides optionality and diminishes its force. However, performing an ISA may result in the utterance having less clear information for the hearers. It is caused by the ambiguity of the meaning of the utterance, which sometimes causes the hearer to mistake the literal meaning for the actual message.

Furthermore, in Table 07, the speaker performed ISA in three types of sentences, which are Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative. In this table, Declarative sentences dominated the speaker's utterances, and the Interrogative sentence is the second most common type that appeared in the speech. In the sentence types, the speaker employed Interrogative forms in his utterances to reiterate his messages and to make his utterances clear. In this regard, the speaker used a rhetorical question that does not expect an answer because the speaker already knows the answer. Thus, it becomes the assertion of information to his audience. For instance, "What *ummat* is instructed in the Qur'an? I should say sorry that there is no mentioning of the term of Islamic *ummah* there." (SAS 01, line 15).

Another feature of the speeches is that the speaker produced Interrogative sentences to cause an interaction with the audience and to make the atmosphere of the speech more lively. He said:



It is only said Muhammad you must create an organization namely *ummah* [society], *ummatan wasathan* [middle society], cool society, society who play a role, qualified society. Isn't Muslimat cool? (Audience: cool) Isn't it great? (Audience: great). (SAS 01, line 16).

In the last utterance of line 16, the speaker questioned his audience “Isn't Muslimat cool? (Audience: cool) Isn't it great? (Audience: great)”. The speaker used questions to enliven the speech event. Based on the utterance line 16, the implicit meaning within the question is that the speaker expects Muslimat to be part of the NU, and that they should become a sample of *ummatan wasathan* [middle society]. Therefore, they should have some positive characteristics, such as having many roles in society, qualified society, a good attitude and so forth.

### **ISA in the Critics of SAS's speeches (CSS)**

As shown in Table 07, the realisation of the Indirect Speech Act (ISA) in the Critics of SAS's Speeches (CSS) is that the speakers<sup>62</sup> produced about 33,44% (104) of 311 speech utterances. Given the context of the data, the speakers produced Declarative sentences more often than Interrogative and Imperative sentences. As well as DSA, the speakers produced the ISA of Declarative sentences to give the assertion and information to the audience.

The data findings show the speaker performed Declarative sentences to inform and make argumentation in terms of God's rules in society. Given the context, the speaker quoted from the Quran. Here is the sample excerpt:

CSS 09, line 18:

For this, Allah responded with verse 85 of Q.S Al Baqarah *afatu' minuuna biba'dil kitabi wa takfuruuna biba'di* [will you then only believe in some of God's rules and then disbelieve in some others? 'No', God answered. You can only accept God's rules completely or deny all]. Human beings are only given a choice between the two, to be a believer or a disbeliever.

As shown in the sample utterance CSS 09 line 18 above, Athian Ali as the speaker employed the ISA to his listeners on the importance of God's rules in society. By using textual interpretation from the Quran, he argued that people only have two choices in this world, to become a believer or a disbeliever. The implicit meaning within the speaker's utterance is that he indirectly accused the other Muslims of having conducted incomplete religious practices as

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<sup>62</sup> For the data of the Critics of SAS's Speeches (CSS), there are three speakers (Athian Ali M, Zainal Abidin, and Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi)

long as they only partially obey God's rules. Additionally, the speaker accused this group of Muslims of creating confusion amongst other Muslim societies by rejecting 'Arab culture'.

CSS 09, line 19

*Wa qulil haqqu min rabbikum famansyaa a falyu'min wa man sya a falyaqfur.* [And say, "the truth is from your Lord, so whoever wills - let him believe; and whoever wills - let him disbelieve".] That's the only choice. If you want to be a believer, be a believer. Otherwise, you are an infidel. There is no middle way or a mixed choice, a rather infidel. Thanks God, he is already quite a believer. Yaa It's a pity, why is he a little infidel like that (Ironic Joke).

Thus, to be not accused of being infidels, they try to argue that what they reject is not Islam, it is Arab culture. So, they try to confuse or argue that some of the Islamic rules are actually Arab culture. They claim that it is Arab culture that they refuse, not Islam.

In the utterance of CSS 09 in the last line 19, the speaker implicitly accused the Islam Nusantara concept of justifying a refusal of some of God's rules. Based on the source of Quran, the speaker accused the IN concept of being heretical and inviting Muslims to violate God's rules: "they try to argue that what they reject is not Islam, it is Arab culture. So, they try to confuse or argue that some of the Islamic rules are actually Arab culture".

### **6.3 Discourse analysis on Islam Nusantara terms**

As discussed in the previous chapter, discourse is not a simple entity to define, but it can have complex relations which constitute social life. Fairclough (1995a, 2010), defines discourse as social practices that correspond to the whole process of social interaction, such as text production and text consumption with dialectical relations. In the same notion, he defines language as a social practice that implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) which frame it. These include i) what is going on, ii) who is involved, iii) what relations are at issue, and iv) what is the role of language (vocabulary and structure of the sentence).

In communication, the analysis of discourse is an important aspect for describing and revealing the language, both spoken and written forms. In spoken context, Discourse Analysis (DA) can be employed to describe the speaker's utterance meaning as well as in the written form, such as the text of speech or newspaper headline. DA studies the language beyond the sentences, which means it is the study of language in use (G. Brown & Yule, 1983). Further, the study of discourse analysis is concerned not just with the study of formal features of language (El-Zaghal, 2021), but also with the use of language in social and cultural contexts.

In this regard, DA is applied to the study of Islam Nusantara (IN) discourse in SAS's speeches and how the speaker produced many utterances with religious aspects. For instance, the speaker used various greetings and registers while delivering the speeches. Therefore, the following section discusses the analysis of DA on IN which provoked the polemical reaction in the Muslim society, especially from the internal and external community perspectives:

### **6.3.1 Internal community**

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is the traditional Islamic organization that dominates many dimensions in Indonesia, including politics, economics, education, and social concerns. In that context, the NU has structural forms to manage and run the organisation. Based on the structural organisation, the highest body in the NU is *Syuriah* (Supreme Council) and under this is *Tanfidziyah* (Executive Council, or EC). The EC has to serve the organisation. Said Agil Siradj (SAS) is a Muslim scholar and the general chairman of the NU's EC (*Ketum PBNU 2010-2021*), and consequently, he has become an influential person in his community. In the National Congress (*Muktamar Nasional*) Jombang in 2015, he declared the IN concept.

The IN has become the identity and the new brand or platform for the NU to distinguish itself from other Islamic groups, and it is similar in its aims to Progressive Islam from Muhammadiyah. Meanwhile, MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia / the Indonesian Ulama Council*) has its own term, *Islam Wasathiyah* (Faisal, 2018). The essence of IN is important for the NU, particularly to protect the members from radical ideology. Therefore, SAS promoted the discourse of IN on various occasions through his speeches, particularly in the internal community. Politically, the IN movements from the NU are supported by the government because the nature of IN spreads moderate Islamic teaching and curbs radical groups.

To reveal and explore the point of view of SAS's speech messages, the listeners can connect the discourse perspective of the historical background, the establishment of the NU and its ideology in the Indonesian political context. For example, one of the NU's purposes is to maintain the religious practices of traditionalist Muslims within the *Aswaja* ideology. The features of *Aswaja* religious practices are identified with local traditional practices, such as doing *tahlilan*, *slametan*, *barzanji* and others. Given the context, as a leader in the NU, Said Agil Siradj (SAS) employed many utterances through his speeches to normalise those terms in the NU community.

As reflected in his speech utterances, SAS displayed some linguistic competence to get the audience's attention and maintain his relationship with the followers. It is important to reach his goal in speech, so he uses vivid language, jokes, and other techniques to gain the audience's

attention. Furthermore, SAS performed Direct and Indirect speech utterances as strategies to be closer to the audience and make the speech event interesting. This facilitates his use of the traditional Muslim religious leader's position as a charismatic and influential position within the community. As a result, his voice and command were respected and followed by the members.

Empowering and strengthening the internal organisation with the IN values is important to protect its members from the threat of radical groups. Therefore, the speaker stressed and gave more attention in his speech to the positive aspects of religious practices in the NU. For example, he requested his members to maintain and practise *slametan*, *tahlilan*, *istighozah*, and *mauludan*. The speaker argues those religious practices have become the religious identity of the NU as a traditionalist Muslim group that inherited Islamic teaching from Walisongo. To anticipate any critical attack, the speaker reminded his members that there is a group of people who often judge the NU's religious practice as *bid'ah* [religious innovation] (see data SAS 07, line 20).

The religious practices such as *slametan*, *tahlilan*, *istighozah*, and *mauludan* have become a feature of the NU community, and it informs the distinct Islamic practice in Indonesia from Arab and Middle Eastern perspectives. Those strategies and practices are essential at the grass root level to maintain the interaction among the NU members and preserve the organisation's tradition. Thus, the practices cannot be separated in the daily life of the NU community. From that standpoint, due to the tolerance principles and engagement with social culture, the indigenous people in Indonesia received Islam as the new religion after Hinduism/Buddhism in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Said Agil siradj (SAS) argues that the essence of IN has flexibility and acceptance of the Indonesian social culture within a pluralist society. Therefore, he pointed out that the concept of IN does not attack local culture in Indonesia but rather creates a space for integration, thereby displaying hospitality toward local traditions. Contrarily, the spirit of the IN contradicts the NIM group movement which has a strict religious interpretation in society. Based on the above reasons, the following presents the description of speaker's utterances in terms of *slametan*, *tahlilan*, *istighosah*, and *mauludan* or *mawlid*.

### **6.3.1.1 Slametan**

The term *slametan* is not new for the traditionalist Muslim community because it has been practised by the Javanese people and believed for centuries. Scholars identified *slametan* as a kind of dynamic culture of syncretism in Javanese people derived from Hinduism, Buddhism,

animism, and ancestor worship. Further, McDaniel (2017) mentioned that the religious practice of the modern Muslim in Indonesia is influenced by the tradition of Hinduism-Buddhism, and this is evident in the tradition of *slametan*.

In the past, when Islam came to the archipelago (Nusantara), mainly in Java, the nine saints (Walisongo) adopted ritual *slametan* as part of their *da'wah* in society. Given the context, within the social life of the Javanese community, the activity of *slametan* has been practised particularly by Islam *kejawen*<sup>63</sup> and traditional *santri* (Woodward, 2011) or *abangan* (Geertz, 1985).

People believe that *slametan* is a ritual performed in the expectation of receiving salvation in the world. In this regard, in the traditionalist Muslim community, the practice of *slametan* involves reciting part of the Holy Quran. Many people practise the tradition of *slametan* to achieve the condition of *slamet*, whether for the community or the individual. Then, at the end of the process of *slametan*, people will receive any kind of food such as red or white porridge (*bubur merah atau putih*), or chicken (*ingkung ayam*). There are several forms of *slametan*, and generally, they include birth, death, marriage, cleaning the village, feast day, welcoming Ramadhan, celebrating after coming back from work abroad, and celebrating when harvest comes.

The origin of the word *slametan* is derived from Arabic *salam* [greeting], which means referring to the expectation of a peaceful state of equanimity, in which nothing bad will happen. In the Indonesian language, the term *slametan* is lexically written with *selamatan* which means the activities such as eating various kinds of food (KBBI, 2022). In addition, in the general sense, *salam* is used for tranquillity in this life and in the world to come. Therefore, Islam suggested the use of the greeting *salam* or *Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakaatuh* when meeting other Muslims, and the listeners have an obligation to answer this greeting.

In the context of speech, the speaker performed the term *slamet* or *slametan* when he delivered the speech entitled “Islam Nusantara in Ulema meeting- Santri’s day” [in the data SAS 05, line 29]:

I have another story. *Kiai* [a person who has great morality, religiosity, and religious knowledge of Islam] was taking a walk and saw a man preparing a *sesajen* [ritual offering]. It is a handful of rice put in the corner of the house. *Kiai* asked about it, and the man said that it was to get rid of the devils. *Kiai* suggested the man to slaughter a goat and cooked 15 kg rice. This will get rid of the devils much faster. He acted upon the advice, asked *Kiai* where to put the meals. *Kiai* said that they should not be put anywhere but given to the neighbours, friends, and especially the poor people. Beforehand, *Kiai* invited him to pray together so that God will give him a protection to save his life, his wife and children, his

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<sup>63</sup> *Kejawen* is the Java community's religious tradition inherited from its predecessors.

wealth, and his dead. Thus, it is to make their life *slamet* [safe and sound]. Thus, it is no longer *sesajen* [offering to the spirit] but *slametan* [thanksgiving and sharing to others]. That is the right way to disseminate Islamic teaching.

As shown in the utterance SAS 05 above, the speaker described the term *slamet*. In the utterance, the speaker gave a sample of acculturation between local culture and Islam in performing *sesajen* [ritual offering]. Given the context, the speaker gave the illustration within the story of *sesajen* in his speech. He narrated that the ancestors did not reject the practice of giving *sesajen*, but when Islam came to Java, they exchanged the practice with *slametan*. In other words, the speaker said that Islam came and did not change the culture in the society. Finally, the speaker concluded that the practice of local traditions such as *slametan* in society is legal and was not prohibited in Islam.

### 6.3.1.2 *Tahlilan*

In the NU community, *tahlilan* is a tradition that is still preserved. It does not only consist of theological beliefs but also social values that are important in maintaining the social relationship among the members. Among the Muslim community members, when a person dies, the deceased's family has a moral responsibility to hold *tahlilan*: the participants are family members, relatives, neighbours, and friends.

The term of *tahlilan* derived from Arabic هَلَل يَهَلل تَهليلًا *hallala-yuhallilu-tahlilan* means the expression of joy or pleasure (Warisno & ZA, 2018). The activities of *tahlilan* are commonly held on certain days after the death of a person, such as 1<sup>st</sup> day, 3<sup>rd</sup> day, 7<sup>th</sup> day, 40<sup>th</sup> day, 100<sup>th</sup> day, 1000<sup>th</sup> day, with a ceremony to commemorate each death date. In the Indonesian dictionary, the term *tahlilan* has the meaning of the activity of reciting the holy Quran to ask for blessing and forgiveness from God (KBBI, 2022). However, the practice of *tahlil* is still debated within the Muslim community, and some argue that the tradition was adopted from the animist faith ceremony in the past. The traditionalists believe that *tahlil* is legal in Islam because it consists of reciting the Holy Quran. Meanwhile, critics such as the NIM argue that *tahlil* is *bid'ah* as there is no guidance regarding this practice from the Prophet Muhammad and the companions.

The forms or materials of *tahlilan* are various, and it depends on the leader or person in the ceremony. Hence, most of the materials are derived from the Qur'an.

SAS 05, line 30:

The existing cultures were preserved by Wali Songo (the nine saints), but not those which are against the teachings of Islam like alcohol drinking and gambling. Any culture which

goes in line with the Islamic law has been made as the Islam infrastructure. The media of *Slametan* is from Hindu, but the content is *tahlilan* [repeated recitation of the confession that there is no God but Allah]. What else? *Syukur laut* [expression of gratitude by holding a ceremonial feast in the sea] is from Java, but the participants are asked to ask for God's forgiving [*Istighosah*]. *Bedug* was used to accompany the dancing, but it is moved to a mosque to summon to prayer. That is the way the cultures were made into religious infrastructures. The religion is strengthened by the cultural foundation. It is the essence of Islam Nusantara.

As shown in the utterance of SAS 05, line 30, the speaker argued that performing *tahlilan* is legal in Islam because its practise consists of reciting the holy Quran. However, he informed that the practice of *tahlilan* is originally from the Hindu tradition [*slametan*], then Islam came and changed the practice of *slametan* with *tahlil*, and *tahlil* itself focusing on the activity of reciting the holy Quran. Therefore, the speaker judged that the practice of *tahlilan* within the practice of *slametan* is legal. In addition, the speaker argued that as long as the local cultures did not contradict the essence of the Islamic principles, it should remain legal, as part of the religious infrastructure.

### 6.3.1.3 *Istighosah*

*Istighosah* is a kind of the religious practice by performing praying together (mass prayer) for help from Allah. The term *istighosah* derived from the Arabic *al-ghouts* الغوث meaning *pertolongan*; it means that the people ask for a special request from God for help when they fall into a difficult situation. People hold *istighosah* together with other people, and there is a leader in the ceremony. In the Quran, there are several words that refer to the meaning of *istighosah* such as al-Kahfi verse 29, al-Qhasas verse 15, al-Ahqaf verse 17 and al-Anfal verse 9 (Kemenag, 2022). The following excerpt reflected the speaker's utterance of the term *istighosah*.

SAS 01, line 12:

*Alhamdulillah* [praise be to Allah], this morning, on behalf of the chairman of general board of Nahdhatul Ulama, I give thanks to Allah and I am very proud of the realisation of the 73rd Muslimat NU anniversary with the attendance of more than a hundred thousand of Muslimat members at *Gelora Bung Karno* stadium (GBK), started at 03.00 am, with completion on reciting Qur'an, *tahajjud*, *istighosah*. *Munajah* is an individual praying; *istighosah* is a mass prayer with a lot of people.

SAS 05, line 30:

...,*Syukur laut* (expression of gratitude by holding a ceremonial feast in the sea) is from Java, but the participants are asked to ask for God's forgiveness [*Istighosah*]. *Bedug* was used to accompany the dancing, but it is moved to a mosque to summon to prayer. That is the way the cultures are made into religious infrastructures. The religion is strengthened by the cultural foundation. It is the essence of Islam Nusantara.

As shown in the data SAS 01, and SAS 05 above, the speaker mentioned the practice of *istighosah* activities in the NU community. In that utterance, the speaker mentioned that within the NU circle, they often hold *istighosah* on special occasions, for example, to celebrate the anniversary of the Muslimat NU. Given the context, during the celebration of Muslimat NU, people hold *istighosah*, and they ask for God's special favour. The practice of *istighosah* is also part of the NU religious identity and it is used to cultivate the NU tradition among the members. Further, the speaker advised that there was a traditional tool in Javanese culture to call the people namely the *bedug*.

#### 6.3.1.4 Mawlid or Mauludan

*Mawlid* or *maulud* is held to commemorate the birth of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. In Indonesia, it is celebrated as a national holiday and is commemorated each year on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the Islamic month of *Rabī' al-Awwal* by the Muslim people. Etymologically, the Indonesian language defines *maulid* as meaning “the birth of the prophet Muhammad” (KBBI, 2022).

In Indonesian Muslim society, the practice of the *mawlid* celebration invites debate over appropriateness, with acceptance derived from traditional groups and the resistance coming from the modernist groups. Recently, the celebration of *maulid* was rejected by the NIM or Salafi/Wahabi groups. They refuse the celebration of *maulid* because the Prophet Muhammad and his companions had never practised this (As'ad, 2019).

SAS 07, line 20:

There are other groups such as Sallafi, Wahabi who attack the practices of NU. *Mawlid Nabi*, *Isra' Mi'raj* is considered a heresy [*bid'ah*]; graveyard visit and *tahlilan* are considered *musyrik* [polytheists]. I think they need to study more about Islam, they haven't finished their study yet, even though they grow long beard.

In the excerpt SAS 07 above, the speaker criticized other Muslim groups such as *Sallafi* and *Wahabi* as the people who have not yet finished their study of Islam. The speaker mentioned that these groups often judge the NU traditions as *bid'ah* [religious innovation]; for example, the celebration of *Mawlid* and *Isra' Mi'raj*. According to *Sallafi* and *Wahabi*, *bid'ah* is claimed to be an illegal activity and should not be practised by Muslims because there is no guidance from the Prophet Muhammad and his companions.

As a counter to *Sallafi Wahabi* groups, the speaker argued that religious practices in the NU have a positive value, such as being media of reconciliation at the grassroots level. In this regard, he gave the example of the practice of *tahlilan*, when he said: “Tahlilan, Mauludan,



Barzanji are reconciliation media for the grassroots, spending only a little costs. Yeah, they only need small food [*berkat*, term in NU tradition]...”.

### 6.3.2 External community

On a different side, particularly from the NIM (the New Islamic Movement) groups and their proponent, the concept of IN has become controversial and even rejected, since its declaration in Jombang 2015. For example, the Muslim community in West Sumatra refused to link Islam with Islam Nusantara (Ridwan et al., 2019). They argued that Islam is a religion that has reached peak perfection and does not need further attribution or labelling. Thus, connecting Islam with attribution will reduce the essence of Islam as the perfect religion.

The context of rejection appeared when the figures of Islam Nusantara introduced some terms that became disputed in the Muslim society; for example, the use of other greetings, discrediting Arabized forms, liberal interpretation of *Rahmatal lil 'alamiin* and the localisation of religious practices. These features of Islamic discourse have triggered dispute within the Muslim community, particularly from the external organisation of the NU. The following are the objections and the argumentations of their rejection:

#### 6.3.2.1 Proposing to change the greeting

CSS 09, line: 26

They also proposed to replace the greetings of Muslims, i.e., *Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakaatuh*. It was said to Arabic sentences. Therefore, they like to replace with *Selamat pagi* [good morning], *Salam sejahtera* [best wishes]. Do you still remember this? In this country there has been a *kiai*, again I should not mention him as he has been the late person. He is a very famous figure who liked to replace *Assalamu'alaikum* with *Selamat pagi*. I don't know how he practised his five prayers. Maybe at the end of dawn prayer will say *salam* by saying, *Selamat subuh* [good morning/dawn]. In the midday prayer, he would say, *Selamat Dhuhur* [happy midday].

In the excerpt above of CSS 09, the speaker addressed his critics of the IN concept, particularly some figures in the NU. In the utterance, the speaker accused them of being a *Kiai* who wanted to replace the Islamic greeting *Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakaatuh* with the local greeting such as *Selamat Pagi* [Good Morning] if the greeting is performed in the morning, *Selamat Siang* [Good Afternoon], and so forth. As reflected in his utterance, the speaker accused them of being a part of the IN groups, and of wanting to replace the greeting because the greeting was still in an Arabic form. Formally, the form of the Islamic greeting is *Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakaatuh* and the proponent of IN tried to replace it with the local greeting.

### 6.3.2.2 The localisation of the religious practices

The following presents a sample excerpt of the critics of the discourse of IN, particularly on the issue of the localisation the religious practice.

CSS 09, line 27

Another thing that they have raised is that reciting the Qur'an does not have to be in Arabic. It is said to be enough to read translation into the Indonesian language, or other languages in Nusantara, Sundanese, Javanese. According to them, Indonesian language will be understood more and internalized better. I saw a video showing people did *sholat* [a prayer] in Indonesian; this is a *sholat* of Islam Nusantara. He started his prayer with *Allah Maha Besar* [God is great], then he recited *Segala puji bagi Allah Tuhan semesta alam* [Praise to Allah, Lord of the worlds]. These are true Indonesian Muslims. Yet, once again, indeed Allah descended the Qur'an in Arabic, because the first time it went down to the Arab people, *Bil lisanin arabiiyyin mubin* [in a clear Arabic language]. It was explained in the Qur'an in the *surah As-Syuara* verse 192 to 195.

As shown in line 27 from data CSS 09, the speaker accused the IN of trying to localise the religious practice, and the speaker showed evidence that IN will use the Indonesian language for praying. To strengthen his argumentation, the speaker said to his audience that he had already seen the video of the people who perform *shalat* by using the Indonesian version. For instance, there were people who began the prayer with *Allah Maha Besar*<sup>64</sup> [God is great], then he recited *Segala puji bagi Allah Tuhan semesta alam* [Praise to Allah, Lord of the worlds]. For that reason, the speaker argued and concluded that by replacing Arabic language with the Indonesian language in prayer, it will help people more easily understand the meaning of *Sholat* [praying].

In this context, the speaker gave the implicit meaning that performing *shalat* by using a local language, such as the Indonesian version, is not allowed. Therefore, the speaker countered the IN's argumentation to endorse the Indonesian version in performing *shalat* by quoting the Quran, *surah As-Syuara* verse 192 to 195. Given the context, the speaker mentioned that the Quran in Arabic version was paramount because it was first issued to the Arab people. Therefore, the Quran and the practice of prayer must be in Arabic.

## 6.4 SAS's speech context on Islam Nusantara discourse

This section presents the perspective of Hymes' (1974) 'SPEAKING model' to see its analytical viability in its application to SAS's speech in the context of IN. Hymes explained

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<sup>64</sup> In the Islamic rule, people who perform prayer [*shalat*] must use the Arabic language.

that language is a device for categorizing experience and the instrument of communication, as explained in the acronym of SPEAKING. This concept model consists of some components that can be applied in many sorts of discourse, and they are (S) for setting and scene, participants (P), ends (E), act sequences (A), key (K), instrumentalities (I), and genre (G). It is important to employ the model of SPEAKING for an analysis of SAS's speech utterances of IN that invited polemical discourse.

Language is essential to speech, and it functions as the device to illustrate the experience in the communication between the speaker and the listeners.

The following section employs Hymes' SPEAKING model to analyse the polemical utterances from SAS's selected speeches on the data SAS 01 containing the utterance "The NU member must occupy all of the religious institutions".

#### **6.4.1 Setting and Scene**

The location of participants and any physical barriers that may be present are the setting. For instance, whether participants are facing one another and whether they are separated by table, podium, seats, and space in the room. Then, the participants' interpretation of the type of events, the cultural definition of the occasion, the environment of the situation and the abstract psychological context are the scene.

SAS, as the speaker, performed his speech utterances at the 73<sup>rd</sup> Muslimat NU anniversary (SAS 01). He delivered his speech by standing in front of his audience on the stage, where seated with him were some special guests, such as the President of the Republic of Indonesia and his cabinet ministers. Meanwhile, the members of the Fatayat NU were sitting in front of the speaker and the guests. During the speech, SAS became the focus of the audience.

The speaker (SAS) performed the speech with relaxed and informal methods. He greeted the president and the rest of the audience and thanked them for their attendance at the event. He used various formal collocations as well as jokes, for example in line 6 of data SAS 01, he uttered "The Chairman of Muslimat NU, the governor of East Java, the President candidate of RI 24-34, Mrs. Hj. Khofifah Indar Parawansah *athaalallaahu baqaaha yukhran lanaa wali'ummah* [hopefully in eternal obedience for us and all people]". In this utterance, he raised the expectation that Mrs. Khofifah (the chairman of Muslimat NU) would run for the President in 2024 and 2034. Then, the speaker continued in line 9 by acknowledging his wife, when he said "Also my respected person, my beloved one, Mrs. Hj. Nurhayati, the most beloved one, my wife". After sending the greeting to his wife, the speaker received high applause from the audience.

### 6.4.2 Participants

The next element of Hymes' SPEAKING grid is "P" for the Participant. It refers to the involvement of two participants during the conversation: the speaker and the hearer. In this context, the speaker was in an active position to speak to the hearers or listeners: Said Agil Siradj (SAS) is the speaker who delivered the speech, i.e., the message of the sender. At that time, he was the general chairman of the NU executive board (Ketum PBNU, 2010-2021). SAS was the institutional initiator of Islam Nusantara (IN) in the National congress (Muktamar NU) 2015 in Jombang, East Java, and he promoted IN as an inclusive Islam and the typology of moderate Islam in Indonesia.

On the anniversary of the Fatayat NU event in 2019, SAS promoted the IN with the themes of tolerance and inclusion of the local culture. The IN has a mission to counter and protect the NU members from radical groups. In front of hundreds of thousands of audience members, SAS performed communicated via a formal speech which contained some jokes to attract his audience. He inserted within the political and religious messages, some codes which could be understood by the listeners. For instance, SAS said, "we must be the winner in 2019..." in this case, the speaker used the pronoun "we" as a device to become close to, and to persuade his audience.

### 6.4.3 Ends

The next type is "E", which stands for End. Communication is not the end of interaction but rather a tool which parties use to achieve their objectives. In this regard, any parties may want to achieve a specific goal. It refers to the anticipated effects of exchange as well as the personal objectives that participants hope to achieve on specific occasions. The fundamental objectives in communication are: informing, requesting, persuading and developing mutual relationships (El-Zaghal, 2021).

The purpose of SAS's speech message on Islamic discourse was to promote the concept of IN. It can be traced from the speaker's utterances when giving the speech to his members. It is important because the nature of the IN concept is to restrict the movements of the Islamic right-wing groups or the New Islamic Movements (NIM). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the NIM groups have contradicted the ideology and political spectrum of Islamic traditionalist groups. Therefore, SAS as the NU leader, has an obligation to protect his community members from those who oppose both ideology and politics.

