

## ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE USED BY INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE (*NYEROD*) OF BALINESE WOMEN IN COMMUNICATING WITH THEIR FAMILY

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SUBMISSION TRACK	A B S T R A C T
Submitted : 21 September 2022 Accepted : 18 February 2023 Published : 18 March 2023	This study aims to analyse the language used by Balinese women who have inter-caste marriages ( <i>Nyerod</i> ) in their communication with their families. A phenomenological technique was applied in this study. Serokadan Susut Bangli is the location of the research. The data was gathered in two ways: through observation and interviews. During observation and interviews, the researcher took notes. The objects of study were (1) the language used by men's families to communicate with Balinese women; and (2) the language used by Balinese women to communicate with their families before and after marriage. Three Balinese women were the subjects. The data was examined following the procedure described by Miles and Huberman, which included reducing the data, interpreting the data, and drawing a conclusion. The result showed differences in the language used, where the men's families use low-level Balinese or <i>Basa Bali Biasa</i> to communicate with Balinese women of inter-caste marriages ( <i>Nyerod</i> ). The language used by Balinese women to communicate with their families before marriage was <i>Basa Bali Madia</i> , and after marriage, they used the polite Balinese language or <i>Basa Bali Alus</i> .
<b>KEYWORDS</b> Caste, Inter-caste Marriage, Balinese Language	
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### Introduction

According to Hadiwijaya et al (2022), a language has a high level of vitality. Language in Bali is based on the caste system. The speech community is the language used by people groups and grasped by its participants.. A speech community is a group of individuals who could all know one other when they speak. They are usually in the same region, saying the same dialect or standard language, and decide how language is used (Iskandar et al., 2018; Sa'adiyah et al., 2018; Silaban, 2019; Hanum et al., 2019). Based on the explanation, language used by Balinese society is based on caste system.

A caste system is a grouping of the Hindu-Balinese communities into endogamous with hereditary membership that separates and connects someone to another by three characteristics. They are separation regarding marriage and contact, division of labor in each group representing a particular profession; and finally, a hierarchy thus society will be selected on a scale that sorts them into upper and lower castes. The caste system was first introduced to Indonesia by the Portuguese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The word caste was derived from the Latin word *castus*, which meant "clean" or "pure," and was used to describe the social structure of society at the time because caste was a system of organized inequality. Furthermore, caste is a class, degree, or level of a person and can be defined as a stratification system derived from birth or social culture. Besides that, caste is the social position of people in a community. In Bali, the caste is known as "*Catur Wangsa*." *Catur Wangsa*, called "*CaturJatma*," is a classification system of society that defines four groups based on lineage or birth. However, in the Hindu religion, caste is also called "*Catur Warna*." The word "*Catur*

"Warna" comes from two words: "*Catur*," which means four, and "*Warna*," or "*Vri*," which means profession. "*Catur warna*" is defined as a system of social classification that divides into four groups based on the concept of "*Dharma*" or "*Swadharma*," which can be interpreted based on obligations, talents, or profession (Sadnyini, 2016; Prayitno et al., 2016; Sulibra et al., 2017; Suryati&Jinaya, 2016).

The caste system is separated society into four vertically genealogical divisions, beginning with the highest caste, *Brahmana*, followed by *Ksatria*, *Weisya*, and finally *Sudra*. These are called *catur warna or catur wangsa*. *Brahmana* is the highest group of people in the Balinese community obligated to religion and spiritual experts, such as priests or *Sulinggih*, or clergy. *Ksatriya* is the second-highest group of people in the Balinese community who are bound by government and military duties, such as kings or soldiers. *Wesya* is a group of Bali who is obligated to the public welfare, such as traders. And *Shudra* is the lowest group of people in the Balinese community who are obliged to help *Bhramin*, *Ksatria*, and *Wesya* groups, such as servants, or in Bali, called *Parekan* (for a man) and *Penyeruan* (for a woman). In Balinese society, the group of *Brahmana*, *Kshatriya*, and *Wesya* is called "*Triwangsa*," but the group of "*Sudra*" is called "*Jaba*," which means the lowest caste of the three castes (Aryasuari, 2020; Purana et al., 2021; Sadnyini, 2016).

