

EFFORTS OF A MINORITY MOSLEM DIASPORA TO BUILD A SOCIAL IDENTITY IN BALI

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ABSTRACT

The Pegayaman Muslim diaspora historically originated from Java. Pegayaman, the village they live in, is one of the largest Islamic villages in Buleleng Bali. For them, Islam is a religion that not only contains a belief system that has abstract values, but also becomes a cultural attribute that distinguishes them from the Balinese Hindu community in its environment. In this context, they must have a social identity to show. The question that can be asked is how this diaspora that resides amidst the majority of the Balinese Hindus build their social identity? The objective of this research is to find out and discuss the efforts done by this community to build their identity. The method used is a sociolinguistic study utilizing a qualitative method. The data collected were in the form of authentic verbal linguistic data, which consist of conversations in five language domains. The data were collected using the (non-)participatory observation method and interviews. Both the participatory and the non-participatory observation took 6 months. Three interviews in five different language domains which involved seven interviewees were carried out. To obtain the data in question, a number of five families and their social networks were taken purposively as research subjects. To ensure data saturation, snowballing technique was also used. A number of important informants such as penglingsir 'adat elderly', religious and traditional leaders (Guru), penghulu, and mekel or village heads were also involved as data sources. The study found the following. The most obvious phenomenon is that they use Bahasa Bali in informal language domains by adapting some of its dialectal features. They are also adaptive, accommodative, and assimilable to the Balinese culture and traditions. The accommodation was shown in the implementation of the systems of Subak 'the Balinese traditional irrigation system' and Banjar 'part of a hamlet'. The adaptation was in a number of tradition-related activities: Muludan Base, Muludan Taluh, Penapean, Penyajaan, Penampahan, Ngemanisin, and Ngejot. The assimilation was also seen in the Terms of Address and Terms of Reference used. Through these accommodative and adaptive efforts, they manage to build their social identity with the hope that their existence could be recognized and accepted, and thus they can practice their beliefs and faith, and practice and pass on their culture well.

Keywords: diaspora, identity, adaptive, accommodative, assimilable

ABSTRAK

Diaspora Muslim Pegayaman secara historis berasal dari Jawa. Pegayaman, desa tempat mereka tinggal, merupakan salah satu desa Islam terbesar di Buleleng Bali. Bagi mereka, Islam adalah agama yang tidak hanya mengandung sistem kepercayaan yang memiliki nilai-nilai abstrak, tetapi juga menjadi atribut budaya yang membedakan mereka dengan masyarakat Hindu Bali di lingkungannya. Dalam konteks ini, mereka harus memiliki identitas sosial untuk ditunjukkan. Pertanyaan yang bisa diajukan adalah bagaimana diaspora yang berada di tengah mayoritas umat Hindu Bali ini membangun identitas sosialnya? Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui dan mendiskusikan upaya yang dilakukan oleh komunitas ini untuk membangun identitas mereka. Metode yang digunakan adalah penelitian sosiolinguistik dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif. Data yang dikumpulkan berupa data otentik kebahasaan verbal yang terdiri dari percakapan dalam lima ranah bahasa. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode observasi (non-)partisipatif dan wawancara. Baik observasi partisipatif maupun non-partisipatif membutuhkan waktu 6 bulan. Tiga wawancara dilakukan dalam lima domain bahasa yang berbeda dengan melibatkan tujuh orang partisipan. Untuk memperoleh data penelitian, sejumlah lima keluarga dan jejaring sosialnya diambil secara purposif sebagai subjek penelitian. Untuk memastikan saturasi data, teknik bola salju juga digunakan. Sejumlah informan penting seperti penglingsir 'tetua adat', tokoh agama dan adat (Guru), penghulu, dan mekel atau kepala desa juga dilibatkan sebagai sumber data. Studi ini menemukan hal-hal berikut. Fenomena yang paling nyata adalah mereka menggunakan Bahasa Bali dalam ranah bahasa informal dengan mengadaptasi beberapa fitur dialeknya. Mereka juga adaptif, akomodatif, dan asimilatif dengan budaya dan tradisi Bali. Akomodasi ditunjukkan dalam penerapan Subak 'sistem irigasi tradisional Bali' dan Banjar 'bagian dari desa'. Adaptasi dilakukan dalam beberapa kegiatan terkait tradisi: Muludan Base, Muludan Taluh, Penapean, Penyajaan, Penampahan, Ngemanisin, dan Ngejot. Asimilasi juga terlihat pada Istilah Sapaan dan Istilah Sebutan yang digunakan. Melalui upaya akomodatif dan adaptif tersebut, mereka berhasil membangun identitas sosialnya dengan harapan keberadaan mereka dapat diakui dan diterima oleh masyarakat di sekitarnya, sehingga mereka dapat mengamalkan keyakinannya mewariskan budayanya dengan baik.

