

From Melody to Modesty: The Semiotic Interplay of Sherine's Abdel-Wahab's 'Kalam Eineh' and the Consumption of Abaya Trends on TikTok

Inayah Amaliah Mutmainnah*, Fitriani Fitriani, Haeruddin Haeruddin

Hasanuddin University, Indonesia

*Correspondence: ✉ mutmainnahia21f@student.unhas.ac.id

Abstract

This article discusses the semiotic meaning in the song Kalam Eineh by Sherine Abdel Wahab and its relationship to the phenomenon of using abaya on the TikTok platform as part of popular cultural representation. This research is in the realm of cultural and semiotic studies, with the aim of revealing how popular music and traditional fashion play a role in shaping social and ideological meanings in the digital space. This topic was chosen because the abaya trend on TikTok reflects the negotiation between tradition, modernity, and religious identity, which until now has rarely been studied in depth. The method used is descriptive qualitative with Roland Barthes' semiotic analysis which emphasizes three layers of meaning, namely denotation, connotation, and myth. To strengthen the validity of the analysis, this study also uses theoretical triangulation through Appadurai's view of mediascapes, Giddens on agency and structure, and Hall on representation and negotiation of meaning. The results of the study show that at the level of denotation, songs represent romantic expressions, while abaya serves as clothing; at the level of connotation, both feature symbols of lifestyle, identity, and piety. Meanwhile, at the mythical level, the abaya has undergone a transformation into a popular culture icon that naturalizes the ideology of religiosity, modernity, and aesthetics in digital culture. This research contributes to the study of popular culture and media by emphasizing the relevance of Barthes' semiotic theory in reading contemporary cultural texts in the era of social media.

Article History

Received: 21-08-2025

Revised: 17-10-2025

Accepted: 30-10-2025

Keywords:

Abaya;

Popular Culture;

Religious Identity;

Semiotics;

Social Media.



© 2025 Inayah Amaliah Mutmainnah, Fitriani Fitriani, Haeruddin Haeruddin

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/).

INTRODUCTION

Mass media has undergone a profound transformation in the contemporary era, especially with the advent of digital platforms that have revolutionized the way cultural content is produced, distributed, and consumed. Traditional mass media, such as television, radio, and print media, once dominated the communication landscape, serving as a primary channel for the dissemination of information and cultural values. However, the rise of digital media platforms has influenced this dynamic, with social media apps now acting as a key driver of cultural trends and the reconfiguration of social identities. The flow of transnational popular culture is further accelerated by the advancement of contemporary communication technology (Putri & Setiawan, 2023). Social media has become a catalyst for a new culture, where content is not only presented but also negotiated and interpreted in a participatory manner. Social media has become a major means of cultural change and consumer acculturation influences how people choose and consume cultural products (Kizgin et al., 2018). Users of digital cultural services are now not only as recipients, but also as agents who shape the brand image of cultural institutions through their activities on social media (Wróblewski et al., 2018). Based on Statista, in July 2024, TikTok users in Indonesia reached 157.6 million users. TikTok's algorithm is designed to personalize content delivery, driving user engagement. TikTok's short video format and algorithm encourage the resemiotization or reinterpretation of elements of traditional and popular music, as well as easy-to-repeat audio

snippets (hooks) that are reused across cultural contexts so that the original meaning often shifts (Cao, 2025)

As a form of mass media, TikTok has redefined the way individuals, especially the younger generation, interact with culture by utilizing short-form video content accompanied by music or audio clips. Its algorithms curate content tailored to each user, offering a dynamic and personalized experience that drives viral trends and cross-cultural exchanges at an unprecedented pace. This capacity to reinterpret culture is particularly evident in global trends involving music, language, and fashion. For example, Arabic pop songs are often mistaken by non-Arabic speakers for songs that are religious in nature, due to the linguistic relationship between Arabic and Islam. This misconception stems from the assumption that all Arabic songs are essentially spiritual or religious, an idea shaped by the perception of Arabic as the holy language of the Qur'an and Islamic rituals.

Such linguistic associations have led to a widespread belief that every Arabic-language song contains religious or Islamic themes, regardless of the actual lyrical content (Ramadhani et al., 2025). One interesting example is the use of the Arabic pop song *Kalam Eineh* by Sherine as the background music in a TikTok video featuring an abaya. This song that is actually romantically themed is often perceived as a religious song. When the song is combined with the visual of the abaya, a new meaning emerges that associates traditional Arabic clothing with the image of ideal, simple, and fashionable Muslim women. In Indonesia, this phenomenon is evident through the trend of using the Arabic song *Kalam Eineh* by Sherine, especially in the repetitive lyrics of "يا ليل يا ليلي", which is combined with the visuals of abaya clothing by content creators. Based on the author's direct search on the TikTok application on September 10, 2025, it shows that the hashtag #yaliyali has been used for more than 47.5 thousand uploads, while the *Kalam Eineh* song cut in the lyrics section "يا ليل يا ليلي" appears in more than 2.7 million videos, and the original sound of Sherine's *Kalam Eineh* is used in more than 511.7 thousand videos on the Tik Tok application. This figure confirms the high involvement of Indonesian users in the phenomenon that combines Arabic music and the abaya.

Clothing, which initially served only as a physical covering and a marker of modesty, has evolved into a more complex symbol and a means of communicating one's identity. The abaya, a loose-fitting long garment traditionally worn by women in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries, often associated with Islamic clothing, the practice of wearing loose-type clothing and body coverings, has existed since the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods (Hirsch, 2021). However, the dominance of Muslims in the Arabian Peninsula and the regulations of countries in the region that establish the abaya as the official dress of women, have shaped the public perception that the abaya is synonymous with the ideal Muslim woman's clothing.

Popular culture, as a contested realm of meaning, is characterized by symbols and representations competing for public attention and affiliation (Hijrah et al., 2023). In this sense, popular culture is characterized by practicality, pragmatism and proximity, traits that are also reflected in the production and consumption of content on digital platforms (Habsari, 2015). Popular culture significantly influences the shift in fashion trends, with social media, especially visual media, serving as the main channel for the spread of these trends.

Semiotics, as the study of signs and meanings, allow us to understand how cultural symbols are constructed and deconstructed in social practice. Roland Barthes, one of the semiotic figures, distinguishes between denotation (literal meaning) and connotation (implied meaning) as well as the concept of myth, which is the ideological meaning inherent in signs. In the context of TikTok, the abaya not only serves as a traditional garment, but also as a sign that carries new meaning as a symbol of the modern lifestyle and Muslim identity.

The ability of users to reinterpret and remix traditional symbols such as the abaya and the Arabic song *Kalam Eineh* highlights the fluidity of cultural meaning in the context of a globalized digital culture. Ulfa (2016) emphasized that to understand cultural symbols properly, it is necessary to understand the cultural mindset that underlies them, because cultural values have an important role in shaping social behavior and expression of identity. This shift raises questions about the

construction of religiosity, the aestheticization of piety, and the mechanisms that digital media use to facilitate the formation of new cultural myths. This research focuses on how romantic lyrics. The dissonance between lyrical content and visual context is not just a matter of misunderstanding, it is a process in which meaning is not passively accepted but actively constructed in a way that reflects cultural bias and digital literacy.