Showing the speaker's concern for the loyalty to the organization and his members, can be identified from the intention of the speaker's utterance (SAS 07, line 20):

... There are other groups such as Sallafi, Wahabi who attack the practices of NU. *Maulid Nabi, I'ra' Mi'raj* is considered a heresy [*bid'ah*]; graveyard visit and *tahlilan* are considered *musyrik* [polytheists]. I think they need to study more about Islam, they ha'en't finished their study yet, even though they grow long beards.

As shown in the excerpt, the speaker identified Salafi and Wahabi groups as those who often attacked the religious practice of the NU as *bid'ah* and accused it of being a polytheist practice. In this regards, SAS's statement is a kind of utterance which garners attention and support from the followers. Another goal of the speaker's statement is to insinuate that the Salafi and Wahabi groups are unlearned, or ignorant. For example: "...I think they need to study more about Islam, they ha'en't finished their study yet, even though they grow long beards (SAS 07)". In addition, SAS's utterance validates the allegiance of his supporters, and offers support and protection to them.

#### 6.4.4 Act Sequence

Another element from Hymes' SPEAKING grid is "A" for Act Sequence. It refers to the actual form and content of the message and the precise words used by the speaker. The cultural context and the social community determine what the speaker delivers and what the listener receives. Given the context, the receiver should interpret the message and translate it into meaningful information. Therefore, the cultural context and background knowledge of the listeners help them to understand and receive the message from the speaker.

Regarding this context, the speaker (SAS) is the main actor who declared the IN institutionally. As part of his concept of IN, he underlined the importance of tolerance and inclusive Islam teaching within the pluralist society in Indonesia. As the NU leader, he has a moral obligation to maintain the sustainability of social relations and harmony in society. Based on that situation, promoting the IN as the form of moderate Islam in Indonesia is important to restrict intolerant group movements in the community and to create the state for a wider space. He requested his members' commitment and loyalty to disseminate the values of Islam Nusantara (IN).

The speaker tried to perform this objective by using precise words when delivering the speech. For instance, he performed the speech using SAs such as Representative, Directive, Commissive, Expressive, and Declarative in delivering his messages on IN discourse. The following is the sample excerpt of how the speaker gave the Directive for the command, and the listeners understood it as such.

SAS 01, line: 19-20.

Listen! Listen! *Syuhuudan siyasiyan*, [the role of politics]. That is why in 2019, we must be the winner. Thus, NU will play the role of *syuhuudan siyaasiyyan* [role of politics], *syuhuudan?* [role] (*siyasiyyan*) *siyaasiyyan* [politics]

*Alhamdulillah*, you've all understood, especially the ladies.

As shown in the data line 19-20 above, the speaker performed the Directive speech act to request and command his listeners to participate in the political events of 2019. At the same time, the speaker was requesting his members to win the election, which means referring to the candidate who was endorsed by the NU.

#### 6.4.5 Key

The next type is “K” for Key. It refers to the tone of voice used, prosody or intonation, and the manner in which one delivers the message. As shown previously in the data speeches, the speaker performed cues when highlighting the important messages in his speech, such as raising his intonation and using serious expressions. SAS's words and expression convinced his audiences. For instance, he said “Being a student of Hasyim Asy'ari will take you to heaven with him.... (SAS 01, line 27)”. In this utterance, he convinced his members that they would enter heaven by becoming the students of Hasyim Asy'ari. Hasyim Asy'ari is the founder and a great teacher at the NU.

Furthermore, in the other speech, the speaker used an important message as a cue to remind the audience about the danger of radicalism, saying that Wahabism and Salafism are ideologies which must be rejected: “The people of Nadhatul Ulama must consider as an enemy and reject radicalism, Wahhabism, Salafism, also terrorism, (SAS 07, line 24)”. In the delivery of the speech, SAS's voice was used flexibly to enable him to change his tone depending on what he was saying, from relaxed to serious, and so forth. Before he closed the speech, he gave valuable information, particularly on the IN.

The following is the excerpt:

SAS 07, line 25

Hopefully tonight, it can be evidence that Islam and Nationalism in Indonesia are getting more harmonious, stronger, and *Insyallah*, Indonesia is the only country that is very peaceful, safe, and prosperous. *Insyallah*, Monday 9 May PBNU will hold the International Summit of The Moderate Muslim Leaders, Monday 9 to 11. Invited 100 scholars from abroad. Some have texted from Morocco, from Sudan, from Turkey, from Afghanistan, and can't wait to hear what my speech about *Islam Nusantara* sounds like.

As shown in line 25 of SAS 07, the speaker tried to convince his audience about the importance of the IN, asserting that it will make Indonesia become a peaceful, safe, and prosperous country. As a result, he informed his listeners that there are many countries interested in listening to the presentation of Islam Nusantara (IN).

#### 6.4.6 Instrumentalities

The next discussion point is “I” for Instrumentalities. It refers to media or channels and how the conversation is made: if it is oral, written, or telegraphic, and to the actual form of speech employed such as the language, dialect, code, or register. Code means the language in which one writes or that which the sender and the receiver share. Given the context, if using the same code, the communication becomes simpler.

In this study, the speaker delivered his speech face to face with the audience, which means the speaker performed the speech directly to the audience. Due to the wide space and large audience, the speaker used a loudspeaker as a tool during the speech. In addition, in another layer, a projector helped the audience see the speaker’s performance at the podium, by means of a big screen on the stage behind the speaker (such as during the celebration of 73<sup>rd</sup> Fatayat NU). Furthermore, SAS’s speech contents are also transmitted on YouTube channels and can be accessed by many people.

#### 6.4.7 Norms

The next type is “N” for Norm of interaction. Norms may relate to how people look, behave, or communicate with each other. Some norms relate to how a group will act as a whole. The norm of interaction involves any socially accepted conventions during speaking, or the kinds of things one can say and to whom they are said. Also, the norm of interaction governs how the community members interact within the group.

In this study, the speaker performed his speech by using informal language and combining it with other languages. He adopted Arabic terms in his opening content to welcome some respected guests and the general audience. For instance, the speaker said “The honorable, *al-mukaramah* [the honorable] Mrs. Hj. Megawati Soekarno Putri, the fifth President of the Republic of Indonesia, *athalallahu baqoah fii shihhatin dhaiman*, [May Allah grant her a long healthy life].” In this regard, the speaker used the utterance *al-mukaramah* to grant more status to his guest Mrs. Hj. Megawati Soekarno Putri as the fifth President of the Republic of Indonesia.

In his speech, SAS employed the utterances in Indonesian and switched to the Arabic language to welcome his guest. The speaker employed the Arabic terms to follow the norm in the NU community as the Islamic organization. It refers to the norm of interaction within the Muslim community. The NU is a religious organization, and the members are familiar with the Arabic terms, such as greeting and quoting from the sources of the Quran and Hadith for religious argumentation when formulating a *fatwa*<sup>65</sup>.

#### 6.4.8 Genre

The last type is “G” for Genre. It refers to demarcated types of utterance such as poems, proverbs, riddles, sermons, prayers, lectures, speeches, and editorials. In terms of speech genres, it has diverse forms and heterogeneous levels of common daily communication activities such as greetings, conversations, military commands, inaugural speeches, political speeches and so forth (Bakhtin, 1986). Thus, the variety of language usage of speech genres can be identified based on the social, economic, political, ideology and relationship status between the speaker and the target audience.

In this study, the genre of the speaker’s speech can be categorized as part of the organization’s political ideology. This is because the content of the speech utterances consists of messages of ideological discourse and political discourse. The following table illustrates the identification of SAS’s speeches based on the genres:

Table 13 SAS’s speech genres

Data	Theme/topic	Genre
SAS 01	Smart! The speech of the executive chairman of PBNU KH. Said Agil Siradj at the 73 <sup>rd</sup> Muslimat NU anniversary  [CERDAS! Ceramah KETUM PBNU KH. Said Aqil Siradj di Harlah Muslimat NU ke-73]	Religious and political speech
SAS 02	The Consolidation of Nahdlatul Ulama toward the 34 <sup>th</sup> National Congress [ Konsolidasi Nahdlatul Ulama Menuju Muktamar Ke-34]	Religious and political speech

<sup>65</sup> A formal ruling or interpretation on the point of Islamic law given by a qualified legal scholar (Britannica, 2022). In Indonesia, MUI or *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (Indonesian Ulama Council) has the authority in issuing a fatwa.



SAS 03	The Santri's day and the fall of the Shari'ah based NKRI theory [ Hari Santri dan Gugurnya Teori NKRI Bersyariah]	Religious and Political speech
SAS 04	The Speech of Said Agil Sir-j - the 93 <sup>rd</sup> NU anniversary [ Tausiyah KH. Said Aqil Sir-j - Harlah NU ke 93]	Religious and Political speech
SAS 05	Islam Nusantara in Ulema meeting- Santri's day [ Islam Nusantara dalam Halaqoh Alim Ula-a - Hari Santri]	Religious and Political speech
SAS 06	Public speech on the Inclusivism of Islam Nusantara at UNISNU Jepara [ Kuliah Umum tentang inklusifisme Islam Nusantara di Kampus UNISNU Jepara]	Religious and Political speech
SAS 07	The NU, Pancasila, the proud of Islam Nusantara according to Said Agil Siradj [ NU, Pancasila, kebanggaan Islam Nusantara <i>ala</i> kang Said]	Religious and political speech
SAS 08	The inauguration of PC-NU and Muslimat NU Tulang Bawang Lampung [ Pelantikan PC-NU dan Muslimat NU Tulang Bawang-Lampung]	Religious and political speech

The table classification of the speech genre above gave information about the content of each speech. The labelling of SAS's speech genre is based on the thematic content of the speech. From that standpoint, the genre is political discourse when the speaker performs more of a political message, and it is a religious speech genre when the speech informs more on the sacred messages of the religion. In addition, it is called the religious and political speech genre when the speech consists of religious and political content.

Based on the table above, SAS's speech genre is religious and political. The religious messages inform the religious practices of the NU community and the IN discourse. Meanwhile, the political messages inform the political materials, such as the organization's standing with the current government. For example, to support the government policy to ban HTI in 2017 and the application of *Pancasila* as the sole basis of the state. Then, supporting K.H. Ma'ruf Amin as Jokowi's running mate in the presidential election (2019-2024) in the second term.

## 6.5 Summary

The discussion in this chapter found that the speaker performed the Direct Speech Acts (DSAs) for most of his speech utterances to promote the IN to his community. The DSAs were employed by Said Agil Siradj (SAS) to state his intentions directly and to avoid any

misinterpretation of his speech utterances. Meanwhile, Indirect Speech Acts (ISAs) were used to show polite interaction and relationships with the NU members. The speaker employed ISAs to perform politeness to his community, and to convey messages and intentions to the audience indirectly.

There are three types of DSA or ISA; Declarative, Interrogative and Imperative. In total, these occur at the rate of 87,47% for the DSA forms and 12,53% for ISA forms within SAS's speeches. Meanwhile, there is the occurrence rate of 66,56% for forms of DSA among the critics of SAS's speeches (CSS) and about 33,44% for various forms of ISA.

Said Agil Siradj (SAS), as the speaker employed religious and local terms in his speeches to describe Islam Nusantara (IN) to his audience. The IN is important to maintain unity and for the establishment of the Indonesian state within the pluralist society, particularly through the inclusive Islamic teaching. The nature of IN does not contradict the local culture; it has become an Islam in Indonesia distinct from other Muslim countries. The speaker argued that the religious practices in the NU are kind of a feature of *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah* [Aswaja] ideology combined with the acceptance of local culture. The Aswaja ideology in the NU shares characteristics with the practices of local culture such as *slametan*, *tahlilan*, *istighozah*, *mauludan*, and so forth. Therefore, the speaker requested and commanded the NU members to have more roles in society and to preserve their traditions.

For his community, Hymes' SPEAKING theory presented the discourse context to reveal the IN discourse within the expectations of SAS's speeches. The analysis described SAS's speeches based on the points of SPEAKING: (S) for setting and scene, participants (P), ends (E), act sequences (A), key (K), instrumentalities (I), and genre (G). This model is important to explain the context of SAS's utterances when delivering the speech. The speaker's utterances on IN discourse are expected to protect the NU members from the threat of radical ideology, such as *Sallafi* and *Wahabi* groups. The introduction of IN within the NU community is important to restrict the radical ideology and its infiltration of the NU members. The speaker employed local cultural terms to describe and promote IN within his community, such as the traditions of *slametan*, *tahlilan*, *istighozah*, and *mauludan*.

The tradition of *slametan* and other practices is featured within the religious practice of the NU community. In general, those religious practices are the features and identity of most Muslims in Indonesia. Furthermore, the speaker informed and alerted his members that their religious practices were in danger, particularly from the radical groups. Therefore, on many occasions, the speaker promotes the importance of tolerance and inclusiveness in religious practice. The nature of IN provides flexibility in religious practices and a spirit of tolerance. Given the

context, the speaker introduced the positive aspects of IN when giving religious and political speeches. To sum up, the speaker narrated that the IN is important to maintain the sustainability of religious harmony within a pluralist society in Indonesia.

## CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the current study on Discourse Analysis of Islam Nusantara (IN) in Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speeches, and it reveals the linguistic features within Said Agil Siradj's speech utterances on Islam Nusantara discourse through the Speech Acts Theory (SAT) of Illocutionary. This concluding chapter first summarises the findings related to the research questions. Then, the summary is followed by the limitations of the study and practical implications for future studies. Finally, Chapter 7 identifies the contribution of the study to the field of knowledge.

### 7.2 Summary findings relating to the research questions

The main purpose of this study is to analyse the Islam Nusantara (IN) discourse of Said Agil Siradj's (SAS) speeches. The findings relating to the research questions are summarised as follows:

#### 1. Are these discourse features relevant to the overall aims of NU?

In terms of the discourse features of SAS's speeches, the Islam Nusantara (IN) concept became the new brand of NU under SAS's leadership (2010-2021). SAS (the speaker) was the initiator of this concept in Jombang 2015 (Burhani, 2018; Upal & Cusack, 2021), and he declared it as a counteraction to the flourishing NIM (New Islamic Movements) groups and its affiliation such as *Sallafi*, *Wahabi* and HTI groups. The nature of IN has contradicted the ideology of the radical groups that threaten the NU ideology. NU is an Islamic organisation with Aswaja ideology (Ismail, 2011; Saleh, 2008), which adopts and accommodates the principles of the Sunni *madhabs* (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali) as legitimate Islamic legal sources as well as for Islamic teaching and most of the NU members follow Shafi'i school (Barton, 2002). One of the features of the Aswaja ideology is the preservation of the local culture, such as performing *slametan*, *mauludan*, and *tarekat*. Therefore, through his speech utterances, the speaker highlighted the importance of IN in preserving local culture. Furthermore, he mentioned that his community members perform religious practices such as *qunut*, *istighosah*, *mauludan*, *tawassul*, *slametan*, and *tarekat*, as the identity of Aswaja ideology.

The speaker produced the IN discourse through his speech utterances within three main segments: opening, content, and closing. First, in the opening segment, SAS produced the feature in his greeting, such as performing *Assalamu 'alaikum Wr. Wb.* [Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing] to start the speech. Then, the speaker inserted the salutation to the God and the Prophet Muhammad SAW and his family after the formal greeting. For example:

SAS 01, L'ne 3: '00:00:58-00:01:22

*Bismillah, alhamdulillah, wasshalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidina wa maulaana wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasulullah wa'alaa aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah.*

[In the name of Allah, the most merciful, all praise belongs to Allah. Peace be upon him, the chief of prophets, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until the hereafter.]

Second, in the content segment, SAS used narrated stories to describe the IN discourse to its members. The speaker presented the stories as seven essential points: the story of the prophet's life and the companions; Islam and nationalism; tolerance; moral values; preservation of the culture; fighting radicalism and terrorism; protection of the ideology of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah*. The speaker produced these points of speech to maintain the unity of the state and to protect society, particularly the NU members from radical ideology. The speaker (SAS) highlighted that the nature of IN has a character contradictive to the New Islamic Movement groups, such as Wahabi, Sallafi and HTI.

Third, in the closing segment, the speaker produced an attribution utterance before the formal closing, *wassalaamu 'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh*. [May peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be upon you], and it becomes one of the identities of the NU member. The attribution's utterance is *wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwaamithariiq* [Allah is the One who guides to the straight path] (SAS 01, line 31).

Regarding the features of SAS's speech utterance, his three segments of the speech on IN are related to the NU's aims as the traditional Islamic organization that carries out the ideology of *Aswaja*. The speaker performed IN discourse in the form of SAT of Representative (to make a claim, to inform, to argue, to make sure, to predict, and to make a joke), Directive (for command, request, and suggestion), Commissive (for promise), Expressive (for greeting, prayer, thank, and apologize) and Declarative. Lastly, the speaker inserted Register as part of his language style during the speech to introduce the IN discourse.

**2. Are these discourses likely to be an instrumental, effective and persuasive way for his audiences?**

Based on the data of analysis on SAS's selected speeches (SAS 01- SAS 08), the speaker produced an instrumental, effective, and persuasive method for his audience. The speech became effective due to his position as the leader in his community; it is because culturally, the NU members always are respectful and listen to their leader's voice (SAS is *kiai* and a leader). The speech becomes persuasive when the speaker produces his utterances in the forms of SAT and Register. The speaker highlighted his speech notion of IN into four main points: (1) *al-rūh al dīniyyah* [religious spirit], (2) *al-rūh al-wataniyyah* [nationalistic spirit], (3) *al-rūh al-ta'addudiyyah* [plurality spirit], and (4) *al-rūh al-insāniyyah* [humanity spirit]. The speaker used this spirit notion as a compelling way to introduce the IN to his audience.

In the speech, the speaker used the source of the Quran and *Hadith*, the companions' stories to inform the religious spirit. For example, the speaker used the narrative story of Sumayyah as the first woman who died in Islam (SAS 01 lines 21-22). In the nationalistic spirit, the speaker used various SAT of Representatives on SAS 01 line 28, SAS 02 line 22, SAS 03 line 03, 36, SAS 04 line 6, and SAS 07 line 14.

Furthermore, the speaker promoted the spirit of pluralism to fight radicalism and terrorism, preserve the culture, and protect the ideology of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (Aswaja). The last notion is the spirit of humanity, and the speaker used the Representative and Directive act forms. The Representative act was used by the speaker to inform listeners on the topic and the important function of tolerance. Meanwhile, the Directive act was used by the speaker to expect his listeners to have *akhlaqul karimah* [good attitude].

**3. How significant are the discourse features for the context as features produced by the speaker for his community?**

The last question of this research is related to the contribution of SAS's speech utterances of IN to his community: it is related to the application of the Direct Speech Act (DSA) and Indirect Speech Act (ISA) forms within SAS's speech utterances in producing IN discourse in the NU community. The speaker produced the DSA forms in the opening, content, and closing. The IN discourse has become important for the speaker to support the NU members in preserving their religious practices from the threat of NIM groups. The speaker's utterances become moral support to his community to counter the NIM groups that often blame the religious practices in the NU community, such as performing *slametan*, *tahlilan*, *istighosah*, and *mauludan*. Those

practices become the religious identity of the NU community as the traditionalist Islam with Aswaja ideology. The next significant contribution of SAS's speeches is seen in the context of the speaker's utterances in performing the IN discourse and is explained within Hymes' SPEAKING theory.

Although there is no statistical evidence since this study does not apply a statistical method, the speaker's utterances (see SAS 01 lines 16, 18, 19) contributed to and strengthened the relationship among the members and the victory of Jokowi in the second term in 2019 (Saat & Dewayanti, 2020). As a result, the NU's elites and cadres gain strategic positions in the government and religious institutions (Burhani, 2019), such as the vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and the head of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI, *Majelis Ulama Indonesia*). These positions of the NU members in the government and religious institutions have justified the significance of the speaker's utterances to the NU community.

### **7.3 Limitation of the study**

This study has some limitations. The first relates to the generalisability of the results, as the focus is on the Illocutionary Speech Acts, Register forms and discourse on Said Agil Siradj's (SAS's) selected speeches during his leadership in the NU 2010-2021. Secondly, the primary data was obtained from the transcription of SAS's speeches on YouTube channels as the source of data analysis and did not analyse the speaker's opinion of IN. Third, as mentioned in Chapter 3, a more descriptive analysis is provided rather than a statistical analysis. Finally, this study does not give an assessment of the speaker's opinion whether it is positive or negative, but rather gives a perspective to the Muslim society. As pointed out above, IN was promoted by the speaker as a counter-discourse to the NIM groups, and it has prompted scholarly discussion, particularly since its declaration in Jombang 2015 (Burhani, 2018; Upal & Cusack, 2021).

Given the context, the study focuses on the analysis of SAS's speech utterances which are addressed as a response to the flourishing of the Indonesian new religious movements, particularly for those who often blame the religious practice of the NU members. For instance, the groups who are affiliated with Wahabism and HTI members.

### **7.4 Theoretical and practical implications for future study**

This study has theoretical implications for the Pragmatics field, particularly for the analysis of the Speech Acts Theory of Illocutionary Acts. First, it provides evidence that the SAT of the illocutionary act (Searle, 1979) becomes one of the alternative methods for analysing the

speaker's utterances while delivering the speech, such as for informing, giving a command, asserting and making a joke for the audience. In addition, the analysis of Register forms and their application, specifically in Islamic discourse, is a useful method for identifying the ideological background of the speaker. Therefore, future studies can apply and emulate the use of SAT and Register to analyse religious speeches based on other points of view, for example, political affiliation or interests. Finally, it is hoped that this study will expand and contribute to the field of linguistics, particularly in the study of Speech Act Theory, Register, and Discourse analysis. Meanwhile, in general, the implication of this study is hoped to contribute to the readers' insight into the ideological contestation among Indonesian Muslims, specifically the struggle of the NU in the Indonesian political context. In addition, this study will give the insight and solid basis to research further the Indonesian Muslim movements, notably narrower for the groups of Islamism, Wahabism and Salafism that flourished.

### **7.5 The contribution of the study**

The present study contributes to the field of the Speech Act Theory of the Illocutionary Act. Even though many researchers have studied the leaders' speech since it became a fascinating discussion among the scholars. Research on the Illocutionary Act was rarely investigated, particularly in the spoken discourse of the Indonesian religious leader. Therefore, this study contributes to obtaining the research analysis of SAT, particularly the Islamic discourse in the religious leader's speech. Second, the speech analysis of IN discourse contributes to the point of view on the importance of inclusive religious teaching within the pluralist society. Third, the application of SAT on the Illocutionary Act within the speech becomes an important strategy for the speaker to attract the audience's attention, particularly by integrating forms of register and discourse context for other preachers to emulate when delivering their speeches.



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## APPENDICES:

### Appendix 1

#### (a. composition of the NU board)

##### **Syuriah (Consultative Council):**

Chairman	: K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari
Vice-Chairman	: K.H. Dahlan
Secretary I	: K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah
Secretary II	: K.H. Abdul Halim
Assistants	: K.H. Alwi Abdul Aziz
	: K.H. Ridwan
	: K.H. Said
	: K.H. Bisri Syamsuri
	: K.H. Abdullah Ubaid
	: K.H. Nakhrawi
	: K.H. Amin
	: K.H. Masyhuri
Advisers	: K.H.R. Asnawi
	: K.H. Ridwan
	: K.H. Nawawi
	: K.H. Doro Muntaha
	: K. Shaykh Ahmad Ghanaim al-Misri
	: K.H. Raden Hambali

##### **Tanfidziyah (Executive Council):**

Chairman	: H. Hasan Gipo
Secretary	: M. Sidik Sugeng Yudodiwiryo
Treasurer	: H. Burhan
Commissioners	: H. Saleh Syamil
	: H. Ikhsan
	: H. Ja'far Alwan
	: H. Usman
	: H. Ahzab
	: H. Nawawi
	: H. Dahlan
	: Mas Mangun

(Ismail, 2011, pp.259-260)

**Table 1**

The key features of Speech Acts

<b>Speech Act type</b>	<b>Direction of fit</b>	<b>S = speaker X = situation</b>
Declarations	Words change the world	S causes X
Representatives	Make words fit the world	S believes X
Expressives	Make words fit the world	S feels X
Directives	Make the world fit the words	S wants X
Commissives	Make the world fit the words	S intends X

(Yule, 1996, pp.55)

**Table 2**

SAS's selected speeches with the number of views and comments on the videos

No	Title (English)	(Indonesia)	Link	Year	Views
1	Smart! The speech of the executive chairman of PBNU KH. Said Agil Siradj at the 73 <sup>rd</sup> Muslimat NU anniversary	CERDAS! Ceramah KETUM PBNU KH. Said Aqil Siradj di Harlah Muslimat NU ke-73	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2fpxLlIMung">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2fpxLlIMung</a>	2019	228,306 views 3,225 Comments
2	The Consolidation of Nahdlatul Ulama toward the 34 <sup>th</sup> National Congress	Konsolidasi Nahdlatul Ulama Menuju Mukhtamar Ke-34	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rF1C0xG3Q-M&amp;t=4675s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rF1C0xG3Q-M&amp;t=4675s</a>	2019	27,110 views 121 Comments
3	The Santri's day and the fall of the Shari'ah based NKRI theory	Hari Santri dan Gugurnya Teori NKRI Bersyariah	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3oC3fF8Twcs">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3oC3fF8Twcs</a>	2019	363,437 Views 2,068 Comments
4	The Speech of Said Agil Siraj - the 93 <sup>rd</sup> NU anniversary	Tausiyah KH. Said Aqil Siraj - Harlah NU ke 93	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EJdDvVDCjks">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EJdDvVDCjks</a>	2019	52,079 views 232 Comments
5	Islam Nusantara in Ulema meeting- Santri's day	Islam Nusantara dalam Halaqoh Alim Ulama - Hari Santri	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fsyzBcW3mHU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fsyzBcW3mHU</a>	2018	61,716 views 435 Comments
6	Public speech on the Inclusivism of Islam Nusantara at UNISNU Jepara	Kuliah Umum tentang inklusifisme Islam Nusantara di Kampus UNISNU Jepara	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MQC-COKPUQ8c">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MQC-COKPUQ8c</a>	2017	119,054 views 281 Comments
7	The NU, Pancasila, the proud of Islam Nusantara according to Said Agil Siradj	NU, Pancasila, kebanggaan Islam Nusantara <i>ala</i> kang said	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DIqatn0fE58">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DIqatn0fE58</a>	2016	56,165 views 175 Comments
8	The inauguration of PC-NU and Muslimat NU Tulang Bawang Lampung	Pelantikan PC-NU dan Muslimat NU Tulang Bawang-Lampung	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxuwuQYgsQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxuwuQYgsQ</a>	2016	779,010 views 2,643 Comments

**Table 3**

Critics of SAS's Speech utterances with number of views and comments on the videos

No	Title (English)	Title (Indonesia)	Link	Year	Views
09	The fallacy of Islam Nusantara	Kesesatan Islam Nusantara	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yi2RedRn9ww">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yi2RedRn9ww</a>	2018	478,507 views 3,616 Comments
10	Islam Nusantara on scales	Islam Nusantara dalam timbangan	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4EVnTXlo9Mc">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4EVnTXlo9Mc</a>	2016	284,250 views 893 Comments
11	Fundamental error of Islam Nusantara concept	Kesalahan Dasar Konsep Islam Nusantara	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIYJFM0DhjE&amp;t=798s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIYJFM0DhjE&amp;t=798s</a>	2015	336,828 views 189 Comments

**Table 4**

General form of Register and its function

Register				
No	Word/phrase	Position	Meaning	Function
1	<i>Assalamu'alaikum wr. wb.</i>	Opening	[Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing]	To open the speech both formal or informal, and it is as a ritual expression and a prayer within the Muslim society.
2	<i>Bismillah</i>	Opening	[In the name of Allah (God)]	An expression of prayer. In general, this word is used to begin the activities.

3	<i>Alhamdulillah</i>	Opening	[praise be to Allah (God)]	To express gratitude, feeling happy and to thanks to God of his goodness
4	<i>Washalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulana wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa 'alaa aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah</i>	Opening	[Peace be upon him, the chief of the prophets, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until the hereafter]	This expression is used as a ritual expression and a prayer for the prophet Muhammad.
5	<i>Alhamdulillah</i>	Content	[Praise be to Allah (God)]	To appreciate his audience.
6	<i>Istighosah</i>	Content	mass praying with a lot of people	It refers to religious practice.
7	<i>ummatan wastahan</i>	Content	middle society	To refer to society.
8	<i>Syukron</i>	Closing	[thanks/thank you very much]	An expression of thanks.
9	<i>wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwamiththariiq</i>	Closing	[Allah is the One who guides to the straight path]	An expression of prayer and it is as ritual prayer in the NU to close the speech.
10	<i>Wassalamu'alaikum wr. wb.</i>	Closing	[May peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you]	An expression to close the speech, both formal and informal. It is also used as a prayer within the Muslim community.

