**The International Journal of Social Sciences World**
TIJOSSW is Available Online at:
https://www.growingscholar.org/journal/index.php/TIJOSSW
Vol. 7 No. 2, July- Dec 2025, Pages: 96 ~ 107
DOI: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17713137
ISSN 2690-5167
Growingscholar Publisher

# Analysis of Balinese Basita Paribasa in Wayang Joblar Abg With the Play Tualen Dadi Caru: A Reflection of Balinese Cultural Values

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Article history:
Received: 23/09/2025; Accepted: 20/11/2025; Displayed Online: 25/11/2025; Published: 30/12/ 2025

***Keywords***

*Balinese Basita Paribasa;*

*Wayang Kulit Joblar ABG;*

*Tualen Dadi Caru;*

*Cultural Values;*

**Abstract**

This study analyzes Balinese Basita Paribasa (Balinese proverbial expressions) used in the performance of Wayang Kulit Joblar ABG with the play Tualen Dadi Caru as a reflection of Balinese cultural values. Employing a qualitative descriptive approach within the frameworks of linguistic stylistics and ethnography of communication design, this research aims to identify the forms, functions, and cultural meanings of Balinese Paribasa embedded in the performance dialogues. The analysis reveals twelve types of Paribasa used, including sloka, sesenggakan, peparikan, and sesawangan, which serve educational, inspirational, social criticism, and entertainment functions. These expressions reflect values of religiosity, life wisdom, social critique through humor, and intergenerational transmission of values. Through aesthetic language styles such as repetition, parallelism, and extended metaphor, Balinese Paribasa functions as a medium for cultural value transfer and moral education. This study emphasizes the importance of preserving and digitalizing Paribasa as part of the revitalization of Balinese culture.

## 1. Introduction

Wayang performances in Indonesia, particularly in Bali, play an essential role as a form of traditional heritage and as a medium of cultural education (Doni Agustina et al., 2015); (Wijaya, et al., 2025). However, the trends of modernization and globalization have often reduced young

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generations' interest in classical arts. This condition highlights the urgency to re-explore the cultural dimensions of wayang performances as a medium for transmitting cultural values. Therefore, this study focuses on the linguistic aspects of wayang as one of its fundamental cultural elements.

From the perspective of cultural linguistics, specific linguistic styles such as Basita Paribasa Bali carry significant cultural meanings (Pratiwi et al., 2019)(; (Dewi et al., 2018). According to Kardana, Basita Paribasa represents a cultural asset that embodies teachings, admonitions, and moral norms of Balinese society (Kardana et al., 2022); (Setiawan, 2023). At this level, the present study has the potential to contribute to scientific understanding by revealing the linguistic functions involved in transmitting traditional cultural values.

Innovations in wayang, such as Wayang Kulit Joblar (WKJ), demonstrate a trend of integrating modern elements, including the use of Balinese paribasa and pop music, to attract younger audiences (Marajaya, 2016). However, such productions face challenges related to the regeneration of young dalang (puppet masters) and the declining interest of the new generation in traditional forms.

Wayang Joblar, particularly the ABG version, has become a local phenomenon packaged in a pop-modern format that incorporates Basita Paribasa Bali as part of the characters' dialogue and rhetoric (Marajaya, 2016). The humorous and expressive character of Joblar effectively conveys humor, social critique, and Balinese cultural values in an accessible form. Observational data show that the use of Basita Paribasa serves as a bridge between cultural messages and entertainment.

This phenomenon emerges as a cultural strategy to maintain relevance in the modern era. The collaboration between dalang such as I Ketut Muada and academic institutions (for instance, the Indonesian Institute of the Arts—ISI Denpasar) has encouraged innovations in language use and performance aesthetics (Marajaya, 2016). Another driving factor is the need to preserve cultural values amid globalization through media that are close to younger audiences.