A number of previous studies have examined the cultural representation and development of Muslim women's clothing through various media. Fadli & Elviria (2025) examine cultural representation on the official government TikTok account @pesonaindonesia using Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotic framework. The study shows that the country's official content utilizes the relationship of markers to build Indonesia's tourism identity. Meanwhile, Rahma (2022) examine the development of Muslim women's fashion in Surakarta for the period 1991–2020 by emphasizing the historical dimension and the influence of mass media on the formation of trends. Both of these studies make important contributions, but have not touched on the participatory dimension of digital culture in which audiences play the role of co-producers of meaning. For the study of digital media, recent empirical research underscores the role of social media as a participatory arena where users not only consume but also play an important role in shaping identity through clothing (Fraser et al., 2021). Manzoor et al. (2024) in the article Advancing Muslim Modest Fashion Clothing emphasized that social media has become the main platform for development Modest Fashion, connecting aesthetic values, religiosity, and commodification through the role of Influencers as well as digital marketing strategies. Ethnographic and qualitative studies on phenomena Modest Fashion emphasized that social media and actors such as influencers play a significant role in reconstructing the meaning of Muslim women's clothing, connecting it with lifestyles, identities, and commercial opportunities, so that religious clothing is also a popular cultural product (Karakavak & Özbölük, 2023). Slater & Catherine (2021) in the article The Case of Modest Fashion Across Two Multicultural Contexts shows that the meaning of modest fashion is formed through the complex interaction between cultural norms, market dynamics, and media exposure, so that each social context produces different interpretations of Muslim clothing symbols. These studies reinforce the conceptual basis that the representation of Muslim women's clothing in digital media not only reflects religiosity, but also becomes an arena for the production of cultural meanings that are constantly being negotiated.

Based on these research gaps, this article aims to analyze how the abaya is represented and repositioned in TikTok content against the background of of the song Kalam Eineh. The analysis was carried out using Roland Barthes' semiotic framework, which includes three layers of meaning: denotation, connotation, and myth. Thus, this research not only exposes visual descriptions, but also uncovers the ideological layers inherent in abaya symbols in digital space.

The novelty of this research lies in its emphasis on grassroots participation and audience interaction in producing and negotiating cultural meaning. If Rahma's (2022) research emphasizes the history and development of Muslim women's fashion through mass media, and Fadli & Elviria (2025) analyze cultural representation by official institutions, then this study actually underlines the dynamics of digital popular culture born from ordinary users with the algorithmic impulse of TikTok. Thus, this study contributes to the study of semiotics, Muslim fashion, and contemporary digital culture by showing a shift in the locus of meaning production from conventional media to participatory social media.

METHODS

This research is a field research in the digital space with TikTok chosen as the main platform for analysis. The research approach used is qualitative. Qualitative research aims to understand the phenomena experienced by research subjects holistically, through the description of words in a natural context (Rijali, 2018). Qualitative research allows researchers to observe meaning that emerges from symbolic interactions and accompanying cultural contexts, rather than simply quantifying visual or textual elements (Radermacher, 2024). The nature of this research is

descriptive, as the research is directed to describe semiotic phenomena in TikTok content in detail. According to Sugiyono (2016), descriptive research is carried out to find out the value of independent variables without comparing or relating them with other variables. Thus, this study only seeks to explain the meaning that emerges from the combination of music, fashion, and digital representation

The source of research data consists of primary and secondary data. Primary data is in the form of TikTok Indonesia videos for the 2024–2025 period that feature abaya clothing with the background of the song Kalam Eineh. Data selection is carried out using the purposive sampling technique, which is only content that meets the selected criteria, such as displaying abaya visuals, using songs. Fifteen (15) TikTok contents that explicitly feature abaya clothes with Kalam Eineh music in the lyrics *يا ليل يا ليلي*. Purposive sampling is one of the most frequently used approaches in qualitative research across various disciplines (Ahmad & Wilkins, 2024). These contents were selected based on popularity criteria (number of likes and comments), visual clarity, and relevance to the trend of using abaya on TikTok Indonesia. In addition, the audience comments that accompany each piece of content are also analyzed as part of the audience reception. Secondary data are in the form of academic literature, journal articles, and relevant books on semiotics, popular culture, digital media, and Muslim fashion.

This research was conducted on TikTok Indonesia content with data collection carried out on April 18, 2025, covering uploads in the 2024–2025 period. The selection of the period considered the moment when the song Kalam Eineh and the Yalil Yalili trend reached the peak of their popularity and gained broad audience engagement. This affirmation of digital time and space is important because popular cultural trends on social media are rapidly changing, so the data collection period is the main reference in the analysis. Data collection was carried out through non-participatory observation of TikTok content, documentation in the form of screenshots as well as notes of visual and text elements, as well as literature studies to strengthen the theoretical framework.

Data analysis is carried out through three stages. First, data reduction is carried out to select content that is relevant to the focus of the research. Rijali (2018) stated that data reduction is a process of selection, concentration, simplification, abstraction, and transformation of rough data that arises from field records. Second, the selected data is classified based on sign elements such as song lyrics, abaya visuals, body expressions, and video background. Third, interpretation of meaning is carried out using Roland Barthes' semiotics at three levels: denotation, connotation, and myth. The last stage is to place the results of the interpretation in the context of digital popular culture, so that it can be seen how the abaya and the song Kalam Eineh are reproduced as a representation of Muslim women's identity on TikTok.

This analysis not only stops at Roland Barthes' semiotic framework, but is also enriched through theoretical triangulation. To strengthen the validity of the data, this study uses a theoretical triangulation technique by referring to the perspective of Appadurai (1996) regarding mediascapes, Giddens (1990) regarding agency and structure, and Hall (1997) regarding representation and negotiation of meaning. Thus, the process of analysis is not only based on the semiotic framework, but is also reinforced by contemporary cultural theories.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Roland Barthes' Semiotics on Arab Popular Culture

Semiotics as a branch of communication and cultural science departs from the realization that human life is never free from signs. Signs are present in language, images, clothing, music, advertising, rituals, even in everyday social interactions. Signs not only serve as a means of communication, but also as a shaping of social and cultural reality. Roland Barthes, a French thinker, made a major contribution to the development of modern semiotic theory by expanding the scope of semiology from mere language systems to cultural analysis more broadly.

Barthes views that signs have a more complex layer of meaning than just the relationship between markers and signs as proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure. Saussure only emphasizes that signs are the result of the relationship between signifiers in the form of physical forms such as sounds or images, and signified in the form of mental concepts represented by the signifier. The relationship between the two is arbitrary because it is determined by social conventions. For Barthes, signs do not stop at simple linguistic relationships, but become complex cultural mechanisms. Barthes emphasized that signs are always tied to social and cultural contexts so that they have a deeper layer of meaning.

In his early work, Barthes developed the concept of two orders of signification. The first level is called denotation, which is a literal meaning that arises from the direct relationship between a marker and a marker. The second level is connotation, which is an additional meaning born from the association of signs with cultural, ideological, and emotional values. At the next layer, the connotation can develop into a myth, which is a system of signs that naturalizes cultural meaning so that it appears as a universal truth. According to Barus et al. (2025), Barthes' model of significance allows researchers to read signs as a multi-layered structure that not only conveys a message, but also envelops the ideology that works behind representation. Barthes was a figure who developed semiotics towards cultural analysis, not just language. Jadou & Al Ghabra (2021) affirm that Barthes's idea of myth is the most important contribution because he views myth as a way for modern society to naturalize cultural meaning so that it is accepted as a natural reality. In other words, myths are not ancient fictional stories, but social mechanisms that disguise cultural constructs as natural reality. To clarify Barthes's frame of mind, his semiotic system is in the table 1.