**Table 5**  
**Checklist distribution on Speech Act of Illocutionary**

Scheme		Illocutionary acts				
Position	Statements	Representatives	Directives	Commissives	Expressives	Declaratives
Opening	The Excellency Mr. President of Republic of Indonesia with Mrs. Iriana Jokowi <i>aa'adzahullah</i> [may Allah protect him] The President of the Republic of Indonesia 2019-2024. (data 01)		√			
Content	We also give a great appreciation to President Jokowi, who has dared to disband HTI (data 02)  Now HTI has become an illegal organization. (data 02)  Surely, as long as there is PBNU, Indonesia will be intact <i>ila yaumul qiyaamah</i> [until the hereafter]. (data 02)  To all of the NU cadres, I entrust, I advise the word from Allah: <i>Wa laa takfu maa laysa laka bihii 'ilm, immassam'a wal abshara walfu'aada kullu ulaa'ika kaana 'anhu mas'uula</i> [And pursue not that of which thou hast no knowledge; for every act of hearing, or of seeing or of (feeling in) the heart will be enquired into (on the Day of Reckoning).] (Data 02)	√  √			√	

	<p>Hopefully, may Allah give Mr. Ir. H. Jokowi physical and spiritual strength. Guided by Allah. So, get <i>izzah wan najjah</i>. [Victory and success]. (Data 04)</p> <p>This is the Islam Nusantara [Archiplegic Islam], polite Islam, friendly Islam, Islam that respects for the culture, Islam with the character, having integrity, that is Islam Nusantara. (Data 01)</p>		√			√
Closing	<p>Thank you for coming this morning, Mr President. <i>Insyah Allah</i>, our friendship with the president, will continue forever. <i>Insyah Allah</i>. [God willing].</p>				√	

**Table 6**

a sample of Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

Position	Statements	Types of Speech Acts		Types of Sentences		
		Direct	Indirect	Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative
Content	Listen! Listen! <i>Syuhuudan siyasiyan</i> [role of politics]. So in 2019, we must be the winner in order that NU plays a role <i>syuhuudan siyaasiyyan</i> [role of politics] <i>syuhuudan</i> [peran]? <i>Siyaasiyyan</i> [politics] <i>siyaasiyyan</i> [politics]. (Data 01)	√				√

**Table 7**

The percentage of SA of Illocutionary on SAS's Speeches

Data Speech	Speech Acts				
	Representatives	Directives	Commissives	Expressives	Declarations
01	12	7	1	16	1
02	40	10	0	20	0
03	36	5	0	4	0
04	17	4	0	5	0
05	71	6	1	6	0
06	64	13	0	7	0
07	22	8	2	8	1
08	70	17	0	18	1
Total	332	70	4	82	3
Percentage*	67,62%	14,26%	0,81%	16,70%	0,61%



**Table 8**  
The percentage of SA of Illocutionary on Critics of SAS's Speeches

Data Speech	Speech Acts				
	Representatives	Directives	Commissives	Expressives	Declaratives
09	41	8	0	3	0
10	100	9	0	10	0
11	151	11	1	3	0
Total	292	28	1	16	0
Percentage*	86,65%	13,87%	0,30%	4,75%	0,00%

Table of Direct and Indirect Speech Acts of SAS's speeches (SS)

**Table 9**

Data	Category of Speech Acts	Types			Total	Total Utterance	Direct	Indirect
		Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative				
SAS 01	Direct	21	2	1	24	31	24	7
	Indirect	5	2	0	7			
SAS 02	Direct	59	0	3	61	62	62	1
	Indirect	1	0	0	1			
SAS 03	Direct	40	0	1	41	43	41	2
	Indirect	2	0	0	2			
SAS 04	Direct	19	0	0	19	21	19	2
	Indirect	2	0	0	2			
SAS 05	Direct	68	1	1	70	80	70	10
	Indirect	10	0	0	10			
SAS 06	Direct	58	1	2	61	73	61	12
	Indirect	11	0	1	12			
SAS 07	Direct	23	0	1	24	26	24	2
	Indirect	2	0	0	2			
SAS 08	Direct	70	7	0	77	95	77	18
	Indirect	16	2	0	18			
							377	54

## Critics of SAS's Speeches (CSS)

Table 10

Data	Category of Speech Acts	Types			Total	Total	Direct	Indirect
		Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative				
CSS 09	Direct	32	1	1	34	46	34	12
	Indirect	11	1	0	12			
CSS 10	Direct	58	5	0	63	105	63	42
	Indirect	38	3	1	42			
CSS 11	Direct	98	10	2	110	160	110	50
	Indirect	48	1	1	50			
							207	104

### The number of distributions of SA and Subcategory

#### A. SAS's Speeches (SS)

Data Speech	Speech Acts																				Total SA
No	Total line	Representatives							Directives				Commissives	Expressives					Declarations	Total SA	
SAS		Claim	Inform	Argue	Make Sure	Predict	Joke	Total	Command	Request	Suggestion	Total		Greeting	Thank	Prayer	Apologize	Flattering	Total		
1	32	0	7	3	1	0	1	12	0	1	6	7	1	10	3	3	0	0	16	1	37
2	62	4	26	3	2	1	4	40	1	3	6	10	0	10	3	5	2	0	20	0	75
3	43	2	24	5	4	1	0	36	0	2	3	5	0	3	1	0	0	0	4	0	49
4	21	1	13	0	3	0	0	17	2	0	2	4	0	3	2	0	0	0	5	0	28
5	80	1	51	7	6	1	5	71	0	0	6	6	1	4	0	1	0	1	6	0	95
6	71	1	55	4	1	0	3	64	2	1	10	13	0	4	1	0	1	1	7	0	89
7	26	0	20	0	1	0	1	22	1	2	5	8	2	2	3	1	0	0	6	1	39

8	95	1	51	9	4	0	5	70	1	2	14	17	0	2	3	1	0	12	18	1	116
Total	430	10	247	31	22	3	19	332	7	11	52	70	4	38	16	11	3	14	82	3	491

### B. Critics of SAS's Speeches (CSS)

Data Speech	No	Total line	Speech Acts																	Declara tions	Tota l SA		
			Representatives						Directives				Commissives	Expressives									
CSS			Clai m	Infor m	Argue	Make Sure	Predict	Joke	Total	Command	Request	Suggestion	Total		Greet ing	Thank	Prayer	Apol ogize	Flatter ing	Tota l			
	9	46	1	18	12	7	1	2	41	0	1	7	8	0	1	0	2	0	0	3	0		
	10	105	7	65	21	0	1	6	100	0	0	9	9	0	2	0	6	1	1	10	0		
	11	160	1	106	39	5	0	0	151	0	1	10	11	1	1	1	0	1	0	3	0		
	Total								292				28	1						16	0		337

## Appendix 2

### The special terms of Islam Nusantara:

RG: Religious greeting

AB: Autonomous body of the NU

SP: Structural position in the NU

RP: Religious practices

RT: Religious terms

No	Utterances		Data	English Translation	Function
	Term	Types			
1	<i>Assalamu'alaikum wr. wb</i>	RG	SAS 01,02,03,05	May peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing	Expression to open the speech, when a Muslim meets with other or visiting their neighbour and so forth.
2	<i>Bismillah</i>	RT	SAS 01,02, 03,05	In the name of Allah the most merciful	An expression of prayer. In general, this word is used to begin the activities.
3	<i>Alhamdulillah</i>	RT	SAS 01,02, 03,04,05	Praise be to Allah	To express gratitude, feeling happy and to thanks to God of his goodness
4	<i>wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulaana</i>	RG	SAS 01,04,05,	Peace be upon him, our leader and our teacher	Expression of <i>Salawat</i> /prayer for the prophet Muhammad as the messenger of Allah. It is addressed that Muhammad is our leader and teacher. However, theologically the words <i>sayyidina</i> and <i>maulaana</i> are debateable for the Muslim community particularly <i>salafi</i> groups. But for NU, it could be as an identification member and variants of <i>shalawat</i> in NU.
5	<i>wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa 'alaa aalihii wa</i>	RG	SAS 01	Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and	Greeting expression and part of <i>Salawat</i> to the prophet Muhammad as the messenger of Allah.

	<i>shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah</i>			followers and all people who obey and follow him until hereafter	
6	<i>aa'adzahullah</i>	RT	SAS 01	May Allah always protects him	An expression of expectation and kind of prayer
7	<i>atha allaahu baqaahaa</i>	RT	SAS 01	hopefully in obedience forever	An expression of expectation and kind of prayer
8	Fatayat, Anshar, Pagar Nusa, PERGUNU, ISNU, Sarbumusi, IPNU, IPPNU	AB	SAS 01	Names of organisation that affiliate with the NU. It is Subordinate organisation within the NU	It is used to describe the organisation within the NU
9	<i>ummat</i>	RT	SAS 01	society,	To refer to society
10	<i>bid'ah</i>	RT		innovation in religion	To describe the religious practice
11	<i>ummatan wastahan</i>	RT	SAS 01	middle society	To explain the role of Muslim in the society
12	<i>ulama</i>	RT		Muslim scholars who are recognized as having specialist knowledge of Islamic sacred law and theology	It is used to call Muslim scholars
13	<i>Munajah</i>	RT	SAS 01	Munajah	It refers to religious practice
14	<i>istighosah</i>	RP	SAS 01	a mass praying with a lot of people	It refers to religious practice
15	<i>Syuhuudan diiniyyaan</i>	RT	SAS 01	role of religion	It is used to describe the role of the NU members in Muslim society
16	<i>syuhuudan tsaqaafiyyan</i>	RT	SAS 01	role of culture	It is used to describe the role of the NU members in Muslim society
17	<i>Syuhuudan siyasiyan</i>	RT	SAS 01	role of politics.	It is used to describe the role of the NU members in Muslim society
18	<i>Tasammuh</i>	RT	SAS 01	tolerance	It is used to describe the role of the NU members in Muslim society
19	<i>tawassut</i>	RT	SAS 01	middle	It is used to describe the role of the NU members in Muslim society

20	<i>husnul khaatimah</i>	RT	SAS 01	a good ending	Ritual expression for praying
21	<i>akhlaqul karimah</i>	RT	SAS 01	Good attitude and morality	It refers to good character
22	<i>wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwaamithariiq</i>	RG	SAS 01,02,03,04	God bless the people of the way	An expression of prayer and it is a ritual prayer in the NU, and it used to close the speech
23	<i>Allahu Akbar</i>	RT	SAS 03	Allah is the greatest	To start prayer activities in Islam, to shout of takbir,
24	<i>Mustasyar</i>	SP	SAS 02	the advisory council	The speaker used the term to give respect
25	<i>Syuriyyah</i>	SP	SAS 02	-	The speaker used the term to give respect
26	<i>Istiqomah</i>	RT	SAS 02	To go straight into the right direction	To motivate
27	<i>Insyallah</i>	RT	SAS 03,05,	God willing	As a prayer and good expectation to God
28	<i>Wassalamu 'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh</i>	RG	SAS 01,02,03,04,05,06,07,08	May peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you	Closing statement both formal and informal
29	<i>Tahlilan</i>	RP	SAS 03	<i>Tahlilan</i>	Religious practice
30	<i>Mauludan</i>	RP	SAS 03	<i>Mauludan</i>	Religious practice
31	<i>Barzanji</i>	RP	SAS 03	<i>Barzanji</i>	Religious practice
32	<i>Diba'</i> ,	RP	SAS 03	<i>Diba'</i>	Reading the history of Prophet Muhammad
33	<i>Simtuduror / Burdah</i>	RP	SAS 03	<i>Simtuduror / Burdah</i>	Reading the history of Prophet Muhammad
34	<i>Sajen</i>	RT	SAS 03	<i>Sajen</i>	Giving food for God or the dead people as the tradition Javanese people before Islam
35	<i>Sapto Darmo</i>	RT	SAS 03	<i>Sapto Darmo</i>	Terms of Javenese belief
36	<i>Dharmo gandul</i>	RT	SAS 03	<i>Dharmo gandul</i>	Terms of Javenese belief
37	<i>Gotholoco</i>	RT	SAS 03	<i>Gotholoco</i>	Terms of Javenese belief
38	<i>Kapitayan</i>	RT	SAS 03	<i>Kapitayan</i>	Terms of Javenese belief
39	<i>Kaharingan</i>	RT	SAS 03	<i>Kaharingan</i>	Terms of Sundanese belief
40	<i>Sunda Wiwitan</i>	RT	SAS 03	<i>Sunda Wiwitan</i>	Terms of Sundanese belief
41	<i>Karuhunan</i>	RT	SAS 03	<i>Karuhunan</i>	Terms of Sundanese belief

42	<i>Sambelun</i>	RT	SAS 03	<i>Sambelun</i>	Terms of Sundanese belief
43	<i>Subut,</i>	RT	SAS 03	<i>Subut,</i>	-
44	<i>Mutamaddin</i>	RT	SAS 04	Religious community	Religious term
45	<i>Selametan</i>	CT	SAS 05	<i>Selametan</i>	Cultural term
46	<i>Mudik</i>	CT	SAS 05	Back to home	Cultural term
47	<i>Halal bi halal</i>	CT	SAS 05	<i>Halal bi halal</i>	Cultural term
48	<i>Kang, mas, kakak, abang, kak, Aa'</i>	CT	SAS 05	<i>Kang, mas, kakak, abang, kak, Aa'</i>	To call the older brother

### Appendix 3

#### The Distribution of Speech Act of Illocutionary Acts

**Title:** Harlah Muslimat NU ke-73

**Source:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2fpxLlIMung>

**Code:** 01 SAS'S SPEECH

**Time:** 20 minutes





		praise belongs to Allah. Peace be upon him, the chief of prophets, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until the hereafter].															
4	00:01:26 - 00-01:44	The Excellency Mr. President of the Republic of Indonesia and Mrs. Iriana Jokowi <i>aa'adzahullah</i> [May Allah always protects him]. The President of Republic of Indonesia 2019-2024.											v				
5	00:01:52- 00:02:13	Honorable, the Ministers of the Work Cabinet. <i>al-Mukarramah as-Sayyidah</i> [the excellency, Mrs] Mrs. Abdul Rahman Wahid, Mrs Sulthaaniyyah [The First Lady] <i>'atha allaahu baqaahaa</i> [hopefully in obedience forever], <i>fii shihhatin daaiman</i> [always in good health]											v				
6	00:02:16 - 00-02:44	The Chairman of Muslimat NU, the governor of East Java, the President candidate of RI 24-34, Mrs. Hj. Khofifah Indar Parawansah <i>athaalallaahu baqaaha yukhran lanaa wali'ummah</i> [hopefully in											v				





		<i>tahajjud, istighosah</i> . Munajah is an individual praying; <i>istighozah</i> is a mass prayer with a lot of people.															
13	05:56.00 - 05:59.00	Then it proceeded to the <i>fajr</i> prayer led by the PERGUNU chief, KH. Asep Abdul Chalim		√													
14	00:06:00 - 00:06:20	Ladies and gentlemen, in the Holy Qur'an, God commands the Prophet Muhammad to form an organization, which is called <i>ummat</i> [society].			√												
15	00:06:21 - 00:06:53	What <i>ummat</i> is instructed in the Qur'an? I should say sorry that there is no mentioning of the term of Islamic <i>ummah</i> there. Not even once. Please you, the <i>hafidz</i> [persons who memorize Qur'an] have a look. Is there any phrase of Islamic <i>ummah</i> in Qur'an? No, right? There is only mentioned, <i>wa kadzaalika ja'alnaakum ummatan wasathaa</i> [Thus We have made you into a middle community] (Source QS. 2:143)			√												
16	00:06:56 - 00:08:40	It is only said Muhammad you must create an organization namely <i>ummah, ummatan wasathaan</i> , cool society, society who play a role, qualified			√						√						















		<i>khaatimah</i> [a good ending] ( <i>aamiin</i> ).																	
28	00:15:59 - 00:17:15	<p>Being a student of Hasyim Asy'ari will take you to heaven with him. Hasbi Hasyim Asy'ari is like a machinist, driving a train, the front carriages are for the <i>ulama</i>, all of <i>habaaib</i>, all of <i>kiai</i>. We will be in the back carriages with rice, onion, chicken, but still carried away, carried by Hasyim Asy'ari. Do you want it? In the back carriage with chicken, onion, shrimp paste, I will be there. I will be there, later. I'm in the back carriage with chicken, onion, shrimp paste. It won't be a problem, as long as I am in his carriage, coming into the heaven together (<i>aamiin</i>). Moreover, I am 66 years old; I have been satisfied with meals, sleeping, enjoying to ride, Mercy cars, the Alphard, the planes. I have dressed in silk and wool. I have been content sleeping with my beloved wife. There is only one left. the one I still want to be, that is <i>husnul khaatimah</i>. Maybe it is the 1st</p>																	

v





**Type of Speech Act (Direct and Indirect), Type of Sentence (declarative, interrogative, and imperative)**

**SAS 01**

NO	Timespan	Utterances	Structure	Type of Speech Acts		Types of Sentences		
				Direct	Indirect	Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative
1	00:00:00 - 00:00:33	The next agenda, let us follow the remark from the general chairman of PBNU, <i>al-Mukarram</i> [the excellency] Mr. Prof. Dr. KH. Said Aqil Siradj MA. Together with, Let us welcome... (Master of ceremony)	Greeting	√		√		
2	00:00:34 - 00:00:48	<i>Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.</i> [May peace and God's mercy and blessing be upon you]		√		√		
3	00:00:58 - 00:01:22	<i>Bismillah, Alhamdulillah, washalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulaana wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa' alaa aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah.</i> [In the name of Allah, the most merciful, all praise belongs to Allah. Peace be upon him, the chief of prophets, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until the hereafter.]		√		√		
4	00:01:26 - 00- 01:44	The Excellency Mr. President of the Republic of Indonesia and Mrs. Iriana Jokowi <i>aa'adzahullah</i> [May Allah always protects him] The President of Republic of Indonesia 2019-2024.		√		√		

5	00:01:52 - 00:02:13	Honorable, the Ministers of the Work Cabinet. <i>al-Mukarramah as-Sayyidah</i> [the excellency, Mrs] Mrs. Abdul Rahman Wahid, Mrs <i>Sulthaniyyah</i> [The First Lady] <i>'atha allaahu baqaahaa</i> [hopefully in obedience forever], <i>fii shihhatin daaiman</i> [always in good health]	<b>Introduction</b>	√		√		
6	00:02:16 - 00- 02:44	The Chairman of Muslimat NU, the governor of East Java, the President candidate of RI 24-34, Mrs. Hj. Khofifah Indar Parawansah <i>athaalallaahu baqaaha yukhran lanaa wali'ummah</i> [hopefully in eternal obedience for us and all people]		√		√		
7	00:02:47 - 00- 03:13	Vice chairman of PBNU Prof. Dr. KH. Maksum Machfoed, General secretary of PBNU, a used and retired (former) Minister Dr. Hilmi, my apologies <i>Ar-raiisil 'aam</i> [chairman], excuse me, <i>Ar-raiisil 'aam li Nahdhatil 'Ulamaa Hadratissyaiikh</i> [honorable the chairman of NU, the great teacher] KH. Miftachul Akhyar <i>a'adzahullaah</i> [may Allah protect him]		√		√		
8	00:03:17 - 00- 03:44	Vice chairman of PBNU, general secretary of PBNU, and the board members of PBNU and chief of Muslimat, and especially the chief of the committee, Mrs. Yeni Abdurrahman Wahid. I am proud to call her Yeni Abdurrahman Wahid, Hasyim, Wahid, Hasyim Asy'ari Wahid, isn't it?		√		√		
9	00:03:48 - 00:04:01	Also, my respected person, my beloved one, Mrs. Hj. Nurhayati, the most beloved one, my wife. [Applause from the audience]		√		√		
10	00:04:06 - 00:04:29	The leaders of autonomous bodies of NU: Fatayat, Anshar, Pagar Nusa, PERGUNU, <i>Jam'iyatul Qurraa' Huffadz</i> [the association of the memorizers of Qur'an], <i>Jam'iyatul thariiqah Mu'tabarah an-Nahdhiyyah</i> [the association of thariqat Muktabarah under NU], ISNU Mr. Ali Masykur, Sarbumusi, IPNU, IPPNU		√		√		
11	00:04:32 - 00- 04:45	Dear members of DPR (People's Assembly), the <i>Habaib</i> [muslim preachers linked to the descendants of prophet Muhammad], <i>Ash'haabal Ma'aahid</i> [caregivers of <i>pesantren</i> ], <i>Ash'haabal thuruqishshuufiyyah</i> [sufi <i>tariqat</i> leaders], all the region and the branch leaders of Muslimat organization.		√		√		



12	00:04:49 - 00:05:55	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> [praise be to Allah]. This morning, on behalf of the chairman of general board of Nahdhatul 'Ulama, I give thanks to Allah and I am very proud of the realisation of the 73rd Muslimat NU anniversary with the attendance of more than a hundred thousand of Muslimat members at Gelora Bung Karno stadium (GBK), started at 03.00 am, with completion on reciting Qur'an, <i>thajjud</i> , <i>istighosah</i> . <i>Munajah</i> is an individual praying; <i>istighozah</i> is a mass prayer with a lot of people.	<b>Content</b>	√		√		
13	05:56.00 - 05:59.00	Then it proceeded to the <i>fajr</i> praying led by the PERGUNU chief, KH. Asep Abdul Chalim		√		√		
14	00:06:00 - 00:06:20	Ladies and gentlemen, in the Holy Qur'an, God commands the Prophet Muhammad to form an organization, which is called <i>ummat</i> [society].			√	√		
15	00:06:21 - 00:06:53	What <i>ummat</i> is instructed in the Qur'an? I should say sorry that there is no mentioning of the term of Islamic <i>ummah</i> there. Not even once. Please you, the <i>hafidz</i> [persons who memorize Qur'an] have a look. Is there any phrase of Islamic <i>ummah</i> in Qur'an? No, right? There is only mentioned, <i>wa kadzaalika ja'alnaakum ummatan wasathaa</i> [Thus We have made you into a middle community]. (Source QS. 2:143)			√		√	

16	00:06:56 - 00- 08:40	It is only said Muhammad you must create an organization namely <i>ummah</i> , <i>ummatan wasathaan</i> , cool society, <i>society</i> who play a role, qualified <i>society</i> . Isn't Muslimat cool? (Audience: cool) Isn't it great? (Audience: great). Playing a role? (yes) Why should be a cool <i>washatan</i> ? For <i>litakuunuu syuhadaa' 'alannaas</i> , for playing roles in society. <i>Syuhada</i> has a role. What role? Continuous asking. What role? Religious role, we should handle on religion role. head of mosque, preachers, office of religious affairs, ministry of religion, must be from NU. If these positions are not from NU it will be wrong at all. Later will be much more <i>bid'ah</i> , if not from NU. This is <i>bid'ah</i> , later sufi dancing will be <i>bid'ah</i> . <i>Syuhuudan diiniyyaan</i> role of religion <i>Majelis ta'lim</i> , <i>pesantren</i> , <i>madrrasah diniyyah</i> , right? al-Quran park, al-Quran kindergarten. It means that we have a role, <i>syuhuudan diiniyyan</i> , <i>syuhuudan? syuhuudan tsaqaafiyyan</i>		√		√	
17	00:08:43 - 00:08:57	Role of attitude, role of culture, role of civilization. Have you played a role as <i>akhlakul karimah</i> [good attitude]? Do all Muslimat have good attitudes? Please answer my question, Ladies and Gentlemen!	√			√	√
18	00:08:58 - 00:09:33	Do all Muslimat have good attitudes? (Audience: good) Yes, there are some who are bad; one, two, three, ten, thirty. All are good. Those are the roles of <i>tsaqafiyyan</i> [cultural], <i>syuhudan hadhaarian</i> [role of culture], the economic, welfare role, healthy role, social role, society role, have you had a role? Does Muslimat have a role in health? union? trade business? only one, we've not had any role	√			√	
19	00:09:34 - 00:10:00	Listen! Listen! <i>Syuhuudan siyasiyan</i> , the role of politics. That is why in 2019, we must be the winner. Thus, NU will play the role of <i>syuhuudan siyaasiyyan</i> , <i>syuhuudan? (siyasiyyan) siyaasiyyan</i>	√				√
20	00:10:02 - 00:10:07	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> , you've all understood, especially the ladies.	√		√		

21	00:10:08 - 00:10:37	In the Qur'an, there is no special <i>surah</i> , except <i>surah an-Nisa</i> , Women. There is no <i>Surah ar-Rijaa</i> l, the Men. None. Men are lost, and always lost to women. That's it! The first <i>syahid</i> in Islam, to defend the faith is a woman.		√	√		
22	00:10:39 - 00:11:02	Her name was Sumayyah, who was killed by Abu Jahal, before her husband, Ammar Yasir. Ammar, their son, pretended to be apostate, but then he reported to the Prophet (Rasulullah) that he just pretended to be an apostate. No worries. A verse of Qur'an came down <i>illaa man ukriha faqalibun muthmainmun bil iimaan</i> [If you are forced, pretending to be an infidel with a true faith in his heart is forgivable.]		√	√		
23	00:11:04 - 00:13:00	In an emergency situation, pretending to be a disbeliever, while our heart holding on our faith, is forgiven. This was used for <i>qiyas</i> by most of the <i>Kyai</i> [clerics], who signed to submit for Golkar in 1971. The past Golkar, not today's Partai Golkar. If you're under a threat, it's okay <i>ilaa man ukriha wa qalbu muthmainmun bil iimaan</i> . Well, once upon a time, there was a companion of The Prophet coming to the <i>khalifah Amiirul Mu'minin</i> [caliph of the greatest believer] Umar Ibnul Khatab, a fair, firm, uncompromising caliph. As he came close to the door, standing there, he heard his wife grumbling on the Caliph. Soon he left the house. But Sayyidina Umar noticed that. Then, he called the guest, "Eh eh, what's going on? What's the matter, what's wrong? You cancel to see me? " He answered, "Dear Caliph. I'm here to complain about my wife; she is so grumpy. But, as I arrived, I heard that your wife is even more so than mine. Sayyidina Umar was a while at lost, staying silent. Sayyidina Umar replied by quoting a Hadith, <i>uushhikum bitaqwallah, ittaqullaaha fimmisaa', fa'innahunna 'awaanun fii aydiikum, akhattumuuhunna bi amaanatillah istakhlaltum Furuujahunna bi kalimaatillah</i> " أوصيكم بتقوا الله إتيق الله في النساء فعنهنا عوا نون فأيديكم أختموهن بأماناة الله إستخللتتم فروجهن بكلمة الله		√	√		
24	00:13:01 - 00:13:44	There is a <i>Hadith</i> confirming that the Messenger of Allah (prophet) said "I command, I ordered you to guard, respect, and love your wives. This is excellent. There is no <i>hadith</i> ordering to care for your husband. None. Another <i>Hadith</i> will make men more jealous of women: <i>khairukum khairukum li nisaa'ikum wa anaa khairukum li nisaa'ikum</i> . The best husband is the one who loves his wife "I" said Rasulallah "I am the best husband to wives."		√	√		

25	00:13:47 - 00:15:14	Therefore, I myself am the example. My apologies, as when I am not in the house, when I am out, I am Prof. Dr. KH. the General chairman. All people kiss my hands. However, as I go back home, and my wife is angry with me, all the degrees, both doctor and professors are meaningless. All collapse, no Professor, no Doctor, right? Hopefully Mr. President is not like me. You know this! Which is in fact not very different. Therefore, Ladies, that's just a joke. I have two messages for you. As it was earlier mentioned by Mrs. Yeni, and also by Mrs. Khofifah, <i>tawassut</i> and <i>tasammuh</i> . Moderate. Our attitude should be moderate, not extreme, not radical, even more not terrorist. Keep your children, daughters, grandchildren, not to be provoked, in the name of religion, to act radically. Prevent them from being a terrorist. Keep your grandchildren, Ladies! But keeping <i>tawassut</i> must be smart. You must be an educated person. <i>Tawassut</i> persons have to be smart people. Those who don't have <i>tawassut</i> , they must not be smart. That's very simple.		√		√		
26	00:15:16 - 00:15:58	The second is <i>Tasammuh</i> , tolerant. Guide your grandchildren to be tolerant children, who respect the diversity, the differences, and respect other religions, other tribes, other groups. Could you, Ladies? Our children and grandchildren must be directed. We often see there, the parents are NU members, but their children don't know it. Many cases there. Hopefully all of us here, our grandchildren <i>tawassut tasaamuh nahdhiyyin</i> , all of them ( <i>aamiin</i> ). <i>In syaa Allah</i> later to reach <i>husnul khaatimah</i> [a good ending] ( <i>aamiin</i> )		√		√		
27	00:15:59 - 00:17:15	Being a student of Hasyim Asy'ari will take you to the heaven with him. <i>Hasbi</i> Hasyim Asy'ari is like a machinist, driving a train, the front carriages are for the ulama, all of <i>habaaib</i> , all of <i>kiyai</i> . We will be in the back carriages with rice, onion, chicken, but still carried away, carried by Hasyim Asy'ari. Do you want it? In the back carriage with chicken, onion, shrimp paste, I will be there. I will be there, later. I'm in the back carriage with chicken, onion, shrimp paste. It won't be a problem, as long as I am in his carriage, coming into heaven together ( <i>aamiin</i> ). Moreover, I am 66 years old; I have been satisfied with meals, sleeping, enjoying to ride Mercy cars, the Alphard, the planes. I have dressed in silk and wool. I have been content sleeping with my beloved wife. There is only one left. The one I still want to be, that is <i>husnul khaatimah</i> . Maybe it is the first time I stand in front of the Muslimat.		√		√		



## Sample transcription by using NVIVO program to check the speaker's utterances

The screenshot displays the NVIVO software interface for video transcription. The main window shows a video player with a transcription overlay. The transcription is as follows:

Timespan	Content
1 0:00.0 - 4:49.0	<p>(Untuk selanjutnya marilah kita ikuti bersama, sambutan ketua umum pengurus besar Nahdhatul Ulama al-Mukarram Bapak Prof. Dr. KH. Said Aqil Siradj MA., kami persilahkan) (Master of Ceremony) Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.</p> <p>Bismillah, Alhamdulillah, washshalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa mauaana wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasulullah wa'ala aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jama'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah.</p> <p>Yang saya muliakan, Bapak Presiden Republik Indonesia beserta Ibu Iriana Jokowi, a'adzzahullaah ﷺ presiden Republik Indonesia tahun 2019-2024.</p> <p>Para Menteri kabinet kerja yang hadir yang saya hormati, al-Mukarramah as-Sayyidah Ibu Abdul Rahman Wahid, Ibu Sulthaaniyyah 'athaalallaahu baqaahaa, panjang umur fii shihhatin daaiman.</p>
2 4:49.1 - 5:59.0	Ketua umum Muslimat NU, gubernur Jawa Timur, calon presiden RI 2024, Ibu Hj. Khafifah Inder Prasetyaningrum Alhamdulillah bagi hari ini, saya atas nama ketua umum pengurus besar Nahdhatul 'Ulama bersvukur kepada Allah. dan

The interface also shows a search bar, a data list on the left with items like '01 HA 1', '02 SA 0', and '5 NO 0', and a status bar at the bottom indicating 'BMB 3 Items Codes: 1 References: 1 Read-Only Unfiltered 0:00.0/19:48.9'.