Previous research has largely focused on aesthetic innovation and social criticism in wayang performances such as Wayang Kulit Joblar, Cenk Blonk, and Sidia (Suwija, I. N., Cika, I. W., Ratna, N. K., & Suastika, 2008); (Yulianti & Marhaeni, 2021); (Made Diana Dwi Putra et al., 2013). However, in-depth studies examining the specific role of Basita Paribasa Bali in cultural discourse through wayang media remain limited. There is a gap in stylistic studies of Balinese paribasa that analyze their linguistic forms and functions within the communicative context of Wayang Joblar ABG.

Scientifically, this study is significant for filling the gap in stylistic studies of unique linguistic features within Balinese culture. From a practical perspective, the findings may serve as a model for cultural revitalization through creative media, supporting the regeneration of audiences and young dalang in Bali (Putra & Sari, 2019); (Supariadi et al., 2020). Moreover, the empirical results are expected to provide strong justification for policies concerning local language and culture education in institutions such as ISI and cultural agencies.

This research is expected to contribute to two main areas: first, to the theoretical development of stylistics and cultural discourse studies on regional proverbs through the analysis of the forms and functions of Basita Paribasa Bali; second, to the practical field by offering a cultural communication strategy through creative media such as modern wayang, which can benefit cultural policymakers and performance practitioners.

Accordingly, this study reflects the urgency to preserve and utilize Balinese linguistic and cultural assets through wayang performances. This aligns with the main objectives of the research: (1) to identify the linguistic forms of Basita Paribasa Bali used in the Wayang Joblar ABG performance with the play Tualen Dadi Caru; (2) to analyze the communicative functions of Basita Paribasa Bali in the performance context, including educational, persuasive, social-critical, and entertainment functions; and (3) to explain the role of Basita Paribasa Bali in transmitting

Balinese cultural values to audiences, particularly the younger generation, through modern wayang media.

To support this study, three main theoretical frameworks are employed: (1) Cultural Linguistics Theory. This theory explains the close relationship among language, collective cognition, and cultural systems (Sharifian, 2017); emphasizing that local linguistic expressions—such as idioms, metaphors, and proverbs—encode the cultural values and knowledge systems of their speech communities. In this context, Basita Paribasa Bali functions not only as a tool of communication but also as a repository of values, norms, and ethics of Balinese culture; (2) Functional Pragmatics Theory. This theory is used to analyze the communicative functions of utterances, including intentions, purposes, and effects of Basita Paribasa within wayang discourse. According to (Halliday, 1994), language serves three main metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Basita Paribasa Bali can be analyzed through these three functions in the Wayang Joblar ABG performance; (3)Traditional Stylistics Theory. This theory examines the distinctive linguistic forms and stylistic features in literary or aesthetic expressions. Leech, G. N., & Short, (2007) state that stylistics investigates non-neutral language choices, including diction, metaphor, repetition, and irony for aesthetic and communicative purposes. In this sense, Basita Paribasa Bali, as a distinctive speech style, carries unique rhetorical and artistic elements.

These three theories are applied integratively to analyze the data, enabling the study to explain the formal (stylistic), functional (pragmatic), and cultural (cultural-linguistic) dimensions of Basita Paribasa Bali in the Wayang Joblar ABG performance with the play Tualen Dadi Caru.

## 2. Research Method

This study employed a qualitative approach (Moleong, 2017). This approach was chosen because it aimed to understand the form, function, and cultural values of *basita paribasa* (Balinese proverbs) used in the *Wayang Joblar ABG* with the play *Tualen Dadi Caru* performance. The qualitative approach emphasizes in-depth analysis of naturally occurring linguistic data within cultural practices.

This research was descriptive-qualitative in nature, adopting a linguistic stylistics and ethnography of communication design. According to Creswell (2014) descriptive-qualitative research involves interpreting the meaning and cultural context embedded in linguistic data. The stylistic design was employed to reveal linguistic features and structural patterns of *paribasa*, while the ethnography of communication design was used to explore their functions and roles within sociocultural interactions during the performance.

The research location included performance venues or digital documentation of *Wayang Joblar ABG* with the play *Tualen Dadi Caru*, accessible through cultural events in Bali or digital video archives.

The research object was the *basita paribasa* utterances found in dialogues, narrations, and character conversations within the *Wayang Joblar ABG* with the play *Tualen Dadi Caru* performance. The focus was placed on the linguistic forms, pragmatic functions, and cultural meanings of these expressions.