Table 1. Roland Barthes' Semiotic Structure

Level	Structure	Characteristics of Meaning	Functions in Semiology
Denotation	Markers + Markers	Literal, direct, descriptive meaning	Giving the basic meaning of a sign without cultural interpretation
Connotation	First-stage sign + cultural context	An additional, open, influenced meaning by social and cultural values	Produce a variety of interpretations according to experience and cultural background
Myth	Naturalized connotations	Ideological meaning, considered natural and universal	Concealing social constructs by presenting them as truth

Table 1 shows that signs is undergoing a process of meaning transformation. Denotation is the most basic stage, but it rarely stops there. At the connotation level, signs get additional meanings that come from cultural and social values. Furthermore, its repeated and widely accepted connotations will become myths. In the myth stage, the true meaning of cultural construction is considered a natural fact.

One of the important aspects of Barthes' theory is the polysemic nature of signs. Barthes rejected the notion that signs have only one final meaning. In contrast, signs are polysemic, meaning they are open to various interpretations. The interpretation of signs is influenced by social background, ideology, experience, and the position of the audience in the structure of society. Ishar & Irawan (2023) emphasized that Barthes' theory opens up space for active readers to give meaning

to texts, so that cultural texts can always produce a variety of interpretations according to the cultural codes used by the audience.

Barthes' theory also emphasizes the concept of naturalization, which is the process by which connotative meanings are taken for granted as if they were natural. When certain connotations are repeated and widely acknowledged, they will come across as myths. At this stage, the ideology contained in the sign is no longer seen as a social construct, but is considered a universal truth. Siregar (2021) emphasizes that this naturalization process is an important mechanism in modern sign work, because it is where the dominant ideology gains legitimacy without having to be explicitly imposed.

In its development, Barthes' semiotics continued to be used in various contemporary studies. Barus et al. (2025) affirm that Barthes' theory remains relevant even in the digital age, when signs circulate quickly on social media. The denotation–connotation–myth tiered structure helps researchers identify the ideological layers hidden behind digital content. Thus, Barthes' semiotics is not only a tool for linguistic analysis, but also a critical tool for understanding how meaning is produced, distributed, and accepted in modern society.

The whole idea of Barthes shows that semiotics is a conceptual framework that explains the mechanisms of meaning while dismantling hidden power relations. Denotations give literal meaning, connotations enrich meaning with layers of culture, while myth turns connotations into naturalized ideologies. According to Barthes, myth does not hide its connotative meaning, but rather naturalizes it, this naturalization process is the main function of myth in modern communication (Istiyanto et al., 2024). The naturalization process allows ideology to appear as if it were natural. Roland Barthes' semiotics is a conceptual framework that not only explains the mechanisms of meaning, but also uncovers hidden power relations. All of this makes Barthes' theory an important foundation for reading contemporary cultural phenomena.

The contemporary cultural phenomenon that is the focus of this research is the use of the song Kalam Eineh by Egyptian singer Sherine Abdel Wahab as an audio background in TikTok content featuring the abaya. The song Kalam Eineh sung by Sherine Abdel Wahab in 2018 is one of the important representations of modern Arabic popular music. The song Kalam Eineh was released in 2018 as one of the works of Sherine Abdel Wahab, an Egyptian singer who is widely known in the Arab world for her vocal quality and emotional interpretation. The song is musically in the contemporary Arabic pop genre with romantic melodic elements, gentle rhythms, and strong hook repetitions. Like many of Sherine's other works, Kalam Eineh emphasizes expressive vocals with an emphasis on poetic lyrics.

Sherine Abdel Wahab's song Kalam Eineh as a whole features themes of love, admiration, and emotional surrender. This song depicts the power of love that is able to change a person's feelings, perspective, and even life. Structurally, songs use simple diction, repetition, and strong visual imagery such as "eyes", "night", "moon", and "sun". These elements not only enrich the textual meaning, but also form a deep and expressive emotional atmosphere. To clarify the relationship between themes, phrases, denotative meanings, and connotatives contained in the lyrics is in the table 2.

Table 2. Denotative and Connotative Analysis of Kalam Eineh Song Lyrics

No.	Lyrics	Main Themes & Imagery	Denotative (Literal) Meaning	Connotative Meaning (Association)
1	كلام عينيه في الغرام أحلى من الأغاني	The gaze and beauty of love	Lovers praise the more beautiful eye gaze of the song	The gaze symbolizes true love that is deeper than words; Pure Soul Expression
2	من كلمتين من سلام يبقى حد ثاني	Emotional transformation	With two greetings, a person changes	Love has the power to change one's inner mood and personality

3	لما يميل قلبي أنا وياه يميل	Love harmony	The singer's heart leans towards the lover	A symbol of emotional unity; Love creates inner harmony
4	تفديه عيوني وعمرى كله مش قليل	Sacrifice	Giving eyes and the whole life to a lover	Love as total devotion; Unlimited loyalty
5	ليلي يا ليل يا ليلي	Longing and night	A call to the night	Night as a symbol of longing and loneliness in love
6	يا ليل، يا ليل ده من غرامه ليلي طال	Waiting for love	The night feels long because of love	Love creates time that feels endless; Waiting is a symbol of sincerity
7	حبيب سنيني بينه وبيني	True love	A lover who has been a life partner for many years	Intimate and deep emotional closeness
8	يا قلبي خطوة واحدة يعني مش خيال	Hope and reality	Just one step is not a fantasy	Love is considered real and tangible
9	يا روحي، روحي معه وفي جماله ضياعي	Resignation and beauty	The soul is asked to follow and dissolve in the beauty of the lover	A symbol of total surrender to love and charm
10	طمع في سحر الحياة حسنه مش طبيعي	Beauty and charm	The beauty of the lover is extraordinary, unnatural	Deep admiration; Love is seen as the miracle of life
11	ده اللي القمر من عينيه والله غار	Light and beauty	Jealous moon in his eyes	Hyperbole about beauty; Symbol of perfect beauty
12	دي الابتسامة شمس طالعة بالنهار	Cheerfulness and light	A lover's smile is like the sun shining during the day	Smile as a source of life and lasting happiness

Table 2 shows that the song *Kalam Eineh* builds a love narrative that is tender, full of admiration, and full of emotional expression. Visual signs such as the eyes, moon, and sun dominate the lyrics and serve as poetic imagery to depict the beauty and power of love. The repetition of the refrain *ليلي يا ليل يا ليلي* creates a deep musical and emotional effect, reinforcing the impression of longing and romantic attraction. From a semiotic perspective, these signs form layered meanings, denotative meanings that focus on romantic love stories, and connotative meanings that expand interpretations towards symbols of loyalty, devotion, and the search for ideal love. There are no explicit religious elements in the text, the choice of Arabic language and poetic style opens up the possibility of spiritual interpretation for non-Arab audiences, especially when the song is reproduced on cross-cultural social media. However, outside the Arabic context, especially in Indonesia, these lyrics are captured differently. Because it is Arabic, Indonesian audiences tend to associate it with religious nuances. Arabic is so closely related to the Qur'an, prayer, and worship, that almost all Arabic musical expressions are imagined to have religious content. This is where Barthes' semiotic mechanism works. The romantic denotation then takes on a religious connotation, and eventually gives birth to a new myth that this song is an Islamic song. In fact, the original text was not intended to be that at all.

