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Submission date: 29-Mar-2023 03:17PM (UTC+0800)

Submission ID: 2049802485

File name: 14411_Sartini_2020_E_R.pdf (241.8K)

Word count: 6291

Character count: 33645



Language Behaviour toward Balinese Women in Inter-Caste Marriages

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This paper aims at elaborating the language behaviour toward Balinese women in inter-caste marriages, such as lower-caste women who are married to the upper-caste men. The research methods applied in this paper are observation and interview. The data was taken from four Shudra women who were married to the tri wangsa men in Denpasar city. The results of the study showed that the men's families utilised the low Balinese language (Bali Biasa) and sometimes code-mixed between Balinese and Indonesian languages when communicating with these lower-caste women. Meanwhile, these lower-caste women employed the high Balinese language (Bali Alus) even to their husbands and children as a form of respect and modesty. The difference in the language use demonstrated that there are still some borders and distinctness although the women have become part of the men's families. On the contrary, the women's families used the middle Balinese language (Bali Madya) when communicating with the women. This became their form of respect to the increase in their daughters' status since they are married to the upper-caste men.

Key words: *Balinese women, inter-caste, intermarriage, language behaviour.*

Introduction

The Balinese community structure is a layered community structure which consists of various classes, dynasties, and castes. The community structure affects the Balinese marital model that is complicated and complex and therefore in several areas in Bali, the inter-caste marriage sometimes causes problems. Along with the changing times, inter-caste marriage has become a common activity that can be accepted by part of the community. Inter-caste marriage can be included into intermarriage. Intermarriage has long been known in the Balinese community. Intermarriage does not solely occur in relation with inter-caste marriages among Balinese



people, but the marriage with foreign people also contributes to marriage issues in Bali. Inter-marriage in Bali started to realise after the Independence Day and has been increasing since the development of tourism (Putra, 2011). Even at that time, inter-marriage in Bali was considered to be “a source of power” particularly for Balinese people who were married to people from other ethnicities to gain force in facing the invaders (Bagus, 2008:350). Data shows that there is a huge number of Balinese people who are married to the visitors from Australia, England, the United States, Japan, and so on (Putra, 2007; De Neefe, 2003; Geriya, 2002).

One of the inter-marriages which at first was strongly opposed in the Balinese community was inter-caste marriage. The inter-caste marriage in Bali was strongly opposed by the community since the maintenance of the purity of castes is adhered to as much as possible by marrying people from the same caste or *pepadan* (Budawati, 2016). The inter-caste marriage would result in conflicts either between the parents and the children, among the families, or between the family and the surrounding community (Sadnyini, 2016b). Several cases of inter-caste marriage, particularly *nyerod* marriage, in which an upper-caste (*tri wangsa*) woman marries a lower-caste (Shudra) man, will result in exclusion and exile from the family or the community, since the marriage is considered as lowering the degree of their caste (I. G. N. Bagus, 1976). Although many inter-caste marriages might result in conflicts, some *nyerod* cases result in good relationships among families and good adjustment of the women (Mahardini & Tobing, 2017). However, if a lower-caste (Shudra) woman is married to an upper-caste (*tri wangsa*) man, it usually does not become a problem. Cultural development and increasing education of the community render the inter-caste marriage to be a common thing, although it still becomes a problem in several areas.

Tracking further back in the history of custom and culture, caste was not actually known in the Balinese Hindu community. There are misunderstandings and obscurity of understanding between caste and varna. Varna is a Hindu concept of community division based on a person's profession or *svadharma* instead of inheritance by birth (Sadnyini, 2016a). Meanwhile, caste started to be introduced by the Dutch, along with Hinduism, to divide the Balinese community in divisive politics (Budiasa & Gunarti, 2016; Vickers, 2013; Covarrubias, 1937). Castes are meant to be the social hierarchy that prescribe status in accordance with heritage, in which people are divided based on the purity of the descent (Rajadesingan, Mahalingam, & Jurgens, 2019). Unlike varna, castes are not rooted in Hinduism and the castes in Bali have shifted from the varna in Hinduism, although they comprise similar names for the group levels (Adnyani, 2019; Wiana & Santeri, 1993). Until today, caste or *wangsa* was the characteristic of Balinese community which covers Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. The existence of caste causes the marriages within Balinese community to be complicated and complex. The complexity of the marital model sometimes renders the Balinese community, particularly the



younger generation, to be frustrated since every family wants the same-caste marriage to maintain the purity of dynasty even since the kingdom era (Suryani, 1984).

