Anggah-Ungguhing Balinese Speech Levels in Muslim Wedding Rituals: Implications for Community Education

Siti Rosidah[1], I Wayan Gede Wisnu[2], Ida Bagus Rai[3]

[1,2,3] Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha, Indonesia
e-mail: sitirosiadi2762@gmail.com[1], gede.wisnu@undiksha.ac.id[2], bagus.rai@undiksha.ac.id[3]

Abstract: Previous studies on Balinese speech levels have primarily focused on language use within Hindu communities, while their use in Muslim wedding rituals remains underexplored. This study examines the terminology of Muslim wedding rituals and the forms of *Anggah-Ungguhing* used by the Muslim community in Pegayaman Village, Buleleng, Bali. Employing a qualitative descriptive approach with a phenomenological orientation and communication ethnography, data were collected through video observation, interviews, and documentation, then analyzed through data reduction, classification, description, and conclusion drawing. The findings identify three levels of wedding ritual organization, *nista*, *madya*, and *utama*, comprising six ritual stages: *metahu*, *mapaitungan*, *nyangkreb*, *ngunye*, *nyuang nganten*, and *natab*. The analysis documents six speech categories: *Alus Singgih* (2 words), *Alus Mider* (105), *Alus Sor* (7), *Alus Madia* (32), *Mider* (19), and *Andap* (49). These findings demonstrate the continued use of differentiated Balinese speech levels in Muslim wedding practices. The study contributes to research on language maintenance among non-Hindu communities and offers insights for culturally responsive multicultural education. The originality of this study lies in demonstrating how six categories of Balinese speech levels are maintained and used in Muslim wedding rituals, highlighting the role of local cultural practices in sustaining Balinese linguistic traditions beyond Hindu communities.

Keywords: Anggah-Ungguhing, Language Maintenance, Multicultural Education, Muslim Wedding Rituals, Balinese Language Levels.

INTRODUCTION

Language is not merely a means of communication but also a cultural resource through which communities express social relationships, collective identity, and inherited values (Wirawan & Paramarta, 2025). In Bali, the Balinese language occupies an important position in everyday interaction, cultural activities, and religious ceremonies. Its speech-level system, known as *Anggah-Ungguhing Basa Bali*, reflects the ways speakers select linguistic forms according to interpersonal relationships and communicative contexts (Kadyanan et al., 2025). Previous studies have discussed the functions of Balinese as a mother tongue, a medium of communication, and a symbol of regional identity (Temaja, 2018; Suwija et al., 2019). Ideally, the preservation of Balinese should therefore be understood not only as the maintenance of vocabulary and grammatical structures but also as the continuation of its socially situated use across different cultural and religious communities.

The actual linguistic landscape of Bali, however, cannot be understood exclusively through the experiences of Hindu communities. Historical interaction, migration, and cultural adaptation have contributed to the emergence of communities that maintain distinct religious identities while participating in Balinese cultural life. Pegayaman Village in Buleleng represents an important example of this interaction. The Muslim community in this village has developed cultural practices shaped by long-standing encounters between Balinese and Islamic traditions. Previous discussions of Pegayaman have highlighted its cultural acculturation, including naming practices, settlement patterns, social traditions, and communal activities (Prasetya, 2012; Azeharie, 2018). This context demonstrates that cultural identity and linguistic practice are not necessarily confined to a single ethnic or religious category.

The use of Balinese among Muslims in Pegayaman is particularly significant because it illustrates how a regional language can be maintained beyond the dominant religious community commonly associated with its cultural heritage. The manuscript reports that community members use different forms of Balinese according to their interlocutors and social situations, including more refined forms when interacting with religious leaders and other respected persons. Such practices suggest that *Anggah-Ungguhing* remains relevant to everyday social interaction and culturally meaningful events. Research on Pegayaman has also discussed the relationship between local wisdom, religious moderation, and cultural coexistence (Suarnaya, 2021). Nevertheless, the continued existence of a language in a community does not by itself explain how its speech levels function within specific ceremonial interactions.

Wedding rituals provide a valuable setting for examining this relationship because they involve multiple participants, culturally prescribed procedures, and interactions shaped by social roles. The manuscript identifies distinctive stages in Muslim wedding practices in Pegayaman, including *metahu*, *mapaitungan*, *nyangkreb*, *ngunye*, *nyuang nganten*, and *natab*. Although these practices share certain similarities with wedding traditions elsewhere in Bali, their implementation is shaped by the community's Islamic identity and local customs. Previous studies have addressed differences in wedding procedures and the adaptation of Balinese traditions within Muslim wedding practices (Tudjuka, 2019; Bachtiar et al., 2022). These studies provide an important cultural foundation for understanding the ceremony, while the linguistic choices made during its stages require more focused examination.

