

Indonesian-Arabic Code-Switching on Instagram: Linguistic Forms and Ideological Constructs of Salafi and Nahdlatul Ulama

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Abstract—Arabic-Indonesian code-switching on Instagram illustrates dynamic bilingual practices within Islamic communities, yet often fuels ideological contestation in Indonesia, occasionally erroneously linked to radicalism by state authorities. This study examines the linguistic forms and ideological dimensions of code-switching among Salafi (@muslimorid) and Nahdlatul Ulama (@nuonline_id) communities, using a sociolinguistic approach that combines code-switching theory, Islamic ideological frameworks, and critical discourse analysis to explore language structures and power relations. Through a qualitative-comparative design, 366 Instagram posts and comments were examined using Spradley’s ethnographic method, which systematically analyzes domains, taxonomies, componential analysis, and cultural themes, and Sudaryanto’s distributional method, which examines frequency and distribution of linguistic units. Findings identify seven code-switching forms: textual segment switching, clause-level switching, non-hybrid phrase switching, hybrid phrase switching, non-hybrid lexical insertion, hybrid lexical insertion, and formulaic insertion. Code-switching in Salafi and NU digital discourse reflects ideological orientations, with Salafi favoring hybrid phrases and formulaic insertions emphasizing personal identity, while NU primarily uses non-hybrid phrases and lexical insertions linked to fiqh and classical texts. This study affirms code-switching as a discursive map of religious ideology with global implications for discourse studies, Arabic language pedagogy, and inclusive digital Islamic outreach strategies.

Index Terms—code-switching, Instagram, Islamic ideology, Salafi, Nahdlatul Ulama

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, the globe’s largest Muslim-majority country, is home to a spectrum of Islamic ideologies, ranging from the scriptural puritanism of Salafism to the inclusive traditionalism of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the nation’s leading Islamic organization (Hamzah et al., 2025; Solahudin & Fakhruroji, 2020). These ideologies shape distinct linguistic practices on social media. The interplay of Arabic and Indonesian through code-switching on Instagram emerges as a significant sociolinguistic feature, underscoring the sacred status of Arabic within Islamic devotional practices (Barik & Lestari, 2019; Mahdi & Sahari, 2024; Tahir, 2015) and marks organizational identities (Edres, 2021). For example, Salafi groups frequently use Arabic pronouns such as *anā* (‘I’) and *antum* (‘you’, plural) in Instagram greetings (Karisma & Tety, 2018), whereas NU often incorporates the phrase *wallāhu al-muwaffiq ilā aqwam al-ṭarīq* (‘may Allah guide to the most upright path’) in its captions (Syafiq, 2025).

The incorporation of Arabic in code-switching among Salafi and NU communities on Instagram functions both as an indicator of Islamic identity and as a arena for ideological contention within digital communication (Zuhriyah & Rohimah, 2024). Such practices resonate with patterns in other religions, including English–African language alternation in Christianity (Joubert, 2008), Indonesian and Balinese in Hinduism (Widanta & Budiarsa, 2016), or Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic in Judaism (Wagner & Connolly, 2018), Arabic–Indonesian code-switching on Instagram reflects broader patterns of linguistic identity construction within digital religious discourse. In the Indonesian context, linguistic choice reflects the diversity of Islamic groups, each distinguished by ideological orientations and communicative strategies (Nihaya, 2012). Broadly, Salafi and NU represent two contrasting currents: a fundamentalist

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orientation versus a traditionalist approach (Solahudin & Fakhruroji, 2020). Demographically, NU commands a majority base of 157.9 million members, or 56.9% of the national population (Hamidi, 2025). Salafi communities, though less quantifiable due to discreet affiliations, sustain Islamic educational networks across 13 provinces and have gained notable traction among youth, especially university students in secular settings (TIM PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2025).

Arabic-Indonesian code-switching by Salafi and NU communities illustrates identity affirmation and ideological dissemination on Instagram, yet elicits diverse interpretations. For Arabic educators and Arab descendants, it reflects Indonesia's bilingual context (Al-Saqqaf & Karim, 2022). However, state intelligence associates it with terrorism, sparking protests among Muslim academics (Wahab, 2021). Mapping code-switching forms demonstrates the need to counter negative generalizations, promoting cautious Islamic communication to mitigate stigma (Osipov & Salieva, 2020). Based on these issues and their urgency, and to address these misperceptions while fostering informed linguistic practices, this study maps the forms and ideological underpinnings of Arabic-Indonesian code-switching by Salafi and NU communities on Instagram, guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the forms of code-switching practiced by the Salafi and NU groups on Instagram?
2. What are the Islamic ideologies underlying the code-switching practices of the Salafi and NU groups on Instagram?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Code-switching refers to the process of alternating between languages within a single conversation, driven by specific situational motivations (Gumperz, 1964). Beyond inter-language alternation (external code-switching), code-switching also occurs within a single language (internal code-switching) (Suwito, 1996; Wardhaugh, 1986). In the context of Arabic as spoken by Indonesian communities, code-switching predominantly involves alternations between Arabic and Indonesian (Robiansyah et al., 2023), or regional languages such as Javanese, Madurese, and Sundanese (Fatawi, 2019; Kurniasih & Zuhriyah, 2017), however, research on internal Arabic code-switching in Indonesia is limited, as existing studies focus on linguistic structures while overlooking variations and stylistic shifts. From a structural perspective, Sakti (2020), drawing on Haugen's (1953) and Poplack's (1980) framework, categorizes Arabic-Indonesian code-switching into inter-sentential and intra-sentential forms. Inter-sentential code-switching, as noted by Nopriansyah et al. (2024), includes words, phrases, and clauses, as well as entire sentences (Husnah & Zaini, 2022). Meanwhile, research on Arabic-Indonesian code-mixing, such as tags or insertions at the end of utterances (which do not alter sentence structure) and word-internal mixing, remains absent (Yusuf et al., 2020). Yet, these types of code-switching are highly likely to occur in the concise and practical communication patterns characteristic of social media platforms like Instagram.