In terms of the nature of marriage, the model of inter-caste marriage is an exogamous marriage. An exogamous marriage is performed due to the interaction between individuals in social relations that are more open and not normative or institutional provisions which can restrict or forbid the marriage model (Budiana, 2009:194). The inter-caste marriage will result in complex problems starting from the women's social status, rights and obligations, communication model, and treatment toward the women, particularly to women who are married to upper-caste men. This is the samewith marriages of upper-caste women to lower-caste men.

Inter-caste marriage is considered unfavorable and unfair for women in such a marriage model (Sudantra, 2012). The marriage model also brings various consequences toward the lives of Balinese women afterward (Segara, 2019). The consequences are the differences in the community's attitude, treatment, language, and communication model to the women in the inter-caste marriage. In relation to communication, the difference will be clearly seen in the language use, both by the community and the family. When a Balinese woman from the upper caste is married to a lower-caste man, her social status will be descending following her husband's caste, which then will affect her social life and the way she communicates with others (Limarandani, Sihabudin, & Ronda, 2019). On the contrary, when a Balinese woman from *sudra wangsa* (Shudra caste) is married to a man from *tri wangsa* (Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas) castes, her social status is raised (ascending) and it affects her language use in the communication.

The language issue is fascinating and insufficiently researched and studied. Therefore, the issue studied in this paper is the language behavior toward Balinese women in inter-caste marriages. The inter-caste marriage in this study is the marriage between the Shudra (lower caste) women and the *tri wangsa* (upper caste) men. The description of this language behavior will be studied from the language use of the man's and the woman's families as well as the language use of the woman to her husband's and her families.

Literature Review

Inter-caste marriage issues have been widely studied and investigated from various perspectives. From the literary research that has been conducted, there have not been any studies found regarding the language use toward women in inter-caste marriages. The studies that have been conducted include the ones that are closely related to sociological, cultural, and psychological implications of women in inter-caste marriages. For example, Amritashanti and Suprapti (2017) studied the adjustment process and factors of Balinese Hindu women in the inter-caste marriage. In this study, they observed and interviewed two Balinese women who



married men whose castes were lower than theirs. In committing the inter-caste marriage with the lower-caste men or *nyerod*, these women understood the customary consequences, thus they adjusted themselves as the result of their choice. The adjustments they make included eloping with their husbands, conducting the *mepamit* ceremony, and changing their language into the high Balinese language (*Bali Alus*) to their family who are upper caste. They committed these adjustments to avoid conflicts among families and to show some respect to their family due to violating customary rules.

In another study, Cahyaningtyas (2016) attempted to analyse the impact of caste system toward Balinese women in a novel by Oka Rusmini (2007) entitled *Tarian Bumi*. This study investigated the social consequences a Balinese woman should bear in committing exogamous marriage. In this novel, the main character Luh Sekar, who was a Shudra woman, was disconnected from her family due to her marriage and could not fully intergrate into the family of her husband Ida Bagus Ngurah Pidada, a Brahmin man, due to the Balinese customary law. This hypergamous marriage not only resulted in the change of her name and status, but it also affected the way she interacted with her own family, in that she could not pray in her family temple, bring her children to her family house, or even touch her mother's corpse. The results of this study also indicated that things went awry for Balinese women when committing inter-caste marriage, be it hypergamy (marrying the upper-caste man) or hypogamy (marrying the lower-caste man). In the hypergamous marriage, the woman should do the ritual of *menakwangi* to cleanse the impurities she brought to the upper-caste family. Meanwhile, in the hypogamous marriage, the woman should do the *patiwangi* ceremony, in which the initial title or dynasty of the woman will be erased completely (*pati* = "exterminated", *wangi* = "fragrance") (Sadnyini, 2017). This occurs because the Balinese community holds the patrilineal system and believes that women become "a pollutant" in committing inter-caste marriage, so that it is women's liability to conduct the ritual to cleanse themselves for being impure.