The phenomenon of the term *ليلي يا ليل يا ليلي* trend on TikTok lies in its repetitive nature and simple musicality. The song's structure places the hook *ليلي يا ليل يا ليلي* as the most memorable part. This hook is repeated many times so that it provides a great opportunity to be cut and reused in digital

media. The original length of the song is about four minutes, but on TikTok it is usually only a 15–30 second cut. The TikTok platform prioritizes short-form content that requires memorable sound clips. This part of the song meets all of those criteria: it's easy to imitate, emotional, and can be used in a variety of situations. This is what made it go viral. Fraser et al. (2021) who affirm that online music is not only passively consumed, but also encourages audiences to actively engage in the form of reproduction, for example through dance, facial expressions, or the use of songs as the background for short videos. Kalam Eineh is a real example of how contemporary Arabic music undergoes a process of resemiotization in the digital space, from poetic texts that are full of emotional meaning to social signs that circulate quickly in a short audio-visual format. However, one prominent phenomenon is its use in content featuring abaya clothing.

Abaya as one of the icons of Muslim fashion has also undergone a similar transformation. The abaya no longer solely functions as a body protector according to religious norms, but also appears as a medium of expression of identity, lifestyle, and even social status. Pratiwi & Sholihah (2020) emphasized that the evolution of the abaya model in the last two decades shows a strong tendency towards variations in colors, shapes, and ornamental details, so that the abaya is no longer a plain black uniform, but is present as a symbol of the flexibility of modern Muslim women's identity.

The presence of Kalam Eineh's music in the digital space not only shows how traditional Arabic artworks are adapting to new mediums, but also reveals the relationship between cultural consumption and identity expression. Arabic music, which used to be more widely circulated through television, radio, and concert channels, is now finding new audiences through online platforms. The characteristics of Kalam Eineh which uses intensive repetition in the stanza "يا ليلي يا ليلي," thus making the process of adapting to a short video format on TikTok easier. Thus, the song's own musical structure becomes part of an adaptive strategy in the new media ecosystem, although it may not have been consciously designed as such by its creators.

In Indonesia's digital context, the term emerged and then developed into a new stereotype or identity label, namely "*yalil yalili spec woman*," which marks a typical young woman who performs in an abaya while accompanied by the song Kalam Eineh. This phenomenon shows that social media is not only a means of content distribution, but also an arena for the creation of new social categories sourced from the combination of music and fashion. When these two signs are combined in the digital space, a new meaning is born that goes far beyond its original function. Signs in fashion are rarely static, as they are always being re-read in a new social context.

The label "*yalil yalili spec woman*" not only marks a style trend, but also implies a certain standard of how a young Muslim woman should look: graceful, fashionable, wearing an abaya, while being associated with Arab romantic nuances. The study Al Saud (2025), shows that the symbolism of the abaya is always changing, but it is often accompanied by certain social demands on women, such as the demand to always appear ideal or in accordance with the religious image expected by society. Although this term seems light and popular, it actually shows how the construction of women's identities continues to be reproduced through digital culture.

The connection between the song Kalam Eineh and the abaya in digital culture becomes clearer when we look at how the two often meet in the social media space. The song Kalam Eineh is often used as the background sound in videos featuring the abaya. This makes music and fashion signs of mutually reinforcing cultures. According to Yudha et al. (2024), social media serves as a cultural amplifier that not only accelerates the spread of cultural signs, but also creates a space for negotiation of new meanings among global audiences. Thus, the indirect collaboration between the song Kalam Eineh and the abaya on Tik Tok shows how Arab popular culture has entered a new stage: to become a transnational product full of meaning and open to cross-cultural reinterpretation.

Semiotic Representation in TikTok Content

This study analyzed 15 TikTok content that used footage of the song Kalam Eineh by Sherine as an audio background. The entire content features women wearing abaya in different colors, styles, and social contexts, from school fashion shows, online store promotions, to communal

events. The analysis was carried out using Roland Barthes' semiotic approach which divided signs into three layers of meaning, denotation, connotation, and myth. This song is used in a visual context on TikTok Indonesia, there is a significant shift in meaning from denotative to connotative.

The song *Kalam Eineh*, which is basically romantic, is interpreted as a song with religious nuances due to language factors and cultural associations. In the context of Indonesian society, Arabic is often directly associated with Islam and a symbol of purity. Therefore, the use of lyrical pieces such as *ليلي يا ليل يا ليلي* (O night, O my night) in TikTok content featuring women wearing abaya gives rise to different emotional interpretations of its original meaning. Connotatively, Arabic phrases in songs are considered spiritual expressions, not romantics. The abaya used in TikTok videos serves as a visual marker of religiosity, while Arabic song clips become auditory markers that reinforce the impression of Islam. The combination of the two results in a new mark that goes beyond the meaning of the original text. In the framework of Roland Barthes' semiotics, this shows that the sign (song) at the first level, which originally meant personal love has become a new marker at the second level, forming a new connotative meaning in the form of an expression of religiosity and Muslim identity.

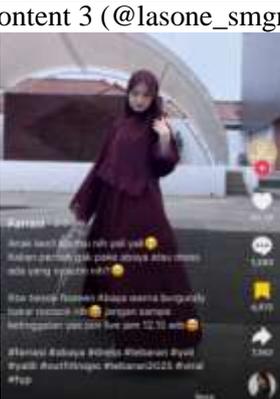
This process of shifting meaning does not occur by chance, but through social and cultural mechanisms. On TikTok, music is not only an audio background, but also a symbol that reinforces the visual message. The song *Kalam Eineh*, with its soft melody and Arabic, creates an atmosphere associated with spirituality and politeness. Meanwhile, the abaya visuals that are used in various contexts both at school, social activities, and online store promotions become a forum for visualizing values. Furthermore, this religious connotation gradually developed into a cultural myth. In Indonesian society, everything that comes from or uses the Arabic language is often associated with sacred, sacred, and Islamic things. The song *Kalam Eineh*, although it does not have a religious message, is accepted as a symbol of Islam because of two main factors: (1) Arabic which is culturally considered the language of revelation, and (2) the visual context that supports this perception through the abaya dress. A new myth has emerged, the belief that all Arabic expressions, including pop songs, automatically reflect Islamic values.

Based on 15 TikTok content that used *Kalam Eineh*'s song snippets as an audio background, it was found that not all of the data showed significant differences. Most of the videos show the same visualization patterns, religious themes, and the meaning of the abaya as the identity of Muslim women and the use of *kalam eineh* songs that give rise to spiritual nuances. The repetitive representation pattern shows that the abaya on TikTok functions not only as religious clothing, but also as a digital popular culture icon that continues to be reproduced and reinterpreted by users.