In addition to structural analyses, studies on Arabic-Indonesian code-switching have also explored situational and metaphorical dimensions (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Situational switching reflects context-driven motivations, such as habitual practice, limited Arabic proficiency, speaker background, and lexical gaps (Husnah & Zaini, 2022; Sakti, 2020; Sani et al., 2023). Metaphorical, or functional, switching illustrates the purposes behind bilingual alternation, including signaling academic competence, adopting colloquial styles, engaging interlocutors, fostering intimacy, and supporting Islamic proselytization (Rufaidah et al., 2021; Sakti, 2020). Tawwab and Eldin (2014), further highlight Arabic code-switching on social media for audience accommodation, message clarification, emphasis, emotional expression, and comprehension, showing its role in shaping digital Islamic communication.

Beyond its forms, reasons, and functions, code-switching also serves as a marker of the user's identity (Altaqani et al., 2024; Wijaya, 2017). Albirini's (2011) study on the variation between Standard Arabic and dialectal Arabic demonstrates that code-switching between these varieties can signify social class distinctions, such as low or high status, as well as speakers' affiliations with pan-Islamic identities, referring to a shared sense of Muslim unity across national boundaries. This is also supported by Nashif (2013), who finds that Arab media engaging in Arabic-English code-mixing help shape postcolonial Arab identities, and indirectly by Thomas and Wareing (2004), who note that social groups use specialized terms to assert identity, differentiate themselves, or label others. In addition to identity, code-switching can also reflect the ideology of an individual or group. Moody and Eslami (2020) find that Senator Tim Kaine's English-Spanish code-switching strategically built political support, alliances, and highlighted cultural ties with bilingual voters.

In the case of Arabic, code-switching, whether in form or variation, also carries ideological dimensions. For instance, in parts of the Middle East, where Arabic is a national language, Standard Arabic (*fushā*) is often regarded as a divinely chosen variety that must be preserved (Kamusella, 2017), while colloquial Arabic (*'āmmiyah*) is viewed as a temporal, everyday variant and, in some perspectives, sometimes perceived as a tool "of Western influence to challenge Islamic traditions" (Luthfi, 2020, p. 5). This phenomenon is termed linguistic ideology, Language ideology illustrates beliefs and practices shaping Arabic speakers' language use, reflecting broader Islamic ideologies beyond mere identity. In Indonesia, Arabic code-switching varies across diverse Islamic communities, notably Salafi and NU, embodying distinct doctrinal values. Additionally, Indonesian e-commerce entrepreneurs leverage Arabic theological terms (e.g., *ḥalāl*, lawful) for *da'wah* (Islamic propagation) and profit, demonstrating code-switching as a politico-economic tool in digital Islamic communication (Nawas et al., 2023).

Arabic-Indonesian code-switching on Instagram illuminates ideological dimensions largely overlooked in prior studies. Although this study focuses on code-switching, it employs Fairclough’s (2009) critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine how code-switching practices within Salafi and NU communities reflect contrasting ideologies. By using CDA to investigate linguistic choices and utilizing established typologies to categorize Indonesian-Arabic code-switching patterns, this study attempts to address existing knowledge regarding ideological dynamics in Indonesian digital Islamic discourse, offering a unique contribution to sociolinguistic studies, particularly code-switching.

III. METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative-comparative approach, namely examining and contrasting the Arabic code-switching practices of two Islamic communities in Indonesia, namely Salafi and NU with an inductive model derived from online data (Bungin, 2006; Creswell & Poth, 2017). This dataset includes textual elements in Instagram menus such as captions (post descriptions), text embedded in images (visual overlays), and comments (user responses)—sourced from @muslimorid (Salafi, with over 759,000 followers) and @nuonline_id (NU, with over 1.4 million followers) during February 2025 and collected in June–July 2025. Accounts were selected for ideological fidelity (verified via content audits) and discursive influence (follower metrics). Analysis excluded Instagram videos, reels, collaborations, and their associated comments, prioritizing text-based features with Arabic-Indonesian alternations to ensure analytical focus. All 3,908 posts and comments (3,692 NU; 216 Salafi) were examined, with only those exhibiting Arabic-Indonesian or Indonesian-Arabic code-switching analyzed. Ethical protocols followed Association of Internet Researchers (2019) guidelines: public data required no consent, with comments anonymized to preclude identifiability. Limitations include textual focus and platform ephemerality, necessitating longitudinal triangulation.