## Appendix 4

### Transcription and translation of SAS's selected speeches

#### SAS 01

**Title:** Smart! The speech of the executive chairman of PBNU KH. Said Agil Siradj at the 73<sup>rd</sup> Muslimat NU anniversary

**Source:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2fpxLIIMung>

Line	Timespan	Transcription	Translation
1	00:00:00 - 00:00:33	<i>Untuk selanjutnya marilah kita ikuti bersama, sambutan ketua umum pengurus besar Nahdhatul Ulama al-Mukarram "Yang Mulia" Bapak Prof. Dr. KH. Said Aqil Siradj MA., kami persilahkan (Master of Ceremony)</i>	The next agenda, let us follow the remark from the general chairman of PBNU, <i>al-Mukarram</i> [the excellency] Mr. Prof. Dr. KH. Said Aqil Siradj MA. Together with, Let us welcome... (Master of ceremony)
2	00:00:34- 00:00:48	<i>Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh. [semoga Allah melimpahkan keselamatan, rahmat, dan keberkahan untukmu]</i>	<i>Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh. [Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessings]</i>
3	00:00:58- 00:01:22	<i>Bismillah, Alhamdulillah, washshalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulaana wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa 'alaa aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah. [Dengan nama Allah Yang Maha Pengasih dan Penyayang, Segala Puji bagi Allah, dan Kerahmatan dan keslamatan tercurahkan kepada Pemimpin dan panutan kita Muhammad utusan Allah, beserta keluarganya, sahabat-sahabatnya, para pengikut yang melaksanakan anjuran-anjuran dan para jamaahnya saat ini hingga hari akhirat nanti.]</i>	<i>Bismillah, Alhamdulillah, washshalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulaana wa syafii'inaa Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa 'alaa aalihii wa shahbihii wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauuminnahdhah. [In the name of Allah, the most merciful, all praise belongs to Allah. Peace be upon him, the chief of prophets, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until the hereafter.]</i>
4	00:01:26 - 00:01:44	Yang saya muliakan, Bapak Presiden Republik Indonesia beserta Ibu Iriana Jokowi, <i>a'adzahullah</i> [semoga Allah melindunginya] presiden Republik Indonesia tahun 2019-2024.	The Excellency Mr. President of the Republic of Indonesia and Mrs. Iriana Jokowi <i>aa'adzahullah</i> [May Allah always protects him] The President of Republic of Indonesia 2019-2024.
5	00:01:52- 00:02:13	Para Menteri kabinet kerja yang hadir yang saya hormati, <i>al-Mukarramah as-Sayyidah</i> [yang dimuliakan, ibu ] Ibu Abdul Rahman Wahid, Ibu Sulthaaniyyah [ibu negara] <i>'atha allaahu baqaahaa</i> [semoga dalam ketaatan selamanya], panjang umur <i>fii shihhatin daaiman</i> [dalam keadaan sehat selalu].	Honorable, the Ministers of the Work Cabinet. <i>al-Mukarramah as-Sayyidah</i> [the excellency, Mrs] Mrs. Abdul Rahman Wahid, Mrs Sulthaaniyyah [The First Lady] <i>'atha allaahu baqaahaa</i> [hopefully in obedience forever], <i>fii shihhatin daaiman</i> [always in good health]
6	00:02:16 - 00:02:44	Ketua umum Muslimat NU, gubernur Jawa Timur, calon presiden RI 24-34, Ibu Hj. Khofifah Indar Parawansah <i>'athaalallaahu baqaaha yukhran lanaa wali'ummah</i> [semoga dalam ketaatan selamanya untuk kita dan ummat]	The Chairman of Muslimat NU, the governor of East Java, the President candidate of RI 24-34, Mrs. Hj. Khofifah Indar Parawansah <i>athaalallaahu baqaaha yukhran lanaa wali'ummah</i> [hopefully in eternal obedience for us and all people]
7	00:02:47 - 00:03:13	Wakil ketua umum PBNU Prof. Dr. KH. Maksum Machfoed, Sekjen PBNU <i>bodolan</i>	Vice chairman of PBNU Prof. Dr. KH. Maksum Machfoed, General secretary of

		menteri Dr. Hilmi, saya mohon maaf <i>Ar-raiisil 'aam [ketua umum]</i> , mohon maaf, <i>Ar-raiisil 'aam li Nahdhatil 'Ulamaa Hadratissyaiikh KH. Miftachul Akhyar a'adzdzahullaah</i> [semoga Allah melindunginya].	PBNU, a used and retired [former] Minister Dr. Hilmi, my apologies <i>Ar-raiisil 'aam</i> (chairman), excuse me, <i>Ar-raiisil 'aam li Nahdhatil 'Ulamaa Hadratissyaiikh</i> [honorable the chairman of NU, the great teacher] KH. Miftachul Akhyar <i>a'adzdzahullaah</i> [may Allah protect him]
8	00:03:17 - 00:03:44	Wakil ketua umum PBNU, Sekjen PBNU, dan rekan-rekan pengurus PBNU, dan pimpinan Muslimat terutama ketua panitia, Mbak Yeni Abdurrahman Wahid, saya senang menyebutnya Yeni Abdurrahman, Wahid, Hasyim, Wahid, Hasyim Asy'ari Wahid ya?	Vice chairman of PBNU, general secretary of PBNU, and the board members of PBNU and chief of Muslimat, and especially the chief of the committee, Mrs. Yeni Abdurrahman Wahid. I am proud to call her Yeni Abdurrahman Wahid, Hasyim, Wahid, Hasyim Asy'ari Wahid, isn't it?
9	00:03:48 - 00:04:01	Dan juga yang saya hormati, ini yang tersayang ini, Ibu Hj. Nurhayati, istri saya sendiri, yang tersayang.	Also, my respected person, my beloved one, Mrs. Hj. Nurhayati, the most beloved one, my wife.
10	00:04:06 - 00:04:29	Para pimpinan badan otonom NU, Fatayat, Anshar, Pagar Nusa, PERGUNU, <i>Jam'iyatul Qurraa' Huffadz</i> [lembaga perhimpunan penghafal Qur'an], <i>Jam'iyatul thariiqah Mu'tabarah an-Nahdhiyyah</i> [perhimpunan tariqaat Mu'tabarah yang terhimpun di NU], ISNU, Pak Ali Masykur, Sarbumusi, IPNU, IPPNU.	The leaders of autonomous bodies of NU: Fatayat, Anshar, Pagar Nusa, PERGUNU, <i>Jam'iyatul Qurraa' Huffadz</i> [the association of the memorizers of Qur'an], <i>Jam'iyatul thariiqah Mu'tabarah an-Nahdhiyyah</i> [the association of thariqat Muktabarah under NU], ISNU Mr. Ali Masykur, Sarbumusi, IPNU, IPPNU
11	00:04:32 - 00:04:45	Para anggota DPR, para Habaaib, <i>Ash'haabal Ma'aahiid</i> [pengasuh pondok pesantren], <i>Ash'haabal thuruqishshuufiyyah</i> [para pimpinan tariqaat sufi] para pimpinan Muslimat tingkat wilayah dan cabang, <i>a'adzdaakumullah</i> [semoga Allah melindungi kalian semua]	Dear members of DPR (People's Assembly), the <i>Habaib</i> [muslim preachers linked to the descendents of prophet Muhammad], <i>Ash'haabal Ma'aahiid</i> [caregivers of pesantren], <i>Ash'haabal thuruqishshuufiyyah</i> [sufi tariqaat leaders], all of the region and the branch leaders of Muslimat organization.
12	00:04:49 - 00:05:55	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> pagi hari ini, saya atas nama ketua umum pengurus besar Nahdhatul 'Ulama bersyukur kepada Allah, dan bangga, atas terlaksananya terselenggaranya Harlah Muslimat NU yang ke-73 dengan hadirnya kurang lebih seratus ribu bahkan lebih ya, seratus ribu Muslimat di Gelora Bung Karno ini, yang dimulai sejak tadi malam jam 3 pagi dengan khatmil Qur'an, Tahajjud, Munajah, Istighazah, kalau <i>Munajah</i> do'a sendiri-sendiri, kalau <i>Istighazah</i> do'a rame-rame.	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> [praise be to Allah], This morning, on behalf of the chairman of general board of Nahdhatul 'Ulama, I give thanks to Allah and I am very proud of the realisation of the 73rd Muslimat NU anniversary with the attendance of more than a hundred thousand Muslimat members at Gelora Bung Karno stadium (GBK), started at 03.00 am, with completion on reciting Qur'an, <i>thajjud</i> , <i>istighosah</i> . <i>Munajah</i> is an individual praying; <i>istighozah</i> is a mass prayer with a lot of people.
13	05:56.00 - 05:59.00	Kemudian shalat subuh yang dipimpin oleh ketua umum PERGUNU, KH. Asep Abdul Chalim.	Then it proceeded to the <i>fajr</i> praying led by the PERGUNU chief, KH. Asep Abdul Chalim
14	00:06:00 - 00:06:20	Bapak Ibu sekalian, di Qur'an, al-Qur'an, perintah kepada Nabi Muhammad agar membentuk organisasi, namanya ummat.	Ladies and gentlemen, in the Holy Qur'an, God commands the Prophet Muhammad to form an organization, which is called <i>ummat</i> [society].
15	00:06:21 - 00:06:53	Ummat apakah yang diperintah oleh Qur'an? Mohon maaf di dalam Qur'an tidak ada penjelasan yang namanya ummat Islam, tidak ada. Silahkan yang hafidz Qur'an cari, ada	What <i>ummat</i> is instructed in the Qur'an? I should say sorry that there is no mentioning of the term of Islamic <i>ummah</i> there. Not even once. Please you, the <i>hafidz</i> [persons



		nggak Qur'an ummat Islam, tidak ada. Yang ada <i>wa kadzaalika ja'alnaakum ummatan wasathaa</i> [Dan demikian pula Kami telah menjadikan kamu (umat Islam) "umat pertengahan].	who memorize Qur'an] have a look. Is there any phrase of Islamic <i>ummah</i> in Qur'an? No, right? There is only mentioned, <i>wa kadzaalika ja'alnaakum ummatan wasathaa</i> [Thus we have made you into a middle community] (source QS. 2:143)
16	00:06:56 - 00:08:40	Yang ada Muhammad kamu harus membentuk organisasi namanya <i>ummah, ummatan wasathaan, ummat</i> yang keren, <i>ummah</i> yang berperan, <i>ummah</i> yang berkualitas. Muslimat keren tidak? (keren). Hebat tidak? (hebat). Berperan? (iyaa) supaya apa keren <i>washataan</i> ? Agar litakuunuu syuhadaa' 'alannaas, agar berperan di tengah-tengah masyarakat. Syuhadaa itu berperan. Peran apa? Terus tanya terus. Peran apa? <i>Syuhuudan diiniyyaan</i> peran agama, harus kita pegang, imam masjid, khatib-khatib, KUA-KUA Kementerian Agama, harus dari NU. Kalau dipegang selain NU salah semua. Nanti banyak <i>bid'ah</i> nanti kalau selain NU. Ini <i>bid'ah</i> ini, tari-tari sufi <i>bid'ah</i> nanti. <i>Syuhuudan diiniyyaan</i> peran agama. Majelis ta'lim, pesantren, madrasah diniyyah, gitu kan? Taman al-Qur'an, taman kanak-kanak al-Qur'an, itu kita artinya berperan, <i>syuhuudan diiniyyan, syuhuudan? syuhuudan tsaqaafiyyan,</i>	It is only said Muhammad you must create an organization namely <i>ummah, ummatan wasathaan, cool society, society who plays a role, qualified society</i> . Isn't Muslimat cool? (Audience: cool) Isn't it great? (Audience: great). Playing a role? (Yes) Why should be a cool <i>washatan</i> ? For <i>litakuunuu syuhadaa' 'alannaas</i> , for playing roles in society. <i>Syuhada</i> has a role. What role? Continuous asking. What role? Religious role, we should handle a religion role. Head of mosque, preachers, office of religious affairs, ministry of religion, must be from NU. If these positions are not from NU it will be wrong. Later will be much more <i>bid'ah</i> , if not from NU. This is <i>bid'ah</i> . Later sufi dancing will be <i>bid'ah</i> . <i>Syuhuudan diiniyyaan</i> role of religion <i>Majelis ta'lim, pesantren, madrasah diniyyah</i> , right? Al-quran park, al-quran kindergarten. It means that we have a role, <i>syuhuudan diiniyyan, syuhuudan? syuhuudan tsaqaafiyyan</i>
17	00:08:43 - 00:08:57	peran akhlak, peran budaya, peran peradaban, berperan belum kita dalam <i>akhlakul karimah</i> ? Muslimat akhlaknya baik semua? tak tanya jawab Pa.	Role of attitude, role of culture, role of civilization. Have you played a role as <i>akhlakul karimah</i> [good attitude]? Do all Muslimat have good attitudes? Please answer my question, Ladies and Gentlemen.
18	00:08:58 - 00:09:33	Muslimat akhlaknya baik semua? (baaiik) Iya ya ada jelek 1, 2, 3, 10, 20, 30, semuanya baik-baik. Itu namanya peran <i>tsaqaafiyyan</i> . <i>Syuhuudan hadhaarian</i> , peran ekonomi, peran kesejahteraan, peran kesehatan, peran sosial, peran kemasyarakatan, sudah berperan? Muslimat sudah berperan kesehatan? Koperasi-koperasi? Bisnis perdagangan? Yang belum 1, yang belum.	Do all Muslimat have good attitudes? (Audience: good) Yes, there are some who are bad; one, two, three, ten, thirty. All are good. That is the role of <i>tsaqaafiyyan</i> [cultural], <i>syuhudan hadhaarian</i> [role of culture], the economic, welfare role, healthy role, social role, society role, have you had a role? Does Muslimat have a role in health? Union? Trade business? Only one, we've not had any role.
19	00:09:34 - 00:10:00	Dengarkan! Dengarkan! <i>Syuhuudan siyaasiyyan</i> , peran politik, maka tahun 2019 harus menang. Supaya NU berperan <i>syuhuudan siyaasiyyan, syuhuudan? (siyasiyyan) siyaasiyyan,</i>	Listen! Listen! <i>Syuhuudan siyasiyyan</i> , the role of politics. That is why in 2019, we must be the winner. Thus, NU will play the role of <i>syuhuudan siyaasiyyan, syuhuudan? (siyasiyyan) siyaasiyyan</i> .
20	00:10:02 - 00:10:07	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> paham. Terutama ibu-ibu, terutama.	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> , you've all understood, especially the ladies.
21	00:10:08 - 00:10:37	Di dalam al-Qur'an, tidak ada surat yang istimewa kecuali yang hebat surat an-Nisaa', surat perempuan. Tidak ada surat ar-Rijaal laki-laki tidak ada. Pokoknya kalah, laki-laki kalah pokoknya. Dah? Yang syahid pertama demi	In the Qur'an, there is no special <i>surah</i> , except <i>surah an-Nisa</i> , Women. There is no <i>Surah ar-Rijaal</i> , the Men. None. Men are lost, and always lost to women. That's it! The first <i>syahid</i> in Islam, to defend the faith is a woman.

		agama Islam, demi pertahankan iman, perempuan.	
22	00:10:39 - 00:11:02	Namanya Sumayyah yang dibunuh oleh Abu Jahal, setelah itu baru suaminya Ammar Yasir. Ammar anaknya pura-pura murtad, tapi kemudian lapor kepada Rasulullah tadi saya pura-pura murtad, tidak apa-apa. Ayat al-Qur'an turun, <i>illaa man ukriha faqalbun muthmainnun bil iimaan</i> .	Her name was Sumayyah, who was killed by Abu Jahal, before her husband, Ammar Yasir. Ammar, their son, pretended to be apostate, but then he reported to the Prophet (Rasulullah) that he just pretended to be an apostate. No worries. A verse of Qur'an came down <i>illaa man ukriha faqalbun muthmainnun bil iimaan</i> [If you are forced, pretending to be an infidel with a true faith in his heart is forgivable.]
23	00:11:04 - 00:13:00	Kalau terpaksa, pura-pura kafir, dalam hatinya iman, nggak apa-apa. Ini dipakai qiyas oleh para kiyai yang tanda tangan Golkar tahun tujuh puluh satu. Golkar dulu bukan sekarang. Kepaksa takut, nggak apa-apa, <i>illaa man ukriha wa qalbu muthmainnun bil iimaan</i> . Nah, malah suatu ketika, nih suatu ketika, ada shahabat mau sowan datang ke khalifah Amiirol Mu'minin Umar Ibnul Khatab. Khalifah yang adil, tegas, tanpa kompromi. Yaa, datang ke pintu, nyampe ke pintu mendengar istrinya sedang ngomel sama khalifah Umar sang suaminya. Segera orang itu balik lagi. Sayyidina Umar itu tau. "Eh eh eh apa apa apa? Ada apa, ada apa? Kamu bertamu nggak jadi?" jawabnya "Pak Khalifah yang terhormat, saya ke sini mau mengadu, istri saya galak, tapi tadi saya ketika nyampe pintu saya dengar, istri panjenengan juga lebih galak, dan sayyidina Umar kalah, diemm ajah". Apa jawab sayyidina Umar, "ada hadits Rasulullah yang mengatakan <i>uushiikum bitaqwallah, ittaqullaaha fiinnisaa'</i> , <i>fa'innahunna 'awaanun fii aydiikum, akhattumuuhunna bi amaanatillah istakhlaltum Furuujahunna bi kalimaatillah</i>	In an emergency situation, pretending to be a disbeliever, while your heart is holding on our faith, is forgiven. This was used for <i>qiyas</i> by most by the <i>Kyai</i> [clerics], who signed to submit for Golkar in 1971. The past Golkar, not today's Partai Golkar. If you're under a threat, it's okay <i>illaa man ukriha wa qalbu muthmainnun bil iimaan</i> . Well, once upon a time, there was a companion of The Prophet coming to the <i>khalifah</i> Amiirol Mu'minin [caliph of the greatest believer] Umar Ibnul Khatab, a fair, firm, uncompromising caliph. As he came close to the door, standing there, he heard his wife grumbling on the Caliph. Soon he left the house. But Sayyidina Umar noticed that. Then, he called the guest, "Eh eh, what's going on? What's the matter, what's wrong? You cancel to see me? " He answered, "Dear Caliph. I'm here to complain about my wife; she is so grumpy. But, as I arrived, I heard that your wife is even more than mine. Sayyidina Umar was a while at lost, staying silent. Sayyidina Umar replied by quoting a <i>Hadith</i> , <i>uushiikum bitaqwallah, ittaqullaaha fiinnisaa'</i> , <i>fa'innahunna 'awaanun fii aydiikum, akhattumuuhunna bi amaanatillah istakhlaltum Furuujahunna bi kalimaatillah"</i>
24	00:13:01 - 00:13:44	ada hadits yang menegaskan, kata Al kata Rasulullah, saya pesan, saya wasiat, saya pesan, jagalah, hormatilah, sayangilah istri-istrimu, wah luar biasa ini, nggak ada hadits sayangilah suamimu, nggak ada ini nggak ada ini. In anu, iri juga suami ini, <i>khairukum khairukum li nisaa'ikum wa anaa khairukum li nisaa'ikum</i> . Sebaik-baik suami adalah suami yang sayang istri. "Saya" kata Rasulullah "saya suami yang paling baik dengan istri".	There is a <i>Hadith</i> confirming that the Messenger of Allah (prophet) said "I command, I ordered you to guard, respect, and love your wives. This is excellent. There are no <i>Hadiths</i> ordering to care for your husband. None. Another <i>Hadith</i> will make men more jealous of women: <i>khairukum khairukum li nisaa'ikum wa anaa khairukum li nisaa'ikum</i> . The best husband is the one who loves his wife "I" said Rasulullah "I am the best husband to wives."
25	00:13:47 - 00:15:14	Oleh karena itu saya sendiri contohnya, ini mohon maaf. Kalau dari luar, di luar saya Prof. Dr. KH. Ketua umum, orang cium tangan semua. Masuk ke rumah istri marah-marah, ambrol semua professor doktor. Rontok semua	Therefore, I myself am the example. My apologies, as when I am not in the house, when I am out, I am Prof. Dr. KH. the General chairman. All people kiss my hands. However, as I go back home, and my

		<p>professor doktor. Betul. Mudah-mudahan Bapak Presiden tidak, mudah-mudahan. Kau tau ini nggak beda-beda dikit lah. Oleh karena itu ibu-ibu, ini bercanda, ibu-ibu, pesan, dua saja. Satu, tadi sudah disinggung oleh Mbak Yeni, sudah disinggung oleh bu Khofifah, <i>tawassut</i> dan <i>tasammuh</i> Moderat, sikap harus moderat, tidak boleh ekstrim, tidak boleh radikal, apalagi teroris. Jaga, anak-anak, mantu, cucu, jangan sampai terprovokasi dengan atas nama agama kemudian bertindak radikal, ekstrim, apalagi sampai menjadi teroris. Jaga anak cucu, ya bu ya? Tapi menjaga <i>tawassut</i> harus cerdas, harus berpendidikan. Orang <i>tawassut</i> mesti orang cerdas, orang yang tidak <i>tawassut</i>, tidak cerdas. Gitu aja gampang.</p>	<p>wife is angry with me, all the degrees, both doctor and professor are all meaningless. All collapse, no Professor, no Doctor, right? Hopefully Mr. President is not like me. You know this! Which is in fact not very different. Therefore, Ladies, that's just a joke. I have two messages for you. As it was earlier mentioned by Mrs. Yeni, and also by Mrs. Khofifah, <i>tawassut</i> and <i>tasammuh</i>. Moderate. Our attitude should be moderate, not extreme, not radical, even more not terrorist. Keep your children, daughters, grandchildren, not to be provoked, in the name of religion, to act radically. Prevent them from being a terrorist. Keep your grandchildren, Ladies? But keeping <i>tawassut</i> must be smart. You must be an educated person. <i>Tawassut</i> persons have to be smart people. Those who don't have <i>tawassut</i>, they must not be a smart. That's very simple.</p>
26	00:15:16 - 00:15:58	<p>Yang kedua, <i>Tasammuh</i> toleran, jaga anak cucu ibu agar menjadi orang yang toleran. Menghormati kebhinekaan, menghargai perbedaan, menghargai agama lain, suku lain, kelompok lain, gitu bu ya? Anak cucu itu harus diarahkan. Kita sering melihat bapak ibunya orang NU, anaknya tidak kenal NU. Banyak itu, ada. Mudah-mudahan yang ada di sini semua anak cucunya <i>tawassut tasammuh nahdhiyyin</i> semua (aamiin). <i>Insyaa Allah</i> nanti akan <i>husnul khaatimah</i> [akhir yang baik] (aamiin).</p>	<p>The second is <i>Tasammuh</i>, tolerant. Guide your grandchildren to be tolerant children, who respect the diversity, the differences, and respect other religions, other tribes, other groups. Could you, Ladies? Our children and grandchildren must be directed. We often see there. The parents are NU members, but their children don't know it. Many cases there. Hopefully all of us here, our grandchildren <i>tawassut tasammuh nahdhiyyin</i>, all of them (aamiin). <i>In syaa Allah</i> later to reach <i>husnul khaatimah</i> [a good ending] (aamiin)</p>
27	00:15:59 - 00:17:15	<p>Menjadi santrinya Hasyim Asy'ari masuk sorga bersama beliau. Hasbi Hasyim Asy'ari itu seperti masinis, bawa kereta api, yang di gerbong depan yang bagus, para ulama, para habaaib, para kiyai, kita-kita ini di gerbong belakang dengan beras, bawang, ayam, tapi kebawa, kebawa Hasyim Asy'ari. Mau tidak? Di gerbong belakang, campur ayam, campur dedek, nanti saya di situ. Saya di situ nanti. Saya di gerbong belakang bersama ayam, bawang, terasi, nggak apa-apa. Asal kebawa oleh Hasyim Asy'ari masuk sorga bersama (aamiin). Apa lagi saya umur saya sudah 66 tahun. Kenyang makan, kenyang tidur, kenyang naik mercy, naik alphard, pesawat, kenyang berpakaian sutera dan wol, kenyang tidur dengan istri, tinggal satu, tinggal satu yang inginkan, <i>husnul khaatimah</i>. Barangkali saya berdiri di hadapan ibu Muslimat, ini yang terakhir.</p>	<p>Being a student of Hasyim Asy'ari will take you to heaven with him. <i>Hasbi</i> Hasyim Asy'ari is like a machinist, driving a train, the front carriages are for the <i>ulama</i>, all <i>habaaib</i>, all of <i>kiyai</i>. We will be in the back carriages with rice, onion, chicken, but still carried away, carried by Hasyim Asy'ari. Do you want it? At the back carriage with chicken, onion, shrimp paste, I will be there. I will be there, later. I'm in the back carriage with chicken, onion, shrimp paste. It won't be a problem, as long as I am in his carriage, coming into the heaven together (aamiin). Moreover, I am 66 years old; I have been satisfied with meals, sleeping, enjoying to ride Mercy cars, the Alphard, the planes. I have dressed in silk and wool. I have been content sleeping with my beloved wife. There is only one left. the one I still want to be, that is <i>husnul khaatimah</i>. Maybe it is the first time I stand in front of the Muslimat.</p>
28	00:17:16 - 00:17:58	<p>Tahun 2020 muktamar NU saya tidak akan mencalonkan diri, silahkan yang lain, siapapun, saya tidak punya calon. Siapapun kader NU mencalonkan diri untuk menjadi ketua umum,</p>	<p>In the national congress of NU 2020, I will not run for the next term. Please others, anyone, I don't have any candidate. Any NU cadre who nominates himself to become a</p>