Previous research has also directly addressed Balinese speech levels in the Pegayaman Muslim community. Dewi et al. (2015), as cited in the manuscript, examined *Anggah-Ungguhing Basa Bali* in communal gatherings and everyday interactions, emphasizing the influence of interlocutors on speech-level selection. Other studies have explored cultural acculturation in Pegayaman, including the incorporation of Balinese and Islamic elements into local social life (Suarnaya, 2021). Research cited in the manuscript has further discussed distinctive linguistic expressions and lexical forms used by the community (Punia & Nugroho, 2022). Taken together, these studies establish that language, social relationships, and cultural identity are interconnected in Pegayaman. They also provide a foundation for examining the role of language in ceremonial contexts rather than treating linguistic practice as an isolated phenomenon.

Despite these contributions, a more specific analytical gap remains concerning the forms of *Anggah-Ungguhing* used throughout the stages of Muslim wedding rituals. Studies of everyday communication and communal gatherings do not automatically explain how speech levels are distributed across ceremonial procedures, particularly when speakers interact in contexts involving family members, religious figures, wedding participants, and other community members. Similarly, research on wedding customs primarily concerned with ritual procedures and cultural adaptation does not necessarily provide a systematic classification of the linguistic forms used during those procedures. The present study addresses this intersection by examining both the terminology of wedding rituals and the categories of Balinese speech levels documented in their performance. This gap is therefore contextual and analytical, rather than a claim that previous research has entirely overlooked Balinese language or the Pegayaman community.

The originality of this study lies in bringing the analysis of *Anggah-Ungguhing* into direct dialogue with the sequential organization of Muslim wedding rituals in Pegayaman. Rather than examining speech levels only in everyday interaction or discussing weddings solely as cultural practices, the study documents linguistic categories within a specific ceremonial setting. The analysis identifies three levels of wedding ritual organization, *nista*, *madya*, and *utama*, and examines six ritual stages alongside six recorded categories of Balinese speech: *Alus Singgih*, *Alus Mider*, *Alus Sor*, *Alus Madia*, *Mider*, and *Andap*. By presenting the categories and their recorded occurrences, the study offers an empirical account of how Balinese speech-level distinctions appear in a Muslim ceremonial context. Its contribution is thus a context-specific linguistic description that can inform subsequent research on language use across cultural and religious boundaries.

The urgency of this research arises from the need to document linguistic practices that may be overlooked when language preservation is discussed only in relation to majority communities or formal language instruction. Ceremonial interactions can preserve vocabulary, forms of address, and socially meaningful patterns of communication that are transmitted through community participation. Documenting these practices is important not only for sociolinguistics but also for cultural education and the development of multicultural perspectives. In the Pegayaman context, the use of Balinese during Muslim wedding rituals illustrates how linguistic continuity can coexist with religious distinctiveness. Nevertheless, the findings must be interpreted within the boundaries of the study's single-community context and should not be generalized to all Muslim communities in Bali without further comparative evidence.

Accordingly, this study aims to describe the terminology and stages of Muslim wedding rituals in Pegayaman Village and to identify the forms of *Anggah-Ungguhing Basa Bali* used during these rituals. Using a qualitative descriptive approach with a phenomenological orientation and communication ethnography, the study draws on video observation, interviews, and documentation. The analysis is intended to contribute to the documentation of Balinese speech-level use among a non-Hindu community, deepen understanding of the relationship between language and local cultural practices, and provide a contextual basis for further research on language maintenance and multicultural education.