Kata kunci: diaspora, identitas, adaptif, akomodatif, asimilatif

INTRODUCTION

Historically, the Pegayaman Muslim diaspora originated in Java. Pegayaman, the village they live in is one of the largest Muslim villages in Buleleng Regency, Bali. In terms of politics, religion, and cultural traditions, the existence of this village is interesting to be studied. In the regional context, the Pegayaman Muslim community is a minority group in Bali. However, in the national context, they are part of the majority of the Indonesian Muslim community. For the Pegayaman community, Islam is a religion that not only contains a belief system that has abstract values but also becomes a cultural attribute that distinguishes the Pegayaman Muslim community from other Muslim communities outside of Pegayaman, as well as the Balinese Hindu community in their surroundings. In this context, the writer believes that they have a collegial social identity which they use to show their identity. The question that needs to be answered is how they build their social identity. To find out more about this, research with a sociolinguistic approach was carried out.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a sociolinguistic research with a naturalistic approach. The selection of this kind of research approach is intended to create objective conditions for the selection of the chosen behavior along with the reasons for the research subjects in determining certain efforts in a natural setting.

The collected data were in the form of authentic verbal linguistic corpus data, which consist of conversations both in the informal and formal language domains. The data were collected by the researcher as the main instrument with the help of two field workers using (non-)participatory observation method, interview, questionnaire, and recording techniques in five language domains i.e., family, neighbourhood, friendship, education, and religion domains. To obtain the data corpus in question, a number of five families and their social networks were taken purposively as research subjects. To ensure data saturation, snowballing technique was also used. A number of important informants such as *penglingsir 'adat elderly'*, religious and traditional leaders (*Guru*), *penghulu*, and *mekel* or village heads were also used as data sources.

The unit of analysis is in the form of utterances, especially those at the sentence or clause level used by the research subjects when they conduct verbal interactions with their interlocutors. The flow of data analysis is as follows.

- 1) Transcribing verbal data with the help of research assistants.
- 2) Analyzing the data to examine the micro-linguistic level, which inclusively includes the phonological, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary levels. What is observed and analyzed is the possibility of certain lexemes that can be related to the social factors of the participants. This linguistic level analysis is used as a reference material when conducting sociolinguistic analysis.
- 3) Analyzing the communicative function of the expressions used by the participants through the Contextual Situation theory of code choice from Hymes (1974) and the Theory of Factors and Social Dimensions of code choice from Holmes (1997).
- 4) Combining all the results of data analysis to get a synthesis of results. Triangulation of the results at this stage of analysis is carried out by referring to the results of observations, interview, and linguistic data analysis.

The results obtained were analyzed descriptively and qualitatively.