Data were collected using several techniques, such as: (1) Observation, both direct and indirect, of *Wayang Joblar ABG* with the play *Tualen Dadi Caru* performances, either live or through video documentation, (2) In-depth interviews with *dalang* (puppet masters), audiences, and cultural experts to understand perceptions and cultural values embedded in the *paribasa*, (3) Document study, including scripts, transcripts, cultural notes, and publications related to *basita*

*paribasa* in Balinese culture, (4) Recording and transcription of linguistic data from the performances for stylistic and pragmatic analysis.

The collected data were analyzed through the following steps: (1) Identification and classification of linguistic data, particularly the forms of *basita paribasa* found in performance transcripts, (2) Stylistic analysis, which included examining diction, metaphors, syntactic structures, and language styles, (3) Pragmatic analysis to identify the communicative functions of the utterances (educational, humorous, critical, advisory, etc.) within the performance context, (4) Cultural meaning interpretation using a linguistic-cultural approach to interpret local values, norms, and ideologies reflected in the data, (5) Data triangulation by cross-checking findings from interviews and documentation to enhance the validity of the results (Moleong, 2017).

The main research instrument was the researcher as the key instrument (*human instrument*), directly involved in observation, interviewing, and data interpretation. Supporting instruments included: (1) Interview guide, (2) Observation sheet, (3) Audio/video recording devices, and (4) Transcription and text analysis templates (Moleong, 2017).

To ensure data validity, the following techniques were employed: (1) Source triangulation, by comparing data from observations, interviews, and documentation, (2) Member checking, by confirming interpretive results with informants, (3) Peer discussion, to test the logic and consistency of analysis, (4) Audit trail, through systematic documentation of all data collection and analysis procedures (Sugiyono, 2019).

## 3. Results and Discussion

### *Research Findings*

The classification results of the forms, functions, and cultural values presented in Balinese paribasa (proverbs) used in the Wayang Kulit Joblar ABG with the play Tualen Dadi Caru performance are presented in the following table.

*1. Sloka*

| No. | Balinese *Paribasa* Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character/ Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | "Sukem bawantu, Sriem bawantu, Purnem bawantu" | Repetition, initial rhyme | Inspirational and educative | A mantra of reverence for the universe | Ki Dalang | Safety mantra | Silent, full of meaning |
| 2. | "Ambek Sang Para martha Pandita wus limpad saking suniate'' | Repetition, end rhyme | Inspirational and educative | Purity, wisdom | Bagawan Narada | Advice on the existence of the earth | A priest's behavior must not deviate |
| 3 | "Om sukem bawanthu, srirem bhawantu, purnem bhawantu" | Repetition, initial rhyme | Prayer | Safety | Dalang | Narrative | Silent, full of meaning |

*2. Sesenggakan*

| No. | Balinese *Paribasa* Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character/ Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | "Buaya ngangsar, dandang gemulan" | Repetition, end rhyme | Inspirational and educative | Humor, social critique | Tualen & Merdah | Verbal exchange between characters | Joyful |
| 5 | "Nyelati kalung ngoyong ditunggak tiyinge" | Repetition, end rhyme | Inspirational and educative | Wisdom | Sangut & Delem | Dialogue between characters | Prosperous |
| 6 | "Care kelian negen memeri muani" | Repetition, end rhyme | Inspirational and educative | Social satire | Sangut & Joblar | Dialogue between characters | Talkative |