Table 3. Semiotic Meaning of Abaya in TikTok

No	Content	Denotation	Connotation	Myth
1		Female students wearing white abaya on the stage of a school fashion show; Caption "Yaliyali Part 2"	White = purity, innocence, piety; Arabic songs add religious-romantic nuances	White abaya as a symbol of the identity of young Muslim women who are religious and popular on TikTok

Content 1 (@fionyblh)

2		<p>Five women wearing pastel abayas, posing and then hugging; Caption "Yalil Yalili?"</p>	<p>Color variation = expression of style, togetherness, cheerfulness</p>	<p>The abaya is represented as a fashionable and familiar Muslim women's collective fashion</p>
3		<p>Two schoolgirls wear black abaya in a school fashion show competition</p>	<p>Black = formal, elegant, religious; The atmosphere of the competition strengthens the values of Islamic tradition</p>	<p>Black abaya as an icon of religiosity recognized in the public sphere of education</p>
4		<p>Women wear burgundy abayas; children shout "yalil yalili"; abaya promotion caption</p>	<p>Burgundy = elegant, exclusive; Children's interaction adds social nuances</p>	<p>Abaya is a religious symbol as well as a digital market commodity (product restock)</p>
5		<p>Creator wearing a black abaya with the humorous text "spek yalili"</p>	<p>Popular humor is inherent in fashion; Abaya Parodied</p>	<p>The abaya is resemantized as a religious symbol as well as part of digital slang</p>

6		<p>The creator wore a pink abaya in the hotel; caption "I've been told to check out hahah"</p>	<p>Pink = soft, feminine; The hotel's atmosphere gives a modern & casual feel</p>	<p>Abaya as a flexible religious fashion in urban lifestyle</p>
6		<p>Four women wear black abaya for online store promotion</p>	<p>Black = religious uniformity; associated with commercial branding</p>	<p>The abaya is represented as a symbol of Muslim women as well as an online selling product</p>
7		<p>Women wearing brown abaya while posing; Fashion Store Promotion</p>	<p>Brown = natural, medium; The abaya is elegantly positioned</p>	<p>Abaya appears as a Muslim fashion commodity that is marketed digitally</p>
8		<p>Four women wear a plain black abaya, gold blink, and a black-yellow combination</p>	<p>Stylistic variations show a diversity of identity expressions</p>	<p>The abaya became a liquid collective icon: religious, fashionable, as well as entertainment</p>
9	<p>Content 9 (@ayrinn3_)</p>			

10		<p>The creator features a transition of a black robe → abaya; Religious Caption</p>	<p>Transition = resistance to modernity; abaya = piety</p>	<p>The abaya is positioned as a symbol of the consistency of Muslim women's identity in the digital space</p>
11		<p>Transitional creators from plain clothes → yellow abaya; Text "Spek Yali Yalili"</p>	<p>Yellow = cheerful, confident; transitions reinforce dramatic aesthetics</p>	<p>Abaya appears as a religious symbol that at the same time follows TikTok's aesthetic trends</p>
12		<p>The creator wore a black abaya with a sad expression; caption about failing to make a trend</p>	<p>Black = obedience; sad expression = cultural frustration</p>	<p>The abaya is positioned as a religious symbol as well as a social burden in popular culture</p>
13		<p>Creator wears a brown abaya; Caption "Yalili Part 999"</p>	<p>Brown = medium; Abaya as personal fashion</p>	<p>The abaya is represented as a religious symbol that is constantly repeated in digital trends</p>

14		<p>Three women transitioned from plain clothes → black & gray abaya; Text "Mode of Knowledge of the Hereafter"</p>	<p>Abaya = obedience; Dramatic transition = worldly-ukhrawi difference</p>	<p>The abaya is positioned as a symbol of spiritual transition in the digital space</p>
Picture 14 (@satisfyingforhau)				
15		<p>Seven women wear black abaya for a group photo</p>	<p>Black = uniformity, solidarity; Performing collectively</p>	<p>Abaya becomes a communal icon of Muslim women in religious & digital moments</p>
Content 15 (@ch0ociously)				

Table 3 shows a summary of semiotic analysis, while the figure shows engagement data from 15 contents. In general, content with elements of entertainment, humor, or dramatic visuals gets the highest engagement, for example content 1 (1.9 million likes), content 3 (3.3 million likes), and content 6 (2.4 million likes). This pattern shows that the abaya is not only positioned as a religious symbol, but also part of a dynamic digital popular culture. Each piece of content not only shows the practice of using the abaya, but also reconstructs identity through layers of denotation, connotation, and myth. As Barthes (1977) explains, visual signs always contain polysemic potentials that allow the audience to negotiate meaning. In this context, the abaya is no longer seen as just a religious garment, but also a digital popular culture icon that is produced, circulated, and received through TikTok's algorithmic mechanism.

The first content from its creator @fionyblh shows a schoolgirl wearing a white abaya at a school fashion show. The caption "Yaliyali part 2" accompanied by the hashtags religion (#maulidnabi) and culture (#arabic, #smansamapin) emphasizes the performative context of the content. At the denotation level, the visual displays white sharia clothes in the education room. However, at the level of connotation, the color white is interpreted as purity, innocence, and piety, which is enriched with the romantic nuances of Arabic music. In myth, the white abaya is positioned as a symbol of the religious and aesthetic identity of young Muslim women. The use of white color is widely studied in the study of color symbolism. In early Islamic literature, white was often associated with purity, goodness, and cleanliness, so white clothing in religious contexts had a strong symbolic content (Hirsch, 2019). One of the viewers' comments "I want to join the yali yali abaya trend, but my face looks more like it matches JJ's remix", suggesting that there is an inconsistent decoding process. Some audiences interpret fashion in terms of piety, while others place it in the context of popular entertainment. This phenomenon is consistent with the theory of representation of Putri & Setiawan (2023), that media messages are always negotiated through audience experience and preferences.

The second content from @arclunapasha shows five women wearing pastel abaya posing and then hugging. Caption "yalil yalili? @Elritz Abaya" indicates product promotion orientation as well

as participation in trends. At the denotation level, this content only displays variations of Muslim women's clothing. The connotation is that pastel colors are understood as a symbol of softness, femininity, and familiarity. At the mythical level, the abaya is positioned as a collective fashion icon that unites the identity of Muslim women. The audience's comment, *"I really want to wear an abaya like that, but I'm short so it's not suitable"*, shows that the audience interprets fashion through body limitations, not just a religious aspect. This shows that the identity of Muslim women on social media is not only negotiated through symbols of piety, but also body aesthetics and beauty standards (Hotait & Sayed, 2025). Social media and influencers are transforming Muslim clothing from a religious symbol into a fashion commodity, where aesthetics and stylistic appeal also influence public interpretation (Karakavak & Özbölük, 2023).

The third content of the @lasone_smg features two female students wearing black abaya in a school fashion show competition. The hashtags used (#harisantri, #fashion, #yaliyali) emphasized the link between religiosity and entertainment. The content denotation is a sharia fashion competition. The connotation of black brings a formal, elegant, and religious impression. At the mythical level, the abaya is positioned as the legitimacy of Muslim religiosity in the formal education space. Audience comments, such as *"there is an idle abaya, info if there is a fashion show ok"*, show that the abaya is understood as a flexible social attribute, which can be used in formal events as well as entertainment. This phenomenon shows the practice of adapting global symbols into local contexts, as explained by Appadurai (1996) through the concept of mediascapes. The abaya as Middle Eastern fashion is reproduced in Indonesian social spaces, resulting in a new contextual representation. This is in line with the findings Jia (2024), that digital media plays an important role in expanding meaning through the interaction of creators, audiences, and algorithms.

The fourth content features a woman wearing a burgundy abaya in a public space. Interestingly, the little children around the creator spontaneously called *"yalil yalili"*, which was then immortalized in the caption, *"Even little kids know this yali yali. Have you ever worn an abaya or a dress and someone responded to it?"*. This caption is also accompanied by a promotion of restock of burgundy abaya products. At the level of denotation, this content only displays female figures in sharia clothing. However, in connotations, the color burgundy indicates maturity, elegance and exclusivity. The mythical layer that has been formed is that the abaya is positioned not just as a religious symbol, but as a style icon that combines piety with an exclusive image. The audience's comment *"I still wear the abaya keeps look in the mirror", suddenly I like to sing yali yali myself"* on the content, showing how the audience's reception moved from a literal meaning to a more fluid cultural meaning. The song Kalam Eineh combined with Islamic clothing, formed a new affective memory among TikTok users. Linguistic and visual cues on social media work to build an ideological narrative that resonates with audiences. Religious and commercial aesthetic meanings can intersect, visual cues, and auditory cues on social media synergize to build an identity narrative that is both emotionally resonant and economically valuable (Hirsch, 2019).