The theoretical framework of Sociolinguistics assumes that every utterance or language variation is always related to contextual situations in people's lives. No conversation can occur without or apart from contextual situations. Therefore, the form and meaning of a conversation must be related to the contextual situation. Without such an effort, the meaning captured is inaccurate because it is only based on the meaning of the sentence structure. To find a complete and comprehensive meaning, it must be based on contextual situations. The data analysis concerning the selection and use of codes in diaspora Muslim Pegayaman is theoretically based on a combination of Hymes' (or SPEAKING) Contextual Situation Theory of Code Choice (or SPEAKING) and Holmes's Theory of Factors and Social Dimensions of Code Choice (Hymes, 1974; Holmes, 1997). In its implementation, these theories are supported by the concept of language domains (Fishman, 1972), and other relevant concepts covering the concepts of speech community, verbal repertoire, communicative strategies for bilingual speech communities, and social

stratification. In the concept of inclusive bilingual speech community accommodative communicative strategies (Giles and Coupland, 1991; Giles and Ogay, 2007), there are a number of other concepts being referred to, namely: code choice, diglossia, code mixing, and language attitudes.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This part of the article presents and discusses the findings of the study which cover the Codes Used in verbal communication, the Naming system of the Pegayaman Muslim diaspora, *Maulid Nabi*, *Ngejot*, the Terms used in Wedding Ceremonies, and also *Subak* Thanksgiving Tradition.

Code Use

Observational data collected in five language domains (family, neighbourhood, friendship, education, and religion) shows that in the first three domains, it is known that Balinese is dominantly used as a code for them in daily verbal interactions. Balinese language is also used in the religious domain, especially in the event of death. In the education domain, the dominant code used is Indonesian according to the demands of the school curriculum. It is clear that they use Balinese because their language attitude towards Balinese is positive and their appreciation of the use of Balinese is high. Having a positive or high attitude on a certain language correlate much to the choice of a particular language (Dörnyei and Csizér, 2005). This can be seen from the results of the questionnaire data analysis regarding the reasons for the research subjects using Balinese as shown in Table 1.

Tabel 1. The Reasons of Using Balinese Language

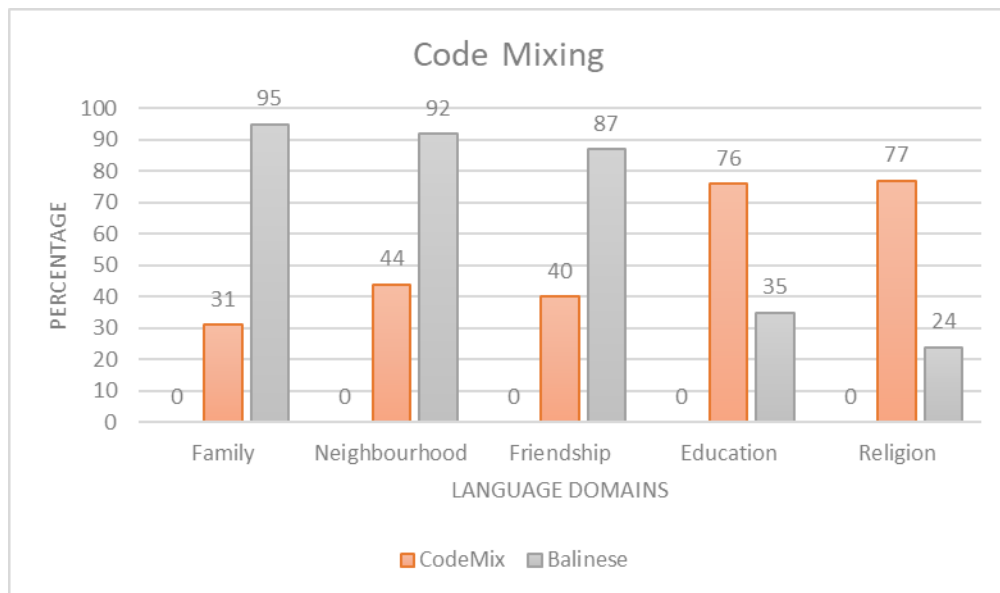
The Reasons	f	%
1. Daily language for conversation	95	67.85
2. We are Balinese	14	10.00
3. Balinese is the language of the ancestors	11	7.85
4. Balinese is my mother tongue	9	6.42
5. Language of the family	4	2.85
6. Mutually intelligible	2	1.42
7. Easy to speak with	2	1.42
8. Taught by the grand father	1	0.71
9. Unique	1	0.71
10. Part of self	1	0.71
Total	140	100