*3. Peparikan*

| No. | Balinese *Paribasa* Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character /Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | "Enceh Ening" | Parallelism, broad metaphor | Inspirational and educative | Wisdom | Tualen Werdah | Advice | Child |
| 8. | "Tan ana wong swasta anulus" | Parallelism, broad metaphor | Inspirational and educative | Wisdom | Sangut Joblar | Figurative advice | No one is perfect |
| 9. | "Ing arsa mangun karsa, Ing madya mangun kusuma, Ing ade ape" | Broad metaphor | Inspirational and educative | Satire | Sang Suratma | Dialogue between characters | Talking a lot without results |
| 10 | "Jangan menghina lebih baik membina" | End-rhyme repetition | Inspirational and educative | Wisdom | Joblar & Sangut | Dialogue between characters | Advice |
| 11 | "Kucoba melempar manggis manga kudapat" | End-rhyme repetition | Inspirational and educative | Humor, social critique | Inul & Sangut | Dialogue between characters | Not yet destined |
| 12 | "Semangka ditebe, Kacang mewadah plastik" | End-rhyme repetition | Inspirational and educative | Social critique | Sangut & Joblar | Dialogue between characters | Insult |
| 13 | "Danawan, sastrawan, Taiwan" | End-rhyme repetition | Inspirational and educative | Wisdom | Sangut & Joblar | Dialogue between characters | Balance |

*4. Sesawangan*

| No. | Balinese *Paribasa* Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character / Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | "Bintang kukus, endag diduwur gununge" | Broad metaphor | Inspirational and educative | Satire | Tualen | Verbal exchange between characters | Admiration |
| 15 | "Adi enggung, aje kolen, kakang mang, Aje doh" | End-rhyme repetition | Inspirational and educative | Wisdom | Delem & Sangut | Dialogue between characters | Abundance / Having everything |
| 16 | "Ana manusia aneh tapi nyata, nyata tapi aneh" | End-rhyme repetition | Inspirational and educative | Social critique | Sangut & Raksasa | Dialogue between characters | Vague / Unclear |

*5. Raos Ngempelin*

| No. | Balinese *Paribasa* Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character/ Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | "Ratu Tebe tara, titiang nunas ica…" | Broad metaphor | Inspirational and educative | Satire | Sang Suratma & Atma | Humorous interaction between characters | Requesting |
| 18 | "Tel..tel Ceh ening" | Initial repetition | Educational | Advice | Tualen Werdah | Dialogue between characters | Life |

*6. Cecangkriman*

| No. | Balinese Paribasa Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character/ Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | "Manusia Tablit" | Broad metaphor | Educative | Satire | Sang Suratma & Atma | Humorous interaction | Know-it-all |

*7. Sesimbing*

| No. | Balinese Paribasa Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character /Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | "Won San hatin cangge jak ci…" | End-rhyme repetition | Inspirational and educative | Social criticism | Delem & Sangut | Dialogue between characters | Complaining |
| 21 | "Malam ngambil komputer, siang dihukum" | End-rhyme repetition | Inspirational and educative | Humorous social criticism | Joblar & Sangut | Dialogue between characters | Stealing |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | "Mangkin sampun sandi kala…" | End-rhyme repetition | Inspirational and educative | Openness | Sangut Joblar | Sung dialogue between characters | Sign of wrongdoing |

*8. Sesapan*

| No. | Balinese Paribasa Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character/ Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23 | "Dedarine 2x mengardi tirtha…" | End-rhyme repetition | Educational–inspirational | Sacredness | Heavenly nymphs | Dialogue between characters | Safety |
| 24 | "Kesamakena moge-moge mangguh kadirgayusan…" | Repetition of sacred rhyme | Educational–inspirational | Wisdom | Dalang | Narrative | Prayer for safety |
| 25 | "Mijil ageni maring siwa dware…" | End-rhyme repetition | Educational–inspirational | Wisdom | Dalang | Narrative | Hope |

*9. Wewangsalan*

| No. | Balinese Paribasa Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character/ Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | "Gadang gadang buah bonine…" | End-rhyme repetition | Educational–inspirational | Social criticism | Waitress/ Café lady | Dialogue between characters | Misconduct / inappropriate social behavior |

*10. Beblabadan*

| No. | Balinese Paribasa Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character/ Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 | "Bale gede meadegan besik" | End-rhyme repetition | Educational–inspirational | Wisdom | Sangut & Delem | Dialogue between characters | Protector |

*11. Cecimpedan*

| No. | Balinese Paribasa Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character/ Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28 | "Krek-krek ngejohan" | End-rhyme repetition | Educational–inspirational | Wisdom | Sangut & Delem | Dialogue between characters | Cleaning |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 29 | "Nyemumuk badeng, celek tekejut" | End-rhyme repetition | Educational–inspirational | Wisdom | Tuawalen & Delem | Dialogue between characters | Overheating / feeling overheated |