METHOD

Table 1. Summary of the Research Method

Component	Description
Research design	Qualitative descriptive research with a phenomenological orientation
Analytical perspective	Communication ethnography
Research setting	Pegayaman Village, Sukasada District, Buleleng Regency, Bali, Indonesia
Participants/informants	Community elders, religious leaders, married couples, and other knowledgeable community members
Data collection	Observation, guided interviews, and documentation
Research instruments	Observation guide, interview guide, documentation records, and linguistic data-classification table
Analytical framework	Miles and Huberman 's data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification
Credibility strategy	Triangulation of observational, interview, and documentary evidence
Main analytical categories	ASI, AMI, ASO, AMA, Mider, and Andap

Research Design

This study employed a qualitative descriptive design with a phenomenological orientation and a communication ethnography perspective to examine the use of *Anggah-Ungguhing Basa Bali* in Muslim wedding rituals in Pegayaman Village, Sukasada District, Buleleng Regency, Bali, Indonesia. A qualitative approach was appropriate because the study focused on describing linguistic forms as they occur in social and cultural interactions. The phenomenological orientation supported an examination of the practices and meanings associated with the community's wedding traditions, while communication ethnography provided a framework for understanding language use in relation to speakers, social relationships, and communicative contexts. The analysis concentrated on two aspects: the terminology and stages of Muslim wedding rituals, and the categories of Balinese speech levels used during these rituals.

Research Setting and Focus

The research was conducted in Pegayaman Village, a Muslim community in Bali whose social and cultural practices reflect a long history of interaction between Balinese and Islamic traditions. The community was selected because

the use of Balinese in its wedding rituals provides a context for examining the maintenance of a regional language beyond the Hindu community with which Balinese cultural identity is commonly associated. The research participants and informants were community members familiar with wedding procedures, including community elders, religious leaders (*ustadz*), married couples, and other individuals involved in organizing or carrying out the ceremonies. The primary analytical focus was the forms of *Anggah-Ungguhing Basa Bali* used in wedding interactions, while the ritual stages provided the contextual framework for classifying the linguistic data.

Data Sources and Collection Techniques

The study drew on observational records, interviews, and documentation. Observation focused on wedding procedures, the terminology used to identify ritual stages, and the Balinese speech forms employed by participants during ceremonial interactions. The interviews were guided by questions concerning the organization of wedding rituals, the meanings of ritual terminology, and the use of speech levels during the ceremonies. Informants were selected purposively based on their knowledge of local wedding practices and their involvement in community life. Documentation, including photographs, video records, and relevant written materials, was used to support the description and classification of the observed linguistic forms. The research report refers to preliminary observation in November 2024 and documents the main fieldwork period as 1–31 March 2025.

Research Instruments and Data Organization

The main research instrument was the researcher, supported by an observation guide, an interview guide, documentation records, and a data-classification table or data cards. The classification table was used to organize each recorded expression according to its speech-level category, the associated wedding stage or ritual terminology, the supporting documentation, and explanatory notes. The categories examined were *Alus Singgih* (ASI), *Alus Mider* (AMI), *Alus Sor* (ASO), *Alus Madia* (AMA), *Mider*, and *Andap*. This systematic organization enabled the researcher to connect individual linguistic expressions with the social and ceremonial contexts in which they occurred.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using the interactive qualitative analysis framework of Miles and Huberman (1992), comprising data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. First, data reduction involved selecting and organizing observational records, interview accounts, and documentary evidence

relevant to the research questions. Expressions that could be associated with the study's focus were classified according to their identified speech-level categories and ritual contexts. Second, data display involved presenting the classified material in descriptive narratives and tables to show the relationship between wedding stages and the linguistic forms recorded. Third, conclusions were drawn by interpreting recurring patterns, describing the distribution of speech-level categories, and relating the findings to the study's objectives. The reported frequency of expressions in each category was used descriptively to summarize the collected linguistic data, rather than as the basis for statistical generalization.

Data Credibility

To strengthen the credibility of the findings, the study used triangulation by considering evidence from observation, interviews, and documentation. Comparing these sources provided a basis for examining whether descriptions of ritual stages and linguistic expressions were consistent across the available records. The classification table also supported traceability by linking the identified speech forms to their corresponding ritual contexts and documentary evidence. Because the study focused on one community and a specific ceremonial setting, its findings are interpreted as a context-specific account of Balinese speech-level use among Muslims in Pegayaman rather than as representative of all Muslim communities in Bali. The methodological description follows the procedures reported in the original research manuscript.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The Organization of Muslim Wedding Rituals in Pegayaman

The findings reveal that Muslim wedding practices in Pegayaman Village, Sukasada District, Buleleng Regency, Bali, are organized through three levels: *nista*, *madya*, and *utama*. According to the thesis, these levels reflect differences in the circumstances and agreements of the two families, including their readiness to conduct the marriage and fulfill customary requirements. The community does not apply a single wedding procedure uniformly to every couple. Instead, the process accommodates family circumstances while maintaining locally recognized customary practices. This finding demonstrates that marriage arrangements in Pegayaman are shaped by both religious commitments and inherited cultural conventions. The three levels should therefore be understood as locally situated categories of wedding organization rather than as a universal classification of Muslim marriages.