The data were analyzed using Spradley’s (1979) ethnographic method through four sequential techniques: domain (focusing on Arabic–Indonesian code-switching), taxonomy (classifying the forms of code-switching and underlying ideology), componential analysis (conducting in-depth analysis of each component), and cultural themes (extracting overarching patterns). This analysis was reinforced with Sudaryanto’s (2015) distributional method to break the data into internal units—words, phrases, clauses, or discourses—and to examine the frequency and distribution of each code-switching type. Each form was then categorized according to its register before being analyzed using Fairclough’s CDA (2009) to identify the ideological orientations of the Salafi and NU communities. The findings were presented in two formats: formally through descriptive exposition and informally through textual highlighting. In the informal presentation, bold formatting indicated the objects under analysis, while double quotation marks (“”) were used to reproduce original Instagram posts or comments without any modification by the researcher (Sudaryanto, 2015).

IV. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

A. Forms of Arabic-Indonesian Code-Switching by NU and Salafi

A corpus of 3,908 Instagram posts and comments (3,692 NU via @nuonline_id; 216 Salafi via @muslimorid) in February 2025 was examined, with 366 posts and comments (315 NU; 51 Salafi) exhibiting Arabic-Indonesian. All instances involved Indonesian-to-Arabic shifts, using Latin transliteration or Arabic script, yielding 1,023 code-switching cases (523 NU; 500 Salafi) after achieving motif saturation. Seven forms were identified: non-hybrid phrase switching, non-hybrid lexical insertion, hybrid phrase switching, hybrid lexical insertion, formulaic insertion, textual segment switching, and clause-level switching (absent in NU, present in Salafi). Table 1 details the distribution:

TABLE 1
FORMS OF INDOONESIAN-ARABIC CODE-SWITCHING BY NU AND SALAFI

No.	Code Switching Form	NU	Salafi
1	Non-hybrid phrase switching	141	97
2	Non-hybrid lexical insertion	174	100
3	Hybrid phrase switching	26	119
4	Hybrid lexical insertion	24	2
5	Formulaic insertion	132	175
6	Textual segment switching	26	6
7	Clause-level switching	0	1
	Total	523	500

Non-hybrid phrase switching refers to code-switching within a single Indonesian sentence, in which an Arabic phrase is used intact without being combined with Indonesian elements. This phrase is nominal in form, which in Arabic can be *tarkīb idāfī* (possessive phrases), *tarkīb ‘atfī* (conjunctive phrases), *tarkīb badalī* (substitutive phrases), *tarkīb na ‘tī* (adjective phrases), or *jār al-majrūr* (prepositional phrases). In the Instagram data of both groups, no non-hybrid phrase switching was found in the form of *tarkīb fi ‘lī* (verbal phrases), *tarkīb ‘adadī* (numeral phrases), or *tarkīb zarfī* (adverbial phrases).

(1) NU “**Mu’asarah bil** **Ma’ruf** (Interaksi yang Baik) Berinteraksi dengan cara yang baik dan penuh penghormatan”
N_Ar. Prep_Ar. N_Ar. NP_Ind. V_Ind. PP_Ind. Conj_Ind. NP_Ind.

	NP_Ar.						
	Subject		(Translation Ind.)	Predicate	Complement		
	<i>Mu'āsyyarah bi-l-ma'rūf</i> [interaction with propriety]: appropriate social interaction carried out with kindness and full respect.						
(2)	“Apakah masih layak disebut	Ulil	Amri	seorang yang melaksanakan program egois	makan gratis terus dan ribuan orang yang mencari nafkah di PHK”		
Salafi		N_Ar.	N_Ar.				
	VP_Ind.	NP_Ar.		NP_Ind.	NP_Ind.		
	Predicate			Subject	Object		
	Is it still appropriate to call someone <i>ulī al-amr</i> [those in authority] who implements a self-serving program [consisting of] [continuous] free meal distributions and [the dismissal of] thousands of people who earn a living?						
	Abbreviations: N = noun; NP = noun phrase; V = verb; VP = verb phrase; PP = prepositional phrase; Conj = conjunction; Prep = preposition; Ind = Indonesian; Ar = Arabic.						

Non-hybrid phrase switching, as shown in Data 1 (NU), illustrates *mu'āsyyarah bi-l-ma'rūf* as a noun phrase subject in a declarative Indonesian clause with affixed predicates *berinteraksi*. Data 2 (Salafi) employs *ulī al-amr* as a nominal predicate in an interrogative structure with Indonesian relative clauses. Indonesian provides the syntactic frame, embedding uninflected Arabic phrases, demonstrating distinct syntactic roles at the phrasal level.

Non-hybrid lexical insertion denotes code-switching where an Arabic lexical item is inserted intact into a predominantly Indonesian sentence, without modification or integration with Indonesian morphological or syntactic elements. Such insertions typically involve *ism* (nominals) or *ṣifah* (adjectives). In the Instagram data from both groups, no instances of non-hybrid lexical insertion were observed in the form of *fi'l* (verbs), *'atf* (conjugated), *'adad* (numerals), or *zarf* (adverbs).

(3)	NU	“Disebut malam yang diberkati	(Mubarakah)	Karena di turun	rahmat, keberkahan, kebaikan, dan pengampunan	bagi manusia, jin, dan penduduk bumi yang lain”
		VP_Ind. NP_Ind. RelCl_Ind.	Adj_Ar.	Sub_Ind. PP_Ind.	VP_Ind. KoordNP_Ind.	PP_Ind.
		Predicate Subject	Appositive	Complement		
		It is called a blessed night (<i>mubārahah</i>) because in it descends mercy, blessing, goodness, and forgiveness for [the benefit of] humans, jinn, and other inhabitants of the earth.				
(4)	Salafi	“Berkumpul-kumpul di malam tersebut	untuk menghidupkan masjid-masjid	adalah	Bid'ah	
		VP_Ind. PP_Ind.	PP_Ind.	Copula_Ind.	N_Ar.	
		Subject		Predicate	Complement	
		Congregating on that night to revive the mosques is <i>bid'ah</i> .				

