The International Journal of Social Sciences World
TIJOSSW is Available Online at:
https://www.growingscholar.org/journal/index.php/TIJOSSW
Vol. 5 No. 1, January-June 2023, pages: 161~171
DOI: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7672343
ISSN **2690-5167**
Growingscholar Publisher

Hegemonic Ideology and Symbolic Violence of Balinese Language in The Marriage Tradition: A Gender Perspective

I Kadek Adhi Dwipayana[1], Nyoman Astawan [2], Ida Ayu Agung Ekasriadi [3], I Nyoman Sadwika [4], Luh De Liska [5]

Article history:
Received: December, 28, 2022; Accepted: February, 22, 2023; Displayed Online: February, 24, 2023 Published: June, 30, 2023

Keywords

Hegemonic Ideology;
Symbolic Violence;
Inter-faith Marriage;
Gender Perspective;
Language;

Abstract

This study aims at identifying and describing the meaning of symbolic violence in the use of Balinese language in inter-faith marriages from a gender perspective. Data collection methods used in this research are literature studies and interviews. The obtained symbolic violence data was triangulated to key informants who were determined by purposive sampling. The hegemonic ideology and symbolic violence of the use of Balinese language in inter-faith marriages are not merely linguistic phenomena but also cultural phenomena. Data analysis is based on semantic theory, symbolic violence from Bourdieu's perspective, and sociocultural interpretation. The results showed that inter-faith marriages in Bali gave rise to symbolic violence for all genders, both women and men. Terms containing symbolic violence in inter-faith marriages include *Jero*, *Nyerod*, *Pattiwangi*, *Sentana Rajeg*, *Asu Pundung*, *Astepin Karang Hulu*, *Paid Bangkung*, *Tulah*, *Durwaka*, and others. The symbolic violence of the use of Balinese language does not directly lead to the physical but makes an impression psychologically.

[1] *Universitas PGRI Mahadewa Indonesia, Bali, Indonesia adhidwipa88@gmail.com*
[2] *Universitas PGRI Mahadewa Indonesia, Bali, Indonesia*
[3] *Universitas PGRI Mahadewa Indonesia, Bali, Indonesia*
[4] *Universitas PGRI Mahadewa Indonesia, Bali, Indonesia*
[5] *Universitas PGRI Mahadewa Indonesia, Bali, Indonesia*

1. Introduction

Bali, in the context of sociocultural dynamics, still retains a hegemonic ideology, both institutional and personal. Institutionalized hegemonic ideology is reflected through a system of egocentric and authoritative customs and traditions (Dwipayana, K. A., & Artajaya, 2018; Dwipayana & Adnyana, 2019; Dwipayana & Astawan, 2021). Meanwhile, personal hegemonic ideology manifests itself in the form of fanaticism towards race, skin color, dynasty or caste. The dichotomy of the rulers and the ruled, the upper class and the lower class has led to the cultivation of fanaticism within each individual. In fact, it is common to cause very complicated and prolonged problems (Setia, 2014). The problem of ideological hegemony of tradition in Bali has been raised to become themes in literary works, such as *Ketika Kentongan Dipukul di Bale Banjar* (1963) by Nyoman Rasta Sindhu, the novel *Bila Malam Bertambah Malam* (1971) by Putu Wijaya, *Mandi Api* (2006) by Gde Aryantha Soethama, *Tarian Bumi* (2000) by Oka Rusmini and many other works (Cf. Rusmini, 2023).

One example of an institutionalized and still enduring hegemonic ideology is the system of inter-faith marriage traditions. This marriage system was born from the *Catur Wangsa* tradition which has become embedded in the identity of Balinese people. Leeman (in Parimartha 2013: 322), states that there are four castes in Bali which is including: the caste of Brahmins, Ksatria, Wesya, Sudra or Jaba. An understanding of caste has been known by the Balinese people for generations. However, the attitude of fanaticism that misinterprets the caste system has sparked a prolonged polemic in addressing the phenomenon of marriage in Bali. Geneologically, the people in Bali still adhere to the traditional heritage as a form of loyalty to maintain the tradition and powerlessness towards traditional hegemony.

According to Windia (2013: 14) the form of marriage in Bali, both inter-faith and same-caste marriages often follow the male lineage (patrilineal). This marriage system does not rule out the opposite, that is the men follow the lineage of women. This marriage system gave birth to linguistic forms. All forms of language that arise from the inter-faith marriage system in Bali contain quite a lot of discriminatory meanings for certain groups, whether *tri* castes, jaba caste, women, and men group. The Balinese language as the main medium of communication for Balinese people plays an important role in instilling the influence of hegemonic ideology. Besides having the main function of language as a means of communication as well as a marker and differentiator of human characteristics, it turns out that it is also a tool of power. As a tool of power, language is not only a vehicle for interaction, but also as social control. With language, social actors are able to control others. The power to create a certain reality is represented through language.

As a social practice, language is the result of interaction between social structure and linguistic habitus. The hegemonic ideology and symbolic violence of the use of Balinese language in inter-faith marriages are not merely linguistic phenomena but also cultural phenomena. As a linguistic fact, Balinese expressions and terms can be analyzed from the aspect of lexical semantics while in terms of their usage, they are bounded by cultural contexts so that the interpretation process involves knowledge of sociocultural variables. Knowledge of sociocultural variables is a basic thought to express the meaning of every Balinese language term that contains symbolic violence in the context of inter-faith marriages. This concept is in line with the principle of Leech (2014) which states that semantic representations can be different from pragmatic. This is because the representation of meaning will change according to the social and cultural context that surrounds it. The main knowledge needed in the process of interpreting symbolic violence is knowledge about socio-culture, especially about knowledge of inter-faith marriages as the basis for the meaning of used linguistic

symbols. Sociocultural knowledge is really needed because every linguistic symbol is never used in a cultural vacuum (Arnawa, 2018; 2021; 2022).