The *Nista* level is associated in the thesis with *ngerorod* or elopement when the families have not reached an agreement concerning the marriage. Nevertheless, the procedure is not described as entirely detached from family responsibility. The manuscript explains that a relative or acquaintance may inform the bride's family about the situation, allowing subsequent communication and negotiation to take place. The *madya* level emphasizes customary procedures, particularly *nyangkreb*, through which the families discuss the marriage and its requirements. The *utama* level is associated with more extensive negotiations and agreement concerning the marriage arrangements, including the *mahar* or marital gift. These distinctions indicate that family agreement, customary negotiation, and the capacity to meet agreed requirements are important considerations in organizing weddings in Pegayaman.

The study identifies six principal stages in the wedding process: *metahu*, *mapaitungan*, *nyangkreb*, *ngunye*, *nyuang nganten*, and *natabin*. The stages represent interconnected activities rather than six isolated ceremonies. They involve communicating the intention to marry, determining an appropriate date, negotiating between families, offering prayers, arranging the bride's transfer, and solemnizing the marriage. The village head, A. Asyghor Ali, and religious leader Abdul Ghofar Ismail are among the informants whose statements inform the descriptions of these practices. Their accounts indicate that customary knowledge is communicated by community figures who participate in or understand the wedding process.

The first stage, *metahu*, involves informing the families about the intended marriage and initiating communication between the prospective bride's and groom's families. The interview accounts describe this stage as an opportunity to discuss readiness, identify an appropriate wedding date, and establish an initial understanding between the families. Muhammad Suharto, identified in the thesis as a local historical figure, also connects *metahu* with the historical continuity of wedding practices in Pegayaman. The stage therefore serves both a practical and a relational function: it communicates the intention to marry while preparing the families for subsequent negotiations and arrangements.

The second stage, *mapaitungan*, concerns determining an appropriate wedding date and coordinating relevant requirements. According to the informants, the process considers both the Balinese calendar and the Islamic Hijri calendar. Discussions may also address the *mahar*, the marriage contract, and arrangements that need to be completed before the ceremony. The combination of these calendars is a distinctive finding because it demonstrates how local calendrical knowledge and Islamic religious considerations are accommodated within the same customary process. The thesis presents

mapaitungan as a stage of deliberation and preparation rather than merely a calculation of dates.

The third stage, *nyangkreb*, is described as a proposal or formal negotiation involving the groom's family and the bride's family. The discussions can include the *mahar*, customary requirements, family responsibilities, and the arrangements needed before the wedding. Informants emphasize that this practice has been maintained across generations and helps establish mutual understanding between the two families. The customary exchange may include locally recognized offerings and food, such as *base* (betel leaves), *gambir*, *pamor*, areca nut, and tobacco. These objects are described in the source as part of the customary presentation accompanying the negotiation. The significance of *nyangkreb* thus extends beyond proposing marriage: it also provides a structured occasion for establishing family relationships and reaching agreement.

The fourth stage, *ngunye*, involves visiting the bride's family and offering prayers or *sholawat*. The thesis distinguishes the meaning of this term in the local Muslim wedding context from its use in certain Balinese Hindu ceremonial contexts. In Pegayaman, informants describe *ngunye* as a visit intended to seek blessings and well-being for the prospective couple. Family members and religious figures may participate in the gathering, which generally takes place before *nyuang nganten*. This stage illustrates how a locally familiar term can acquire a context-specific meaning within the community's Muslim wedding tradition.

The fifth stage, *nyuang nganten*, involves the formal transfer of the bride through a gathering attended by members of both families and other community participants. The source describes customary offerings, including *base*, *gambir*, *pamor*, areca nut, and tobacco. The ceremony also includes speeches, expressions of gratitude, apologies, prayers, and the acknowledgment of family responsibilities. The interview accounts emphasize that the transfer follows a series of discussions and agreements rather than being treated as an isolated act. This stage consequently brings together customary objects, formal speech, religious expressions, and family relationships within a shared ceremonial setting.