Additional abbreviations: RelCl = relative clause; Sub = subordinate clause; KoordNP = coordinated noun phrase, Adj = adjective.

Non-hybrid lexical insertion, as shown in Data 3 (NU), illustrates *mubārahah* (adjective) as a complement in a declarative Indonesian clause with the predicate *disebut* and affixes *di-* and relative marker *yang*. Data 4 (Salafi) employs *bid'ah* (noun) as a nominal predicate in an interrogative structure with a copula *adalah* and affixed *ber-* with reduplicated *berkumpul-kumpul* subject. In both cases, Indonesian dominates syntactically, embedding uninflected Arabic lexical items that serve distinct syntactic roles at the lexical level.

Hybrid phrase switching refers to code-switching where a phrase combining elements from Arabic and Indonesian is used within a predominantly Indonesian sentence. This phenomenon occurs when a phrase integrates elements from both languages into a single syntactic unit, with the phrase head originating from Indonesian as the matrix language and the modifier from Arabic as the embedded language. Such phrases take the form of nominal, verbal, or prepositional phrases. In the Instagram data from both groups, no instances of hybrid phrase switching were observed in the form of numeral or adverbial phrases.

(5)	NU	“Selanjutnya terdapat lima komponen pilar yang perlu diperhatikan	dalam membangun	Keluarga	Maslahah ”
		AdvP_Ind. VP_Ind. NP_Ind.	PP_Ind.	N_Ind (head)	N_Ar. (modifier)
		Adjunct Predicate Subject	Complement	NP_Hybrid	
		Furthermore, there are five key components that need to be considered in building a family based on <i>maṣlahah</i> [public benefit in Islamic jurisprudence].			
(6)	Salafi	“Namun kurikulum khafiy	Juga	tidak bisa disepelekan”	
		NP_Ind. (head) AdjP_Ar. (modifier)			
		AdvP_Ind. NP_Hybrid	AdvP_Ind. AdvP_Ind.		
		Adjunct Subject	Adjunct Predicate		
		However, the <i>khafī</i> [hidden] curriculum should not be underestimated.			

Additional abbreviations: NP_Hybrid = hybrid noun phrase; AdjP_Ar = Arabic adjective phrase; AdvP = adverbial phrase.

Hybrid phrase switching, as shown in Data 5 (NU), illustrates the hybrid nominal phrase *keluarga maṣlahah* (Indonesian head *keluarga* + Arabic modifier *maṣlahah*) as a complement in a declarative clause headed by the existential predicate *terdapat* with the Indonesian stative prefix *ter-* in *terdapat*, and followed by the prepositional structure *dalam*. Data 6 (Salafi) employs *kurikulum khafī* (Indonesian head *kurikulum* + Arabic modifier *khafī*) as the subject in a passive construction with the predicate *tidak bisa disepelekan*, which contains the Indonesian passive prefix *di-* and the causative suffix *-kan*. In both cases, Indonesian provides the morphosyntactic frame, embedding uninflected Arabic modifiers to form hybrid noun phrases that demonstrate syntactic integration at the phrasal level.

Hybrid lexical insertion refers to code-switching in which a single Arabic word is combined with Indonesian affixes to form a hybrid word integrated into an Indonesian sentence structure. In essence, this process involves merging an Arabic base word with Indonesian affixes to create a single lexical item that adheres to Indonesian morphological rules. In Instagram posts from both groups, hybrid lexical insertion manifests through affixation and reduplication patterns.

(7) NU “Beliau menjawab berziarah ke makam para wali Adalah ibadah yang **disunnahkan**”
 VP_Ind NP_Ind VP_Ind NP_Ind VP_Hybrid VP_Hybrid (RelCl)
 Adjunct Subject Predicate Complement
 He responded that visiting the graves of the saints is a recommended act of worship.

(8) “[Hadis ini] **disahihkan** oleh Syekh Al-Albani dalam Shahih Sunan Ibn Majah”
 Salafi NP_Ind (implicit) VP_Passive hybrid PP_Ind (Hybrid) PP_ (hybrid)
 Subject (implicit) Predicate Agent Adjunct
 [This Hadith] was authenticated by *Shaykh* al-Albānī in [the book] *ṣaḥīḥ* Sunan Ibn Mājāh.

Additional abbreviations: V_Hybrid = hybrid verb; VP_Hybrid = hybrid verb phrase; VP_Passive Hybrid = hybrid passive verb phrase.

Hybrid lexical insertion, as shown in Data 7 (NU), employs the hybrid verb *disunnahkan* (Arabic *sunnah* (noun) + Indonesian *di-kan*) as a predicate in a relative clause with the copula *adalah* and affix *ber-* in *berziarah*. Data 8 (Salafi) uses *disahihkan* (Arabic *ṣaḥīḥ* (noun) + Indonesian *di-kan*) as a predicate with prepositions *oleh* and *dalam*, and an implicit subject. In both cases, Indonesian dominates syntactically through affixation (*di-kan*, *ber-*) and prepositional structures, embedding Arabic lexical bases as hybrid verbs at the predicate level.