Table 1 shows that the most common reason given is because Balinese is their daily language. They seem to be well aware that Bali is their homeland, so some of them claim to be native Balinese. They identify themselves as Balinese. One of the attributes of the word 'Bali' is the Balinese language, in addition to other related matters such as Balinese customs, clothes, culinary, and so on. As a consequence of such self-identification, the subjects under study also seem adaptive and accommodating to local wisdom (Suputra et al, 2012). What they do is use Balinese and adapt it to their sense of language. This kind of adaptive and accommodative behavior is a social tendency that cannot be prevented, and will be carried out if they want to continue to be recognized, accepted, and respected by the other (majority) groups around them (Campbell & Mitchell, 1999; Appel & Muysken, 1987). In other words, in interacting with the community whose environment is relatively complex and dynamic as is the case of the Balinese, adaptation needs to be done. The adaptation in question can be in the form of adaptation of certain social behaviors such as in choosing and using a code used to conduct verbal interactions, and in the context of Pegayaman, Balinese is considered the best to use as the code to communicate.

The observation results indicate that the research subjects are bilingual and or multilingual speech communities because they are able to use more than one code to communicate. This gives rise to interesting linguistic phenomena such as code mixing, code switching, and linguistic situations that are diglossic. Theoretically, according to Fishman (1972) and Sumarsono and Partana (2002), the link between bilingualism and diglossia can produce four types of speech communities, namely (1) bilingual society with diglossia, (2) bilingual society without diglossia, (3) with diglossia without bilingualism, and (4) people without diglossia and without bilinguality. Related to this, the Pegayaman Muslim diaspora can be classified into the first type of society, namely a bilingual society with diglossia, where Balinese is used predominantly in addition to other languages. Balinese language which is widely used in the informal language domains, such as in the family, neighbourhood, and the friendship domains, is a

language that has a speech level known as *angguh-ungguhing basa* which is broadly divided into three, namely *alus* ‘high’, *madya* ‘mid’, and *kepara* ‘rough’ varieties (Putra, 2008; cf. Suastra, 1998). This difference in speech level is viewed from two aspects, namely aspects of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. Through paradigmatic relation, it is analyzed the possibility of alternative variations of words or lexical items used by participants in verbal interaction. On the contrary, through syntagmatic relation, it is indicated by the sequencing of words used in making sentences according to the typology of the language in question.

One of the linguistic phenomena that follows a diglossic linguistic situation is the use of code-mixing. The characteristics of code mixing in the linguistic data in Pegayaman can be summarized as follows. Code mixing can occur without being affected by the formality of the situation in the sense that code mixing is not required by the situation in which the verbal interaction occurs—whether the situation is formal or informal. Graph 1 shows the percentage of code mixing and use of Balinese in the five observed language domains.



Graph 1. Code Mixing and Use of Balinese in five language domains

Graph 1 shows that in the three informal domains (family, neighborhood, and friendship) code mixing is relatively moderate ranging from 31% to 44% which is inversely proportional to the use of Balinese as the dominant code used. Likewise, the opposite phenomenon occurs in the two relatively formal language domains (educational and religion), the use of Balinese is relatively small in percentage accompanied by relatively high code mixing. This seems reasonable to happen because in these two domains, Indonesian takes over the role of Balinese.

The use of code-mixing in the Muslim diaspora Pegayaman like this is different from the findings of his research Jendra (2002) which says that the formality of the setting does not affect the existence of code-mixing. It is proven that code mixing can happen anywhere or in any domain for any reason from the speaker. What distinguishes it is the percentage of dominantly controlled code usage that follows this code mixing. The code mixing of the Pegayaman speech community generally occurs in the word scope. However, it is known that in certain situations, when speakers find it difficult to find the right lexicon and its equivalent from one language to another that is mastered by the speaker, code mixing can occur up to the clause level; but the grammatical structure of such clauses is generally not long. The dominant factor triggering code mixing is due to the speaker's loyalty to a language that is known and mastered by speakers well—in this case Balinese. It can be said that in using the codes to interact verbally, both with fellow Pegayaman interlocutors and with Balinese interlocutors who are not Pegayaman people, the Pegayaman diaspora speech community is accommodative and adaptive.