		<p>monggo. Pada Agustus tahun 2020. Tapi saya tetap aktif di NU, jangan khawatir. Gitu ya? Mari kita jaga NKRI, mari kita jaga Pancasila, mari kita jaga budaya, karakter, <i>akhlakul karimah</i>.</p>	<p>general chairman, you are all welcome in August 2020. But I will remain active in NU. No worries about that. Let's keep NKRI, let's keep <i>Pancasila</i>, let's preserve the culture, character, noble character [<i>akhlakul karimah</i>].</p>
29	00:17:59 - 00:18:35	<p>Inilah <i>Islam Nusantara</i>. Islam yang santun, Islam yang ramah, Islam yang menghormati budaya, Islam yang berkarakter, berintegritas, itulah Islam? <i>Nusantara</i>. Bukan <i>madzhab</i>, bukan aliran, tapi <i>khashaa'is mumayyizaat "ada keistimewaan"</i>, tipologi Islam, masyarakat Islam Nusantara. Selamat berharlah, Muslimat ke 73, mudah-mudahan ke depan semakin kuat, semakin, berperan, berkualitas, amin.</p>	<p>This is the Archipelagic Islam, a polite and friendly Islam. Islam that respects culture, Islam with character, having integrity, that is Archipelagic Islam. Not <i>madzhab</i>, not a sect, but <i>khashaa'is mumayyizaat</i>, Islamic typology, Archipelagic Islamic society. Congratulations to the anniversary of Muslimat for 73rd. Hopefully in the future it will be stronger, having more roles, and more quality, Aamiin.</p>
30	00:18:36 - 00:18:52	<p>Terima kasih kepada Bapak Presiden dengan Ibu yang hadir di tengah- tengah kita, dan <i>Alhamdulillah</i> begitu presiden hadir, hujan berhenti. Ini pawangnya hebat pawangnya,</p>	<p>Thank you very much to Mr. President and first lady who have attended this event and <i>Alhamdulillah</i> when the president was coming, the rain just stopped then, this is the excellence of the rain handler.</p>
31	00:18:54 - 00:19:15	<p><i>syukran wa dumtum fil khairi walbarakati wannajaah</i> [terima kasih, mudah2 an kalian senantiasa sehat dan kebaikan kesuksesan], <i>wallahu yahfadzukum minal'aafaati wal'aahad ya'khudz biadiikum [Yaa Allah yang menjaga kalian dari mara bahaya dan berbagai musibah yang dialami kalian], lima fiihiishshalaah walkhair "yang sesungguhnya didalamnya ada kebaikan", wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwamiththariiq</i> [Allahlah penolongku menuju jalan yg pling lurus], <i>Wassalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh</i>. [Semoga keselamatan dan rahmat Allah serta keberkahan-Nya terlimpah juga kepada kalian].</p>	<p><i>syukran wa dumtum fil khairi walbarakati wannajaah, wallahu yahfadzukum minal'aafaati wal'aahad ya'khudz biadiikum, lima fiihiishshalaah walkhair</i> [Thank you very much, may you all always be in good condition and full of blessings and success, and may Allah protect you from all harms and bad incidences], <i>wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwamiththariiq</i> [God bless the people of the way], <i>wassalaamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh</i>. [May peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you]</p>

## Appendix 5

Transcription and translation of SAS's selected speeches

### SAS 02

**Title:** The Consolidation of Nahdlatul Ulama toward the 34<sup>th</sup> National Congress

**Source:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rF1C0xG3Q-M&t=4675s>

Line	Timespan	Transcription	Translation
1	00:00.00 - 00:01.00	<p><i>Assalamu 'alaikum Wr. Wb.</i> [Semoga Allah SWT melimpahkan keselamatan, rahmat dan keberkahan untukmu]</p> <p><i>Bismillah</i> [Dengan menyebut nama Allah], <i>Alhamdulillah</i> [segala puji bagi Allah], <i>washshalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulaana wa habiibinaa wa syafii'inaa, Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa 'alaa aalihii wa shahbih wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauminnahdhah.</i> [dan shalawat (penghormatan) dan keselamatan kepada Pemimpin kami Muhammad utusan Allah, kepada keluarga dan shabatnya serta para pengikutnya mulai hari ini hingga hari Akhir]</p>	<p><i>Assalamu 'alaikum Wr. Wb.</i> [Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing], <i>Bismillah, Alhamdulillah,</i> [In the name of Allah], [Praise be to Allah]. <i>washshalaatu wassalaamu 'alaa sayyidinaa wa maulaana wa habiibinaa wa syafii'inaa, Muhammad Rasuulillaah wa 'alaa aalihii wa shahbih wa man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa'atah min yauuminaa haadzaa ilaa yauminnahdhah</i> [Peace be upon him, the chief of prophet, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow him until the hereafter].</p>
2	00:01.03- 00:01.39	<p><i>Shaahibil fadhiilah, sayyidii wa maulaay al-Kariimubnilkariimibnilkariim</i> [yang terhormat para pimpinan Yang Mulia dan dimuliakan] <i>Mustasyar PBNU</i> yang kebetulan terpilih menjadi wakil presiden. Aslinya Mustasyar wakil presidennya kebetulan, Prof. Dr. KH. Ma'ruf Amin, <i>'athaalallaahu baqaaha fii shihhatin wa quwwatin wa bashthathin wa 'izzah</i> [Semoga senantiasa dalam ketaatan dan diberikan kesehatan, kekuatan dan kemuliaan].</p>	<p><i>Shaahibil fadhiilah, sayyidii wa maulaay al-Kariimubnilkariimibnilkariim</i> [honorable the leaders <i>Mustasyar PBNU</i> who happened to be elected as vice president. He is actually the <i>Mustasyar</i>, being a vice president is only by chance, Prof. Dr. KH. Ma'ruf Amin, <i>'athaalallaahu baqaaha fii shihhatin wa quwwatin wa bashthathin wa 'izzah</i> [hopefully in obedience forever, may Allah grant the health and glory].</p>
3	00:01.40- 00:01.50	<p><i>Sayyidii wa maulaay, ar-Raiisil 'Aam lijam'iyah, Hadhrati</i> Syekh KH. Miftachul Akhyar <i>a'azzahullah</i> [pemimpin dan panutan, Ketua Umum Syekh KH. Miftachul Akhyar, yang Allah muliakan]</p>	<p><i>Sayyidii wa maulaay, ar-Raiisil 'Aam lijam'iyah, Hadhrati</i> [the leader and the role model, the general chairman KH. Miftachul Akhyar] <i>a'azzahullah</i> [may Allah glorifies him]</p>
4	00:01.51- 00:02.03	<p><i>Hadharatil Mustasyaariin</i> [para Dewan Penasehat], <i>Hadharaatil Syuriyyah</i> [para Suriyah], rekan-rekan <i>Tanfidziyyah</i>, wakil ketua umum Prof. Dr. Ir. KH. Maksum Mahfoed.</p>	<p><i>Hadharatil Mustasyaariin</i> [the Advisory boards], <i>Hadharaatil Syuriyyah</i>, colleagues of <i>Syuriyyah</i> and <i>Tanfidziyyah</i>, the vice chairman Prof. Dr. Ir. KH. Maksum Mahfoed.</p>
5	00:02.04- 00:02.14	<p>Sekretaris Jenderal, Dr. Ir. KH. Muhammad Helmy Faishal Zaini Hasan Abdurrahman, agak panjang namanya.</p>	<p>The Secretary General, Dr. Ir. KH. Muhammad Helmy Faishal Zaini Hasan Abdurrahman, his name is such a long one.</p>
6	00:02.16- 00:03.03	<p><i>Bodolan</i> [mantan] menteri, badan otonom pertama Muslimat, nomer satu ini. Ketua Umum Muslimat, Gubernur Jawa Timur kebetulan juga, <i>Insya Allah</i> 10 tahun, kemudian 10 tahun wakil presiden, 10 tahun presiden. Dr. KH eh KH. maaf maaf, Dr. Nyai Hj. Khofifah</p>	<p>The former and "the ex-" minister, Muslimat's first autonomy agency, this is the number one. The general chairman of the Muslimat, the Governor of East Java also happens to be, God willing, in 10 years, then 10 years will be vice president, 10 years</p>

		Indar Parawansa yang sangat progresif, lincah, genit, dan luar biasa. Genit positif bukan genit negatif.	president. Dr. KH eh KH. Sorry, sorry, Dr. Nyai Hj. Khofifah Indar Parawansa who is very progressive, flirty, and extraordinary. 'Flirty' with a positive meaning.
7	00:03.05-00:03.23	<i>Al-Mukarram Ashhaabal Ma'aahiid, Ash'haabal Thuruqishshuufiyyah al-Mu'tabarah al-Haadhiriin, Ahliil baitirrasuulillaahiththaahiriin Rahib Jindan.</i> [yang mulia para pimpinan pondok pesantren, para pengikut sufi thariqot al-Muktabarah yang hadir, para keluarga keturunan Nabi Muhammad, keluarga Jindan]	<i>Al-Mukarram Ashhaabal Ma'aahiid, Ash'haabal Thuruqishshuufiyyah al-Mu'tabarah, al-Haadhiriin Ahliil baitirrasuulillaahiththaahiriin Rahib Jindan</i> [The Honorable the leaders of the Islamic boarding school, the followers' of Thaqriqat al-Muktabarah, the prophet Muhammad's families and Jindan family]
8	00:03.24-00:03.30	Bapak Menteri Tenaga Kerja, Gus Hanif Dhakiri, mudah-mudahan jadi menteri lagi.	Also Mr. Minister of Manpower, Gus Hanif Dhakiri. Hopefully he will be a minister in the future.
9	00:03.33-00:04.16	Bapak Gubernur Jawa Barat, <i>Ajengan</i> H. Muhammad Ridwan Kamil bin Misbah bin Muhibbin yang <i>Insya Allah</i> dua periode menjadi gubernur, sangat puitis, tampan, dan ganteng. Kakeknya istrinya lima, entah cucunya. Karangannya 30 tentang <i>Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah</i> [golongan yang mengikuti ajaran rasulullah dan para sahabat-sahabatnya] cucunya minimal 10 harus ngarang juga.	The Governor of West Java, <i>Ajengan</i> [a Javanese terms for Kyai and ulema] H. Muhammad Ridwan Kamil bin Misbah bin Muhibbin who, <i>Insya Allah</i> [God willing], will be a governor for two periods. He is very poetic, charming, and handsome. His grandfather had five wives: I have no idea about his grandson. He wrote 30 books about <i>Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah</i> [people of the Sunnah and the community], so his grandchildren must write at least 10 works.
10	00:04.17-00:04.58	Ketua Umum Ansor, Fatayat, IPNU, IPPNU, Pagar Nusa, SARBUMUSI, PERGUNU, ISHARI, dan pimpinan lembaga persahabatan ormas Islam. Ada beberapa yang hadir dari al-Irsyad, Perti, Ikadi, Washliyah, Syarikat Islam, dan lain-lain, <i>a'azzahumullah</i> [Yang Allah Muliakan]	The General Chairperson of Ansor, Fatayat, IPNU, IPPNU, Pagar Nusa, SARBUMUSI, PERGUNU, ISHARI, and the leaders of Islamic mass organizations. Some of them are present here, from al-Irshad, Perti, Ikadi, Washliyah, Syarikat Islam and others, <i>a'azzahumullah</i> [Allah bless them]
11	00:04.59-00:05.23	<i>Saadati wa sayidati</i> [bapak-bapak, ibu-ibu] dari Pemerintah Purwakarta, Bupati Purwakarta yang <i>aduhai</i> , Ibu Anna Mustika, <i>Ambu</i> Anna Ratna Mustika.	<i>Saadati wa sayidati</i> [Lady and Gentleman Leaders] from the Purwakarta government, the fantastic regent of Purwakarta, Mrs. Anne Mustika, <i>Ambu</i> Anne Ratna Mustika.
12	00:05.25-00:05.43	Dari TNI POLRI yang saya hormati, bapak-bapak anggota DRPD dan DPR RI, <i>saadati wa saydaati anisaatil Ashaabi wa jumalaa'i abnaa'i wa banaati ayyuhal hudhuur.</i> [Bapak-bapak, ibu-ibu, teman-teman, sahabat-sahabatku, putra-putriku dan hadirin sekalian]	From the Indonesian Military - National Police that I respect, the gentlemen of the members of the local/national house of representatives DRPD and DPR RI, <i>saadati wa saydaati anisaatil khaabi wa jumalaa'i abnaa'i wa banaati ayyuhal hudhuur.</i> [Ladies and gentlemen, my friends, my colleagues, my sons and daughters and the audiences]
13	00:05.44-00:06.07	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> [segala puji bagi Allah] semenjak Mukhtar ke-33 di Jombang, Jawa Timur, saya selaku Mandataris Mukhtar beserta seluruh jajaran pengurus PBNU masih diberi kekuatan lahir batin sampai hari ini.	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> [Praise be to Allah] since the 33rd national conference in Jombang, East Java, I as the Mandate of the Congress and all ranks of the board of the PBNU am still empowered physically and spiritually to this day.
14	00:06.08-00:06.30	Menghadapi situasi nasional yang sangat dinamis menghadapi fitnah, hoax, adu domba. Terutama ditujukan kepada Ketua Umum,	Facing a very dynamic national situation, slander, hoaxes, conflict-making. Those are particularly addressed to the General

		<i>Alhamdulillah</i> saya tidak pernah minder, tidak pernah takut.	Chairman. To me. <i>Alhamdulillah</i> , I never feel inferior, and I have no fear at all.
15	00:06.32-00:07.18	Dimulai dengan konsolidasi dari tingkat wilayah sampai cabang, kita adakan madrasah kader yang dipimpin oleh sahabat Endin Safihara, Endin apa e? Endin Safihara. Sudah hampir 200 kali mengadakan Madrasah kader sebagai syarat sertifikasi untuk menjadi calon Ketua Cabang, Ketua Wilayah, bahkan Ketua Umum PBNU.	Started with the consolidation from the regional to the branch level, we conducted a Cadre Academy led by a friend, Endin Safihara, Is it Endin e? [Clarifying a name] Endin Safihara. He has conducted trainings almost two hundred times as a certification for the requirements of candidates for the leaders at branches, regional, and even for the General Chairperson of PBNU.
16	00:07.19-00:07.57	Semenjak Pilkada DKI [Daerah Khusus Ibukota] tahun 2017, muncullah para pendukung formalisme Islam yang menunggangi Pilkada DKI dan melakukan konsolidasi politik yang hampir saja memporak-porandakan NKRI, menghancurkan persatuan Republik Indonesia.	Since the regional election of the special region of Jakarta [DKI Jakarta] in 2017 there have been supporters of Islamic formalism who has ridden the elections and carried out political consolidation which almost devastated the Republic of Indonesia, destroying the unity of this Republic.
17	00:07.58-00:08.14	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> dalam hal ini aparat Kepolisian dan TNI, Pemerintah, berhasil mewujudkan ketenangan, kenyamanan, kedamaian, setelah terpilihnya Gubernur yang baru di DKI.	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> , the police and military, and the government have succeeded in returning a conducive situation and peace, right after the election.
18	00:08.15-00:08.50	kemudian kami juga memberikan apresiasi yang sangat besar kepada Presiden Jokowi yang telah berani membubarkan HTI, mencabut badan hukum HTI, maka sekarang HTI menjadi organisasi ilegal. Kami dukung, tinggal kelompok radikal yang lainnya.	Then, we also give great appreciation to President Jokowi who has shown his courage to disband HTI, revoke HTI's legal entity. Now, HTI is an illegal organization. We do support the measure and do the same for other radical groups.
19	00:08.51-00:09.07	Saya terkesan, mudah-mudahan kesan saya tidak tepat, dari aparat kepolisian kurang serius menangani kelompok radikal atau ada pembiaran.	It is my impression; I hope it's wrong. The police seem not to be very serious in handling radical groups, an ignorance to the issue.
20	00:09.08-00:09.52	Dimana-mana mereka semakin berani, semakin menantang, semakin terang-terangan menghina, memfitnah, adu domba tokoh-tokoh nasional, bahkan sampai presiden, kyai-kyai para ulama. Tapi sampai sekarang saya tunggu tindakan yang konkret yang tegas dari aparat kepolisian masih belum menggembirakan. Oleh karena itu dari mimbar ini NU meminta agar kepolisian Indonesia lebih tegas lagi menghadapi kelompok-kelompok radikal, bukan hanya HTI.	They are becoming bolder everywhere, increasingly challenging, more blatantly insulting, slandering, creating conflicts among the national figures, to the president, between the Islamic scholars and the clerics. To this time, I'm still waiting for concrete and decisive actions from the police. So, from this pulpit, NU asks the Indonesian police to be more assertive in dealing with radical groups, not just HTI.
21	00:09.53-00:10.34	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> , hikmah besar dengan munculnya kelompok radikal yang ramai itu tidak menjadikan NU gentar, tidak menjadikan NU minder. Bahkan NU semakin kuat dan semakin kelihatan, satu-satunya, kalau boleh dikatakan satu-satunya, ormas yang mempunyai komitmen, <i>istiqamah</i> dulu, sekarang, dan seterusnya dengan NKRI, Pancasila, Undang-Undang 1945, Bhineka Tunggal Ika.	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> , the great wisdom from the emergence of the radical group does not make NU tremble, it does not make us inferior. Otherwise, it has made us even stronger. It becomes more outstanding that NU is the only organization who always commits to the Republic of Indonesia, <i>Pancasila</i> , the 1945 Constitution, Unity in Diversity.
22	00:10.35-00:11.00	Pokoknya selama ada PBNU, Indonesia akan utuh sampai <i>yaumul qiyaamah</i> . Jangan lupa PBNU, Pancasila, Bhineka Tunggal Ika, NKRI, Undang-undang dasar 1945, disingkat PBNU.	Indonesia will keep intact until <i>yaumul qiyaamah</i> [the hereafter], as long as the NU stands. Don't forget the "PBNU", it stands for <i>Pancasila</i> , <i>Bhineka Tunggal Ika</i> , NKRI, UUD 1945 (the Constitution). The rigor of

		Ketegasan dari aparat keamanan ini jangan ragu-ragu,	the security forces should be real. Never be hesitant.
23	00:11.01-00:11.10	Al-Quran menegaskan: “ <i>Walmurjifuuna filmadiinati lanuhriyannaka bihim tsumma laa yujaawiruunaka fiihaa illaa qaliilaa</i> ” “ وَأَلْمُرُجِفُونَ فِي الْمَدِينَةِ لَنُغْرِبَنَّكَ بِهِمْ ثُمَّ لَا يُجَاوِرُونَكَ فِيهَا إِلَّا قَلِيلًا	The Quran emphasizes: <i>Walmurjifuuna filmadiinati lanuhriyannaka bihim tsumma laa yujaawiruunaka fiihaa illaa qaliilaa</i> We [Verily shall urge thee on against them, then they will be your neighbors in it but a little while] (Q.S.33:60)
24	00:11.11-00:11.16	Surat apa, ayat berapa, cari sendiri, keenakan banget kalau saya tunjukkan.	What <i>Surah</i> ? Which verse? Find it on your own. It will be your convenience if I tell you.
25	00:11.17-00:11.53	Orang-orang yang membikin gaduh membikin ribut di Kota Madinah, usir Muhammad, <i>laa yujaawiruunaka fiihaa</i> , jangan hidup bersama kamu di dalam Kota Madinah, jadi kelompok yang radikal yang menimbulkan kegaduan kesatuan NKRI, <i>Alhamdulillah</i> paham. Yang diusir terutama Ideologinya, orangnya silahkan masuk NU, kalau mau tapi, kalau nggak mau ya nggak apa-apa.	People who make the fur fly, making troubles Medina, should be expelled, Muhammad. <i>Laa yujaawiruunaka fiihaa</i> . Do not let them live with you Medina. Thus a radical group that causes the unrest of the Unity of the Republic of Indonesia is fine to expel. <i>Alhamdulillah</i> , do you get that? I mean the parts that should be driven out are particularly their ideologies. The individuals can join NU, if they want to. Otherwise, no problem. As long as they have left their ideologies.
26	00:11.54-00:12.06	Ada yang kelewat, yang saya hormati Pimpinan wilayah NU Jawa Barat dan cabang-cabang yang hadir, nggak nggak telat nggak, daripada nggak sama sekali.	I am sorry, I omitted to mention some important parties: the honorable the leader of the West Java Region and its branches are here. It's late to say, but still better late than never.
27	00:12.07-00:12.41	Memang NU bukan organisasi politik yang terlibat dalam politik praktis, akan tetapi bukan berarti NU apolitis, bukan berarti kita bodoh berpolitik, politik bagi NU adalah Politik Kebangsaan, yaitu <i>assiyaasatil 'ulya</i> [politik tingkat tinggi] untuk perkokok pilar-pilar dan konsensus kebangsaan sebagaimana dimandatkan dalam Mukhtamar NU tahun 1984 dan 1989.	Indeed, NU is not a political organization involved in practical politics, but that does not mean that NU is apolitical. It does not imply we are stupid in politics. Politics for NU is national politics; it is <i>assiyaasatil 'ulya</i> [high level politics] to smother the pillars and national consensus as mandated in the 1984 NU Conference and 1989.
28	00:12.42-00:13.07	Keterlibatan NU dan Nahdliyyin dalam pemilu 2019 wujud nyata partisipasi warga bangsa untuk membela <i>mu'aahadah wathaniyah</i> [perjanjian Bangsa] dan <i>Alhamdulillah</i> tidak kita duga 10 tahun yang akan datang, 10 tahun yang lalu, bahwa terpilihlah wakil presiden dari kader kalangan Nahdhatul Ulama.	The involvement of NU and Nahdliyyin in the 2019 elections was a clear manifestation of the citizen participation to defend <i>mu'aahadah wathaniyah</i> [Nation's Covenant] and <i>Alhamdulillah</i> . It's really beyond our expectation that in 10 years, 10 years ago we had a vice president elected from Nahdhatul Ulama.
29	00:13.08-00:13.36	<i>Insya Allah</i> tahun 24 Presiden, tahun segitu ah, jangan, nggak usah nggak usah pinter-pinter asal manfaat, salah, yang benar pinter dan manfaat. Nggak usah kaya-kaya asal berkah, salah, yang benar kaya dan berkah. Nggak usah pangkatnya tinggi-tinggi yang penting selamat, salah, berpangkat berkedudukan tinggi dan selamat.	<i>God willing</i> , in 24 years we will have a NU president. Yes, around that year. We often hear people say that a president does not need to be smart, but he should be beneficial. This is a mistake. The right one is he/she should be smart and beneficial. You don't need to be rich if you have blessings. It's wrong again, the right one is to be blessed and wealthy. You do not need to have a high rank, it is most important to



			be safe and sound. Surely, it's wrong. We should be high ranking and safe as well.
30	00:13.38-00:14.04	Ada hal yang perlu kita saya sampaikan di sini. NU memberikan apresiasi yang setinggi-tingginya atas selesainya, rampungnya RUU KUHP yang telah direncanakan semenjak orde lama tahun 1968.	I have something to say here. NU gives its highest appreciation for the completion of the legislation of RUU KUHP of which plan has been designed back to Old Order of 1968.
31	00:14.05-00:14.28	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> baru sekarang selesai RUU KUHP dengan segala yaa barangkali salah satunya ada kekurangan, kita memiliki RUU sendiri, tidak, tidak lagi menggunakan KUHP warisan Belanda, sedikit demi sedikit <i>Insyah Allah</i> kita akan lepas dari warisan-warisan penjajah.	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> , the RUU KUHP has been completed with some notes. Surely there's some backwardness there. After all, we have our own RUU. We won't use the one created by the Netherlands, a colonial inheritance. God willing, we will be free from it.
32	00:14.29-00:15.00	Terkait RUU pesantren, kita bersyukur, mayoritas fraksi DPR sudah mendukung disahkannya RUU pesantren, tinggal dua fraksi saja, cari sendiri apa itu fraksinya, partai apa. <i>Golek ono dewe, tiangan teangan sorangan</i> [cari-cari sendiri], <i>piye</i> [bagaimana], gitu ya? Cari sendiri itu piye bahasa Sundana?	Regarding the <i>pesantren</i> RUU, we are very grateful that most factions in DPR have supported to ratify it. Only two parties still do not agree with it. You can find them by yourself. <i>Golek ono dewe, tiangan teangan seorangan, piye</i> , right? [Please have a look by yourself?] Or <i>piye</i> ? In the Sundanese.
33	00:15.01-00:15.35	Karena RUU pesantren ini bukan hanya mengakomodasi pesantren NU, tapi juga seluruh Pesantren, saya contohkan, Perti juga banyak memiliki pesantren, Syarikat Islam, Washliyah, Mathla'ul Anwar juga banyak memiliki pesantren di Banten, di Lampung, oleh karena itu bukan hanya untuk NU tapi untuk seluruh stakeholder lembaga pendidikan yang tertua itu.	Because this bill is not only about NU boarding education, but for all. For example, Perti also has a lot of <i>pesantrens</i> , Islamic Syarikat, Washliyah, Mathla'ul Anwar also has many <i>pesantren</i> in Banten, Lampung. Therefore, it is not only for NU but for all the stakeholders of this oldest educational institution.
34	00:15.36-00:15.54	Barangkali yang hadir di sini banyak yang belum tau, ada santri namanya Dul Kamid ya Abdul Hamid orang Jawa bilanganya Dul Kamid pesantren pada KH. Hasan Besari, Tegal Sari, Ponorogo.	Perhaps many people attending here still do not know this story. There was a <i>santri</i> student, his name was Dul Kamid, or Abdul Hamid. Javanese will call him Dul Kamid. He was in the <i>pesantren</i> of KH. Hasan Besari, Tegal Sari, Ponorogo.
35	00:15.55-00:16.15	Ngaji, khatam Quran, siapa itu? putera Hamengkubowono III, Pangeran Abdul Hamid Diponegoro, Pahlawan Nasional yang menghebohkan Belanda sejak 1825 sampai 1830, beliau adalah santri, alumni pesantren bukan alumni sekolah yang formal.	He learnt Islamic teaching, completing reciting the Quran: who is he? He was a son of Hamengkubowono III, namely the prince Abdul Hamid Diponegoro, a national hero who had terrorised the Netherlands from 1825 to 1830. Pangeran Diponegoro was a boarding school student, and he did not go to any formal school.
36	00:16.16-00:16.31	Kedua, Ki Hajar Dewantara, Bapak Pendidikan Nasional, itu ternyata namanya Suardi, santri dari Kyai Zainuddin Sulaiman Prambanan, khatam Quran.	Secondly, Ki Hajar Dewantara, the father of national education, his original name was Suardi; he was a <i>santri</i> for Kyai Zainuddin Sulaiman Prambanan. He has finished the Quran.
37	00:16.32-00:16.39	Kalau Kyai Abdul Hamid tadi, khatam Quran dan khatam <i>Fathul Qarib</i> ditulis dengan tangan beliau, Pangeran Diponegoro, nulis Kitab <i>Taqrib</i> dengan tangan beliau.	And Kyai Abdul Hamid also finished the Quran and <i>Fathul Qarib</i> . He even wrote the book of <i>Taqrib</i> with his own hand. Pangeran Diponegoro.
38	00:16.39-00:16.57	Yang terakhir, contoh saja ini, lagu syukur, gimana lagunya itu? Saya ini nggak hapal. Ya	Lastly, this is just another example. You know the <i>Syukur</i> song? I could not recall it. You know, right? That song was composed