Formulaic insertion involves code-switching where expressive, idiomatic, symbolically graphemic, or acronymic Arabic expressions are embedded within Indonesian sentence structures. These elements do not alter the syntactic framework of Indonesian but serve sociological functions for speakers and their interlocutors.

(9) NU “**Alhamdulillah** Rasulullah tidak anti Tradisi atau Budaya”
 Formulaic_Arab NP_Arab VP_Ind KoordNP_Ind
 Adjunct Subject Predicate Complement
Al-ḥamdu li-llāh, the Messenger of Allah is not [in principle] opposed to tradition or culture.

(10) “Silakan bagikan ke orang-orang yang Anda sayangi **Barakallahu fiikum**”
 Salafi Part_Ind VP_Ind PP_Ind RelCl_Ind Formulaic_Arab
 Politeness Predicate Complement (recipient) Discourse-closing (formulaic insertion)
 Please share [this] with the people whom you love. May Allah bless you.

Additional abbreviations: Formulaic_Arab = Arabic formulaic expression; Part_Ind = Indonesian particle.

Formulaic insertion, as shown in Data 9 (NU), embeds the Arabic phrase *al-ḥamdu li-llāh* (‘expressive’) as an adjunct, reinforcing religious identity, within a declarative Indonesian clause with the predicate *tidak anti* and complement *tradisi* atau *budaya*. Data 10 (Salafi) uses *bāraka Allāhu fiikum* (‘supplicatory’) as a discourse-closing adjunct in a clause with the imperative predicate *bagikan* and prepositions *ke* and *yang*. In both cases, Indonesian dominates syntactically, embedding uninflected Arabic phrases without altering the clause structure, demonstrating formulaic integration with sociological functions.

Textual segment switching refers to code-switching at the discourse level, where standalone Arabic text segments, such as Quranic verses, Hadiths, or scholarly opinions, are inserted intact into Indonesian discourse without grammatical or morphological modification. Across both groups’ accounts, textual segment switching manifests in three forms: complete quotation paragraphs (unmodified Arabic sacred texts), composite paragraphs (combining Arabic text and transliteration), and narrative text blocks (extended narratives, such as scholarly opinions or excerpts from classical texts).

(11) NU Indonesian “... diperbolehkan menyempurnakan bilangan rakaat shalat witr.”
 Arabic “وَيَتَذَكَّرُ أُمَّةً مِّنَ السُّنَّةِ عَنِ الْغُلَامِ بِشَاوَةَ وَاحِدَةٍ لِّمَا رَوَى أَبُو دَاوُدَ بِإِسْنَادٍ صَحِيحٍ أَنَّهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَنْ عَنِ الْحَسَنِ وَالْحُسَيْنِ كُنْشًا كُنْشًا”
 Indonesian discourse Artinya “pokok kesunnahan aqiqah untuk anak laki-laki...”
 Arabic discourse “... it is permissible to complete the number of *raka’āt* in the Witr prayer.
 Meaning: “The core *sunnah* of ‘*aqīqah*’ for a male child can be fulfilled with one sheep, based on the narration of Abū Dāwud with a sound chain of transmission, that the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) performed ‘*aqīqah*’ for Ḥasan and Ḥusayn with one ram each.”

(12) Indonesian “Saatnya kembali berhukum dgn sebaik-baiknya warisan yaitu Al Qur’an dan As Sunnah Rasulullah”
 Salafi Arabic “أَفَحُكْمَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ يَبْتَغُونَ وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ مِنَ اللَّهِ حُكْمًا لِّقَوْمٍ يُوقِنُونَ”
 Indonesian discourse “Apakah hukum Jahiliah yang mereka kehendaki...”
 Arabic discourse “It is time to return to the best source of law, namely the Quran and the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah.”
 Indonesian discourse “Is it the judgment of the Age of Ignorance that they seek? But who is better than Allah in judgment for a people who are certain [in faith]?”

Textual segment switching, as shown in Data 11 (NU), embeds a Hadith-based scholarly opinion as a narrative text block, legitimizing the claim of permissible *‘aqīqah*, followed by an *artinya*-led translation. Data 12 (Salafi) inserts a Quranic verse (al-Mā’idah: 50) as a narrative text block, reinforcing adherence to Islamic law, with an *apakah*-led translation. Indonesian dominates as the matrix language, embedding uninflected Arabic segments for authoritative legitimation without altering discourse structure, with translations enhancing accessibility for religious discourse.

Clause-level switching entails code-switching within a single sentence, where an Arabic clause is inserted into a predominantly Indonesian sentence. Such a clause typically forms a constituent part of a larger sentence, not functioning as a standalone utterance.

- (13) “Namun itu bukan berarti dia mengucapkan ‘*nawaitu an ashuma yauma kadza wa kadza*’”
 Salafi Conj_Ind Pron_Ind Neg_VP_Ind VP_Ind Clause_Arab
 Adjunct Subject Predicate Predicate complement

However, that does not mean that he said: I intend to fast on such and such a day.

Additional abbreviations: Pron_Ind = Indonesian pronoun; Neg_VP_Ind = Indonesian negative verb phrase.