Naming System of the Pegayaman Muslim Diaspora

Another example of code mixing found is the Pegayaman community naming system. The difference between Balinese Hindu names and Pegayaman names lies in the first name or first name which indicates the order of birth of children in one family.

Balinese names	Birth order	Pegayaman names
<i>Wayan, Putu, Gede</i>	1 st born	<i>Wayan</i>
<i>Made, Kadek, Nengah</i>	2 nd born	<i>Nengah</i>
<i>Nyoman, Komang</i>	3 rd born	<i>Nyoman</i>
<i>Ketut</i>	4 th born	<i>Ketut</i>
<i>Wayan (balik)</i>	5 th born	<i>Ketut</i>
<i>Made (balik)</i>	6 th born	<i>Ketut</i>

(cf. Putra et al, 2019)

If in a Balinese Hindu family there are 6 children, the order is as in the left column which is cyclical. In the Pegayaman family there are not known *Made* or *Kadek*, and if in the Pegayaman family there are more than 4 people, then all of them are named or called *Ketut* and so on.

The names given are a mixture of Balinese names (such as *Wayan*, *Nengah*, *Ketut*) and Islamic names (such as *Muhammad*, *Siti*, *Nur*, etc.). This is unique which is not found in other Muslim areas in Bali. The following is an example of some of the names of the Pegayaman Muslims in question.

Male names	Female names
<i>Wayan M. Aziz Afifi</i>	<i>Wayan Luciana Izza Mawaddah</i>
<i>Nengah Denis Farzan Danindra</i>	<i>Nengah Ais Tazkiyah</i>
<i>Nyoman M. Badrul Islam</i>	<i>Nyoman Marina Zurriyah</i>
<i>Ketut M. Hidayat Fauzi</i>	<i>Ketut Elo' Mutiara Maharani</i>

In terms of addressing, Balinese nicknames such as *Wayan*, *Nengah*, *Nyoman (Man)*, *Ketut (Tut)* are still often used according to their birth order, even though those who are addressed do not use mixed Balinese names and typical Muslim names on their Identity Cards.

In addition to giving unique names as described above, it is also known that the terms of address and terms of reference owned by the speech community are partly different from those used by the Balinese Hindus. Some examples of different terms between Balinese and Pegayaman can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Different Terms of Address or Terms of Reference

Balinese	Pegayaman	Indonesian	English
--	<i>abah</i>	'paman'	
<i>pitara</i>	<i>arowah</i>	'almarhum'	'the late/ the death'
<i>pianak</i>	<i>cening</i>	'anak'	'son or daughter'
<i>Ida/ Sang Hyang</i>	<i>Dané</i>	'Dia/Beliau' seperti pada <i>Dané</i> Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala; <i>Dané</i> Rasullullah.	'God <i>the Almighty</i> '
<i>gegelan</i>	<i>demenan</i>	'pacar'	'boy/girl friend'
<i>kurenan</i>	<i>gelan</i>	'suami/istri'	'spouse'
--	<i>Guru</i>	'gabungan antara orangtua, guru, dan ahli agama'	'an elderly who is a religious teacher, respected <i>Guru</i> '
<i>timpal</i>	<i>kasian</i>	'teman/sahabat'	'fellows'
<i>uwa</i>	<i>Maman</i>	'paman'	'uncle'
--	<i>Memek Tuan</i>	'Ibu yang sudah naik haji'	'female haji'
--	<i>Tuan</i>	'haji/hajah'	'both male and female haji'
	<i>Wayah</i>	'kakek'	'grand parent'