The sixth stage, *natabin* or *natab*, is identified as the concluding stage of the wedding process. The thesis describes the solemnization of the marriage through the recitation of *ijab* and *qabul*, witnessed by relevant religious and administrative representatives and members of both families. The manuscript includes Arabic formulations of the marriage declaration and acceptance, together with their Indonesian explanations. It also reports that the ceremony is associated with the official recognition of the marriage and the issuance of a marriage certificate through the relevant authorities. The combination

of Islamic contractual expressions, administrative recognition, and local ceremonial continuity illustrates the multiple dimensions of the concluding stage.

Taken together, these findings indicate that Pegayaman's Muslim wedding tradition integrates religious procedures, family negotiation, customary exchanges, and locally meaningful language practices. The six stages provide the social contexts in which speakers communicate with elders, relatives, religious figures, and prospective in-laws. The linguistic data documented in the thesis are therefore embedded in actual ceremonial activities rather than being presented solely as an inventory of isolated vocabulary. This contextual relationship is important for interpreting the subsequent classification of *Anggah-Ungguhing* in the wedding process.

The Distribution of Balinese Speech-Level Categories

The linguistic analysis identifies six categories of *Anggah-Ungguhing* in the wedding data: *Alus Singgih* (ASI), *Alus Mider* (AMI), *Alus Sor* (ASO), *Alus Madia* (AMA), *Mider*, and *Andap*. The thesis records 214 classified word or phrase units across the six wedding stages. Of these, 105 are categorized as AMI, 49 as Andap, 32 as AMA, 19 as Mider, seven as ASO, and two as ASI. The distribution demonstrates that the recorded speech is not linguistically uniform. Instead, the data contain multiple speech-level categories, with AMI accounting for the largest number of classified units.

Table 1. Distribution of Balinese Speech-Level

Wedding stage	ASI	AMI	ASO	AMA	Mider	Andap	Total
Metahu	2	25	2	1	1	19	50
Mapaitungan	0	8	1	1	18	0	28
Nyangkreb	0	1	4	28	0	4	37
Ngunye	0	29	0	1	0	15	45
Nyuang nganten	0	34	0	0	0	11	45
Natabin	0	8	0	0	0	1	9
Total	**2**	**105**	**7**	**32**	**19**	**49**	**214**

Source: Adapted and translated from Siti Rosidah of the thesis. The Balinese category labels and the reported numerical counts are retained.

The distribution varies across the stages. *Metahu* contains 50 classified units, including 25 AMI units, 19 Andap units, two ASI units, two ASO units, one AMA unit, and one Mider unit. *Mapaitungan* contains 28 units, with Mider being the largest category at 18 units, followed by eight AMI units and one unit each of ASO and AMA. *Nyangkreb* contains 37 units, of which 28 are

classified as AMA, four as ASO, four as Andap, and one as AMI. These differences show that the recorded linguistic distribution changes according to the stage and the speech documented in it. They do not, by themselves, establish that a particular category is universally required for a particular ceremony.

In *ngunye*, the thesis records 45 units: 29 AMI, 15 Andap, and one AMA. *Nyuang nganten* also contains 45 units, comprising 34 AMI and 11 Andap. In *natabin*, nine units are recorded, including eight AMI units and one Andap unit. AMI is therefore the most numerous categories in the overall dataset and the leading category in four of the six stages: *metahu*, *ngunye*, *nyuang nganten*, and *natabin*. The other two stages show different distributions: Mider is the largest category in *mapaitungan*, while AMA predominates in *nyangkreb*. This variation is one of the study's distinctive empirical findings.

The examples presented in the thesis also show that speech practices involve greetings, respectful forms of address, negotiation, family introductions, expressions of gratitude, prayers, and the formal language of the marriage contract. For example, *titian* appears in speakers' statements, while expressions such as *sane mangkin* ("now" or "at this time"), *ngiring* ("let us" or "please join," depending on context), and *nunas kerahayuan* ("asking for well-being or blessings") appear in ceremonial discourse. The thesis classifies individual words or phrases according to its *Anggah-Ungguhing* framework. These examples should be interpreted in their full utterance and interactional contexts because the function of a form may depend on who is speaking, to whom, and for what purpose.

A notable finding is that the wedding discourse combines Balinese speech-level forms with Islamic expressions, including *Alhamdulillah*, *Assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh*, *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim*, *sholawat*, and references to Allah. The *natabin* data additionally include Arabic formulations of *ijab* and *qabul*. The coexistence of these expressions with Balinese vocabulary and ceremonial terms indicates that local linguistic practices and Islamic religious language operate within the same event. This observation is particularly relevant to understanding how a Muslim community maintains a locally rooted cultural tradition without treating religious and linguistic identities as mutually exclusive.