*12. Sesonggan*

| No. | Balinese Paribasa Quotation | Stylistic Structure | Communicative Function | Cultural Values | Character/ Speaker | Dialogue Context | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | "Air tenang menghanyutkan" | End-rhyme repetition | Educational–inspirational | Wisdom | Sangut & Joblar | Dialogue between characters | Dangerous |
| 31 | "Buaya ngangsar" | End-rhyme repetition | Educational | Advice | Tualen & Werdah | Dialogue between characters | Be careful / caution |

## 3. Discussion

### *3.1. Classification of Balinese Paribasa in the Wayang Kulit Joblar ABG Performance*

The analysis identified twelve types of *Balinese Paribasa* found in the *Wayang Kulit Joblar ABG* with the play *Tualen Dadi Caru* performance, namely *sloka*, *sesenggakan*, *peparikan*, *sesawangan*, *raos ngempelin*, *cecangkriman*, *sesimbing*, *sesapan*, *wewangsalan*, *beblabadan*, *cecimpedan*, and *sesonggan*. For instance, the *sloka* type is reflected in the utterance *"Sukem bawantu, Sriem bawantu, Purnem bawantu,"* recited by the *dalang* as a mantra for protection and well-being. Meanwhile, the *sesenggakan* type appears in the humorous expression *"Buaya ngangsar, dandang gemulan,"* delivered by Tualen and Merdah to criticize wasteful behavior in society through satire.

### *3. 2. Communicative Functions of Paribasa*

Educational Function, *Paribasa* serves as a medium of moral and ethical education. For example, the expression *"Jangan menghina lebih baik membina"* ("Do not insult, better to guide") emphasizes that nurturing others is more meaningful than criticizing them. This aligns with the traditional function of *wayang* as a medium for public education.

Inspirational Function, several *paribasa* convey spiritual encouragement and life guidance. The expression *"Ambek Sang Para martha Pandita wus limpad saking suniate"* asserts that a *pandita* (spiritual leader) must remain on the path of purity. This reflects the importance of moral exemplarity in Balinese social and religious life.

Social Critique Function, social criticism is often conveyed through satire and humor. The saying *"Malam ngambil komputer, siang dihukum"* explicitly criticizes theft, while *"Kucoba melempar manggis manga kudapat"* humorously illustrates the inconsistency and irony in social relations.

Entertainment Function, humor is the main medium for conveying moral lessons. For example, the expression *"Nyelati kalung ngoyong ditunggak tiyinge"* ("Trying to lick a necklace hanging from the ceiling") uttered by Sangut and Delem makes the audience laugh while indirectly communicating messages about prosperity and contentment.

### *3. 3. Represented Cultural Values*

Religiosity and Sacredness; religious values are reflected in *paribasa* expressed as prayers and mantras. For example, the expression *"Kesamakena moge-moge mangguh kadirgayusan, morsatem Jagathita ya ica dahrma"* conveys the hope that humans may always be blessed with safety and worldly happiness.

Life Wisdom; *paribasa* functions as a vehicle for imparting life wisdom. The saying *"Tan ana wong swasta anulus"* ("There is no perfect human being") teaches humility and self-reflection, reminding individuals to accept imperfection as part of human nature.

Social Criticism through Humor; social criticism is vividly expressed through humorous *paribasa*, such as *"Buaya ngangsar, dandang gemulan,"* mocking wasteful behavior, and *"Gadang gadang buah bonine, pici pici wadah pipis…"* depicting moral deviation and social incongruity.

Intergenerational Value Transmission; characters like Tualen and Narada frequently use *paribasa* to give advice to younger characters, such as Merdah or Joblar. For instance, *"Enceh Ening"* contains parental advice directed at children, demonstrating the function of *paribasa* as a medium for intergenerational transmission of values.