Clause-level switching, as shown in Data 13 (Salafi), embeds the Arabic clause *nawaitu an aṣūma yawman kadhā wa kadhā* (‘intention to fast’) as a complement, retaining its Arabic structure (perfective verb, infinitive clause, adverbial phrase) without modification. It complements the Indonesian predicate *mengucapkan* in a clause with the adjunct *namun* and negation *bukan berarti*. Indonesian dominates syntactically, integrating the uninflected Arabic clause as a constituent, demonstrating clause-level code-switching with preserved grammatical integrity.

B. Ideology Behind Code-Switching in NU and Salafi Contexts

Table 1 indicates that, beyond variations in code-switching forms, the quantitative distribution reveals distinct patterns within specific registers (Li et al., 2023). NU predominates in non-hybrid phrase-switching (141 cases) and non-hybrid lexical insertions (174 cases), primarily linked to registers of *fiqh*, juridical terminology, references to classical texts, and mentions of *ulama*. In contrast, the Salafi community excels in hybrid phrase-switching (119 cases), notably through Arabic titles reinforcing personal identity. Both groups extensively use formulaic insertions (NU: 132 cases; Salafi: 175 cases), dominated by prayer and religious expressions, while textual segment-switching is more prevalent in NU (26 cases) than Salafi (6 cases), typically involving Quranic citations and Hadith, with clause-level switching nearly absent (one case in Salafi). These patterns, clustering within registers such as *fiqh*, texts, *ulama*, prayers, and scriptural narratives, serve as markers of broader Islamic ideological orientations. This analysis now explores the embedded ideological dimensions, focusing on sources of religious authority, methods of interpretation, values and traditions, and strategies of *da‘wah*.

The Salafi community consistently employs textual segment switching, embedding direct quotations from the Quran and Hadith in Arabic (Tabti, 2020). Formulaic expressions in the form of prayers are also used, such as *ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi* (‘peace of Allah be upon him’) for the Prophet, *raḍīya Allāh ‘anhu* (‘may Allah be pleased with him’) for the companions, *raḥimahu Allāh* (‘may Allah have mercy on him’) for previous scholars, and *ḥafīzahu Allāh* (‘may Allah protect him’) for current Islamic scholars. Furthermore, the group's posts frequently employ hybrid and non-hybrid turns of phrase by citing prominent early Islamic figures such as the Prophet's companion, Abū Hurairah (d. 679), the classical hadith transmitter, Ibn Mājah (d. 887), and important works including *Uṣūl al-sittah* (‘The six principles’, by Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, d. 1792) and *al-Fatāwā al-kubrā* (‘The major fatwas’, by Ibn Taymiyyah, d. 1328), both considered fundamental sources of authority in the Salafi tradition. These patterns embody a hierarchical religious structure based on the Quran and hadith, which maintains legitimacy through the chain of transmission and early Islamic figures. The interpretation of these texts is also limited to certain figures, particularly early scholars and contemporary teachers recognized within the Salafi community (Sarwan et al., 2025).

In contrast, the NU community's insertion of Arabic quotations from the Qur'an and Hadith through the exchange of textual segments plays a secondary role. Typically, such insertions serve to validate and strengthen arguments drawn from the quotations of classical *fiqh* scholars. Meanwhile, in the exchange of hybrid and non-hybrid phrases, the community refers less frequently to the Prophet's companions, instead favoring classical scholars such as al-Khaṭīb ash-Shirbīnī (d. 1186). Moreover, the NU community utilizes quotations from classical *fiqh* texts, including *al-Fatāwā al-fiqhiyyah al-kubrā* (‘The Great Fiqh Fatwa’, by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, d. 1566) and *al-Ḥāwī li-l-fatāwā* (‘Summary of Fatwas’, by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, d. 1505), both authors of which were followers of the Shafi'i school of thought. On Instagram, the group's discourse also incorporates *fiqh* terminology, for example, *al-madhāhib al-arba‘ah* (‘The four Sunni schools of thought’). This code-switching pattern indicates that the NU community's framework of religious authority is based on the scholarly network of classical *fiqh* scholars, particularly within the Shafi'i school of thought (Suraiya, 2018). The Quran and Hadith are positioned as sources that must be interpreted through the interpretation of the imams of the schools of thought and their followers (Kamal & Mughtar, 2017).

In relation to ideology, code-switching reflects not only linguistic patterns but also different methodologies of religious understanding. For the Salafi community, hybrid code-switching with the names of Quranic suras such as *al-nūr* (‘light’) and *al-aṣr* (‘time’) serves as direct quotations that lead to a textual-literal method. This method is reinforced through the hybrid and non-hybrid lexical insertion of terms such as *diṣahīḥkan* (‘authenticated’) and *sunnahku* (‘my tradition’). Such applications reflect a religious method in which the significance of hadith is considered embedded (intrinsic) in the text, directly accessible without the need for contextual or local interpretation (Tabti, 2020). In contrast, the NU community utilizes the transition of textual segments to integrate the texts of the Quran and Hadith into the interpretive methods of classical scholars. While non-hybrid phrase transitions are used by this community to explain methods of understanding religious issues, such as *‘ibārāt ṣarīḥ* (‘explicit formulation’) and *baḥṭh al-masā‘il* (‘discussion of contemporary issues’). Similarly, the non-hybrid lexical insertion of *taqlīd* (‘adherence to precedent’)

and *ittibā'* ('following established law') explains the contextual method of this group, where the text does not stand alone but is explained through the tradition of interpretation, the framework of the madhhab, and the practices of Pesantren ('traditional Islamic boarding schools') that still persist to this day (Maula et al., 2024). These different patterns indicate different methodological constructs in shaping the religious discourse of the Salafi and NU communities on Instagram.