The fifth content shows the creator wearing a black abaya with the funny text *"spec yalili"*. This video uses visual transitions that show an imaginary conversation narrative, *"we're going to do it because my mom is looking for a yalili spec"*, then switches to a scene of the creator wearing a black abaya with the text *"me:"*. The denotation of this content is a female figure wearing sharia clothing in a TikTok transition format. However, the connotations that are formed are related to the digital humor game: the abaya is not just a piece of clothing, but also a medium for telling jokes about social preferences. At the mythical level, the abaya is resemantized into a symbol of religiosity which is also a popular parody among young people. Audience comments such as *"ready to break through the price of the abaya"* show the existence of an economic layer in the reception, where the abaya is not only understood as a sign of piety, but also a commodity whose value is negotiated. According to Rosyada & Adinugraha (2022), the practice of Muslim women's clothing on social media is often closely related to market logic, where religious identity is tied to purchasing power and consumption. Thus, this content shows how the abaya works in two axes of meaning: religious-humorous and religious-commodifiative.

The sixth content features a woman wearing a pink abaya in a hotel room with the caption *"I've been told to check out hahah"*. The denotation of this content is a figure of a Muslim woman dressed in sharia clothes in a modern accommodation atmosphere. The connotations of pink signify softness, femininity, and playfulness, while the hotel's setting gives the impression of an urban lifestyle and social mobility. At the mythical level, the abaya is positioned as a symbol of a global Muslim woman who is religious but flexible, in tune with the modern lifestyle. Audience comments such as *"yalili abaya reference"* indicate that this content serves as a source of fashion inspiration, not just an entertainment spectacle. This phenomenon supports Rahma's (2022) findings, that digital media plays an important role in the development of Muslim fashion trends, especially in combining religious values with lifestyle identity. In this case, TikTok serves as a performative space where Islamic symbols undergo a transformation into popular fashion icons, reinforcing what Appadurai (1996) calls mediascapes, i.e. global cultural currents that are reproduced in local spaces.

The seventh piece of content comes from a business account featuring four women wearing black abayas. The text inserted reads *"we try to use yalii yalii to use abaya"*, with a promotional caption of the online store's collection products. At the denotation level, this content simply displays Muslim women figures in black abaya as part of the promotion. However, the connotations formed show nuances of uniformity, religiosity, as well as commercial performivity. Many Muslim fashion businesses utilize traditional designs and colors such as black to create products that are religiously accessible and commercially positioned on digital platforms such as online shops and social media (Amalanathan & Reddy-Best, 2024). At the mythical level, the abaya is positioned as a symbol of Muslim women's identity that not only affirms piety, but is also marketed as a fashion product that is worth consuming. Audience comments, such as *"oh this is yali yali must be black?i have a white color"*, show a negotiation between trend expectations (black abaya) and variations that audiences have (white abaya). Digital strategies and globalization are influencing the modest fashion industry, including the selection of aesthetics that can be sold in bulk (Fareed, 2025).

The eighth content came from the online store account @kazami.store which featured a woman wearing a brown abaya while posing with the caption *"Minsis join trend"*. At the level of denotation, this content simply displays abaya promotions in a simple format. However, in the connotation, brown gives a natural, earthy impression, and is close to the nuances of the earth, in contrast to the dominant black color in the previous trend. The mythical layer that is formed is that the abaya is positioned as a symbol of piety that is in harmony with the modern down-to-earth lifestyle, while affirming the brand image as part of TikTok's global trend. Audience comments, such as *"I want to buy an abaya but I'm a person who is a bit of a jerk, I'm afraid I don't deserve it"*, showing anxiety related to the compatibility of the body with religious clothing. This reinforces the findings Hotait & Sayed (2025), that fashion in the media is often negotiated with beauty standards and body performativeness. Thus, this content reaffirms that the commodification of religious clothing does not only involve aspects of spirituality, but is also mediated by the anxiety of the female body in the digital space (Isnawijayani et al., 2024).

The ninth content features four women with variations in the style of the abaya: two plain black, one black with a golden sheen, and one black-yellow combination. The caption *"My beautiful woman"* is accompanied by the hashtags religious (#abayagirls #masyaallahtabrakallah) and locality (#sekumpulmartapura). At the denotation level, this content features a group of women dressed as Muslim women. However, the connotation that emerges is the diversity of religious expressions combined with modern aesthetics. The layer of myth, the abaya is positioned as a symbol of Muslim women's collectivity, a sign of togetherness in religious identity as well as a popular style. Audience comments such as *"we should have this abaya, the rest of us wear crop tops"* show a comparison between the identity of Muslim women in abaya and non-sharia dress styles. This phenomenon shows how the abaya is used as a symbolic boundary between "us" and "them", or in Barthes (1977) terms, as a mythical sign that affirms the religious-secular binary opposition. This finding is in line with Rahma's (2022) study on Muslim women's clothing in Surakarta, where the abaya functions as an identity marker as well as an instrument of social differentiation.

The tenth content features a visual transition narrative: the creator initially wore a robe with the text *"persistent use of the robe, occasionally wear pants"* with an Indonesia remix song, then switched to wearing a black abaya with the text *"eitss can't do"*, using the song *Yalil Yalili*. The denotation of this content is the visual performance of fashion choices. The connotation suggests that the abaya is positioned as a final choice that is more appropriate than other fashion alternatives. In the mythical layer, the abaya is represented as an authoritative symbol of Muslim women's piety, which restricts the expression of dressing outside the sharia. Audience comments, such as *"let's do this"*, show a form of approval or invitation to participate in the trend, reinforcing the hegemonic meaning of the abaya. This phenomenon is in accordance with Gramsci's theory of hegemony reviewed by Hall (1997), that dominant cultural signs will seek to gain consensus through popular media. In this context, the abaya is resemantized as the ideal Muslim dress standard that must be followed.

The eleventh content features a fashion transition: the creator initially wears plain clothes with the text *"sorry, my type is yali yalili spec"*, then changes to a yellow abaya with the text "acc". Caption *"How is it? acc?"* affirmed an evaluative orientation, as if asking for recognition of the new identity displayed. The denotation of this content is the transition of clothes. The connotation is that the yellow abaya presents a cheerful, optimistic, and energetic feel, in contrast to the previous black-and-white dominance. At the mythical level, the abaya is represented as an "ideal spec" or standard that must be achieved to gain social legitimacy in the digital community. Audience comments such as *"The flaring version of the abaya/robe is designed to be billowed by the wind."* show that the audience not only accepts representation, but also creatively repositions the symbol. In other words, the abaya is not only understood as a sign of piety, but also as an aesthetic medium that can be modified according to the tastes of the audience.

The twelfth content shows the creator wearing a black abaya in the room with a sad expression, accompanied by the text, *"I've made an effort to wear yalili-style clothes on the beach so that I can make a trend like people but there are no buyers because I go with a big family, have a brother who is still a child"*. The accompanying caption reinforces the tone of disappointment. At the level of denotation, this video only shows female figures in sharia clothing. But the connotation is that abaya is positioned as a performative capital that fails to meet TikTok's algorithmic expectations. At the mythical level, the abaya is not just a symbol of piety, but also a representation of inhibited social aspirations. Audience comments such as *"we must make yali yalili in the beach"* indicate the desire for collective participation, so that the abaya in this context is understood as an instrument of social connection. This is in line with the findings of Rahma (2022), that Muslim women's clothing not only affirms religious identity, but also functions as a means of building social networks.