Maulid Nabi

The Islamic Diaspora Pegayaman is a devout Muslim. However, in some religious practices, there is also the absorption of elements of Balinese culture. This can be seen in a series of activities in welcoming Islamic holidays such as Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, and Maulid Nabi. They are familiar with the terms *Penapean* (making *tape*), *Penyajaan* (making *jaja* 'snacks'), *Penampahan* (slaughtering animals), and *Manis* or *Ngemanisin* (the day after the holiday). The series of activities are almost the same as the traditions and culture of Balinese Hinduism. In celebrating the Prophet's Birthday, they believe it is the day of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday '*otonan*' so that the celebration is celebrated lively.

The birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW in Pegayaman is more popularly known as '*Muludan*'. Today is celebrated as the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, which falls on the 12th of Rabiul Awal H, but previously on the 8th, the activities in the Muludan series of activities had begun in the mosque by reading *zikir*. This first day is known as *Muludan tanggal kutus*. This activity is carried out for two days, namely: *Muludan basé* 'betel' and *Muludan taloh* (eggs). In *Muludan basé*, the people of Pegayaman village make *pajegan* or also called *gebogan* in Balinese in the form of flower and betel arrangements (*basé*), and filled with eggs (*taloh*).



Sokok basé



Sokok taloh



Gebogan Bali

The *pajegan*, called *sokok basé*, is then displayed in front of the house (Sariman et al, 2017). *Muludan taloh* is celebrated the next day. Unlike the previous day, at *Muludan taloh*, people make *pajegan* (*sokok taloh*) with various forms according to the creation and artistic taste of the makers. After the *pajegan* is finished, it is displayed in front of the house. The figure was then visited by *Sekeha Hadrah*, an art group in the form of movement art accompanied by tambourines and chanting of verses of praise to His Majesty (*Dané*) the Prophet Muhammad SAW. The poems contain advice along with the teachings of life; some in Arabic and some in Indonesian. This Hadrah group or *sekeha* goes around the village visiting every house in front of which there is a figure. After the Hadrah attraction is over, the host usually distributes small money '*uang recehan*' to be picked up by the children around the place. Then all the figures are paraded and placed on the side of the road in a neat line to decorate the road to be judged for their beauty. After the judging, all figures are paraded in a parade which is attended by community leaders, hajj, students, art groups, and other community members. Finally, the figure was brought to the mosque to be distributed to the audience. In the evening, art activities are held which are usually filled with popular entertainment in the form of folk art of *pencak silat*. All the highlighted terms, the activities, as well as the figures are clearly adapted, acculturated, and shared, which through the point of view of Pegayaman diaspora, are seemingly intended to keep relationships at the same time build and maintain their communal identity.

Ngejot

Balinese Hindu communities who live around Pegayaman often invite Pegayaman Muslims to engage in their activities, whether religious or other activities. Likewise, if there is a big celebration at Pegayaman, the Muslim community of Pegayaman also does the same thing to their Balinese neighbors. This is done as a sign of mutual acceptance and respect for each other, as well as to strengthen the relationship. In Pegayaman there is a *ngejot* tradition adopted from the Balinese *ngejot* tradition. *Ngejot* in Balinese means 'give' or 'share'. This gift or *jotan* is generally in the form of their traditional special food which is delivered before the big religious holidays to neighbors of different religions. *Ngejot* is not only meant to share food, but also to share happiness. When delivering the *jotan*, people will congratulate those who

celebrate the holiday. Literally, *ngejot* can be seen as an effort to give each other, complement each other, and an effort to eliminate differences which is also an effort to show the social identity of the people who do it.