The thesis further documents the use of customary terms and objects in family negotiations, particularly during *nyangkreb* and *nyuang nganten*. References to the *mahar*, family agreement, offerings, and the transfer of the bride occur alongside forms that the thesis classifies as AMA, AMI, ASO, and Andap. The recorded data consequently provide evidence of language use in situations involving family relations, negotiation, and ceremonial

responsibilities. However, the numerical counts should be understood as the thesis's classification of its documented word and phrase units, not as a frequency measure of all words spoken in every wedding in Pegayaman.

The original thesis includes a detailed inventory for each stage and a consolidated distribution in Table 4.8. For publication, these tables can be retained in the article in English, with the original Balinese words and phrases preserved as linguistic data. Their explanatory headings, column labels, and accompanying descriptions should be translated, while the classifications and counts should remain unchanged unless the author conducts and documents a formal reanalysis. Any photographs or other documentary images in the original thesis should likewise be retained in their original form, with their captions translated into English and their original numbering adjusted only to match the article's final layout.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the wedding tradition in Pegayaman provides a specific social context for the continued use of Balinese speech-level categories among Muslim community members. The distinctive contribution of the dataset lies in linking the six-stage wedding sequence with a recorded distribution of six linguistic categories. The data show both a dominant overall category, AMI, and meaningful differences in the distribution across individual stages. This pattern offers a foundation for discussing language maintenance, ritual communication, and cultural interaction in a Muslim community situated within the Balinese cultural environment.

Discussion

Wedding Rituals as a Context for Language and Cultural Continuity

The findings suggest that Muslim wedding practices in Pegayaman function as a context in which local language and customary knowledge are transmitted through social participation. The six stages require communication between families, religious figures, community leaders, and other participants. This pattern is consistent with a sociolinguistic understanding of language as social practice: linguistic forms acquire meaning through their use in relationships and particular settings, rather than through vocabulary alone. In Pegayaman, wedding discourse is connected to negotiating marriage arrangements, expressing respect, offering prayers, and acknowledging family responsibilities. The contribution of the study is to demonstrate this relationship within a specific Muslim wedding tradition, rather than to assume that all Balinese-speaking communities use the same forms in identical ways.

The classification of *nista*, *madya*, and *utama* also suggests that wedding procedures are responsive to family circumstances. The thesis associates these levels with differences in family agreement, customary negotiation, and the arrangements required for the marriage. This finding can be interpreted through the broader concept of cultural adaptation: customary procedures continue to provide a shared framework, while their implementation may differ according to the circumstances of each family. However, the three levels should not be equated directly with the six linguistic categories. The former describes wedding arrangements in the thesis, whereas the latter classify recorded words and phrases. Keeping these analytical distinctions clear prevents the findings from being overstated.

The six-stage sequence further indicates that ritual continuity is maintained through repeated participation and community knowledge. *Metahu* initiates communication, *mapaitungan* coordinates timing and requirements, and *nyangkreb* establishes formal negotiations. *Ngunye* provides a context for prayers and visits, *nyuang nganten* formalizes the transfer of the bride, and *natabin* completes the marriage solemnization. These stages provide recurring situations in which participants use inherited terms and established forms of communication. In this sense, the wedding tradition can be understood as a setting for cultural transmission. The data support this interpretation at the level of the documented community, although the thesis does not quantify how frequently each practice occurs across generations.

The finding that local terms and practices coexist with Islamic expressions is particularly relevant to discussions of cultural interaction. The informants describe the use of Balinese customary forms alongside Islamic prayers, the Hijri calendar, the marriage contract, and the recognition of religious and administrative responsibilities. This pattern supports an interpretation of local identity as capable of accommodating multiple cultural resources. It is more accurate, however, to describe the observed practices as a locally situated interaction between Balinese customs and Islamic commitments than to assume that every element originated in a single process of Hindu–Islamic assimilation. The historical origins and pathways of individual practices would require additional comparative and historical evidence.

Interpreting the Distribution of Anggah-Ungguhing

The overall predominance of AMI, with 105 of the 214 classified units, is a central linguistic finding. The category is also the largest in *metahu*, *ngunye*, *nyuang nganten*, and *natabin*. This pattern suggests that the forms

classified as AMI are prominent in several kinds of ceremonial communication, including announcements, visits, expressions of goodwill, family introductions, and the concluding ceremony. Nevertheless, numerical predominance does not by itself establish why speakers selected these forms. A stronger explanation of the social function of AMI would require systematic analysis of complete utterances, speaker relationships, communicative intentions, and the local norms governing speech-level selection.