The Balinese language is a reflection of the community and Balinese indigenous life. Furthermore, the Balinese language is the original language of instruction in Balinese society which functions as the mother tongue of the Balinese tribe, as well as the language of interaction in Balinese families. According to Suwija (2017), the Balinese language has a politeness level system appropriate to caste system. The social concept of the Balinese language based on castes in Bali is called *Sor Singgih Basa*. *Sor Singgih Basa* in Bali is the social framework caste of life that has ramifications for interpersonal communication techniques originating from various castes. *Sor Singgih Basa* contains some levels of languages in Bali some of them *Basa Bali Alus*, *Basa Bali Madya* and *Basa Bali Biasa*. *Basa Bali Alus* is the highest Balinese language, and *Basa Bali Madya* is the middle of the Balinese language, these languages are used by *triwangsa* (*Brahmana*, *Ksatria*, and *Wesya*) to communicate with their family, and *Basa Bali Biasa* is the lowest Balinese language. That language is used by *Sudra* castes to communicate in their family. *Sudra* caste who communicates with *Triwangsa* must use *Basa Bali Alus*, because the people of *Sudra* caste should speak or communicate in polite language.

The caste system also affects interactions in the marriage system in Bali. In Bali, there are two kinds of marriage system. The first is a woman married to a man who has a higher caste than her. The second is a woman married to a man who has a lower caste than her or in Bali, called *Nyerod*, which is also usually called an inter-caste marriage. A *Nyerod*, or inter-caste marriage in Bali is a secret marriage in Balinese tradition. There are consequences of inter-caste marriage in Bali, namely the community's attitude, treatment, language, and the way used to communicate with the Balinese woman is different. The difference can be seen in the language used by the community and family to communicate with the woman. The social status of Balinese women from higher castes married men from lower castes, so the social status of the Balinese women will descend following the husband's caste. It affects the way she communicates with her family differently and will impact her social status and the way people communicate with her. Likewise, when a woman from a lower caste or *Shudra* caste gets married to a

man from a higher caste or *Triwangsa*, her social status will rise, and it affects the language used when communicating Mahardini & Tobing (2017) & Aditi (2019).

In addition, the process when a woman gets married to a man who has a lower caste (*Jaba/Sudra*) is different from that of a woman getting married to a man who has the same caste in Bali. Usually, in Bali, especially for Hindus, inter-caste marriage is done without proposing to the bride's family. However, it is done with an eloping system in Bali known as "*Kawin Lari*." In this system, the man's family makes a report and send a letter to the head of the woman's village or in Bali, known as "*Bendesa*." Then, the groom picks up the bride on the street, not at the bride's house, and invites the woman to the man's house. The women will also change their identities by conducting the *Patiwangi* ritual. The *Patiwangi* ritual is a ceremony for a woman who gets married to a man who has a lower caste to change the woman's caste to become *Jaba/Sudra* Sadnyini (2017) & Mardiyanto (2020).

There are some previous studies have conducted a research in term of inter-caste marriages, Limarandani et al. (2019) reported in terms of communication. The difference will be evident in the use of language by both society and the family. When a higher-caste Balinese woman marries a lower-caste man, her social status descends with her husband's caste, affecting her social life and the language used to communicate with people who have a higher caste. Different caste marriages affect the level of speech used by women to communicate when speaking. They must adjust the level of language used based on caste level (Praminatih, 2021). In addition, a woman from a higher caste gets married to a man from a lower caste. The woman will be treated differently by her core family. And also, the woman should use polite language to communicate with her family and her parents (Segara, 2019).

Other studies showed that women who experience *Nyerod* marriages use polite language or Basa Bali Alus when speaking to others of higher caste. It also happens to women who experience different caste marriages, where women from a lower caste marry men from a higher caste. Hence, women use polite Balinese language or Balinese AlusBasa when communicating with their husbands' families or other people who have a higher caste (Sartini et al., 2020). Amritashanti and Suprapti (2017) investigated the adjustment process and determinants of inter-caste marriage among Balinese Hindu women. Researchers observed and interviewed two Balinese women who married men from lower castes than themselves. These women recognized the usual ramifications of inter-caste marriage with lower-caste men, or *nyerod*, and hence they adjusted themselves as a result of their choice. Eloping with their husbands, performing the *mepamit* rite, and changing their language to the high Balinese language (Bali Alus) for their upper-caste family were among the changes they made. They made these changes to minimize family problems and to show some respect for their family by breaking normal rules.

Regarding the phenomenon explained above, the issue discussed in this study is an analysis of the language used by Balinese women who have an inter-caste marriage (*Nyerod*) in communicating with their families, which is the marriage between Balinese women from upper caste (*Triwangsa*) and men from lower caste (*Sudhra*). This study focuses on analyzing the language used by the men's families to communicate with the women and the language used before and after marriage by women to communicate with their families.