Another study regarding women in the inter-caste marriage was conducted by Budiana (2009). This study focused on the social construction and change of the inter-caste marriage in the Balinese community. From the study, it was concluded that in the social construction of an exogamous marriage is the result of human creation executed consciously in the behavioral patterns of interaction between individuals in society. Nowadays, there is the awareness in the *tri wangsa* class of the openness in understanding the caste structure in Bali. In family relations, they no longer emphasise the status based on the caste structure which tends to place the individual position in the society based on the genealogical (heredity) element. However, this has shifted with the understanding of individual status in the society based on the structure of Varna as taught in the Vedas. With the change of understanding in Balinese *tri wangsa* class toward the individual status in the society and the definition of *wangsa* (caste) is switched to the definition of Varna, it is possible to change the prohibition of the exogamy marriage of



inter-caste. This means that they allow their family members to have an exogamous marriage without discriminatory behavior.

The study conducted by Budiana (2009) also deduced that the traditions which reflect discriminatory behavior, such as the customs which forbids the exogamous marriage, “*asupundung*” (a Brahmin woman marrying a Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Shudra man) and “*alangkahi karang hulu*” (a Kshatriya woman marrying a Vaisya or Shudra man), increasingly fades away from the lives of Balinese people. The reactions of the community groups whose family members carry out the exogamous marriage are showing moderate behaviour, giving mutual respect and appreciation among the bridegroom’s families, omitting the feudal customary sanctions, and equalising the treatment for the bridegroom both in the wedding ceremony procession and in domestic life.

From previous studies, it can be seen that the results and implications of those studies are somewhat different with this current study, that is with the language behavior. Although all investigate Balinese women in inter-caste marriage, the focuses are different. The current study focuses on the language use of Balinese women in the inter-caste marriage while Amritashanti and Suprapti (2017) focused on the psychological aspect of the Balinese women in adjusting themselves in the inter-caste marriage, Cahyaningtyas (2016) focused on the social impacts of inter-caste marriage toward Balinese women, and Budiana (2009) focused on the social construction and change in the Balinese inter-caste marriage.

In the era following the revolutionary period, the issue of Paswara no. 11/1951 that abolished the prohibition of inter-caste marriage was enthusiastically welcomed by the *tri wangsa* class. In that era, no one remembered their caste. Everybody was struggling to defend and uphold the Republic of Indonesia (Kerepun, 2007:182). Then, the community should uphold their customary law, which includes the rights and obligations between a husband and a wife (Hasanah, Rahmadan, & Ismi, 2019), a Balinese Hindu woman from the Shudra class who married a *tri wangsa* men was not included in her husband’s *soroh* (clan). Her name would be changed into *Jero* followed with the name of flowers, such as *Cempaka*, *Puspa*, *Pudak*, *Melati*, and so on. At the wedding ceremony, the woman might only marry a dagger or *banten* (offerings) instead of being side by side with her husband. Her wedding offerings might be different and separated from her husband’s. *Surudan* (food) from the offerings would not be eaten by the husband and his family. At the time of *mepamit* (the permission to leave the family) in her *merajan* (family temple), her husband might not want to join in the prayer (Widetya & Sulistyarini, 2015:13).

The adaptation for a woman in an exogamous marriage is also not a simple case, especially when she starts entering her husband’s family (Saepullah, Sinaga, & Zulkarnain, 2020). Specifically, in the language rule, a Balinese woman in an inter-caste marriage has to use *Bali*



Alus not only to her husband but also to his entire family, including their children. Meanwhile, their children and the husband's family could utilise the lowest level of Balinese language to her. She would be banned from worshipping in her family's temple and her *kawitan* temple. She is also forbidden to *nyumbah* (prostration prayer) to the corpses of her family members and parents. Her family should also speak in the high Balinese language to her. If she passed away, her children and husband's family are not justified to carry her corpse. If she got divorced, she would lose everything and would be ostracised both from her family and from the community (Widetya & Sulistyarini, 2015:14). She could not go back to her family's house as she has already lost her title nor stay in her husband's house (Adnyani, 2019; Ariani, 2010). These were the regulations in the past and were carried out strictly at that time.

The study related to the language behavior is the study in the sociolinguistic scope which investigates the relationship between language and social factors in a speech community. In other words, it is more operationally said by Fishman (1972) that "... study of who speaks what language to whom and when." The social factor involved in this, is caste. Caste is one of the factors which generates the difference of social class in society. Caste is the term which is related to the social hierarchy in which the people are differentiated based on their birth criteria and it usually does not change within the group (Bonvillain, 2003). Social class divides society into groups where it is assumed to sort the community into hierarchical levels in which one level is higher than another, even between genders (Gupta, 2000). However, this division and the group functions might be changed over time, which might affect one or all groups of the community (Cameron, 1995). The difference of language use in these groups is included in the sociolinguistic study, namely the study which interrelates language and social stratification.