The high number of Andap units in the overall dataset, totaling 49, is another important result. Andap is particularly visible in the recorded *metahu*, *ngunye*, and *nyuang nganten* data. This distribution suggests that the documented ceremonial discourse contains both forms classified as refined or polite and forms classified as lower-level or less formal within the thesis's framework. Their coexistence should not automatically be interpreted as inconsistency or a decline in linguistic etiquette. The selection of a form may depend on the speaker's role, the relationship between participants, the topic, and whether the speech is formal, conversational, or part of a quoted exchange. The present data point toward this possibility but do not independently establish each factor's effect.

The predominance of AMA in *nyangkreb* is especially noteworthy. The thesis records 28 AMA units in this stage, compared with four ASO units, four Andap units, and one AMI unit. Because *nyangkreb* centers on proposals, family negotiations, customary requirements, and the *mahar*, the distribution raises the possibility that the linguistic pattern is related to the interactional demands of this stage. Participants may need to introduce themselves, state family positions, negotiate arrangements, and communicate agreement respectfully. Nevertheless, the numerical pattern alone cannot demonstrate that negotiation causes AMA use. This interpretation should be treated as an analytical proposition for further study, not as a proven causal relationship.

The 18 Mider units recorded in *mapaitungan* also distinguish this stage from the others. The stage concerns the determination of a suitable wedding date, the coordination of the Balinese and Hijri calendars, and discussion of marriage requirements. The distribution may reflect the vocabulary and recorded exchanges associated with this activity. Yet the finding also highlights the importance of the classification procedure: researchers should explain how the categories were assigned and how ambiguous words or phrases were handled. This is especially important when translating Balinese examples into English, because a translation may clarify a word's general meaning without fully representing its social or grammatical function in the original utterance.

The small number of ASI units—two in the entire dataset—is another result requiring careful interpretation. The thesis records both units in *metahu*, with none in the other five stages. It would be premature to conclude that ASI is generally unimportant in Pegayaman's Muslim weddings. The small count could reflect the recorded speech, the way the corpus was sampled, the scope of the classification, or the conventions followed by the speakers in the documented exchanges. Without a broader corpus or a detailed account of the sampling and coding procedures, the finding should remain a description of this dataset rather than a general claim about the community's entire speech repertoire.

Ritual Language, Family Relations, and Religious Expression

The data from *nyangkreb* and *nyuang nganten* show that speech is part of the process through which family relations are negotiated and publicly acknowledged. Statements about the *mahar*, expressions of agreement, formal introductions, requests for blessings, and words of gratitude all occur in the recorded wedding discourse. This pattern is compatible with a pragmatic perspective on language, which examines what speakers accomplish through their utterances. In the Pegayaman context, language is used not only to convey information but also to perform social actions, including proposing marriage, confirming agreement, requesting acceptance, and acknowledging the transfer of family responsibility. A more detailed pragmatic analysis could examine these speech acts and the linguistic resources used to accomplish them.

The presence of Arabic Islamic expressions alongside Balinese forms also illustrates the multilingual and culturally layered character of the wedding events. Greetings, prayers, *sholawat*, and the formulations of *ijab* and *qabul* are recorded within the same broader sequence as Balinese family conversations and customary exchanges. These elements serve related but distinguishable purposes: some communicate religious devotion, while others facilitate local interaction and family coordination. Their coexistence is evidence of the linguistic resources present in the documented events. It does not, without further evidence, establish that every participant has equal proficiency in all the languages or expressions used during the ceremony.

The study also contributes to discussions of language maintenance in communities whose religious identity differs from that commonly associated with the surrounding cultural tradition. In Pegayaman, the continued presence of Balinese terms, speech-level distinctions, and customary wedding stages indicates that local linguistic practices are not confined to a single

religious community. This finding complements a language-maintenance perspective that recognizes the importance of family activities, recurring social events, and intergenerational participation in sustaining linguistic practices. However, the present study documents language use during wedding rituals; it does not directly measure language proficiency, transmission to children, everyday language choice, or changes in use over time. Claims about long-term maintenance should therefore be understood as implications suggested by the findings, not as outcomes measured independently by the research.