### *3. 4. Analytical Summary*

The Balinese *Paribasa* featured in *Wayang Kulit Joblar ABG* with the play *Tualen Dadi Caru* plays an essential role as a medium of moral education, social critique, spiritual reflection, and reinforcement of Balinese cultural values. The aesthetic dimensions of language, realized through repetition, rhyme, metaphor, and parallelism, enhance the beauty and depth of meaning within each expression. Thus, the *wayang kulit* performance successfully embodies a harmonious integration of entertainment, guidance, and cultural and spiritual order.

## 4. Conclusion

The analysis of Balinese *paribasa* (proverbial expressions) in the *Wayang Kulit Joblar ABG* performance with the play *Tualen Dadi Caru* revealed that the presence of *paribasa* serves not merely as a linguistic and aesthetic element but also embodies profound educational, religious, social, and cultural values that are deeply integrated into the performance context.

From the perspective of linguistic forms and classifications, twelve types of *Paribasa Bali* were identified in the performance, namely *sloka*, *sesenggakan*, *peparikan*, *sesawangan*, *raos ngempelin*, *cecangkriman*, *sesimbing*, *sesapan*, *wewangsalan*, *beblabadan*, *cecimpedan*, and *sesonggan*. This diversity reflects the richness of Balinese oral literary traditions that continue to thrive within the art of *pedalangan* (puppetry). Each type exhibits distinctive linguistic features, such as repetition, parallelism, and extended metaphor, that enhance both the aesthetic and rhetorical quality of the characters' dialogue.

In terms of communicative function, Balinese *Paribasa* in this performance fulfills four main roles. First, the educational function, which conveys moral and ethical teachings, as reflected in the saying *"Jangan menghina lebih baik membina"* ("It is better to guide than to insult"), emphasizing tolerance and constructive behavior. Second, the inspirational function, which promotes spiritual awareness and life wisdom, as illustrated in *"Ambek Sang Para martha Pandita wus limpad saking suniate"*, idealizing the purity and inner sanctity of a priest. Third, the social critique function, expressed through humor and satire, such as *"Malam ngambil komputer, siang*

*dihukum"* ("Stealing at night, punished by day"), which criticizes deviant social behaviors. Fourth, the entertainment function, which delivers moral messages in an engaging and humorous manner, as seen in *"Nyelati kalung ngoyong ditunggak tiyinge"* ("Trying to lick a necklace hanging from the ceiling").

From the standpoint of cultural values, Balinese *Paribasa* in this performance reinforces four fundamental pillars. First, religiosity and sacredness, evident in the form of prayers and mantras invoking safety and cosmic balance. Second, life wisdom, fostering humility and self-reflection, as reflected in the saying *"Tan ana wong swasta anulus"* ("No human being is perfect"). Third, social criticism through humor, which strengthens moral awareness by reflecting social realities through laughter. Fourth, intergenerational value transmission, where characters such as Tualen and Narada act as cultural educators imparting wisdom to younger characters like Merdah and Joblar, demonstrating the pedagogical function of *paribasa* as a medium for the preservation of Balinese cultural values.

*Suggestions*

Given that the Balinese *Paribasa* employed in *wayang kulit* performances embody noble values such as religiosity, wisdom, and social critique, concrete and systematic efforts are needed to document and preserve these forms. Cultural institutions, academics, and *dalang* (puppet masters) should collaborate in the digitalization of texts and performance archives to ensure that this oral heritage remains widely accessible and can serve as valuable learning material for future generations.

It is hoped that the findings of this study can be implemented within educational contexts, particularly in the teaching of Balinese language and literature at both school and university levels. Integrating *paribasa* into the curriculum not only enriches students' linguistic competence but also strengthens character development through the internalization of moral, religious, and social values that embody Balinese local wisdom.

Future research is recommended to adopt an interdisciplinary approach that combines linguistics, semiotics, cultural anthropology, and performance studies. Through such a comprehensive perspective, the study of *Paribasa Bali* can yield deeper insights into its functions, not only as a linguistic phenomenon but also as part of the symbolic and performative dimensions of *wayang kulit* art.

**Acknowledgement**

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to everyone who supported this work. Our deepest thanks go to our colleagues and mentors for their guidance, encouragement, and constructive feedback throughout the process. We are also grateful to our families for their unwavering support and understanding. This work would not have been possible without all of you.

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