The relationship between language and social stratification is clearly visible in the Balinese community whose social structure consists of castes, that is Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. From the four castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas are included into the *tri wangsa* class while the lowest caste is called Shudra. Dwipayana (2001) stated that by the existence of these castes from ancient times until now, the cultural hegemony of *tri wangsa* in the Balinese community has formed. The cultural hegemony of *tri wangsa* is developed by the dominant class to validate their positions and to form the special rules that do not provide any opportunity for the upward vertical mobility by the dominated class (Dwipayana, 2017). This hegemony becomes the customary law that is binding and absolute for all the people regardless of their caste (Dwipayana & Adnyana, 2019).

The social structure of caste life in Bali has consequences for interpersonal communication systems originating from different castes. The concept of language is called *sor singgih basa* that is utilising language levels based on someone's status in the caste hierarchy. The language levels are divided into *Bali Alus* (the high Balinese language), *Bali Madya* (the middle Balinese language), and *Bali Biasa* (the low Balinese language). The distinction in the language context



is in social meaning, which is related to the caste someone belongs to (Bawa, 2002). The Shudra people should employ the exquisite form of language when communicating with the ones from *tri wangsa* caste, while the people from *tri wangsa* class are justified to use the lowest form of language when speaking to the ones from Shudra class. Therefore, when a Shudra man speaks with *Bali Biasa* to a Kshatriya man, the Shudra man will be scolded because it is considered impolite (Anwar, 2016).

Method

This study was conducted in Denpasar, Bali, by taking the sample of four families in inter-caste marriages, that is the *Shudra* women who were married to the *tri wangsa* men. This model of marriage is an exogamous marriage. Denpasar was chosen as the location of the study to observe the influence of the current development of cultural traditions of the community. Besides, this study also aimed to discover the retention of customary and cultural traditions, particularly the language behaviour in the cross-language marriage system. The data was collected by utilising observation and in-depth interviews with the four families. The collected data was then analysed with the qualitative descriptive approach.

Discussion

The discussion of language behavior toward Balinese women in the inter-caste marriage will be separated into: (1) the language use of the men's families; (2) the language use of the women's families; (3) the language use of the women to the men's families; (4) the language use of the women to their families; and (5) the forms of address.

The Language Use of the Men's Families

The inter-caste marriage in the Balinese community affects the women's language use since it is related to their status upgrade. The data indicated that the men's families, consisting of parents-in-law and other family members, utilised *Bali Biasa*. *Bali Biasa* is the level of Balinese language that is employed by the people with higher position toward those with lower position and their social distance is very close. In other words, *Bali Biasa* is also a "rough-spoken" language though it is not the impolite language (Kersten, 1984:16). This kind of language situation is a common phenomenon that happens in the marriage of a lower-caste woman and an upper-caste man. The men also employed *Bali Biasa* while their children code-mixed between Balinese and Indonesian languages. This language behavior demonstrated that the women from the Shudra class will still be considered as different (lower) class although they have become part of the men's families. There is discrimination seen in the language behaviour used by the men's families.



One thing that differentiates and becomes the status marker addressed to the Shudra women who are married to the caste (*tri wangsa*) men is the provision of *Jero* as the form of address. This form of address in the tradition of Balinese community indicates that the women come from the Shudra class. The parents-in-law address their daughter-in-law from the Shudra class with *Jero* followed by the given names that generally come from flowers or the names that have positive and good connotations, such as *Jero Melati*, *Jero Puspa*, *Jero Gadung*, *Jero Cempaka*, and so on. This tradition is still followed, but in the more modern society, this form of address is rarely used.

The Language Use of the Women's Families

Different from the language use of the men's families, the women's families (i.e., parents and siblings) utilised mixed languages in their daily conversation. The languages utilized were the low (*Bali Biasa*) and high (*Bali Alus*) Balinese languages. Although their family members did not fully employ *Bali Alus*, there were certain markers in *Bali Alus*. The reason for the language use was to respect their family member who obtained a new status as the member of *tri wangsa* family. According to the Balinese cultural traditions, the status of a Shudra woman who is married to an upper-caste man will rise higher than her initial status. In the cases of exogamous marriage in Bali, a woman coming from Shudra class will obtain a new status as *rabi* (the wife of an upper-caste man) with a new address, that is *Jero*. This status upgrade will be followed by the change in the language use both in her family and the community.