Code-switching within the NU and Salafi communities also highlights differences in religious traditions. For Salafists, formulaic expressions form a consistent set of prayer phrases addressed to their authoritative figures, for example, the frequently occurring closing phrase, *bāraka Allāh fikum*. Through hybrid and non-hybrid code-switching, the group also uses honorifics associated with scholarly level and capacity, such as *imām* for hadith narrators, *shaykh* for early Salafi scholars, *ustādh* for modern preachers, and *akh* ('brother') for younger Muslim intellectuals. Furthermore, non-hybrid code-switching and the lexical insertion of terms such as *salaf al-ṣāliḥ* ('pious predecessors') and *bid'ah* ('innovation in worship') underscore a textualist position that opposes cultural integration between Islam and local customs. In contrast, the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) community employs non-hybrid code-switching with more adaptive honorifics for authoritative figures. Classical scholars are generally referred to as imams, while sheikhs encompass both classical and contemporary scholars. Furthermore, NU uses the specific term *sayyid* for descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Unlike the Salafis, NU's tradition embraces cultural assimilation, evident in the hybrid phraseological shifts and the non-hybrid lexical insertion of terms such as *maulid* ('the celebration of the Prophet's birthday'). This acceptance is further reinforced through the shifting of textual segments, as seen in the recitation of Surah al-Fatiha as a prayer for prophets, saints, scholars, and Muslims, both deceased and living. Together, these patterns highlight the contrasting religious traditions interwoven within the two communities' code-switching, reflecting unique formulations of Islamic identity on Instagram.

Another significant difference in code-switching between Salafi and NU communities is mirrored in their *da'wah* approaches on Instagram, particularly via visual content and comment. These *da'wah* strategies not only reflect the style of message delivery but also embody deeper theological perspectives regarding the intended audience, the manner in which truth should be conveyed, and the ultimate purpose of religious life (Jamal, 2025). The Salafi community, through the @muslimorid account, exhibits a directive and textually oriented *da'wah* approach, emphasizing the authority of sacred texts, characterized by a style that reproaches, satirizes, or directly warns against the behavior of the Muslim community. This approach is supported by non-hybrid lexical insertion of theological terms such as *shirk* (polytheism), as well as hybrid phrase switching with expressions like *bersyariat secara kaffah* (adhering to Islamic law comprehensively). Some users even deliberately engage critically with comments on @nuonline_id, reflecting ideological differences.

Conversely, the comments on @muslimorid are notably sparse, with the account tending to be unidirectional, primarily driven by administrators, and comments limited to supportive formulaic expressions such as *jazāka Allāh* (may Allah reward you). In contrast, the @nuonline_id account, exhibits a more inclusive and dialogic *da'wah* approach. The delivery style is gentler, employing embracing language and rarely conveying explicit warnings about paradise or hell. When these concepts emerge, they are framed not as an end in themselves, but as part of a journey toward God. Arabic code-switching is embedded through hybrid lexical insertions and hybrid phrase switching, using terms such as *mu'ādalāh* ('justice') and *muwāzanah* ('balance'), integrated into narratives that encourage and reinforce moral values, rather than correct behavior. Captions on @nuonline_id tend to be long and reflective-argumentative, utilizing textual segment switching to encourage readers to think rationally by including Qur'anic verses and scholarly opinions in Arabic with their translations. In the comments section, this interaction feels lively and interactive, with the account administrator occasionally replying to followers' comments to provide answers, clarification, or affirmation.

Despite these differences, Salafi *da'wah* themes extend to non-religious topics such as politics, education, ethics, health, and economics, and sometimes even include commercial promotion. Conversely, the discourse shaped by the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) community remains largely centered on Islamic jurisprudence. Although themes such as family, journalism, and social issues emerge, these remain secondary. This suggests that the Salafi community promotes a contemporary, practical, and needs-driven *da'wah* strategy, while the NU community upholds a traditional framework focused on fiqh. These patterns also explain the differences in ideological frameworks, religious traditions, and *da'wah* strategies between the Salafi and NU communities, reflecting their differing approaches to Islamic identity and engagement in digital platforms like Instagram.

V. DISCUSSION

This study's analysis of seven forms of code-switching, based on 366 Instagram posts and comments, provides a novel contribution to Arabic-Indonesian sociolinguistics by illuminating their role in digital religious discourse. Unlike Haugen's (1953) classical division of code-switching into inter-sentential and intra-sentential, this analysis reveals in the context of Islamic religious posts and comments on Instagram, such a division is less relevant because the spatial limitations of digital platforms hinder inter-sentence code-switching. Recent research like Yousif (2025), confirms the prevalence of intra-sentential mixing due to platform constraints. Only one clause-level switch was observed, with multi-level code-switching dominating.