The findings have implications for multicultural education because they provide a concrete example of how cultural and religious identities can coexist within a local community. The wedding sequence, the customary exchanges, and the recorded linguistic categories could be used as material for learning about cultural diversity, local languages, and respectful interaction. Such use should present Pegayaman's practices in their own historical and social context rather than treating them as representative of all Balinese Muslims or all Balinese communities. The strongest educational contribution of the study is its documentation of a specific community's practices, which can encourage learners to recognize cultural diversity while avoiding oversimplification and stereotyping.

Taken together, the results support a contextual interpretation of *Anggah-Ungguhing* as part of the communicative practices documented during Muslim weddings in Pegayaman. The six stages provide different interactional settings, and the linguistic inventory records substantial variation across them. The study's originality lies in connecting a specific sequence of Muslim wedding rituals with a six-category classification of Balinese speech-level forms. Its contribution is therefore empirical and contextual: it documents a local practice that can inform broader research on language, ritual, and cultural interaction. Future investigations should examine full utterances and participant relationships to clarify how linguistic choices operate within each stage.

The findings have three principal implications. Socially and culturally, the documentation of six wedding stages illustrates how customary practices continue to organize family interaction in the Muslim community of Pegayaman. Linguistically, the recorded 214 word or phrase units demonstrate the presence of six *Anggah-Ungguhing* categories in the documented wedding discourse, with AMI as the most numerous categories. Educationally, the findings can support locally grounded multicultural learning materials that introduce students to Balinese language practices within a Muslim

community. These implications should be applied with appropriate contextualization: the study offers evidence from one community and one ceremonial domain, not a comprehensive assessment of language maintenance or cultural relations throughout Bali.

This study is limited by its focus on a single village and the language documented in Muslim wedding rituals. Its findings cannot automatically be generalized to everyday communication, other ceremonial settings, other Muslim communities in Bali, or Balinese-speaking communities elsewhere. The reported frequency counts describe the classifications presented in the thesis, but the available methodological account does not fully establish the number of complete speech events represented, the duration of each recording, the criteria for selecting every linguistic unit, or the procedures for resolving classification disagreements. The thesis also contains different references to the timing of fieldwork: November 2024 for observation in the methods section and 1–31 March 2025 for data collection in the results section. The relationship between these dates should be clarified in the final article. These limitations do not invalidate the documented findings, but they define the boundaries of the conclusions that can reasonably be drawn.

Future research could extend this study through comparative investigations of wedding discourse in other Balinese Muslim communities and in different local settings. Researchers could also compare ceremonial speech with everyday family communication to examine whether the distribution of *Anggah-Ungguhing* differs by setting, participant relationship, or communicative purpose. A larger audio-or video-recorded corpus, accompanied by transparent transcription and coding procedures, would help researchers examine full utterances rather than isolated word and phrase units. Interviews with speakers from different generations could further explore how local speech practices are learned and transmitted. For the present article, the authors should verify the classification of the six categories, preserve the original Balinese examples, translate all explanatory labels and figure captions, clarify the fieldwork dates, and ensure that any statements about research ethics and participant consent accurately reflect what was undertaken.

CONCLUSION

This study documents the organization of Muslim wedding rituals and the use of Balinese *Anggah-Ungguhing* in Pegayaman Village, Buleleng, Bali. The wedding process is described through three levels; *nista*, *madya*, and

utama, and six stages: *metahu*, *mapaitungan*, *nyangkreb*, *ngunye*, *nyuang nganten*, and *natabin*. The principal linguistic finding is the classification of 214 word or phrase units into six categories: ASI (2), AMI (105), ASO (7), AMA (32), Mider (19), and Andap (49). AMI is the most numerous categories overall, while the stage-level distribution varies: Mider predominates in *mapaitungan*, and AMA predominates in *nyangkreb*. These results demonstrate that the documented wedding discourse contains multiple Balinese speech-level categories across different ceremonial contexts.

The study's distinctive contribution is its documentation of Balinese speech-level forms within the wedding practices of a Muslim community, showing how local linguistic and customary resources coexist with Islamic prayers and marriage procedures. The findings can inform further research on language maintenance, ritual communication, and culturally responsive multicultural education. They also suggest the value of documenting local traditions without if one community represents all others. Future research should broaden the range of communities and communication settings, use transparent linguistic coding procedures, and investigate how speech choices relate to speaker roles and interactional purposes. Before publication, the authors should verify the classification and fieldwork chronology, retain the original documentary images, and translate their captions and data-table headings into English without changing the empirical records.

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