		udah itulah. Siapa yang ngarang itu? Santri, namanya Husein Mutahar dari Semarang.	by a <i>santri</i> . He is Husein Mutahar, a <i>santri</i> from Semarang.
39	00:16.57-00:17.16	Dikira orang bukan santri apa? Nah khusus untuk RUU Pertanahan, NU memandang Undang-Undang Pertanahan yang sedang dibentuk harus menjawab problem akut di bidang pertanahan, yaitu, ketimpangan kepemilikan tanah.	Do you think those heroes are not <i>santri</i> ? Turn to another issue. The land bill on the go should answer the long-lasting problem in the land sector, the inequality in land ownership.
40	00:17.17-00:17.40	Sekarang ini, Bapak Ibu sekalian, ada konglomerat yang menguasai tanah 5 juta hektar, tapi banyak juga warga NU contohnya Jumadi, Solikhin, Dul Kamid, Mad Rais, Zulkipli, satu jengkal aja tidak punya tanah.	Today, ladies and gentlemen, there is a conglomerate that owns 5 million hectares. Meanwhile, there are lots of people, an abundance of NU members, who do not have any measurement of it, like Jumadi, Solikhin, Dul Kamid, Mad Rais, and Zulkifli, and many others.
41	00:17.43-00:17.54	Tapi ada banyak konglomerat yang punya memiliki tanah jutaan hektar, 5 juta, 2 juta, 1 juta setengah, 1 juta, 500 ribu, eh Zulkipli, Mad Rais nggak kebagian.	Many conglomerates have millions of hectares, 5 million, 2 million, 1 million and a half, 1 million, 500 thousand, but Zulkifli, Mad Rais and many other people do not have any.
42	00:17.55-00:18.12	Oleh karena itu, kami memandang RUU Pertanahan mohon dipending dulu, dikaji ulang, agar lahir Undang-Undang Pertanahan yang pro rakyat, bukan hanya pro konglomerat.	Therefore, we see that the land bill should be repacked first, to be reviewed. To make the laws which are pro-people, not only pro-conglomerates.
43	00:18.13-00:18.33	Kita bukan anti konglomerat, kita hormati konglomerat, tapi konglomert jangan menganggap kelas menengah sebagai jongos, kelas menengah harus dianggap mitra binaan,, kelas menengah jangan menganggap kelas kecil itu jongos, tapi anggaplah kelas kecil itu mitra, binaan.	We are not anti-conglomerates; we do respect them. Yes, they should not consider the middle class to be a mere houseboy. They must make the middle class a fostered partner. Then in turn, the middle class can't regard the lower class as their servant. These lower classes should be their foster partners.
44	00:18.34-00:18.47	Kelas kecil jangan memandang buruh kuli itu sebagai budak, tapi buruh kuli itu adalah yang berprestasi, yang berjasa besar dengan produktivitas yang sangat tinggi. Itulah yang kita..., yang kita inginkan.	The smaller class should not look on their workers as slaves. They are in fact high achievers with very high productivity. That's what we expect.
45	00:18.48-00:18.58	Barangkali itu yang dimaksud oleh Pak Kyai Ma'ruf, Ekonomi Arus Baru, tapi saya ndak bisa jelaskan seperti Kyai Ma'ruf nggak bisa saya, bukan bidangnya bukan.	Perhaps that is what Mr. Kyai Ma'ruf means, New Stream Economy. But I cannot explain it like Kyai Ma'ruf. I can't, it is not my world.
46	00:19.00-00:19.26	Bapak Ibu sekalian, <i>Alhamdulillah</i> PBNU baru saja selesai membangun Universitas NU di Jakarta. Di Parung dengan menghabiskan dana biaya 30 Milyar, nggak usah tanya dari mana, <i>halaalan thayyiban</i> [garansi]. 4 lantai dengan aulanya yang sekarang masih adalah masjid.	Ladies and Gentlemen, Thank God PBNU just finished building an NU university in Jakarta, in Parung. It spent 30 billion. You don't need to ask me how to get that money. Surely it is <i>halaalan thayyiban</i> [guaranteed]. It has 4 stories, with a hall, functioning as the mosque.
47	00:19.27-00:19.37	Demikian pula <i>Alhamdulillah</i> sudah berdiri 31 Universitas NU yang berbadan hukum NU, bukan miliknya pesantren bukan.	Likewise, Thank God, 31 NU universities have been incorporated as NU legal entities, not belonging to <i>pesantren</i> ownership.
48	00:19.38-00:20.04	Baru <i>nuwun sewu</i> ya mohon maaf, baru periode saya hampir 20, hampir 10 tahun inilah (ada koreksi dari SAS) ada universitas yang di bawah badan hukum NU bukan miliknya pesantren, dan saya jamin, kalau di setiap	Sorry to say this. It has started in my period of nearly 20, nearly 10 years. After the correction, there are universities within the NU legal entity. They do not belong to <i>pesantren</i> . I guarantee that for each

		universitas, kalau nggak percaya tanya sama Pak Nuh mantan menteri Dikbud	university there has been under NU. If you don't believe me, you may ask Mr. Nuh, the former Minister of Education and Culture.
49	00:20.05-00:20.36	Setiap universitas tidak ada, seluruh universitas Indonesia tidak ada yang tidak terpapar radikalisme <i>tarbiyah</i> , ITB, IPB, Unpad, UI, ITS, Undip, Gadjah Mada, Unair, Bengkulu, Lampung, Makassar, semua terpapar radikalisme, kecuali Universitas Nahdlatul Ulama.	All universities in Indonesia are exposed to <i>tarbiyah</i> radicalism, ITB, IPB, Unpad, UI, ITS, Undip, Gadjah Mada, Unair, Bengkulu, Lampung, Makassar, all are exposed to radicalism, except NU universities.
50	00:20.38-00:21.02	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> , kami juga sekarang Ma'arif NU mengelola 20.138. Salah besar kalau ada anggapan bahwa NU hanya punya pesantren nggak punya sekolah, salah besar. Ternyata NU paling banyak memiliki sekolah 20.138.	<i>Alhamdulillah</i> we also know, Ma'arif NU manages twenty thousand, one hundred and thirty-eight (20,138) schools. It is a big mistake to say that NU only has the <i>pesantren</i> and does not have any school. It turns out that NU has the most schools. 20138.
51	00:21.03-00:21.33	Rumah sakit ada 7, saya sebutkan 2 di Surabaya, Sidoarjo, Tuban, Jombang, Demak, Ponorogo. Nah ini Pak Gubernur, kira-kira Jawa Barat kapan? Beberapa tanah yang sejak dulu tanah sengketa milik PBNU <i>Alhamdulillah</i> , di Pacet bisa kita tarik kembali ke pangkuan NU.	There are 7 hospitals: I should mention them, 2 in Surabaya, Sidoarjo, Tuban, Jombang, Demak, Ponorogo. Well, Mr. Governor? When will West Java have one? Some of the land in dispute has been returned to PBNU. Thank God the land in Pacet can be taken back into NU.
52	00:21.34-00:21.58	1 hektar 7, 1,7 (1/2) setengah hektar di Puncak sangat indah, belum dibangun. Di Kawi-Kawi sekitar 500 meter, di Matraman, di Grogol juga ada tanah yang bisa kita Slipi, Jakarta Barat, Grogol, Jakarta Barat <i>Alhamdulillah</i> sudah kembali ke tanah milik ke tangan PBNU.	There is 1 hectare in 7 locations, 1.7 and a half hectare in Puncak. It is very beautiful; it hasn't been built yet. There are some others: in Kawi-kawi about 500 meters, in Matraman, in Grogol...we also have many others. The one in West Jakarta, Grogol West Jakarta, thank God, has been returned to PBNU's hands.
53	00:21.59-00:22.30	Oleh karena itu <i>Alhamdulillah</i> masih banyak lagi asset yang belum selesai, di Tomang yang taman Angrek itu, itu milik NU, kalau yang belum tau, tanah, taman Angrek di Tomang dari jalan tol sampai mentok Kantor Golkar, itu 9 hektar miliknya Nahdlatul Ulama, tapi masih sangat sulit untuk menarik kembali, do'akan saja mudah-mudahan berhasil.	Therefore, (Thanks to Allah), there are many more assets to take back, in Tomang, Taman Angrek. It belongs to NU, you know? It extends from the toll road to the Golkar office, 9 hectares. It is owned by Nahdlatul Ulama, but it's still very difficult to take it back. Just pray for that, hope it works.
54	00:22.31-00:22.51	Seluruh capaian ini diringkas saja ini, kalau nggak diringkas 2 jam. Seluruh capaian ini tidak terlepas dari <i>ma'uunah</i> dan <i>taufiq</i> Allah serta dukungan seluruh jajaran PBNU, lembaga dan badan atonom Nahdliyyin dan seluruh simpatisan NU kepada seluruh pihak yang berjasa, kami ucapkan <i>jazaakumullaahu khairan jazaa'</i> [semoga Allah memberikan kebaikan yang Melimpah kepadamu]	All these achievements should be summarized. Otherwise, it will take 2 hours. All these achievements are inseparable from Allah's <i>ma'uunah</i> and <i>taufiq</i> [fortunate] blessing, as well as the support of the entire PBNU, Nahdliyyin institutions, autonomous bodies, and all NU well-wishers. For all those having contributed to us, we just can say <i>jazaakumullaahu khayral jazaa'</i> . [May Allah reward you [with] goodness]
55	00:22.52-00:23.12	Sebagai terakhir, kepada seluruh kader NU, saya titipkan saya pesankan firman Allah. " <i>Wa laa takfu maa laysa laka bihii 'ilm, innassam'a walbashara walfu'aada kullu ulaa'ika kaana 'anhu mas'uula</i> "	Lastly, to all the NU cadres, I have a message, I advise the word from Allah: "And pursue not that of which thou hast no knowledge; for every act of hearing, or of seeing or of (feeling in) the heart will be

			enquired into (on the Day of Reckoning" [Q.S.17:36]
56	00:23.13-00:23.35	Mari kita bekerja dengan proporsional profesional, jangan kamu ikut campur masuk ke wilayah yang kamu tidak ngerti. <i>Wa laa takfu maa laysa laka bihii 'ilm</i> , saya tidak akan bicara perbankan, tidak akan bicara teknologi, apalagi mekanik.	Let's work proportionally and professionally. Never interfere in a field you don't understand. <i>Wa laa takfu maa laysa laka bihii 'ilm</i> [And do not pursue the matter where you do not have the knowledge]. I will not talk about banking, technology, or even more mechanics.
57	00:23.36-00:23.59	Begitu pula yang bukan ahli agama jangan bicara agama, agama serahkan ke kyai-kyai NU. Yang kyai NU tidak ngerti bicara teknologi, komputer, alah nggak usah bicara itulah. Saya pun tidak akan bicara komputer, monoter, perbankan, nggak berani saya karena bukan ahlinya, tapi kalau agama ya barangkali luma lumayan	Likewise, those who do not know Islam, do not talk about it. It should be handed over to NU clerics. And the clerics do not understand technology, computers, there is no need to speak on them. I will never do so, I dare not. Because I am not an expert in them. If it is about Islam, I may have some knowledge about it.
58	00:24.00-00:24.31	Ini pengangan kita harus dipegang kuat, maka yang ngaku, yang ngaku Ulama harus betul-betul memiliki ilmunya Ulama. Kalau ngaku ulama tapi dalilnya belepotan, sangat menjijikkan. <i>Kaffara yukaffiru kufran</i> , menjijikkan. Apa menjijikkan itu apa? <i>Nggilani boso boso Jowone</i> [Menjijikkan kalau dalam bahasa Jawa].	This is our guidance to firmly hold. Those claiming to be Islamic scholars [ <i>ulema</i> ] have to acquire <i>ulema</i> knowledge. If you claim to be an <i>Ulema</i> [the cleric], but your Islamic arguments and your <i>Hadith</i> and Quran memory are faulty, it's really disgusting. <i>Kaffara yukaffiru kufran</i> [Unbelief, expiates, infidelity] disgusting. What is disgusting? <i>Nggilani in Javanese</i> . [disgusting in Javanese language]
59	00:24.32-00:24.50	Yang bukan ulama, jangan suka berbicara atas nama ulama walaupun pakai gamis atau pakai surban jenggotnya panjang. Kami tidak butuh jenggot, yang butuh adalah proporsionalisme dan profesionalisme, <i>ta'ahul</i> keahlian	For those who are not Muslim scholars, do not speak on behalf of them. It is not important that you wear a robe or turban with a long beard. We do not need a beard, what we need is proportionalism and professionalism, a true expertise.
60	00:24.51-00:25.00	<i>Syukron wa dumtum fil khoiri wal barakati wan najah walbarakah, yahfazdukum minal'ma haani wal fitaan, ya'khudz bi aidiikum lima fihi shalaah wal khair</i> [Terimakasih, semoga kalian semua selalu dalam keadaan baik, penuh keberkaha dan kesuksesan. Semoga Allah menjaga kalian dari Fitnah dan selalu menghitung kebaikan yang kalian lakukan]	<i>Syukron wa dumtum fil khoiri wal barakati wan najah walbarakah, yahfazdukum minal'ma haani wal fitaan, ya'khudz bi aidiikum lima fihi shalaah wal khair</i> [Thank you very much, may you all always be in good condition and full of blessings and success, and may Allah protect you from Fitnah and always count the good you do],
61	00:25.01-00:25.37	Sekali lagi terima kasih kepada bapak gubernur, pada bupati Purwakarta dan Kyai Abun atas terselenggaranya pleno di pesantren al-Muhaajirin ini pasti banyak pengorbanan dari <i>Shahibul Ma'had</i> [pemeilik pondok pesantren], dari pak Bupati, dari dari Gubernur, <i>jazaakumullah khairul jazaa'</i> , <i>Insy Allah Allah</i> akan membalas lebih berlipat lagi, Pesantren Muhajirin menjadi ikon pesantren di Purwakarta khususnya, di Jawa Barat pada umumnya, <i>wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwamiththariiq</i> [Allahlah penolongku menuju jalan yg paling lurus], <i>wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.</i> [Semoga	Once again, thank you to the governor, to the regent of Purwakarta and Kyai Abun for holding the plenary at al-Muhaajirin boarding school. There must have been many sacrifices from <i>Shahibul Ma'had</i> [the owner of the <i>Pesantren</i> ], from the regent, the governor, <i>jazaakumullah khairul jazaa'</i> [May Allah reward you (with) goodness], <i>Insy Allah</i> [God willing], Allah will repay you. The Islamic boarding school Muhajirin became the more iconic boarding school in Purwakarta in particular, in West Java in general, <i>wallaahulmuwaafiq ilaa aqwamiththariiq</i> [Allah is the One who guides to the straight path], <i>wassalamu'alaikum Wr.</i>

		keselamatan dan rahmat Allah serta keberkahan-Nya terlimpah juga kepada kalian]	Wb.[May peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you ]
62	00:25.38-00:26.00	Mohon maaf, ada orang yang akan wakaf tanah di tengah-tengah kota Karawang, namanya H. Andi sebanyak 7000 meter, monggo silahkan naik ke atas dengan didampingi oleh Dr. Eman Suryaman. Kalau yang lain akan wakaf silahkan. (Berapa, berapa dek?) Kyai Abun Bunyamin mewakafkan tanah 400 meter untuk Kantor Cabang NU Purwakarta. Yang lain yang lain silahkan. Dari pribadi Pak Eman akan dibangun masjid di atas tanah wakaf di Karawang itu. Itu dari pribadi Pak Eman. <i>Insyah Allah</i> , terima kasih.	My apologies, there is a person who will endow some land in the middle of Karawang city, about 7000 meters, his name is H. Andi, please go upstairs accompanied by Dr. Eman Suryaman. If others will endow, please. (How much, Little Brother?) Kyai Abun Bunyamin donates 400 meters of land to the NU Purwakarta branch office. Others please. Mr. Eman will personally build a mosque on <i>waqf</i> land in Karawang. That is from Mr. Eman personally. <i>Insyah Allah</i> [God willing], thank you.

## Appendix 6

Transcription and translation of SAS's selected speeches

### SAS 03

**Title:** The Santri's day and the fall of the Shari'ah based NKRI theory

**Source:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3oC3fF8Twcs>

Line	Timespan	Transcription	Translation
1	00:00:18 – 00:00:48	<i>Assalamu 'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh [semoga Allah melimpahkan keselamatan, rahmat, dan keberkahan untukmu].</i> Selamat malam, salam sejahtera untuk kita semua.  <i>Bismillah [dengan nama Allah], alhamdulillah [segala puji bagi Allah], wasshalatu wassalamu 'ala sayyidina Muhammad Rasulillah. Wa 'alaa aalihii wa shahbih wa man tabi 'a sunnatahuu wa jamaa 'atah min yauminnaa haadzaa ilaa yauminnahdhah.</i> [Shalawat (penghormatan) dan keselamatan kepada Pemimpin kami Muhammad utusan Allah, kepada keluarga dan shabatnya serta para pengikutnya mulai hari ini hingga hari Akhir]	<i>Assalamu 'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh</i> [Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing]  Good night, Best wishes for all of us.  <i>Bissmillah</i> [in the name of Allah], <i>alhamdulillah</i> [praise be to Allah] <i>Wasshalatu wassalamu ala sayyidina Muhammad rasulillah, Wa 'ala alihi washohbih waman tabi 'a sunnatahu jama 'ata min yauminnahada ila yaumin nahdhoh</i> [Peace be upon him, our chief, Muhammad, the messenger of Allah, his family, his friends and his followers and all of the people who obey and follow him until the hereafter].
2	00:00:49 – 00:02:34	Bapak-bapak ibu sekalian yang saya hormati, terutama tamu undangan, tokoh masyarakat, dari berbagai kalangan: ada wakil ketua DPR RI KH. Abdul Azis Syamsyudin dari Partai Golkar,	Ladies and gentlemen, especially the invited guests, public figures from various social structures, they are:

		<p>ada Sekjen PDI-Perjuangan ustadz Hasto, ada, nah ini betul-betul Kyai nih, Prof. Dr. KH. Hidayat Nur Wahid, senior saya. Ada Sekjen Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, Gus Hasan.</p> <p><i>Ikhwatil Shofara' Najwa Qeqa al-mamlakah as-Saudiyah min dauliyati Yaman, aazakumullah. [Saudariku dari mancanegara Najwa Qeqa dari Kerajaan Arab Saudi, Negara Yaman]</i></p> <p>Gubernur DKI Jakarta, Sayyidil Habib, Anis Baswedan.</p> <p>Rekan-rekan dari pengurus Nahdlatul Ulama', baik Syuriah maupun Tanfidziyah, datang wakil ketua umum Prof. Dr. Ir. KH. Maksum Mahfoed,</p> <p>juga Sekjend, Dr. KH. Ir. Hilmy Zaini Faishal Hasan, para Cendikiawan yang hadir, ada Prof Dr. Fachri Aly, Terima kasih.</p>	<p>the vice chairman of the DPR RI, KH. Abdul Aziz Syamsuddin from the Golkar party,</p> <p>the General Secretary of the PDI-P party Ustad Hasto,</p> <p>the General Secretary of the National Awakening Party, Gus Hasan.</p> <p><i>Ikhwatil Shofara' Washaqiqo al-mamlakah as-Saudiyah min dauliyati Yaman, aazakumullah. [Dear my Sister, Najwa Qeqa the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, from Yaman country].</i></p> <p>DKI Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan</p> <p>Colleagues from Nahdhatul Ulama administrators, both Syuriah and Tanfidziyah.</p> <p>Vice general chairman Professor Dr. Ir. K.H Maksum Mahfud</p> <p>General Secretary Dr. K.H Ir. Hilmi Zaini Faisal Hasan</p> <p>the Scholars in attendance</p> <p>Professor Dr. Fachri Ali, thank you.</p>
3	00:02:35 - 00:03:53	<p>Bapak ibu sekalian, pada hari ini tanggal 22 Oktober tahun 2019, 74 tahun yang lalu Hadratus Syeikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari mengeluarkan fatwa yang dikenal sebagai Resolusi Jihad. Dalam fatwa tersebut, Hadratusyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari menyatakan bahwa, <i>Fardu ain</i> hukumnya bagi setiap Muslim untuk turun melawan penjajah, mempertahankan kemerdekaan. <i>Fardu ain</i> itu artinya semua orang wajib, laki-perempuan, kaya-miskin, berpendidikan atau tidak berpendidikan. level elit, <i>grassroot</i> semuanya wajib. Fatwa inilah yang menjadi dasar bagi arek-arek Suroboyo, dan sekitarnya: Pasuruan, Madura, Sidoarjo-Gresik, Mojokerto-Jombang untuk melakukan pertempuran melawan NICA.</p>	<p>Ladies and gentlemen, today is October 22, 2019. 74 years ago, Hadratus Syeikh K.H Hasyim Asy'ari issued a fatwa known as the Jihad Resolution. In the fatwa, Hadratus Syeikh K.H. Hasyim Ashari stated that it is obligatory for every Muslim to fight against the invaders, to defend independence. <i>Fardhu 'ain</i> means that everyone is obligated, male and female, rich and poor, educated, and uneducated, the elite or the laymen are all obliged to. This <i>fatwa</i> became the basis for the people in Surabaya and its surrounding areas, Pasuruan, Madura, Sidoarjo-Gresik, Mojokerto, Jombang to do battle against NICA.</p>
4	00:03:56 - 00:04:23	<p>Semula bung Tomo berencana untuk melakukan penyerbuan kepada Belanda, kepada NICA, pada tanggal 9 Nopember, namun Hadratusyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari meminta untuk menundanya dengan alasan, menunggu kedatangan Singa dari Cirebon yaitu Kyai Abas Abdul Jalil dari Buntet. Sekali lagi dari Cirebon!</p>	<p>Bung Tomo originally planned to attack NICA on November 9, but Hadratus Syeikh K.H Hasyim Asy'ari asked to postpone it to wait for the arrival of a Cirebon Lion, i.e., Kiai Abbas Abdul Jalil from Buntet. Once again, he was from Cirebon!</p>
5	00:04:24 - 00:04:48	<p>Setibanya di Surabaya, Kyai Abbas dan bung Tomo bersepakat untuk melakukan penyerbuan</p>	<p>After arrival in Surabaya, Kiai Abbas and Bung Tomo agreed to raid the colonial forces with a shout of <i>takbir, Allahu akbar</i> [Allah is the greatest]. Upon arrival in</p>

		<p>terhadap pasukan penjajah dengan teriakan Takbir. <i>Allahu Akbar</i>.</p> <p>Kyai Abbas dan bung Tomo bersama arek-arek Suroboyo dan sekitarnya melawan pasukan NICA.</p>	<p>Surabaya, they agreed to raid the colonial forces with a shout of takbir, <i>Allahu akbar</i>, [Allah is the greatest]. Kyai Abbas and Bung Tomo together with the residents of Suroboyo and surrounding areas against the NICA's troops.</p>
6	00:04:49 - 00:05:48	<p>Pekikan takbir <i>Allahu Akbar</i> bukan untuk menyerang sesama anak bangsa, bukan pula untuk menebar kebencian, tetapi untuk membangkitkan semangat perlawanan terhadap penjajah.</p> <p>Akibatnya pemimpin NICA Brigjen Malaby tewas bukan ditangan TNI, tapi di tangan Santri Tebuireng bernama Harun, yang selanjutnya melahirkan pertempuran 10 Nopember.</p> <p>Sayang Harun tidak lari jauh, bahkan mendekati ingin tahu hasil yang dia lakukan, Harun pun mati bersama. Barangkali dikira petasan bukan bom, maklum, Santrilah!</p> <p>Malaby, Ajundan, Asisten, sopir, Harun, bersama-sama meninggal dunia.</p>	<p>The shout of <i>takbir, Allahu Akbar</i> is not to attack other Indonesian brothers. It is not to spread hatred, but to raise the spirit against the invaders. As a result, the leader of NICA, Brigadier General Mallaby was killed, not at the hands of the Indonesian National Army. But at the hands of a <i>Santri</i> from Tebu Ireng. He was Harun. This incident triggered the November 10 battle. Unfortunately, Harun didn't run away, he moved closer to check his victim. He blew up as well. Maybe he thought it was firecrackers, not a bomb. Mallaby, his aide, his assistant, his driver, and Harun were killed by the explosion.</p>
7	00:06:03 - 00:06:33	<p>Fakta sejarah ini merupakan bukti kuat dan nyata, bahwa Santri, para Kyai dan Nahdlatul Ulama memiliki komitmen kebangsaan dan komitmen Ke-Indonesiaan yang kokoh. Dari peristiwa sekian itulah dijadikan momentum ditetapkan 22 Oktober ditetapkan sebagai Hari Santri Nasional oleh Presiden Joko Widodo (applause).</p> <p>Hari Santri ini, diperingati untuk membangkitkan semangat perjuangan melawan penjajah, meneguhkan komitmen kebangsaan, dan melunasi janji para pendiri bangsa yang telah diteladankan oleh para santri-santri terdahulu.</p>	<p>This historical fact is strong and tangible evidence that <i>santri, kyai</i> and <i>Nahdhatul Ulama</i> have a strong national and Indonesianist commitment. That historical event is the momentum that President Joko Widodo has designated October 22 as National Santri Day. This <i>santri</i> day is commemorated to raise the spirit of the struggle against the invaders. It is to strengthen the national commitment and to pay off the promises of the nation founders who have been exemplified by previous <i>santri</i> students.</p>
8	00:06:34 - 00:07:28	<p>Seorang bernama Abdul Hamid, orang Jawa bilangannya Dul Kamid, yang dikenal dengan panggilan Pangeran Diponegoro adalah Santri yang mondok pertama kali di KH. Hasan Besari di Tegalsari, Jetis Ponorogo.</p> <p>Ia juga berguru kepada KH. Tahta Zani, Kertosono. Belajar kitab tafsir Jalalen kepada KH. Muhammad Ngadiwongso Salaman Magelang, bahkan beliau Khatam Qur'an dan menulis kitab Fatkhul Qorib dengan tangan sendiri.</p> <p>Bahkan, jika kita pergi ke Magelang dan melihat kamar Pangeran Diponegoro, di Eks Karisedenan Kedu kita dapat menemukan tiga peninggalan Pangeran Diponegoro al-Quran,</p>	<p>A man named Abdul Hamid who is known as Pangeran Diponegoro is a student who first studied at KH Hasan Besari Tegalsari, Jetis, Ponorogo. He was also taught by KH. Tahta Zani Kertosono. He studied the book of Tafsir <i>Jalalain</i> to K. H. Ngadiwongso, Magelang. He even finished reading the Qur'an and wrote the book of Fatkhul Qorib with his own hands, even if we go to Magelang and see Pangeran Diponegoro's room in Kedu Residency, with three relics of the Qur'an, Tasbih and his handwriting Fatkhul Qorib.</p>