This study also integrates code-switching and code-mixing within a single analytical framework, as supported by Auer (1999), since distinguishing the two is challenging in data that illustrates dynamic blending of Arabic and Indonesian. Garcia and Li Wei's (2014) translanguaging concept illuminates hybrid lexical insertion and hybrid phrase switching, reflecting flexible and dynamic language practices in digital spaces. Another finding is the use of Arabic terms adopted into the great dictionary of the Indonesian language (KBBI), such as *Allāhu akbar* (God is great), yet deliberately written in Arabic script or transliterated forms like *qadā'* ('fulfillment of religious obligations'), with some Arabic names incorporated as code-switching. This illustrates that such code-switching reinforces religious identity and ideology, as well as symbolic communication strategies (Eastman, 1990). Moreover, formulaic insertion, like acronyms like *swt.* (*subhānahu wa ta'ālā*, 'glorified and exalted is He') and graphemic symbols like *ﷻ* (*jalla jalāluhu*, 'may his majesty be exalted'), differs from Poplack's (1980) tag-switching due to its specific functions, including marking group identity, invoking prayers, upholding religious ethics, and signifying religious social strata.

Drawing on Myers-Scotton's (1993) code-switching framework and Fairclough's (2010) CDA, this research pioneeringly charts code-switching as a discursive instrument embedding Salafi and NU ideologies within digital environments. This approach explains that hybrid phrase shifts form different power dynamics, based on Fairclough's (1992) discourse analysis adapted to the digital religious context. In the Salafi context, direct quotation of Arabic establishes textual authority, in line with Gumperz's (1964) notion of situational shifts in communication being used to reinforce puritan identity. In contrast, NU utilizes code-switching for rituals such as *niṣf al-Sha'bān* ('the middle of Sha'bān'), consistent with Myers-Scotton's (1993) marked and unmarked choices, where the merging of Arabic and Indonesian serves as an unmarked alternative to promote a certain cultural inclusivity. These patterns contradict Myers-Scotton's (1993) premise that code-switching consistently seeks social accommodation, as Salafis use expressive formulaic insertion to assert textual authority rather than to encourage inclusivity and tolerance. Meanwhile, Fairclough's (1992) framework is supported by evidence that hybrid phrase switching mirrors power dynamics: Salafi resists local traditions, while NU reinforces the dominance of 'ulamā' (religious scholars). This shows that code switching goes beyond linguistic features and functions as a discourse of power that shapes a groups religious identity.

By expanding the study of ideologically influenced code-switching, the results of this study guide Arabic language pedagogy in Indonesia that Salafi hybrid phrase switching, which incorporates direct scriptural references, encourages literalist engagement and supports a curriculum that progressively builds Indonesian-Arabic vocabulary from partial words to complete discourses so as to improve the ability to read Arabic texts (Ataş & Sağın-Şimşek, 2021; Vilakazi et al., 2024). Similarly, this method strengthens Arabic speaking skills by integrating formulaic expressions into role-playing activities, imitating Instagram directive comments to convey religious identity through code-switching while improving communication fluency (Darginavičienė & Ignaitė, 2020). In contrast, NU's non-hybrid lexical insertion, illustrated by fiqh terms linked to classical scholars, enables culturally responsive pedagogy within pesantren traditions, enhancing comprehension and oral communication through dialogic multilingual approaches (Althobaiti & Alsaawi, 2025; Ezeh et al., 2022). Within digital environments, NU's reflective Instagram captions inform online speaking modules, prompting students to express religious narratives and cultivate interpretive flexibility consistent with madhhab-mediated epistemology (Kumaravadivelu, 2001). By leveraging these patterns, educators can develop Arabic language curricula that reduce barriers to language acquisition, reflect the ideological underpinnings of the language, and utilize digital platforms to enhance language learning fluency, cultural sensitivity, and communicative competence, thus advancing socio-anthropological pedagogy (Baity et al., 2025).

Diverging from prior research centered on oral code-switching, this digital examination expands the theory by emphasizing Instagram's visual-narrative adaptations, including formulaic insertion in comments, which aligns with Heller's (1990) perspective of language as a symbolic resource. This research progresses Arabic-Indonesian sociolinguistics, providing worldwide perspectives on digital religious code-switching and informing Arabic curricula that leverage ideologically influenced switching to improve cultural and linguistic proficiency (Al Masaeed, 2018; Pujiati et al., 2025).

VI. CONCLUSION

This study determines that religious posts and comments from Salafi and NU communities on Instagram (@muslimorid and @nuonline_id, February 2025) display seven forms of code-switching: textual segment switching, clause-level switching, non-hybrid phrase switching, hybrid phrase switching, non-hybrid lexical insertion, hybrid lexical insertion, and formulaic insertion. These forms illustrate complex digital linguistic dynamics, marked by multi-level code-switching and Arabic-Indonesian transliteration. Ideologically, code-switching reflects differences in religious authority Quran and Hadith versus 'ulamā' [scholars], interpretation (literal versus contextual), traditions (rejection versus integration), and *da'wah* strategies (corrective versus inclusive). Unlike Haugen's (1953) classification, inter-sentential code-switching is absent due to Instagram's spatial constraints, extending Myers-Scotton's (1993) and Fairclough's (1992) frameworks. This study demonstrates theoretical implications for code-switching as a discursive map of ideology and practical implications for digital *da'wah* and culturally sensitive communication, with global relevance for religious communities. This study offers theoretical implications for code-switching as a discursive map of ideology, informs Arabic language curriculum development through scaffolded code-switching strategies to enhance

reading and speaking proficiency, guides inclusive da'wah digital communication, and enriches multilingual digital discourse studies.

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