**Research Method**

This research applied a phenomenological approach to analyze the language used by Balinese women who have inter-caste marriages (*Nyerod*). Phenomenology is a qualitative research model that aims to find a meaningful psychological state of an individual's experience of phenomena through an in-depth analysis of the respondents' daily lives (Sugiyono, 2019). The subjects of this research were three Balinese women from *Triwangsa* who got married to a man from a lower caste. The first woman and second woman were *Brahmana*, and the third woman was *Kesatrya*, who gets married to a man from a lower caste (*Sudhra*) family. Serokadan Susut Bangli was the location of this research. This research used two techniques to collect the data: observation and interviews

The researchers conducted observations to analyze the language used by the men's families to communicate with the Balinese women who have inter-caste marriages (*Nyerod*). Interviews were conducted with three Balinese women married to different castes (*Nyerod*) to obtain more information about the language used by Balinese women before and after marriage. The researcher asked several questions: (1) what the language used by Balinese women before and after marriage to communicate with their family is and (2) what are Balinese women address their family after marriage. From the questions, further extending questions were used to explore more information. During the observations and interview, the researchers took some notes. These were the procedures or the process of this research. The data collected in this study was analysed and interpreted using a phenomenological approach. Three steps from Miles and Huberman's theory as cited in Manzilati (2017) were utilized in data analysis, such as: collecting data, reducing, interpreting, and drawing a conclusion. In this research collect the data through observation. Reducing the data in data reduction, all data and information unrelated to the study's focus were removed. After selecting the data through the data reduction process, the useful data or information was organized and displayed to draw a conclusion. This step was done after displaying the data. In this step, the conclusion was drawn, and the result of the study would be verified.

**Result and Discussion**

**Result**

In the Balinese culture, inter-caste marriages contain complications that may cause discomfort for those involved, particularly women or brides. In Bali, inter-caste marriage (*Nyerod*) is not an option because it is regarded as a shame for the family, particularly the female family. It is also harmful to a woman's status. According to Cahyaningtyas (2016), two different inter-caste marriages have significant status implications. In this case, the status will change and has an influence on the level of language used. The shift of identities affects the manner of the extended family. This research aimed to analyze the language used by men's families and the language used before and after marriage by women to communicate with their families.

No	Balinese language used by man's families to communicate with the Balinese women who experienced inter-caste marriage	Meaning
1	Sube mandus?	Have you taken a bath?
2	Mendaar malu	Eat first
3	Mare bangun	Just woke up
4	Teke ling ije mare teke ling tuni?	Where did you come?
5	Ben mani kal luas kije	Where are you going tomorrow?

6	Dije meli nasi kuning ibi	Where did you buy yellow rice yesterday?
7	Be seger batis e Yu?	Has your leg healed?
8	Ije kurenan Ayu e adi sing taen tepuk jumah?	Where is your husband? Why do I never see your husband at home?
9	Apa daarang nasi Ayu	What is the side food Ayu?
10	Jemakin jep meme nare di paon	take meme (mother) a tray in the kitchen
11	Mu kalin mesare	Go to sleep
12	Ditu meli teloh ben mani	Over there, buy eggs tomorrow
13	Jam kude mani kal mulih	What time you will come home
14	Ayu mani teke ling megae bang kucit te ngamah	Ayu (name), tomorrow come from work, please feed the pig
15	Tolih kejep nasi dipaon, sube lebeng ape kondon	please see the rice is cooked or not
16	Ben mani bangun selidan	tomorrow, please wake up early
17	Nu sakit basang e	Do still your stomach ache
18	Yu I ketut bendan kal mulih	Yu (abbreviation of the name Dayu) When is Ketut (name) coming home
19	Panak e malu baang medaar	let your child eat first
20	Yu pijitin jep batis dadong e	please message grandma's feet

**Table 1.** The Language Used by Male's Families to the Balinese Women

Based on the results of observations conducted with three Balinese women in three men's families, the language used by the men's families to communicate with Balinese women used *Basa Bali Biasa*. *Basa Bali Biasa* is a level of language in Bali used by Balinese people who have the same caste. Also, this language is used by people with higher position (caste) to communicate with lower classes (caste). *Basa Bali Baisa* is a low language but not rough (Suwija 2018). In addition, the results of observations showed that male families no longer call women's names by their caste names, but men's families only call them "Ayu" and abbreviated as "Yu", which before the women married they were called based on their caste like "Dewa Ayu" (*Kesatrya*) or Ida Ayu (*Brahmana*).