The thirteenth content features the creator wearing a brown abaya with the caption *"yalili part 999 abaya by @Z.byzahra check my showcase"*. At the denotation level, this content simply displays product promotions. However, the connotation leads to a repetition of the trend: "part 999" indicates saturation as well as consistency in repeating the same symbol. At the mythical level, the abaya is represented as a sign that never fades, an icon that the digital industry is constantly reproducing. Audience comments, such as *"Why am I not allowed to wear the abaya, even though I want to be a yali yali spec"*, show that there are social or cultural restrictions experienced by some audiences. This reinforces Hall's (1997) view that media representation is never neutral, but is always related to power relations. In this context, the abaya is understood not only as a fashion, but also as an exclusive standard that is not accessible to all women. These findings are in line with studies Dewi et al. (2022), which show that Muslim women's fashion symbols often give rise to exclusion based on class, generation, and social environment. The global modest fashion trend allows religious clothing symbols to circulate constantly and experience variations in meaning in the market (Fareed, 2025).

The fourteenth content features three women with visual transitions: initially wearing ordinary clothes with the text *"fashion to seek knowledge of the world"*, then changing to an abaya

(two black, one grey) with the text "*fashion of seeking knowledge of the hereafter (ba'da rohis)*". The denotation of this content is fashion transitions. The connotation is that the abaya is positioned as a more serious symbol of religiosity, compared to ordinary clothing associated with the mundane. At the mythical level, the abaya is presented as a medium of spiritual transformation: from the world to the afterlife. Audience comments such as "*wait, I'll just checkout the abaya first.*" show the presence of humorous participation that at the same time affirms the hegemony of religious meaning. In other words, audiences respond to religious representations with light language, but still acknowledge the symbolic legitimacy of the abaya. This phenomenon is in line with the findings Tasman & Mahadian (2025), that social media reinforces religious norms by incorporating them into the practice of humor. Digital technology has influenced modest fashion trends through the recontextualization of symbols in Muslim society (Amalanathan & Reddy-Best, 2024)

The fifteenth content featured seven women wearing black abayas, with the audience's comment "*Let's wear the yalili abaya on Eid al-Adha.*" In the denotation, this content shows a group of Muslim women in uniform clothing. The connotation is that black presents a formal, solemn, and compact feel. At the mythical level, the abaya is positioned as a symbol of a religious Muslim community, which can be celebrated in religious moments such as Eid al-Adha. Audience comments affirm the relationship between fashion and religious rituals, where the abaya is not only understood as a trend, but also part of religious collective expression. Modest fashion consumers consider religious, social, and aesthetic aspects simultaneously in choosing fashion that religious clothing is not only a matter of obedience but also of identity and collective expression (Radwan et al., 2019)

The findings of this study show novelty compared to previous studies. Overall, the results of this study show that the representation of abaya in TikTok content with the background of the song Kalam 'Eineh in the lyrics of yalil yalili not only functions as a marker of religiosity, but also undergoes a transformation of meaning into a lifestyle symbol, digital commodification, collective solidarity, and identity negotiation space. This phenomenon shows how digital popular culture is able to shift the boundaries between the sacred and the profane, as well as between individual and collective expression.

The novelty of this research lies in Roland Barthes' semiotic approach applied to the contemporary phenomenon of the use of abaya on TikTok. If the research of Rahma (2022) still emphasizes the development of Muslim women's fashion in conventional mass media, and Fadli & Elviria (2025) focuses more on cultural representation through Saussure's semiotics in TikTok content, then this study presents a new perspective by outlining the three layers of Barthes' meaning—denotation, connotation, and myth—to understand the complexity of abaya symbols in the digital space. This research also opens up space for further studies related to the relationship between Islamic fashion, social media, and the practice of cultural representation that continues to grow in the global digital ecosystem.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that the representation of the abaya in TikTok content with the background of the song Kalam Eineh reflects the transformation of religious meaning into a modern aesthetic symbol that is produced in a participatory manner in digital culture. Through Roland Barthes' semiotic framework, it is found that the abaya not only serves as a sign of Muslim women's dress, but also as a medium of articulation of identity that combines the values of piety, urban lifestyle, and aesthetic aspirations. At the connotative and mythological level, the symbol of the abaya undergoes a process of naturalization in which religious meaning is attached to the construction of popular culture, creating a new myth about the ideal image of a pious and fashionable Muslim woman. These results show that digital spaces like TikTok become an arena for meaning negotiation, where audiences play an active role in constructing and interpreting visual signs according to their own experiences and ideologies. However, this study has some limitations

that need to be noted. First, the sample size of the TikTok videos analyzed is still limited, so it does not fully represent the variety of content across time and regions. Second, the analysis is focused on the visual and lyrical semiotic dimensions, without involving interviews with the content creator or audience that can enrich the reception perspective. Third, because the nature of data is sourced from highly dynamic media, the meaning found is temporal and can change as digital trends shift. For further research, it is suggested that the study be expanded with a multimodal discourse analysis approach and involve user participation in interviews or surveys to understand the production process and interpret meaning more deeply. In addition, cross-cultural comparative research can be conducted to explore how abaya symbols and Arabic musical elements are interpreted in various social and state contexts. This approach will enrich the understanding of the transformation of religious signs in global digital culture and expand Barthes' semiotic contributions in explaining the dynamics of meaning in the age of participatory and algorithmic social media. This research encourages the strengthening of digital semiotic literacy so that people, especially the young generation of Muslims, have critical awareness in reading religious symbols on social media which are often commodified in the form of entertainment and fashion. The results of this study also have practical implications for the Muslim fashion industry and cultural policymakers to develop communication strategies that are sensitive to religious values without ignoring the aesthetic and commercial dynamics in popular culture.

REFERENCES

- Ahmad, M., & Wilkins, S. (2024). Purposive sampling in qualitative research: a framework for the entire journey. *Quality & Quantity: International Journal of Methodology*, 59(2), 1461–1479. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-024-02022-5>
- Al Saud, L. S. (2025). Draped in Meaning: The Evolving Symbolism of the Black Abaya in Saudi Arabia. *Gulf Education and Social Policy Review (Gespr)*, 6(1), 39–62. <https://doi.org/10.18502/gespr.v6i1.17198>
- Amalanathan, S., & Reddy-Best, K. L. (2024). Modesty in business, bold in fashion: entrepreneurial experiences of U.S. Muslim women in niche fashion markets. *Journal of Innovation and Entrepreneurship*, 13(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13731-024-00420-5>
- Barus, E., Aisyah, Siregar, E. F., & Risnawaty. (2025). An Analysis of Roland Barthes' Semiotic Theory: Focusing on Denotation, Connotation, and Myth. *International Journal of Educational Research Excellence (Ijere)*, 4(2), 355–363. <https://doi.org/10.55299/ijere.v4i2.1438>
- Cao, H. (2025). Exploring the promotion of musical intangible cultural heritage under TikTok short videos. *Scientific Reports*, 15(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-09723-3>
- Dewi, E., Amrullah, M. A., Suhertina, Sariah, & Yasnel. (2022). Hijab Culture Phenomenon Between Religion, Trend, and Identity. *Kalam*, 16(2), 177–190. <https://doi.org/10.24042/klm.v16i2.14238>
- Fadli, M., & Elviria, S. (2025). Analisis Semiotik Ferdinand de Saussure Terhadap Representasi Budaya Dalam Konten TikTok @pesonaindonesia. *Coms: Journal of Communication E-ISSN*, 1(1), 1–11. [Google](https://doi.org/10.30605/coms.v1i1.14238)
- Fareed, M. (2025). Globalization of Modest Fashion: Entrepreneurial Innovations and Insights From Contemporary Muslim Civilization. *Journal of Business and Economic Analysis*, 7(1), 16–42. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.15525757>
- Fraser, T., Crooke, A. H. D., & Davidson, J. W. (2021). “Music Has No Borders”: An Exploratory Study of Audience Engagement With YouTube Music Broadcasts During Covid-19 Lockdown, 2020. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.643893>
- Habsari, S. U. H. (2015). Fashion Hijab dalam Kajian Budaya Populer. *Jurnal Ppkm II*, 126–134. <https://doi.org/10.32699/ppkm.v2i2.356>
- Hijrah, M., Cahyanii, A., & Sakka, A. (2023). Kajian Budaya Populer: Analisis terhadap Pengaruh