Terms in the wedding ceremony

The terms in the wedding ceremony are also mostly Balinese. In general, there are two ways, namely *maidih* or *majuang* 'proposed' and *merangkat* 'elopement'. In contrast to the proposed marriage, if the marriage is not approved by the parents, a shortcut is taken in the form of elopement or in Pegayaman known as *merangkat*. *Merangkat* can also be done due to other factors, apart from the absence of parental consent, such as due to inadequate or mediocre economic factors. The procedure for *merangkat* is an acculturation of Balinese Hindu traditions and Pegayaman Islam which is carried out in the following way. As the name implies elopement, the bride is taken by the groom to his family's house (not to her parents' house) with the aim of hiding the bride for a while until everything goes well. Then the groom's family goes to the woman's family to explain that the bride has followed her groom by way of eloping. This event is called *majati*. After everything is done, then the wedding ceremony is held as usual. The bride and groom make pilgrimages or visit the bride's family (such as uncles, aunts, etc.) as a sign that they have become an official couple. This visit is called *ngunya*, carried out by bringing cakes that are usually provided for wedding ceremonies such as *jaja bantal*, *jaja celorot*, *jaja kojong*, and others. All these terms are Balinese.

Subak Thanksgiving Tradition

Due to its geographical location in the midst of Balinese Hindu settlements, it can be said that the Pegayaman Community is an agrarian society. Some of them work on agricultural land or plantations belonging to non-Muslim Balinese. In their efforts to adapt to the surrounding community with different beliefs, agrarian activities or traditions they also continue to carry out assimilatively with the nuances and customary rules that are appropriate in Islam, such as the *Mapag Toya* tradition, a Balinese term which literally means 'welcoming the water'.

In Balinese society, the *Mapag Toya* ceremony is carried out at the beginning of the process of going down to the rice fields with various offerings as an expression of gratitude to God Almighty, *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* who has given fertility, prosperity, and peace in processing rice fields to *krama* or *Subak* members (Ratini, 2014). *Subak* is known as an organization owned by farming communities in Bali aimed at regulating the traditional rice irrigation system whose existence is based on the Hindu philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*—Three causes of human happiness (harmony and balance between humans and the Creator, humans and fellow humans, and humans with nature).

Similar to the Balinese tradition, the Pegayaman Muslim community carries out this tradition under the name *Mapag Toya* or *Syukur* *Subak* which is held once a year as a thanksgiving. In Pegayaman, the *Subak* Thanksgiving tradition is carried out in water reservoirs or dams. Before the thanksgiving ceremony is held, the men cook food first and then take it to the dam hall. At the event, the thanksgiving participants read together *Nadzoman Aqidatul Awwam*. The *Subak* Thanksgiving activity was closed with a prayer and a meal with the community. It is clear that the Thanksgiving *Subak*, which was originally a tradition of Hinduism, has been acculturated with an Islamic tradition where the customs of the people are maintained and preserved. According to *Penglingsir* 'traditional leaders', this tradition does not deviate from Islamic teachings because it has a noble purpose, besides being an expression of gratitude to the Creator, it also maintains harmony between fellow believers who are living side by side with the characteristics and ways of Islamic Pegayaman. *Subak* Thanksgiving reflects the acculturation between Hindu-Islamic traditions. Through this assimilable tradition, they want to show how Islam is a religion of peace and compassion for all creatures created by Allah SWT. Through this tradition also, the Pegayaman Muslim community wants to show their adaptive and acculturative collective identity.

CONCLUSION

It is realized that in life there are choices that must be determined to be taken and solutions are sought wisely so that their survival and quality of life could be maximized and at the same time their social identity could also be built. One of the options available is by maximizing their "*Balineseness*", especially the use of Balinese. The use of Balinese as the dominant code used in verbal interaction is an indication of the loyalty of the Pegayaman Muslim diaspora to the Balinese language. By speaking Balinese, they want to show their social or 'ethnic' group identity, as well as their distinct cultural identity—as Balinese

Pegayaman Muslims. This kind of identity is necessary because without identity it is realized that, both as individuals and as a community, they will find difficulties in their efforts to maintain their existence in the midst of the non-Muslim Balinese community. Through their accommodative and adaptive efforts, they want their existence to be recognized and accepted, and thus they can practice their beliefs and faith, and practice and pass on their culture well.

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