The Language Use of the Women to the Men's Families

In the Balinese cultural traditions, the women in the inter-caste marriage employed *Bali Alus* when communicating to the families of their husbands, both to the husbands, parents-in-law, and other family members. The utilisation of *Bali Alus* indicated that the women are still considered as women of the lower class although they have become part of the men's families. They used the mixed languages of *Bali Biasa* and *Bali Alus* toward their husbands. In this case, *Bali Alus* was merely utilised for certain words as a tribute to the husband's status performed by a wife. In modern families, the women usually used Indonesian language since the language is considered as neutral. They also code-mixed Balinese and Indonesian languages toward their children. This occurred due to the broad interaction so that the language use toward children is adjusted to the development of times and the current conditions.

In this inter-caste marriage, a mother from *jaba wangsa* (outside the caste) in certain areas would utilise *Bali Alus* to her kids. This is because the children from the marriage are considered as royal blood so their mother is subject to customary and cultural rules. The utilised *Bali Alus* is only in certain markers as the form of respect toward the *tri wangsa* descendants.



The Language Use of the Women to Their Families

From the observation of the language use toward their own families, the women in the inter-caste marriage still utilised *Bali Biasa* both to their parents, siblings, and other family members. From the interview conducted with the women in the inter-caste marriage, it is said that the status upgrade they obtained from the marriage actually made them more careful in using language. Although their status was upgraded, sometimes they were also required to use several words from *Bali Alus* toward their parents and other elder members. Generally, the *Jero* status also becomes a burden so that a person should be careful in the language use since the society has the viewpoint that upper-caste people should be an example in the society.

From the situation and condition explicated above, it can be said that discrimination still occurs against a woman from the Shudra caste no matter how small the form of discrimination. Therefore, in reality, not all discriminatory treatments can be eliminated until now, like the Balinese custom that provides the *Jero* predicate to the bride who comes from the lower caste. This treatment for some Shudra people has been still considered discriminatory since the *Jero* predicate has the connotation of making the name of the *tri wangsa* families proud.

From the explanation above, it can be realised that the *tri wangsa* people are already very open and accept marriage as something that does not need to be distinguished. The language use toward the women in the inter-caste marriage that is also very egalitarian means there is no prominent marker which shows the origin of castes. The language used is also very diverse and varied, that is demonstrated by the use of Indonesian and Balinese language mixture.

The Forms of Address

There are two models found from the men's families in addressing their wives in the inter-caste marriage, that is; (1) the husband's families who address the women with *Jero* and (2) the ones who address with the women's names. The models are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: The Forms of Address of the Men's Families

No.	Men's Family	Forms of Address
1.	Parents-in-law	<i>Jero</i> , name
2.	Men (Husbands)	Mom, Mother, Mama
3.	Children	Mother, Mama
4.	Other family members	<i>Jero</i> , name, Auntie <i>Jero</i> + name, <i>Mbok Jero</i> 'sister'

Table 1 demonstrates that the form of address used by the parents-in-law, both father- and mother-in-law, was *Jero*, and sometimes they addressed only by the women's names. This was also performed by other family members. In this case, there were also the modern forms of address, such as *Tante Jero* ("Auntie *Jero*") and *Mbok Jero* ("Sister *Jero*"). Meanwhile, the



husbands called their wives *Bu*, *Bunda*, *Mama* (“Mom”), similar to the way the children called their mothers.

Table 2: The Forms of Address of the Women’s Families

No.	Woman’s Family	Forms of Address
1.	Parents	<i>Jero</i> , name, <i>Gung De</i> ’s Mom, <i>Gung Gek</i> ’s Mom
2.	Siblings	<i>Mbok Jero</i> , <i>Mbok</i> + name, <i>Mbok Gek</i> ‘sister’
3.	Other family members	<i>Jero</i> , <i>Mbok</i> ‘sister’, <i>ibunya Gung De</i> ‘Gung De’s Mom’, <i>ibunya Gung Gek</i> ‘Gung Gek’s Mom’, name.