- Media Massa. *JSL: Jurnal Socia Logica*, 3(1), 2023. [Google](#)
- Hirsch, H. (2019). Clothing and colours in early Islam: Adornment (Aesthetics), symbolism and differentiation. *Anthropology of the Middle East*, 15(1), 99–114. <https://doi.org/10.3167/ame.2020.150108>
- Hirsch, H. (2021). Circulation of fashions: Deciphering foreign influences on the creation of Muslim Clothing in early Islam. *Hamsa*, 7, 0–25. <https://doi.org/10.4000/hamsa.1209>
- Hotait, N., & Sayed, F. E. L. (2025). *Beyond the hijab : Performing religious identity on TikTok*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00377686251340897>
- Isnawijayani, I., Widayatsih, T., Widhi, D., Lexianingrum, S. R. P., Taqwa, D. M., & Amelia, F. (2024). Navigating Gender Sexism on Social Media: Challenges and Collective Solidarity Among Hijab-Wearing Women in Muslim Fashion Trends on TikTok. *Muharrrik: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial*, 7(1), 113–127. <https://doi.org/10.37680/muharrrik.v7i1.5543>
- Istiyanto, B., Putri, K. Y. S., Muzykant, V. L., Siregar, A. M., & Khadiz, A. V. (2024). R. Barthes's Semiotic Approach to Media Reports: Indonesian Case. *Rudn Journal of Language Studies, Semiotics and Semantics*, 15(2), 430–442. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-2299-2024-15-2-430-442>
- Jadou, S. H., & Al Ghabra, I. M. M. M. (2021). Barthes' Semiotic Theory and Interpretation of Signs. *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities*, 11(3). <https://doi.org/10.37648/ijrssh.v11i03.027>
- Jia, H. (2024). Analysis of TikTok ' s Popular Videos from a Semiotic Perspective. *ARLANTIS PRESS*, 126–131. <https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-281-1>
- Karakavak, Z., & Özbölük, T. (2023). When modesty meets fashion: how social media and influencers change the meaning of hijab. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 14(11), 2907–2927. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-05-2021-0152>
- Kizgin, H., Jamal, A., Dey, B. L., & Rana, N. P. (2018). The Impact of Social Media on Consumers' Acculturation and Purchase Intentions. *Information Systems Frontiers*, 20(3), 503–514. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10796-017-9817-4>
- Manzoor, S. R., Al-Mahmud, A., Asmawi, A., & Manzoor, S. R. (2024). Advancing Muslim Modest Fashion Clothing: Impact on Consumer Behavior and Challenges for Young Female Muslim Influencers. *Journal of Comparative Asian Development*, 20(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.4018/JCAD.346369>
- Pratiwi, A. V. M., & Sholihah, R. A. (2020). Evolusi dan Eksistensi Model Abaya pada Masa Modern di Jazirah Arab. *Al-Adabiya: Jurnal Kebudayaan Dan Keagamaan*, 15(02), 229–241. <https://doi.org/10.37680/adabiya.v15i02.620>
- Putri, K. R., & Setiawan, R. (2023). Arus Budaya Pop Korea dalam Gaya Hidup Mahasiswa Pendidikan Sosiologi Fkip Untirta dalam Perspektif Arjun Appadurai. *Edusociata Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi*, 6, 357–364. <https://doi.org/10.33627/es.v6i1.1335>
- Radermacher, M. (2024). Texts and Images as Data in Qualitative Social Research: Proposing a Common Methodological Approach. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 23, 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069241233170>
- Radwan, M., Kamal, M., Khavarinezhad, S., & Calandra, D. (2019). Influencing Factors on Modest Fashion Market: A Case Study. *International Journal of Applied Research in Management and Economics*, 2(1), 12–22. <https://doi.org/10.33422/ijarme.v2i1.208>
- Rahma, D. (2022). *Perkembangan Busana Muslim Wanita di Surakarta tahun 1991-2020 dalam Kajian Budaya Populer melalui Media Massa*. [Google](#)
- Ramadhani, N. H., Mulyani, R. E., Abdullah, M. Y., & Rada, I. A. (2025). Misreading the Sacred? A Netnographic Analysis of Youth Reception of Arabic Songs in Shalawat Majelis. *Dinika : Academic Journal of Islamic Studies*, 10(1), 59–82. <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v10i1.11255>
- Rijali, A. (2018). Analisis Data Kualitatif. *Alhadharah: Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, 17(33), 81. <https://doi.org/10.18592/alhadharah.v17i33.2374>

- Rosyada, F. A., & Adinugraha, H. H. (2022). The Influence of Hijab Fashion Trends on Consumptive Behavior of Islamic Banking Students at Iain Pekalongan. *Jmif: Journal of Management and Islamic Finance*, 2(1), 43–53. <https://doi.org/10.22515/JMIF.v2i1.5114>
- Siregar, R. Y. (2021). Local Wisdom and Social Change (Roland Barthes' Semiotic Analysis in Advertisement "The Light of Aceh"). *Al-Adabiya: Jurnal Kebudayaan Dan Keagamaan*, 16(1), 15–26. <https://doi.org/10.37680/adabiya.v16i1.715>
- Slater, S., & Catherine, D. (2021). Marketer acculturation to diversity needs: The case of modest fashion across two multicultural contexts. *Journal of Business Research*, 134, 702–715. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2021.05.059>
- Sugiyono. (2016). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D*. PT Alfabet. [Google](#)
- Tasman, P. A., & Mahadian, A. B. (2025). Representasi Islam Dalam Humor Habib Ja'far Al-Hadar (Analisis Semiotika Pada Konten Youtube Jeda Nulis). *EProceedings of Management*, 12(2), 550–554. [Google](#)
- Ulfa, R. (2016). Analisis Semiotika Peirce: Pakaian Jenis Gamis sebagai Representasi Budaya Arab. *Semiotika Jurnal Komunikasi*, 401–438. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30813/s:jk.v10i2.946>
- Wróblewski, Ł., Bilińska-Reformat, K., & Grzesiak, M. (2018). Sustainable activity of cultural service consumers of social media users-Influence on the brand capital of cultural institutions. *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, 10(11). <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10113986>
- Yudha, A. T. R. C., Huda, N., Maksum, Sherawali, & Wijayanti, I. (2024). The Moderating Effect of Religiosity on Fashion Uniqueness and Consciousness in Halal Fashion Purchase. *Indonesian Journal of Halal Research*, 6(2), 70–83. <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijhar.v6i2.34614>