No	Balinese Language used before inter-caste marriage by Balinese women to communicate with their parents	Balinese language used after inter-caste marriage by Balinese women to communicate with their parents	Meaning
1	Nggih	Inggih,	Yes/okay
2	Ngajeng	Ngajeng/ Merayunan	Eat
3	Bangun	Metangngi	Wake up
4	Sube	Sampun	Already
5	Mesiram	Mesiram/ mesucian	Take a bath
6	Sirep	Sirep, Mekolem	Sleep
7	Mulih/ mudal	Mudal/ mantuk	Back home
8	Menjalan	Memargi	Walk
9	Batis	Cokor	Foot
10	Tangan	Tangan	Hand
11	Duur	Duur/prabu	Head
12	Basang	Oteng	Tummy
13	Jani	Mangkin	Now
14	Luas	Lunge	Go
15	Engken	Punapi	Why
16	Tiang	Titiang	I
17	Ida	Ida/Ipun	You
18	Umah/puri/jro/griye	Puri/jro/griye	House
19	Mudal	Mudal/mantuk	Back home

20	Kal	Jagi	will
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**Table 2.** The Language Used Before and After Marriage by Women to Communicate with Their Families

Table 2 demonstrates that there is a change in the vocabulary that is employed following marriage. The level of speech is chosen to show and respect the married woman's new status.

No	Terms of address used before marriage	Terms of address used after marriage	Meaning
1	Ajung, Aji	Ratu/ tu Aji, tu Ajung ( <i>Brahmana</i> ) Dewa Aji( <i>Kestrya</i> )	Father
2	Biang, ibu	Ratu/ tu ibu ( <i>Brahmana</i> ) Dewa/De biang( <i>Kestrya</i> )	Mother
3	Nenek	Ratu/tu niang Dewa/De niang( <i>Kestrya</i> )	Grandmother
4	Pekak, kakiang	Ratu/ tu kakiang ( <i>Brahmana</i> ) Dewa/de Kakiang/ Pekak( <i>Kestrya</i> )	Grandfather
5	Sibling	- Ida Ayu/Dayu ( <i>Brahmana girl</i> ) - Ida Bagus ( <i>Brahmanaboy</i> ) - DewaAyu/Gung Ayu ( <i>Kastrya girl</i> ) - DewaGede ( <i>KastryaBoy</i> ) Dewa+ name /Ida+name	Sibling (sister and brother)

**Table 3.** Addressing Form Before and After Marriage

Table 3 further indicates that the terms of address are distinct from one another because a woman's position is altered after marriage. As a result, married women must use distinct forms of address to reflect their new status as well as varying degrees of speech level when speaking.

Before marriage	Meaning
Wanita Bali: Ibu, Bajutiangijengjih?	Balinese woman: Mom, where is my T-shirt?
Ibu: Di Lemari e	Mother: in the wardrobe
After marriage	Meaning
Wanita Bali: Tuibu/de biang, Sampunmerayunan	Balinese women: Mom. Do you have eaten
Ibu : Sube	Mother : yes, I have

**Table 4.** Examples Conversation of Balinese Women Communicate to Their Family Before and After Marriage

The results of interviews conducted with three Balinese women who have married a man who has a lower caste showed that the language used before and after marriage is different. There is a significant difference in which Balinese women should use the polite Balinese language or *Basa Bali Alus* to communicate and address their biological families after marriage, such as their parents, siblings, and other members of their family. *Basa Bali Alus* is a level of the Balinese language in Bali, and this language is a polite Balinese language in Bali. *Basa Bali Alus* is used by the *Sudra* group to communicate with people who have a higher caste, such as *Triwangsa* Suwija

et al. (2019). Meanwhile, the language used by Balinese women before marriage is *Basa Alus Madia*. *Basa Alus Madia* is the Balinese language at the middle level because *Basa Alus Madia* can be used when speaking with the same caste as the *Triwangsa* Mastini (2019).

The terms used by Balinese women to speak and greet before and after marriage was displayed in the second table. The data in the table indicate that the terminology used to refer to one's birth family before and after marriage is significantly different. When addressing their mother, father, grandmother, and grandfather, Balinese Brahmana women used the term *Ratu*. *Ratu* is a title given to honor a member of the Brahmin caste *Ratu* + name, such as *Ratu Ibu* (mother) or *Ratu Aji* (father); while calling or communicating with other family members, they must utilize the *Basa Bali Alus*.