Then, Table 2 shows that the women’s families employed the forms of address by which they really respected the women’s position as a *Jero (rabi)* due to their marriage to the upper-caste men. What is fascinating is that the way the parents called their daughters who were married to the upper-caste men with *Ibunya Gung De* (“The Mother of *Gung De*” (son) or *Ibunya Gung Gek* (“The Mother of *Gung Gek*” (daughter)). With these forms of address, the parents respected their daughters’ positions and tended to be neutral but respectful. In addition, *Jero* was also used as the women’s new identity. The women’s siblings called them *Mbok Jero*, *Mbok Putu Mbok Gek*, or their names. Likewise, other family members addressed them with the forms of address that were almost the same as the ones utilised by the parents and siblings. In the interview, it was explained that when the women’s family members visited the house of the men who still lived with their parents, the women’s family members would insert several words in *Bali Alus*. This became a tribute to the status of their daughters who were married to the men from *tri wangsa* families.

Table 3: The Forms of Address to the Men’s Families

No.	Man’s Family	Forms of Address
1.	Father-in-law	<i>Atu</i> , <i>Tu Aji</i> , <i>Tu Ajung</i> ‘father’
2.	Mother-in-law	<i>Atu</i> , <i>Tu Gung Biang</i> ‘mother’
3.	Men (Husbands)	<i>Ajik</i> , <i>Ajung</i> ‘Father’;
4.	Children	<i>Gung Gek</i> , <i>Gung Gus</i> ‘girls, boys’
5.	Grandmother-in-law	<i>Atu Niang</i> ‘grandmother’
6.	Grandfather-in-law	<i>Atu Kakiang</i> ‘grandfather’
7.	Other family members	<i>Atu</i> + name

Meanwhile, Table 3 presents the forms of address used to the men’s families. From the table, it can be seen that all forms of address are in *Bali Alus* to respect the men’s family. The term *Atu* for the men’s family members is derived from the word *ratu* (“queen”) and it is intended to place the people as highly respected. Generally, the Balinese people coming from Shudra class address the *tri wangsa* class with *Tu*, *Atu*, and *Ratu*. *Ratu* is the highest authority that deserves respect. A Shudra woman should be careful in using language. A language error is



fatal for the *jaba wangsa* class. In the ancient times, the language error committed by Shudra people, called *wak parusia*, would be sentenced. Therefore, when an inter-caste marriage takes place, the remnants of that tradition can still be felt from the forms of address that must be given to the men's family. A wife of a *tri wangsa* man generally calls her husband with *Ajik*, *Ajung*, or *Bapak* ("Father"). These forms of address are the markers of social status for the upper-caste people. Thus, the women from *jaba wangsa* class must address their husbands with *Ajik*.

The fascinating thing in this form of address is the appellation for the children. The marriage has upgraded a woman's status from *jaba wangsa* to *tri wangsa* following her husband's caste. Therefore, the children from the marriage are called *Gung Gek*, *Gung De*, *Gung Wah* and therefore contain the characteristics of *tri wangsa*. The term *Gung* comes from *Anak Agung* ("The Great Child") which then is shortened into *Gung*. *Gung Gek*, *Gung Gus*, *Gung De* and so on are the markers or characteristics of nobility or caste. *Gung* is from *Agung* ("great"), *Anak Agung*, or *Gusti* (other castes), *Gek* is from the word *Jegeg* ("beautiful"), and *Gus* comes from *Bagus* ("handsome"). Over time, *Jegeg* turns to *Geg* then changes to *Gek* as the appellation for the beautiful girls. Then, in the Balinese community today, *Gek* is not only used for upper-caste girls but it is commonly employed for all girls.

Conclusion

From the data analysis conducted, this study concludes that the language behaviour toward the women who are married to upper-caste (*tri wangsa*) men showed differences, albeit not significant. The data indicated that the men's families, consisting of parents-in-law and other family members, utilised the low Balinese language (*Bali Biasa*) to the women. The low Balinese language is the level of Balinese language that is employed by people with higher position toward those with lower position and their social distance is very close. Meanwhile, the women's families code-mixed the high (*Bali Alus*) and low Balinese language. This shows respect toward the new status owned by the woman due to her marriage to an upper-caste man. On the other hand, the women utilised the high Balinese language to the men's entire family as a form of respect. Women also did this to their children in certain markers. What is fascinating is that the women in the inter-caste marriages are still considered as the different (lower) class although they have become part of the men's families. The use of the high Balinese language reflects the borders that must not be broken by women in inter-caste marriage. This border is depicted by language use as a form of respect toward the men's family as the *tri wangsa* class.



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