		Tasbih dan kitab Fatkhul Qorib tulisan tangan beliau sendiri.	
9	00:07:29 - 00:08:19	Santri juga membangun fondasi kebangsaan, dan pendidikan Indonesia.  Melalui tokoh yang bernama Suwardi Suryaningrat, yang dikenal dengan panggilan Ki Hajar Dewantara. Ki Hajar sempat mondok dan belajar al-Quran khatam, kepada Kyai Sulaiman Sulaiman, Kalasan Prambanan. ini daerahnya pak Nur Wahid, Hidayat, Prambanan. Pengalaman baik dari pesantren inilah yang menjadi inspirasi Ki Hajar Dewantara. Untuk merumuskan pokok-pokok pikiran tentang pendidikan, bahwa tujuan pendidikan bukan semata-mata menciptakan orang-orang yang pintar melainkan juga harus memiliki budi pekerti yang baik dan luhur.	<i>Santri</i> also built the foundations of Indonesian nationality and education, through a figure named Suwardi Suryaningrat, known as Ki Hajar Dewantara. Ki Hajar had time to learn the Qur'an and finished it with Kyai Sulaiman Zainudin Kalasan, Prambanan. This is Mr. Nur Wahid Hidayat's area. His good experience at the Islamic boarding school inspired Ki Hajar Dewantara. It led him to a formulation of his main ideas about education of which the purpose of education is not only to create smart people but also to imprint good and noble character.
10	00:08:20 - 00:09:03	Menurut Ki Hajar Dewantara, sekolah itu harus pula menjadi rumahnya guru, itulah tempat tinggal yang pasti.  ["Rumah itu diperuntuki nama guru atau lebih baik dikatakan orang menyebut pondoknya itu namanya.  Dari dekat dan dari jauh datanglah murid kepadanya,  Bukan dia yang pergi ke Murid, kita berkata, "Ia bukan sumur rumahku tinomba, sumur berjalan, tempat umum mengambil air.  seluruh suasana paguron itu diliputi semangat pribadinya"] ini apa kata Ki Hajar Dewantara.	According to Ki Hajar Dewantara, the school should also be the teacher's home. That's a definite place to live. The school was the house of the teacher – better referred as <i>pondok</i> , Islamic boarding house. It is the students who come to him from near and far places. Not otherwise. As we say, "He is not <i>sumur yang berjalan</i> (a walking well) from which others take the water".  The whole atmosphere was filled with his personal spirit], said Ki Hajar Dewantara.
11	00:09:04 - 00:10:00	Bahkan lagu Syukur, yang sering kita nyanyikan itu ciptaan santri, keturunan Rasulullah SAW, berasal dari Semarang yang bernama Habib Husein Mutohar. Ini Habib Nasionalis. Tidak hanya menciptakan lagu bahkan Habib Husain juga merupakan bapak Paskibraka. Dialah yang mempunyai ide, bahwa pengibaran Bendera Merah Putih dilakukan oleh para pemuda yang berasal dari berbagai daerah. Sekali lagi ini Habib Nasionalis, soalnya ada Habib yang kurang Nasionalis.	Even the song titled 'Syukur', which we often sing, was written by a <i>santri</i> , a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad from Semarang. He is Habib Husein Mutohar. This is a nationalist Habib (The Prophet's descendants). He was not only a composer, but also the father of <i>Paskibraka</i> (the band of flag bearers). It was his idea to have youth from various ethnicities to be the flag bearers. Indeed, he is a Nationalist Habib. Meanwhile we know that some others are less nationalistic.
12	00:10:01 – 00:10:53	Keempat tokoh diatas, K.H Abbas bin Abdul Jamil, Pangeran Diponegoro, Ki Hajar Dewantara, Habib Husein Mutohar hanyalah salah satu contoh betapa perjuangan dan kontribusi para santri kepada bangsa dan negara sangatlah besar. Bahkan sejumlah santri tewas di medan tempur demi mencapai dan mempertahankan kemerdekaan Indonesia. K.H Zainal Mustofa dari Tasikmalaya, bukan hanya lantang menyuarakan semangat perlawanan kepada penjajah melalui mimbar-mimbar pidato, tetapi juga turun ke jalan memimpin	The four figures above (K.H Abbas bin Abdul Jamil, Prince Diponegoro, Ki Hajar Dewantara, Habib Husein Mutohar) are just a few examples of how great the struggle and contribution of the <i>santri</i> is to the nation and state. Lots of <i>santri</i> had died on the battlefield in order to achieve and maintain Indonesian independence. K.H Zainal Mustofa from Tasikmalaya, did not only loudly voice the spirit of struggle against the invaders through his speeches on stages, but also directly led the battle against the



		pertempuran melawan Jepang dan beliau dipancung kepalanya di Ancol.	Japanese, for which he was beheaded in Ancol.
13	00:10:54 - 00:11:48	Kyai Ilyas dari Lumajang, yang dikenal dengan Kapten Ilyas memimpin ratusan santri dan masyarakat untuk melakukan penyerbuan terhadap benteng-benteng Belanda. Dia tewas pada tanggal 2 April 1949, melalui pengerahan serdadu Belanda yang sangat besar. Begitu juga dengan Mayor TNI Hamid Roesdi dari Malang yang sangat aktif di Militer dan juga menjadi pengurus di organisasi pemuda yang bernama Pandu Anshor yang sekarang menjadi GP Anshor. Ia dengan gigih melakukan perlawanan terhadap Belanda, penumpasan PKI. Ia pun tewas di usia 38 tahun dan ditembak oleh Belanda di pinggir sungai Wonokoyo, Kedung Kandang Malang, kemudian makamnya dipindahkan ke taman makam pahlawan Suropati Malang.	Kiai Ilyas from Lumajang, known as Captain Ilyas, led hundreds of students and the people to raid Dutch forts. He died on April 2, 1949, after an attack by a very large Dutch army. Similarly, TNI Major Hamid Roesdi from Malang was very active in the military and was also an administrator in a youth organization called Pandu Anshor which is now GP Anshor. He persistently fought against the Dutch, crushing the PKI. He died at the age of 38, he was shot by the Dutch at the Wonokoyo bank, Kedung Kandang, Malang. His grave was moved to the hero graveyard of Suropati, Malang.
14	00:11:49 - 00:12:21	Bapak ibu sekalian dan pada hari ini tanggal 22 Oktober 2019 saya ingin mengajak para hadirin dan seluruh bangsa Indonesia untuk merefleksikan memikirkan dan berimajinasi tentang Islam dan Muslim serta ke-Indonesiaan di masa-masa yang akan datang terutama pada saat Indonesia berumur 100 tahun, yakni 2045. Ini penting dilakukan atas dasar beberapa hal.	Ladies and gentlemen, and today, October 22, 2019, I would like to invite the audience and all Indonesians to reflect and imagine about Islam and Muslims and Indonesia in the future, especially when Indonesia is 100 years old, in 2045. This is important for several reasons.
15	00:12:22 – 00:16:49	Pertama, pada akhir – akhir ini, penggunaan sentimen agama dalam ruang politik semakin menguat. Dimulai dari peristiwa Pilkada DKI melahirkan gerakan politik 212 sampai pada pemilihan Presiden kemarin, politik identitas yang memanfaatkan kedangkalan pemahaman beragama tampaknya akan terus digunakan oleh kekuatan-kekuatan politik untuk meraih kekuasaan.	First, in recent times, the use of religious sentiment in the political space has strengthened. An event of the DKI Regional Head Election has caused a political movement of 212 action ( <i>Aksi massa 212</i> ) up to the last presidential election. The politics of identity which utilizes the superficiality of religious understanding will likely continue to be used by political forces to gain power.
16	00:16:50 - 00:14:34	Kedua, eksklusifitas, intoleransi dan radikalisme beragama khususnya di kalangan umat Islam semakin hari semakin menguat. Sejumlah laporan penelitian telah menunjukkan peningkatan intoleransi dan radikalisme beragama. Laporan survei Wahid Foundation misalnya. Menyebutkan bahwa pada tahun 2017 kualitas muslim dan muslimah 57,1% bersikap intoleran kepada kelompok yang tidak disukai, presentase tersebut meningkat jika dibandingkan survei tahun 2016 sebesar 51%. Bahkan sejumlah aparat sipil negara TNI, POLRI, BUMN mulai banyak yang terpapar paham radikal dan ini bukan omong kosong. Yang mengatakan ini antara lain bapak Menteri Pertahanan, bapak Jenderal Ryamizard Ryacudu.	Second, exclusivity, intolerance, and religious radicalism, especially among Muslims, grows stronger day by day. A number of research reports have shown an increase in religious intolerance and radicalism. The Wahid Foundation survey reported that in 2017 the 57,1% of Moslems in Indonesia are intolerant to other groups they did not like. This has increased compared to the result of the 2016 survey, 51%. Furthermore, several members in state civil servants, TNI, POLRI, BUMN are starting to be exposed to radicalism. It is something real. As it is said among others by the minister of defence, General Ryamizard Ryacudu. This exclusivity of intolerance and religious radicalism does not only break Islam but also destroys the life of

		<p>Eksklusifitas Intoleransi dan Radikalisme beragama ini bukan saja merusak agama Islam tetapi juga merusak kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara. Kenapa disebut merusak agama? Karena pada prinsipnya Islam menghargai Kebhinekaan. Karena intoleransi dan radikalisme inilah sesama anak bangsa saling mengkafirkan, saling menyalahkan bahkan saling memusuhi. Terkenal dengan <i>Anshorud Daulah</i>, Jama'ah Takfiri. Semua kita ini kafir semua, halal darahnya.</p>	<p>the nation and state. Why is it said to be "destroying the religion"? Because in principle Islam respects diversity. Due to this intolerance and radicalism, the fellow children of this nation disbelieve in each other, blaming each other. They make enemies of each other. They were known as <i>Anshorut Daulah</i>, a <i>Takfiri</i> congregation. They view all of us as unbelievers, and for them it is lawful to take our lives.</p>
17	00:14:35 - 00:15:12	<p>Ketiga, kelompok yang ingin mengganti Pancasila sebagai dasar negara juga mengalami peningkatan. Mereka berpandangan bahwa pancasila itu bertentangan dengan Islam, padahal melalui Mukhtamar Nahdhatul Ulama di Situbondo para Kyai sudah memutuskan bahwa Pancasila tidak bertentangan dengan Islam. Bahkan Sila-sila yang ada dalam Pancasila merefleksikan nilai-nilai Islam, karena itulah Nahdhatul Ulama menjadi organisasi pertama yang menerima Pancasila sebagai asas tunggal organisasinya.</p>	<p>Third, people in some groups want to replace <i>Pancasila</i> as the state foundation; their number has also increased. They said <i>Pancasila</i> is opposed to Islam. In fact, the Nahdhatul Ulama Conference in Situbondo has decided that Pancasila must conform to Islamic laws. Even the precepts contained in <i>Pancasila</i> reflect Islamic values. That's why Nahdhatul Ulama has become the first organization to accept <i>Pancasila</i> as the sole basis of its organization.</p>
18	00:15:13 - 00:16:23	<p>Keempat, dengan refleksi dan imajinasi tentang Islam, Muslim, dan Indonesia menuju Indonesia 100 tahun berarti kita sedang menjalankan amanah menjaga Islam, mempertahankan NKRI dan kedaulatan bangsa Indonesia. Imam Ghazali berkata, Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al Ghazali lahir pada 450 H wafat tahun 505 H ath-Thusi Khurosan mengatakan <i>Wadhararus syar'i min man yansuruahu la bithoriqih aqtsaru min dhararihi min man yat'anfihi bithoriqih</i> artinya Islam akan hancur akan rusak dari dalam dengan mengatasnamakan pembelaan terhadap Islam karena pembelaan yang tidak dibenarkan oleh agama Islam itu sendiri.</p>	<p>Fourth, by reflecting and imagining Islam, Muslims and Indonesia should go towards 100 years of Indonesia. It means that we are carrying out the mandate to protect Islam, defending the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the sovereignty of the nation. Imam Ghazali, Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al Ghazali was born in 450 H died in 505 H, ath-thusi khorasan, said <i>wadhararus syar'i min man yansuruahu la bithoriqih aqtsaru min dhararihi min man yat'anfihi bithoriqih</i>. It means Islam will be destroyed in the name of defending Islam, because of a defence which is not justified by Islam itself.</p>
19	00:16:24 - 00:17:24	<p>Bapak ibu sekalian karena empat hal tersebut, maka kesempatan ini saya ingin menyampaikan sub pokok pikiran. Keempat pokok pikiran ini saya kira akan menjadi fondasi kuat untuk menyongsong 100 tahun Indonesia. Ini penting karena pada tahun 2045 sejumlah lembaga telah memprediksi masa emas Indonesia. Pada tahun 2045 Indonesia diprediksi akan menjadi negara maju dengan kekuatan ekonomi dunia kelima dengan dominasi kalangan usia produktif, namun cita-cita Indonesia maju, Indonesia emas pada tahun 2045 ini ditentukan oleh bagaimana kita mempersiapkan di hari ini terutama bagaimana pandangan dan sikap keagamaan kita. Apakah menjadi penopang kemajuan</p>	<p>Ladies and gentlemen, because of these four things, I would like to take this opportunity to convey my sub-topics. These four points of view will become a strong foundation for welcoming Indonesia's 100th anniversary. This is important because 2045, as predicted by a number of institutions, will be the golden age of Indonesia. In time, Indonesia is predicted to become a developed country, as the fifth world economic power, with a dominance of the productive age. However, this golden age of 2045 is determined by what we have prepared today, particularly by our religious views and attitudes. Do they become the support? Or do they make for destruction?</p>

		Indonesia ataukah justru keagamaan bersifat destruktif.	
20	00:17:25 - 00:18:56	<p>Karena itu keempat pokok pikiran ini menjadi perhatian seluruh komponen bangsa, baik dari kalangan pemerintah, para pengusaha, media, tokoh-tokoh agama serta masyarakat secara umum. Jika keempat hal ini diabaikan Indonesia Emas, Indonesia Maju dengan kekuatan ekonomi nomor lima dunia ditopang dengan bonus demografi hanya akan menjadi impian belaka. Pertama islam dan kebudayaan. Bagaimana Islam memandang kebudayaan serta bagaimana menjadikan Islam sebagai sarana atau alat untuk transformasi kebudayaan sebagaimana yang dilakukan oleh Rasulullah SAW. Kedua, Islam dan kemajemukan dengan kajian terhadap Islam yang mendalam baik yang bersumber dari al Qur'an Hadits dan sunnah nabi maupun pendapat para ulama kita dapat menemukan betapa Islam sangat menghargai kemajemukan. Ketiga, Islam dan negara. Bagaimana pandangan Islam terhadap negara. Keempat, bagaimana menjadikan Islam Indonesia yang toleran, damai, saling menghargai ini menjadi kiblat atau rujukan bagi umat Islam di dunia. Bukan kiblat sholat, bukan. Indonesia <i>satusbih kiblat al muslimin wa khafatan wahadhaaratan wamadaaniyatan, insyaallah</i>. [Indonesia menjadi Kiblat Kebudayaan dan Ketatanegaraan yang sempurna, God willing]</p>	<p>Therefore, these four points of view have attracted the attention of all components of the nation, from the government, businessmen, media, religious leaders, and society. If these four things are ignored, a golden Indonesia as the world's number five economic power supported by the demography, will only be a dream. First Islam and culture. How Islam views culture and how to make Islam a medium for cultural transformation as did the Prophet SAW. Second, Islam and pluralism, with an in-depth study of Islam both from the Qur'an and the <i>sunnah</i> of the prophet as well as the opinions of scholars, we can find out how much Islam pays respect to pluralism. Third, Islam and the state. How Islam respects the country. Fourth, how to make Indonesia's Islam tolerant, peaceful, and respectful of each other to become the <i>qibla</i> or reference for Muslims in the world. Not the <i>qibla</i> of prayer, no. Indonesia is <i>satusbih kiblat al muslimin wa khafatan wahadhaaratan wamadaaniyatan</i> [Indonesia is the perfect center for culture and state administration] <i>Inshaallah</i> (God willing)].</p>
21	00:18:59 – 00:20:43	<p>Bapak ibu sekalian yang berbahagia. Islam dan kebudayaan. Islam turun di Arab, bukan untuk melakukan judgment terhadap kebudayaan seakan-akan Islam dan budaya berada pada oposisi biner atau berhadap-hadapan tetapi untuk melakukan transformasi kebudayaan. Dengan cara melakukan afirmasi dan akomodasi terhadap kebudayaan-kebudayaan yang sudah ada. Karena itulah tidak heran jika sejumlah tradisi tetap dipertahankan bahkan disyariatkan. Sebagai contoh, rukun Islam kelima yaitu Haji ada ritual yang berisi napak tilas perilaku para nabi seperti nabi Adam, Ibrahim, nabi Isma'il. <i>Al Hajj 'ibadah qadimah min yum Ibrahim wa isma'il wa adam</i>. Begitu juga dengan ibadah puasa yang sudah dijalankan para nabi, para umat yang terdahulu, Nabi Musa, Sayidah Maryam, semua orang-orang melakukan Puasa. <i>Asshaum 'ibadah qadimah</i>. Begitu juga ketika Islam datang ke Nusantara, Islam yang dibawa dan diajarkan oleh para WaliSongo, kalo yang belum hafal namanya, nanti malam dihafalkan namanya. Kalau belum hafal bukan NU itu namanya. Bukan dengan cara memberangus kebudayaan dan tradisi yang ada melainkan menjadikan kebudayaan sebagai instrumen dakwah, sehingga Islam dapat bersatu dan bersenyawa dengan kebudayaan setempat. Dalam kerangka</p>	<p>Ladies and gentlemen. Islam and culture. Islam descended from the Arab, not to make judgments on culture as if Islam and culture were in opposition to or compete with each other. Islam has brought about cultural transformation, by doing affirmations and in accommodating existing cultures. Therefore, it is not surprising that several traditions are maintained and even prescribed. For example, the fifth pillar of Islam, namely <i>Hajj</i>, has a ritual that contains traces of the behavior of previous prophets like Adam, Ibrahim, and Isma'il. <i>Al Hajj 'ibadah qadimah min yum Ibrahim wa isma'il wa adam</i>. Just like the fasting that had been carried out by other previous prophets, the previous people, Moses and Sayidah Maryam. Many people did fast. <i>Asshaum 'ibadati qadimah</i>. Likewise, when Islam came to the archipelago, Islam that was brought and taught by Walisongo was spread not by suppressing existing culture and traditions. They did it by making culture an instrument of <i>da'wah</i>, so that Islam merged with local culture. This is Nusantara Islam developed by Nahdhatul Ulama.</p>

		inilah Islam Nusantara dikembangkan oleh Nahdhatul Ulama.	
22	00:20:44 – 00:22:20	Kalau kita baca sejarah Wali Songo, tidak ada wali masuk ke satu kampung, TAKBIR! Gak ada tuh, gak ada itu. Semua pendekatan budaya akhlaqul karimah menghargai budaya setempat, mengharmoniskan antara teologi dan budaya. Kebudayaan dan tradisi yang berkembang di masyarakat tidak serta merta ditolak tapi justru menjadi infrastruktur agama. Infrastruktur agama misalnya menara yang banyak kita jumpai di masjid-masjid pada mulanya bukan Arsitektur Islam melainkan berasal dari agama Zoroaster. Apa yang dilakukan olah Islam tidak serta merta menolak keberadaan menara, tetapi memodifikasinya sehingga menara sampai hari ini tetap digunakan sebagai arsitektur masjid pada umumnya. Padahal, arti kata “menara” “ <i>manara</i> ” adalah tempatnya api. Ketika para sahabat menyebarkan Islam ke Timur, menjumpai bangunan tinggi 10 m, 15 m satu sama lain saling melihat di atasnya ada api disembah, “ <i>oh, hadzihi manaratun</i> ” ini tempatnya api, <i>manarah</i> itu. Apa kata si sahabat apinya dibuang menaranya dilestarikan untuk monumen masjid. Jadi menara itu dari Zoroaster.	If we read the history of <i>walisongo</i> , none of them came into village, with TAKBIR! No one. All approached with a good moral culture and respect of local culture, they harmonized theology and culture. Culture and traditions in society were not immediately rejected but instead they were even made into the infrastructure of religion. Religious infrastructure such as the towers that we often encounter in mosques was not originally Islamic architecture but came from the Zoroastrian religion. Islam does not necessarily reject the existence of towers but modifies them, so that they are maintained to be a part of mosque architecture. Whereas the meaning of the word ‘tower,’ <i>manara</i> is a place of fire. When the companions of the Prophet spread Islam to the East, they saw a 10 m, 15 m high building, they found the fire at the top; it was worshiped, "Oh, this is the place of fire", that <i>manarah</i> . What did they do, then? The fire was thrown away while the tower was preserved for the mosque monument. Thus, the tower is actually from Zoroaster.
23	00:22:21 – 00:23:22	Allah berfirman dalam surat al An’am, pokoknya suratnya cari sendirilah, surat apa, ayat berapa cari sendiri pasti ada di Qur’an, <i>wala tasubbulladzina yad’una min dunillahi fa yasubullaha ‘adwam bighairi ‘ilm, kadzalika zayyanna likulli ummatin ‘amalahum summa ila rabbihim marji’uhum fa yunabbi’uhum bima kanu ya’malun [108]</i> . "Janganlah kamu mencaci maki orang-orang yang tidak menyembah Allah Tuhan yang mereka sembah jangan kamu caci maki, nanti mereka mencaci maki Allah, demikianlah saya jadikan setiap umat memiliki budayanya yang mereka banggakan". Oleh karena itu al Qur’an ini mengakui budaya yang sangat beragam yang harus kita hormati. Tidak boleh kita meremehkan, mencaci maki budaya bangsa lain, kelompok lain, agama lain.	Allah says in <i>surah al An'am</i> verse, in detail please have a look by yourself, what <i>surah</i> and verse, it will be found in Qur'an, "... revile not those unto whom they pray beside Allah lest they wrongfully revile Allah through ignorance. Thus, unto every nation have We made their deed seem fair. Then unto their Lord is their return, and He will tell them what they used to do" (108). Don't abuse those who don't worship Allah, don't abuse the god they worship, in the future they will abuse Allah, that's how I make sure every <i>ummah</i> has a culture that they are proud of. Therefore, the Qur'an recognizes a very diverse culture that we must respect. We must not underestimate the culture of other nations, other groups, other religions.
24	00:23:23 – 00:24:37	Hadirin yang saya hormati, hari ini kita menghadapi sebagian kelompok yang suka mempertentangkan apakah tradisi tertentu sesuai dengan Islam atau tidak. Akibatnya kelompok ini suka menghakimi sebuah tradisi dengan vonis sesat, Syirik, Bid’ah bahkan Kafir. Sekedar contoh, tradisi masyarakat yang membaca ayat-ayat al Qur’an, membaca <i>sholawat, tahmid, tahlil, tasbih, istighfar</i> yang oleh masyarakat Indonesia disebut Tahlilan sering dianggap sesat dan bid’ah. Begitu juga ketika masyarakat berkumpul untuk belajar dan membaca sejarah nabi dalam tradisi <i>Mauludan, Barzanji, Diba’, Simtuduror, atau Burdah</i>	Ladies and gentlemen, today we face some groups who like to argue whether certain traditions are compatible with Islam or not. As a result, this group judges a tradition with the verdict of <i>shirk</i> , heresy and even infidels. For example, the tradition of people reading the verses of the Qur'an, reading <i>sholawat, tahmid, tahlil, tasbih, istighfar</i> which the Indonesian people call tahlilan is often considered heresy. Just like when people study and read the history of the prophet in the traditions of <i>Mauludan, Barzanji, Diba’, Simtuduror, atau Burdah</i> they consider <i>bid'ah</i> [innovation]. The

		mereka anggap <i>bid'ah</i> . Penyebabnya sederhana sejarah yang dibaca ada dalam bahasa Arab jika saja dibaca terjemahannya dalam versi bahasa Indonesia barangkali saya yakin tidak akan muncul tuduhan <i>bid'ah</i> . Karena mereka tidak mengerti bahasa Arab itu, ngertinya Cuma <i>akhi, ukhti, abi, ummi, liqo', murabbi. Ya Allah..</i>	reason is simple, the history that is read is in Arabic, if you read the translation in Indonesian, maybe I am sure that there will be no accusations of heresy. Because they don't understand Arabic, they only understand <i>akhi, ukhti, abi, ummi, liqo', murabbi. Oh Allah.</i>
25	00:24:28 - 00:25:50	Kalo kyai ada orang sesajen, kyai tahu “apa ini pak?” sesajen, nasi sekepal di pojok rumah “untuk apa?” Mengusir roh jahat, dedemit, tuyul, babi ngepet supaya lari. Kata kyai ‘kamu kan kaya, potong kambing satu dong, masak beras 15 kilo setelah jadi 30 piring nasi dan lauk’ lapor kyai ‘kyai sudah siap 30 piring nasi dan lauknya ditaruh dipojok mana? Ditaruh diperempatan mana? Ditaruh dibawah pohon mana?’ kyai jawab ‘bukan ditaruh dipojok atau perempatan atau dibawah pohon. Dimakan oleh tetangga, teman terutama fakir miskin, tapi sebelum makan mari berdoa dulu kepada tuhan minta agar kamu selamat istrimu selamat anakmu, selamat, hartamu selamat, hidupmu selamat, matimu selamat’ makanya namanya bukan sesajen tapi selamatan.  <i>Alhamdulillah cerdas.</i>	If a <i>kiai</i> finds someone preparing an offering, he clearly knows what it is. But he still asks, "What is this, Pak?" "Offerings", the man answered. Pointing to a fistful of rice at the house corner, the <i>kiai</i> asked again, "For what?" "It is to exorcise evil, demons, <i>tuyul, Babi ngepet</i> . Thus, they will run away with it." <i>Kiai</i> then suggested, "You are rich, why you don't cook meat, a goat for example, and you can cook 15 kilos of rice?" After making 30 plates of rice and side dishes, he reports to the <i>kiai</i> , " <i>Kiai</i> , everything you ask is ready. At which corner should I place them? Under which tree?" The <i>kiai</i> replied, "Not in any corner or an intersection or under a tree. We will eat them with your neighbors, friends, especially the poor. But beforehand, let's pray to God first to ask His mercy so that your family, your property, your life, and your dead families are blessed. Then, it changes from <i>sajen</i> [offerings] to <i>slametan</i> [salvation]".  <i>Thanks to Allah, smart.</i>
26	00:25:50 – 00:27:15	Bedug, bedug itu alat musik goyang karawang, supaya seru ada bedugnya itu. Oleh kyai bedugnya diambil goyang karawangnya dipisahkan, dijauhin. Malah bedug itu dipindah ke masjid untuk memanggil orang sholat berjamaah di masjid. Luar biasa kyai-kyai itu. Pengkafiran dan tuduhan sesat terhadap tradisi-tradisi tersebut akan menjadi hambatan signifikan bagi kemajuan kebudayaan di Indonesia. Karena itulah saya mengajak para hadirin semuanya dan seluruh bangsa Indonesia untuk bersama-sama mengembangkan kebudayaan di Indonesia yang kita cintai ini. <i>Wa innamal umamul akhlakuma baqiyat fainhumu dzahabat akhlakuhum dzhabuu</i> . Syair dari seorang penyair Mesir Ahmad Syauqi Biq yang artinya "martabat sebuah bangsa tergantung budayanya ketika budayanya hancur maka bangsa akan hancur. Martabat sebuah bangsa bukan senjata bukan ekonominya yang pokok pertama martabat bangsa adalah budayanya".	The <i>bedug</i> [a big drum in the mosque] is an instrument of from Goyang Karawang tradition. By <i>kiai</i> [NU scholars] it was taken, the tradition was separated. Then, the drum was moved to the mosque to call people to pray. He is very smart. Disbelief and accusations of heresy against these traditions will be significant obstacles to the progress of culture in Indonesia. That's why I persuade all attendees and the entire Indonesian nation to develop the culture in Indonesia that we love. <i>Wa innamal umamul akhlakuma baqiyat fainhumu dzahabat akhlakuhum dzhabuu</i> . A poem from an Egyptian poet, Ahmad Syauqi Biq, which means that the dignity of a nation depends on its culture. When the culture is destroyed, the nation will be also. The dignity of a nation is not from their weaponry, not their economy, but their culture.
27	00:27:17 – 00:28:00	Hadirin yang saya hormati. Islam dan kebhinekaan. Manusia terlahir dari satu bapak satu ibu kemudian turun menurun menjadi banyak suku bangsa berbeda dalam warna kulit, bahasa, adat istiadat dan agama. Di negara	Ladies and Gentlemen. Islam and diversity. Humans are born from the same parents, descended into many different ethnic groups in various skin colors, languages, customs, and religions. In this beloved country, we

		tercinta ini saja kita memiliki ratusan suku, beragam agama dan kepercayaan yang resmi Islam, Katholik, Kristen, Hindu, Buddha, Konghucu; yang nggak resmi <i>Sapto Darmo, Dharmo gandul, Gotholoco, Sambelun, Subut, Parpalin, Kapitayan, Kaharingan, Sunda Wiwitan, Karuhunan</i> , masih banyak lagi. Kira-kira 20 ada. Dan ratusan bahasa bahkan tidak ada negara yang lebih beragam daripada Indonesia.	have hundreds of tribes, various religions, and official beliefs: Islam, Catholicism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism; the unofficial ones are <i>Sapto Darmo, Dharmo gandul, Gotholoco, Sambelun, Subut, Parpalin, Kapitayan, Kaharingan, Sunda Wiwitan, Karuhunan</i> and many more. There are about 20 unofficial beliefs and hundreds of languages and no country in the world is more diverse than Indonesia.
28	00:28:01 - 00:29:26	Rukun dalam Kebhinekaan ini harus terus kita jaga sebagai wujud dari implementasi ajaran agama juga sebagai komitmen anak bangsa untuk melanjutkan perjuangan para pendiri bangsa ini. Pada prinsipnya tidak ada agama yang menghendaki perpecahan, mengajarkan permusuhan mengajak saling bertikai. Karena itulah Islam memandang bahwa kebhinekaan ini merupakan tanda-tanda kebesaran Allah. Sekalipun Allah mampu, Allah tidak menjadikan segenap manusia secara seragam, melainkan beragam ini jelas sekali difirmankan oleh Allah. <i>Walau sya 'arabbuka laa amana fiil ardhi kulluhum jami 'ata afa 'antatukrihunna tahatta yakunu mukminin</i> , seandainya Allah menghendaki niscaya semua manusia diatas bumi, Islam semua, tapi Allah tidak menghendaki. Apakah kamu [muhammad] akan menggunakan kekerasan agar mereka Islam semua. Tidak boleh muhammad. Tujuan diciptakan manusia berbhineka ini bukan untuk saling menegasikan, saling berperang melainkan untuk saling mengenal, saling kolaborasi, taaruf saling bekerja sama, ta'awun untuk menjalankan amanah dan mandat Allah kepada manusia sebagai penguasa yang bertanggung jawab di muka bumi ini.	We must maintain this pillar of diversity as a manifestation of the implementation of dogma as well as the commitment of the nation's children to continue the struggle of their founders. In principle, there is no religion that teaches a breakup and hostility or persuades its people to conflict with each other. That's why Islam views that this diversity is a sign of the greatness of Allah. God is able to make all the same, but He does not. This is clearly stated by God. <i>Walau syaa 'arabbuka laa amana fiil ardhi kulluhum jami 'a afa 'antatukrihunna tahatta yakunu mukminin</i> , If Allah willed, surely all humans on earth, all Islam, but Allah does not will. Are you [muhammad] going to use violence to make them all Muslim. It can't be Muhammad. The purpose of creating this diverse human being is not to negate each other, fighting against each other. Otherwise, it is to get to know each other, collaborate with each other, cooperate with each other, <i>ta'awun</i> to carry out God's mandate and mandate to humans as responsible rulers on this earth.
29	00:29:27 – 00:29:48	Karena itulah, melalui forum ini saya ingin menegaskan bahwa Islam memberikan jaminan akan tumbuh kembangnya kebhinekaan. Maka dari itu, saya ingin mengajak seluruh pemuka agama untuk saling bergandengan tangan bekerja sama untuk menciptakan Indonesia dan dunia yang damai, tenteram dan aman.	Therefore, through this forum I would like to emphasize that Islam guarantees the growth and development of diversity. Therefore, I would like to invite all religious leaders to work together to create a peaceful, and secure Indonesia and world.
30	00:29:49 - 00:31:13	Bapak ibu sekalian. Islam dan negara. Sebagaimana yang telah disebutkan diawal pidato saya tadi bahwa akhir-akhir ini suara penolakan pancasila dan nafsu untuk menerapkan formalisasi syariat Islam dalam kehidupan bernegara atau yang kerap kita sebut dengan sebagai NKRI Bersyariah semakin hari semakin meningkat. Kelompok ini membangun argumen teologis dari jumlah ayat dan hadis. Salah satu ayat yang mereka selalu ungkapkan, <i>wamallam yahkum bima anzalallahu fa'ulaika humul kaffiirun</i> , [barang siapa tidak mengerjakan hukum Allah kaffiir, kalau kafir	Ladies and gentlemen. Islam and the state. As mentioned at the beginning of my speech, recently the voices of rejection to <i>Pancasila</i> and the desire to implement the formalization of Islamic law in state life or what we often refer to as the <i>Shari'ah</i> NKRI, are increasing day by day. This group builds theological arguments from a few verses and <i>Hadiths</i> . One of the verses that they always quote, <i>wamallam yahkum bima anzalallahu fa'ulaika humul kaffiirun</i> , [whoever does not obey Allah's law is a disbeliever]. A disbeliever is allowed to be