Meanwhile, when a Balinese woman from *Kesatrya* addresses her mother, father, grandmother, and grandfather, she uses *Dewa* + name, *Dewa aji/de aji*. However for *Kesatrya*, it depends on the family name because *Kesatrya* is not only *Dewa* but there is term *Agung*. *Dewa* and *Agung* have the same meaning as *Ratu* is honouring the people who have the *Kasatrya* caste. Besides that, when addressing their sibling and other family members, they should use their caste names, such as *Dewa Ayu /Agung Ayu* name of the girl) and *Agung Gede/Dewa Gede* (name of the boy).

The fourth table showed examples of conversations that indicated a difference between before and after marriage. Before they got married, they used the same language level when communicating with their families. But after they married their husbands from *Sudra* (*jaba*) they must use polite Balinese language to communicate with their parents, siblings, and other family members.

## Discussion

Based on the results from the observation and interviews above indicated that inter-caste marriage (*Nyerod*) has a difference in the Balinese language used by men's families to communicate with Balinese women who have experienced inter-caste marriage (*Nyerod*), as well as the language used by Balinese women to communicate with their families before and after the marriage has a difference. Based on the results observation with three Balinese women and their husbands' families, the language used to communicate with Balinese women married to men from *Sudra* families uses low-level Balinese or *Basa Bali Biasa*. Besides that, the result of observation indicated the men's families no longer address the Balinese women with their *Brahmana* and *Kesatrya* names: "*Ida Ayu (Brahmana)* or *Dewa Ayu (Ksatrya)*," but just "*Ayu*," no longer by the names of those from the *Triwangsa* family. It is because Balinese women have married a man from a *Sudra* family and performed a caste reduction ceremony, or a *Patiwangi* ceremony.

The language used by Balinese women who have married a man from a *Sudra* family has a different level of language used. After Balinese women married a *Sudra* man, they should use the polite Balinese language or *Basa Bali Alus* to address and communicate with their parents, siblings, and other family members. A cause the term "Balinese" is a marker of Balinese identity; another social aspect that distinguishes Balinese people is the caste system. The Balinese caste system employs specific titles attached to their names based on which caste they belong to. Balinese has different speech levels or styles Satyawati et al. (2021). And added by Rajadesingan et al (2019) Castes are intended to be the system of social hierarchy that establishes position in line

with heritage and divides people according to the veracity of their ancestry. Balinese women address their parents, grandfather, and grandfather with Ratu + name (Ratu Ibu/Tu Ibu = mother) or Ratu Aji/Tu Aji = father). Their siblings by using their caste names, such as Ida + name (*Ida Ayu* = sister), *Ida Bagus*(brother). It addresses *Brahmana* women who marry different castes (*Nyerod*). The form of greeting used by a *Kastya* woman who was married to a different caste (*Nyerod*) to address her mother, father, grandfather, grandmother, and siblings uses the word *Dewa/De+ Nama* (*De Biang*= mother) or (*De Aji* = father). They address their siblings by using their caste names, such as *Dewa* + name (*Dewa Ayu* = brother) or *Dewa Gede* = brother). And before marriage, they use the same language level to speak with their families in which. The consequences of this marriage in the Balinese system that women will experience a caste decline and influence the Balinese women's social status, attitude, and language. According to Alandari & Mutiah (2019), a "*Nyerod*" cannot carry out the role fully or completely. For example, when they play the role of a child in their own family, there are always boundaries that they adhere to that are said to respect the house. If this is violated, it is tantamount to tarnishing the authority of the house. On the other hand, her role as a new member of their husband's family who is not of the same caste will cause a very drastic change in their role. When they were in the house, he would be served and highly respected by the "*Sudra*", so now that she is a member of the *Sudra* family, she automatically has to serve her husband and his husband's family.

## Conclusion

Inter-caste marriage, or *nyerod*, is an issue in Bali. This marriage tends to be experienced by Balinese women, whether they come from a high or low caste, when the woman who experiences an inter-caste marriage, especially *Nyerod*, will suffer consequences. The data analysis that was analysed above showed that inter-caste marriage (*Nyerod*) has a difference in the language used to communicate by the men's families to the Balinese women, and the way they used to communicate with their biological family has a difference from before marriage and after marriage. Their husbands' families no longer address them with their caste names, *Ida Ayu* or *DewaAyu*. And also, the way they address their biological families should use polite language in Balinese, such as addressing their parents and their siblings. They have to say *Atu* or *Tu* before calling IBU or AYAH (mother/father) and when they address their siblings. They should also use polite language, such as starting their addresses with their caste name. Besides that, they should use *Basa Bali Alus* to communicate with their family.

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