		<p>halal darahnya, boleh dibunuh]. Itu juga alasan Abdul Rahman bin Auf ketika membunuh Amirul Mukminin Sayyidina Ali bin Abi thalib. Ali dianggap tidak menjalankan hukum Islam, tapi selalu menggunakan musyawarah kalau memutuskan masalah dengan musyawarah. Maka berarti Ali menjadikan hasil manusia dijadikan hukum, Undang-undang itu tidak boleh bukan hukum Islam, kafir Ali ini. Aisyah kafir, Muawiyah Kafir, Thalhah Kafir, Zubar kafir, Amar bin Ash kafir, pokoknya obral kafir.</p>	<p>killed. That is also the reason Abdurrahman bin Auf killed the 'Amir Mukminin, Sayyidina Ali bin Abi Talib. Ali was considered not to carry out Islamic law, but he always applied a deliberation to solve the problems. Then it was interpreted that Ali has made human products into law. The constitution is not allowed because it is not Islamic law. Ali, Aisyah, Muawiyah, Talhah, Zubair, Amr bin Ash were infidels. Today, the infidel label is like to be "on sale".</p>
31	00:31:15 – 00:32:21	<p>Tidak hanya al Qur'an, kelompok ini juga mendasar argumen nya kepada hadis yang bunyinya <i>mankhala ayadan min tho'ati lakiyallah yaumal qiyamah walaa hujjatalah wamammata walaisa firunkihi bai'ah mata maitata jahiliyyah</i>, [barangsiapa mati tidak pernah bai'at kepada Amir maka mati jahiliyyah]. Dari Qur'an dan hadis nabi diatas dipahami sebagai kewajiban untuk menegakkan khilafah Islamiyah. Sebagai syarat untuk menerapkan syariat Islam. Saya tidak mengerti apakah kelompok ini lupa atau sengaja mengabaikan sejumlah fakta sejarah dan dalil-dalil lain tidak ada rujukan yang shahih perihal bagaimana modal kepemimpinan Islam, seperti: apa teknis pemilihannya dan bagaimana perannya. Setelah nabi Muhammad wafat mekanisme pemilihan pemimpin mulai dari Sayyidina Abu Bakar, Sayyidina Umar, sayyidina Utsman, Sayyidina Ali semua tidak sama proses pemilihannya.</p>	<p>Not only the Qur'an, but this group also bases its argument on the <i>Hadith</i> which reads: <i>mankhala ayadan min tho'ati lakiyallah yaumal qiyamah walaa hujjatalah wamammata walaisa firunkihi bai'ah mata maitata jahiliyyah</i>, Whoever dies never taking allegiance to the Amir, then he dies, <i>jahiliyyah</i>. From the Qur'an and the <i>Hadith</i> of the prophet above it is understood as an obligation to uphold the Islamic caliphate. As a condition for applying Islamic law. I don't understand whether this group forgot or intentionally ignored a few historical facts and other arguments, there is no valid reference about how the capital of Islamic leadership is, what the technical selection is and how an Islamic role is played. After the prophet Muhammad, the mechanisms for selecting leaders starting from Sayyidina Abu Bakr, Sayyidina Umar, Sayyidina Uthman, Sayyidina Ali, are all different.</p>
32	00:32:22 - 00:33:55	<p>Islam hanya memberikan prinsip-prinsip dasar bagaimana kepemimpinan dilakukan harus melindungi segenap warganya mengangkat harkat dan martabat bangsanya, menjamin pemenuhan hak-haknya. Karena itulah piagam Madinah memberikan perlindungan kepada kelompok agama dan etnis yang berbeda. <i>Bissmillahirrahmannirrahim hadza kitabun min muhammad, al muslimuna min quraisy wal muslimuna min yatsrib wal yahud waman tabi'aw wal hiqobihin wajahada wahum innahum ummatun wahidatun min duninnas</i>. Muslim pendatang, muslim pribumi dua suku Aus dan Hazr dan Yahudi dan Muslim asalkan sama satu tujuan cita-cita, visi misi maka sebenarnya semua adalah satu umat. Artinya nabi Muhammad SAW berabad-abad yang lalu telah berhasil membangun sebuah negara yang berdasarkan konstitusi kebersamaan, keadilan dan hak asasi manusia. Tidak berdasarkan konstitusi agama tidak berdasarkan kontitusi suku maka negaranya dinamakan Madinah. Bukan negara Islam, bukan negara Arab. Karena itulah setelah mengkaji sejumlah dalil baik dari Qur'an ataupun hadis maupun pandangan para ulama para kyai di Nusantara</p>	<p>Islam only provides basic principles of how leadership is carried out. It must protect all its citizens, elevate the dignity of the nation, ensure the fulfillment of their rights. That's why the Medina charter provided protection to different religious and ethnic groups. [In the name of Allah, the most merciful, this is a charter from Muhammad, among the believers and Muslims (who came from) from Quraish and Yathrib (Medina), and who followed them, joined themselves and fought with them]. Migrant Muslims, indigenous Muslims, the two tribes of Aus and Hazr, as well as Jews and Muslims, as long as they share one goal, then all of them are one <i>Ummah</i>. This means that the prophet Muhammad SAW centuries ago has succeeded in building a country based on the constitution of togetherness, justice, and human rights. It is not based on a religious constitution, it is not based on an ethnic constitution, then the country is called Medina. Not an Islamic country, not Arab. For this reason, after studying a few arguments, both from the Qur'an and <i>Hadith</i>, as well as the views of the scholars,</p>

		ini tidak mempersalahkan bentuk negara kesatuan republik Indonesia ini.	all the <i>kyais</i> in the archipelago did not blame the form of the unitary state of the republic of Indonesia.
33	00:33:56 - 00:35:00	Pancasila ini, dijadikan dasar negara sama sekali tidak bertentangan dengan dasar-dasar Islam. Sila pertama yang berbunyi ketuhanan yang maha esa berkaitan dengan prinsip tauhid yang terdapat di sejumlah ayat-ayat al Qur'an. Cari sendiri ayat al Qur'annya. Sila kedua, kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab jelas sekali bahwa Islam turun untuk mengangkat derajat manusia. Salah satu ayat yang terkait dengan kemanusiaan ini adalah surat An Nahl ayat 90. Begitu juga dengan sila ketiga, persatuan Indonesia. Islam sangat melarang keras adanya perpecahan bahkan Islam membolehkan memerangi kelompok separatis <i>wal murjifuna fil Madinatil lanughriyan naka minhum tsumma la yujawiruna kafira ila qalilla</i> . Muhammad, orang-orang bikin ribut bikin gaduh di kota Madinah usir Muhammad. <i>Wal murjifuna fil Madinatil lanughrinariyan naka minhum tsumma la yujawiruna kafira ila qalilla</i> . Jangan biarkan hidup Bersama kamu di Madinah.	<i>Pancasila</i> had been used as the basis of the state and it does not contradict the Islamic principles. The first precept which reads that there is one God is related to the principle of monotheism contained in a few verses of the Qur'an. Just find the verses by yourself. The second precept is a just and civilized humanity. It is clear that Islam came down to elevate the human status. One of the verses related to this humanity is the letter <i>An Nahl</i> verse 90. Likewise, the third principle, the unity of Indonesia. Islam strictly prohibits the existence of divisions, even Islam allows fighting of the separatist group <i>wal murjifuna fil Madinatil lanughriyan naka minhum tsumma la yujawiruna kafira ila qalilla</i> . Muhammad, the people who made a fuss in Medina city, expel them, Muhammad. <i>Wal murjifuna fil Madinatil lanughrinariyan naka minhum tsumma la yujawiruna kafira ila qalilla</i> . Don't let them live with you in Medina.
34	00:35:02 - 00:36:02	Begitu juga dengan sila keempat, Islam sangat menjunjung tinggi prinsip musyawarah untuk memutuskan beragam persoalan sebagai firman Allah <i>wa amruhum syurabainahum wa imma razaqnahum yunfikum</i> . Dalam hadis diriwayatkan oleh at Tirmidzi, Rasul bersabda, <i>maraaitu ahadan akhtara masyuratinnasabi min rasulillah SAW</i> . Saya tidak pernah melihat seseorang yang paling banyak bermusyawarah dengan para sahabatnya dibanding Rasulullah itu sendiri. Rasulullah orang atau pemimpin yang paling rajin musyawarah dengan para sahabatnya. Sila kelima, yang berbunyi keadilan bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia juga tidak bertentangan dengan al Qur'an dan hadis. NU dalam rentetan sejarah telah menegaskan komitmen hubungan Islam dan Negara. Atau antar Islam dan demokrasi sebagai contoh NU turut serta dalam menghapus tujuh kata piagam Jakarta.	The fourth precept, Islam highly upholds the principle of deliberation to decide various issues as the word of Allah <i>wa amruhum syurabainahum wa imma razaqnahum yunfikum</i> . In the <i>Hadith</i> narrated by at Tirmidhi, the Prophet said, <i>maraaitu ahadan akhtara masyuratinnasabi min rasulillah SAW</i> . I have never seen a person who often had discussions with his companions than the Prophet himself. The fifth precept, justice for all Indonesian people, is not contrary to the Qur'an and <i>Hadith</i> . NU in its long history has affirmed its commitment to the relationship between Islam and the State, or between Islam and democracy, for example, NU has been among the parties which removed the seven words from the Jakarta Charter.
35	00:36:04 – 00:37:43	Ini ada ceritanya ini, rapat BPUPKI tanggal 18 Agustus 1945, setelah ada tujuh kata piagam Jakarta saudara-saudara sebangsa dan setanah air yang dari Indonesia Timur menolak, keberatan kalau dipaksakan saya keluar dari NKRI. Maka K.H Wahid Hasyim pulang ke Tebu Ireng karena belum ada WA. Menghadap ayah handanya K.H Hasyim Ashari menceritakan keadaan sidang BPUPKI. Kyai Hasyim Ashari menjawab saya nanti malam <i>istikhoroh</i> dulu, sholat dulu, minta petunjuk pada Allah. Besoknya kyai Hasyim menjawab wahid saya setuju, tujuh kata itu dihilangkan. Kenapa karena yang penting Indonesia Bersatu	There is a story behind the BPUPKI meeting on August 18, 1945, after the seven words was read on the Jakarta charter, our brothers from East Indonesia refused. They objected about it very much. They even threatened not to be a part of NKRI, leaving the Republic of Indonesia. So, K.H Wahid Hasyim went back to Tebu Ireng because there was no WA at the time. He met his father, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, telling the situation at the BPUPKI session. Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari replied, "I would do <i>istikhoroh</i> tonight, praying first, to ask Allah for guidance." The next day Kiai Hasyim



		dulu, kuat dulu, bicara Islam nanti kita dakwahkan kita sebar, kita perjuangkan Islam itu diatas tanah air yang kuat. Diatas tanah air yang kokoh. Kalau belum -belum sudah bicara Syariat seperti Afganistan, Ketika menghadapi Soviet Bersatu, begitu Soviet pergi mereka pecah karena ada kelompok yang ingin segera Negara Islam ada yang tidak. Negaranya belum kuat perang saudara terjadi 40 tahun, 100% muslim, 95% sunni, 5% syiah. Maunya terus perang entah sampai kapan.	answered, "I agree that the seven words should be omitted. Why? It is very important that Indonesia must be united and strong first. Later, we talk about Islam, we will spread it. We will fight for Islam on a strong and solid homeland." If you haven't done anything, you've already talked about <i>Shari'ah</i> like Afghanistan. As they faced the Soviets they United. But once they got their independence, they just broke apart. Because there are groups who want an Islamic state immediately, others disagree. The country has not yet been strong enough. They have been in a civil war for 40 years. They are 100% Muslims, (95% Sunni, 5% Shia). They're always in a battle.
36	00:37:44 – 00:38:27	NU dalam rentetan sejarah menegaskan komitmen hubungan Islam dengan negara atau antar Islam dan Demokrasi sebagai contoh NU turut serta dalam menghapus tujuh kata dalam Piagam Jakarta dan menerima Asas Tunggal Pancasila, hubungan Islam dan negara adalah kompatibel bukan alternatif. Hubungan Islam dan negara dalam hal Demokrasi adalah saling menguatkan untuk kemaslahatan Bersama <i>marsalih mursalah</i> . Islam bukan merupakan system spesifik yang menolak sistem yang lain, kedepan dalam percaturan ditingkat nasional, regional dan internasional kita mengaskan posisi seperti demikian itu.	NU has affirmed the commitment to the relationship between Islam and the state or between Islam and democracy. For example, NU participating in deleting the seven words in the Jakarta Charter and accepting the single principle of Pancasila. The relationship between Islam and the state is complementary, not an alternative to each other. The relationship between the two in terms of democracy is mutually reinforcing for the common good, <i>marsalih mursalah</i> . Islam is not a specific system that rejects other systems. In the future at the national, regional, and international levels we will always affirm such a position.
37	00:38:28 - 00:39:42	Islam dijalankan di Indonesia merupakan representasi visi <i>rahmatan lil 'alamin</i> . Kita menjadi representasi dari komitmen dan sikap beragama yang menekankan moderasi toleransi dan perdamaian. Peradaban yang dibangun negara Islam di dunia kedepan akan merujuk kepada praktik beragama yang kita laksanakan di Indonesia yakni praktik beragama yang sangat menghargai keberagaman dan kebudayaan. Ini yang sering disebut sebagai Islam Nusantara, bukan mazhab bukan aliran baru tapi tipologi masyarakat nusantara. Islam Nusantara, bukan aliran, bukan sekte atau mazhab baru yang dikembangkan di Indonesia. Islam Nusantara adalah Islam Yang diamalkan didakwahkan dan dikembangkan sesuai karakteristik masyarakat dan budaya di Nusantara. Sepanjang tidak bertentangan dengan syariat Islam. Kita dapat mencontohkan bagaimana Islam bisa masuk dalam budaya Indonesia seperti penggunaan <i>Bedug</i> untuk penanda waktu sholat. Bedug semula merupakan alat musik kemudian diterima para alim ulama kegunaannya diganti untuk memulai waktu sholat.	Islam practised in Indonesia is a representation of the vision on how to be merciful to the universe. We are a representation of religious commitment and attitude that emphasizes moderation, tolerance, and peace. The civilization built by Islamic countries in the future will refer to the religious practices that we have carried out here. That is a religious practice that respects diversity and culture. This is well known as Islam Nusantara. It is not a new school (-ism), but a typology of the people of the archipelago. Islam Nusantara is not an -ism, not a new sect or <i>mazhab</i> which is developed here. Islam Nusantara is the one practised, preached, and developed according to the characteristics of society and culture in the archipelago. As long as it is not against Islamic law. We can give an example of how Islam can be included in Indonesian culture such as in the use of drums [ <i>bedug</i> ] to mark prayer times. The drum was originally a musical instrument, then accepted by the Islamic scholars, its use was changed to start prayer times.
38	00:39:43 – 00:41:19	Islam Nusantara juga menyatu dengan Nasionalisme. Nasionalisme harus diberikan semangat Islam. Ini yang diajarkan Hadratus	Islam Nusantara is also integrated with nationalism. Nationalism must be given the spirit of Islam. This is what Hadratus Syeikh

		<p>Syeikh K.H Hasyim Asy'ari <i>Hubbul wathon minnal iman</i>. Artinya [nasionalisme adalah bagian dari Iman]. K.H Hasyim Asy'ari ulama nasionalis. Presiden Jokowi nasionalis santri. Kiai Ma'ruf Amin santri nasionalis. Oleh karena itu, kita Bersama-sama harus mendorong praktik Islam Indonesia agar menjadi rujukan keberagaman di dunia. Bukan hanya kepada negara-negara muslim dunia namun juga kepada negara-negara non muslim yang menerapkan sistem demokrasi. Saat ini, kita dapat berbangga menjadi negara demokrasi terbesar di dunia. Pelaksanaan pemilu yang rumit diantara berita-berita yang cenderung mengedepankan pola post-truth dan ujaran kebencian. <i>Alhamdulillah</i>. Tetap dapat dilaksanakan sengan damai, menghasilkan pilihan rakyat yang demokratis, mengapa ini bisa terjadi? Atas berkat rahmat Allah dan didorong oleh keinginan luhur yang mendasarkan kepada komitmen dan praktek keislaman yang moderat, toleran dan damai. Keadaan demikian, akan menjadi pusat belajar demokrasi terhadap negara-negara demokrasi yang lain. Yang justru menghasilkan pemimpin produksi Hoaks, berita dan opini bohong. Indonesia adalah negara dengan penduduk muslim terbesar di dunia yang telah menunjukkan bukti adanya hubungan agama dengan negara yang harmonis, kokoh dan saling menguatkan.</p>	<p>K.H Hasyim Asy'ari taught, <i>nationalism is part of faith</i>. K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari is a nationalist cleric. President Jokowi is a <i>santri</i> nationalist. Kiai Ma'ruf Amin, a <i>santri</i> nationalist. Therefore, together we must encourage the practice of Indonesian Islam to become a religious reference in the world. Not only to Muslim countries in the world but also to non-Muslim countries that implement a democratic system. Today, we can be proud to be the largest democracy in the world. The implementation of a complicated election that has fragmented the nation tends to prioritize the post-truth pattern and hate speech.</p> <p><i>Thanks to God</i>. It can still be carried out peacefully, resulting in a democratic people's choice, why is this happening? By the grace of Allah and driven by a noble desire based on Islamic commitments and practices that are moderate, tolerant, and peaceful. This situation will become a center for learning democracy for other democratic countries. The democratic practices have only resulted in a leadership from hoax, and fake news and opinions. Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world which has shown evidence of a harmonious, strong, and mutually reinforcing relationship between religion and the state.</p>
39	00:41:20 – 00:42:10	<p>Dan karena itu, kita akan menjadi rujukan dunia yang sesungguhnya. Tidak kurang setiap tamu yang datang ke kantor PBNU selalu bertanya tentang Islam Nusantara baik kedutaan Eropa, Amerika, Australia, Timur Tengah, Asia semuanya bertanya tentang Islam Nusantara. Ketika saya pergi ke Jepang, menyampaikan tentang Islam Nusantara langsung setelah selesai saya berbicara 14 orang masuk Islam. Ketika di Hongkong di Medan Victoria saya berbicara tentang Islam Nusantara, selesai dari khutbah 2 orang masuk Islam. Mereka berdua mendengarkan ceramah saya dengan sungguh-sungguh diterjemahkan oleh TKW-nya.</p>	<p>In sum, we will become a real-world reference. Every guest coming to the PBNU office always asks about Islam Nusantara; they are from European, American, Australian, Middle Eastern, and Asian embassies. They always ask about Islam Nusantara. When I went to Japan, I elaborated on Islam Nusantara. Right after I finished my speech, 14 people converted to Islam. When I was in Hong Kong in Medan Victoria, I talked about Islam Nusantara. After the sermon 2 people converted to Islam. They listened to my lecture earnestly, translated by their female Indonesian workers.</p>
40	00:42:10 - 00:43:17	<p><i>Walhasil</i>, pandangan Islam tentang kebudayaan, negara dan kebhinekaan secara tepat akan menjadi modal penting dalam membangun Islam Indonesia sebagai rujukan dunia. Dan saya yakin seyakin-yakinnya santri-santri yang dilahirkan dan ditempa di pesantren memiliki pemahaman tentang Islam, kebudayaan, negara, kebhinekaan yang tepat hingga dipundak santrilah masa depan Indonesia ini berada. Santri akan menerima tanggung jawab di masa yang akan datang. Contoh, setiap ada demonstrasi apalagi sampai chaos sampai bakar-bakar, yakin dibelakangnya bukan santri.</p>	<p>As a result, the Islamic view of culture, state and diversity will correctly become an important capital in building Indonesian Islam as the world reference. And I am absolutely sure that the students who are born and forged in the <i>pesantren</i> have the right understanding of Islam, culture, country, diversity so that it is on their shoulders that the future of Indonesia lies. <i>Santri</i> will accept responsibility in the future. For example, every time there is a demonstration that leads to chaos and burnings, there must be no <i>santri</i> behind it.</p>

		Silahkan kalau ada buktikan dibelakangnya ada kyai atau santri lapor ke saya. Setiap ada demonstrasi ribut-ribut dibelakangnya actor tertua nya bukan kyai bukan santri, pasti itu udah saya jamin. Karena kita nggak punya uang. Daripada untuk demo lebih baik untuk makan.	Please, if you find different evidence. If you find <i>santri</i> and <i>kyai</i> there, just report to me. If there is a chaotic demonstration, the actors can't be a <i>kyai</i> , or <i>santri</i> . I do guarantee that. Because we don't have money for doing such a demo. We'd be better to use the money for food.
41	00:43:18 - 00:44:06	Nilai-nilai yang selama ini dimiliki oleh seperti integritas, kejujuran, Amanah, akhlaqul karimah akan menjadi modal penting dalam menyongsong Indonesia Emas pada tahun 2045. Tentunya saya berpesan santri harus terus mengembangkan tradisi kreatif, inovatif dan berfikir kritis, karena itulah melalui mimbar ini saya ingin menghimbau kepada bapak dan ibu semua untuk melibatkan santri menjadi subjek aktif dalam seluruh proses pembangunan bangsa dan negara. Santri mewarisi legacy yang ditinggalkan oleh para ulama diabad keemasan Islam. Karena itu, kebangkitan Indonesia dan Islam akan sangat ditentukan oleh kiprah dan peranan kaum santri.	The values we have like integrity, honesty, trustworthiness, <i>akhlaqul karimah</i> [noble characters] will be an important capital in welcoming Indonesia as Gold in 2045. Of course, I advise students to continue to develop creative, innovative, and critical thinking traditions. That is why through this pulpit I want to appeal to all attendees to involve students as active subjects in the entire process of nation and state development. <i>Santri</i> inherit the legacy left by the Islamic scholars in the golden age of Islam. Therefore, the rise of Indonesia and Islam will be largely determined by their roles.
42	00:44:07 - 00:45:24	Menuju tahun 2045 kita juga menghadapi tantangan revolusi industri 4.0. Di era ini kita bisa mendapatkan manfaat yang besar tetapi juga berpeluang mendapat efek negative. Menjadikan manusia terperangkap sebagai objek kemajuan teknologi dan informasi. Kemajuan teknologi dan informasi dapat mengurangi hubungan dan kedekatan <i>habblumminannas</i> . Oleh karena itu, kita harus menyuarakan central humanity 5.0 yaitu manusia harus hadir mengendalikan teknologi bukan manusia sebaliknya menjadi budak teknologi. Santri memiliki modal yang besar untuk mendorong manusia tetap sebagai pusat sentral atas kemajuan teknologi dan informasi. Santri memiliki mekanisme agar hubungan antar manusia tetap kuat dan kokoh, diantaranya: <i>tahlilan, yasinan, dan mauludan</i> . Di dalam tradisi keberagaman tersebut teknologi dan informasi merupakan instrument bukan tujuan dengan demikian seluruh produk peradaban diarahkan untuk menguatkan kualitas kemanusiaan kita.	Coming forward to 2045 we also face the challenges of the industrial revolution 4.0. In this era, we can gain great benefits but are also prone to negative effects. It may trap humans as objects of technological and information advancement. Advances in technology and information can reduce the relationship and closeness of <i>habblumminannas</i> [social relations]. Therefore, we must voice out that the central humanity 5.0, namely humans must be present to control technology. Not the other way around, humans become the slaves to technology. <i>Santri</i> have a large capital to encourage people to remain as the center of technological and information advancement. <i>Santri</i> have a mechanism so that relationships between humans remain strong and solid, including <i>tahlilan, yasinan, and mauludan</i> . In this religious tradition, technology and information are just instruments. They don't make the goals. All products of civilization are oriented to strengthen the quality of our humanity.
43	00:45:26 - 00:46:05	<i>Tahlilan, Mauludan, Barzanji</i> itu merupakan media rekonsiliasi <i>level grassroot</i> dengan cost yang sangat murah. Ya paling-paling <i>Berkat</i> lah. Selamat Hari Santri 22 Oktober 2019, Santri Unggul Indonesia Makmur.  <i>Syukron wa dumtum fil khaori wal barakati wannajah</i> [Terima kasih, mudah-mudahan kalian senantiasa dalam kebaikan dan keberkahan serta kesuksesan], <i>Wallahulmuwafiq ilaa aqwamiththariq</i> [Allah adalah Dzat yang memberi petunjuk ke jalan lurus]	<i>Tahlilan, Mauludan, Barzanji</i> are reconciliation media for the grassroot, spending only a little cost. <i>Yeah</i> , they only need small food [ <i>berkat</i> , term in NU tradition]. Happy <i>Santri</i> day October 22, 2019, excellent <i>Santri</i> for a Prosperous Indonesia.  <i>Syukron wa dumtum fil khoiri wal barakati wan najah</i> [Thank you very much, may you all always be in good condition and full of blessings and success]. <i>Wallahulmuwafiq ilaa aqwamiththariq</i>

		<p><i>Wassalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.</i> [Semoga keselamatan dan rahmat Allah serta keberkahan-Nya terlimpah juga kepada kalian].</p>	<p>[Allah is the One who guides to the straight path].</p> <p><i>Wassalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.</i> [May peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you].</p>
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