From a cultural point of view, the symbolic violence of the use of Balinese language in inter-faith marriages is centered on the dichotomy between superior and inferior, upper class and lower class, male and female. This dichotomy is expressed through various expressions and terms in the Balinese language in the context of inter-faith marriages to describe and explain the habitus of traditional inheritance. Symbolic violence occurs due to the existence of a symmetrical hegemonic relationship, in which a party sees itself as superior, whether in terms of social status, moral status, ethics, religion, gender or age. Symbolic violence is a strategic effort to gain obedience and legitimacy. Symbolic violence works massively and systematically by impressing something as normal that must be accepted.

According to Bourdie (1991), one of the mechanisms used to explain symbolic violence in the use of certain languages is the euphemization mechanism. Euphemization is a mechanism for using language that contains symbolic violence that is invisible and works subtly, unrecognized, and takes place subconsciously. In the context of inter-faith marriages, one example of an expression containing symbolic violence is *Jero*. *Jero* in Balinese literally means "within". The Balinese people of the *Tri* Castes group call their house *Jero*. *Jero* is also a designation for women who are promoted through marriages of the anuloma type (marrying with a *Tri Castes* man). Woman of *Jaba* caste who rises in rank will get respect in the eyes of society by calling *Jero* on their first name. The title *Jero* can actually be interpreted as a separating identity between woman of aristocratic descent and woman from the *jaba* caste who receive nobility by means of an anuloma marriage. A *jero* does not get the same rights as a native aristocratic woman. This can be proven when a *jero* already has grandchildren. The grandchildren is called with the greeting name *Nini*, whereas a woman of pure blood of the *tri* castes who already has grandchildren is called with the greeting name *Niang*. The difference in the form of greeting *Nini* and *Niang* shows that there is symbolic violence for women who get the title of *jero* through inter-faith marriages. Based on the feminist legal theory, women in anuloma marriages are not promoted. If one looks closely, it turns out that one only get promoted within your family of origin. This means that after becoming *Jero,* the woman's family is obliged to give forms of respect, while on the part of her husband's family she still treats *Jero* as a *jaba* caste woman (Sadnyini, 2016).

2. Materials and Methods

The study of symbolic violence of the Balinese language used in the context of inter-faith marriage rests on two basic concepts. First, the analysis is carried out by applying the theory of lexical semantics. This theory is used to describe the semantic features of expressions and terms in the context of inter-faith marriages in Bali. The application of this theory generates denotative meanings of every phrase or term used in Balinese in inter-faith marriages. According to Kambartel (in Bauerk, 1979: 195), semantics assumes that language has a structure that describes meaning which when connected to certain objects in sociocultural life has a connection. Usually, semantics is related to two other aspects, namely the formation of complex symbols from simpler symbols and the practical use of symbols by people in certain contexts.

As explained earlier, the symbolic violence of Balinese language use is not only a linguistic fact but also a cultural fact. Therefore, Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence in a sociocultural context is also used. According to Bourdieu (1991; 2020) symbolic violence in every action uses all means (media) as something that can hurt and harm the interests of other people. This violence does not directly affect the victim's body but can be very hurtful and can last a very long time, even up to several

decades. Symbolic violence is meaning, logic and belief that contains untruth but is subtly and clearly forced on other parties as something true (Bourdieu, 1991; 2020). Symbolic violence occurs because it is based on trust, loyalty, willingness to accept, indebtedness and others (Thomson, 2007:96).

Symbolic violence is based on the hopes and beliefs of public that have been socially formed and ingrained for a long time (Bourdie, 1994). This violence is done in a subtle way so that people do not feel and realize it as symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is not physically tangible so it can be considered as something normal by society. Symbolic violence is discourse violence which is an intellectual activity and then conditioned by the parties in society which causes symbolic violence to become legitimate and even necessary. Not only psychological, forms of symbolic violence can also manifest through the use of language, be it euphemising, blurring or even coarsening facts. The operation of symbolic violence does not only refer to language but also refers to language content, to what is spoken, conveyed or even expressed (Sobur, 2009: 89). The working mechanism of symbolic violence is to hide the occurred violence, then it becomes something accepted as "the way it should be".

In its sense, the symbolic violence is a model of cultural and social domination that takes place unconsciously, in society's life includes acts of discrimination against certain groups, races, ethnicities, genders. Thus symbolic violence is the main way that can lead to other more real violence. Symbolic violence has developed very rapidly in the niches of life, if there is an unequal social relationship, it is certain that this is where symbolic violence is playing its role. This symbolic violence in principle attacks and determines the way of thinking, seeing, feeling and acting of an individual (Haryatmoko, 2007: 136137). This symbolic violence comes from the existence of a class structure or social stratification, as a direct result of differences, separation, inequality or imbalance. In this study, the theory of symbolic violence is used to reveal forms of symbolic violence in the use of Balinese language in the inter-faith marriage system in Bali.

Reseach Methods

The data were collected by using literature study and interview methods. Literature study was used to obtain data or information from several documents or literature, which are related to problems in research. Literature study is a method of collecting data from several documents; they are written documents such as lontar, including *Lontar Sastra Purwana Tatwa Pariksa, Lebu Guntur, Tattwa Sesana, Brahma Tattwa, Purwadigama*, and *Widi Papincatan*; photographs; and electronic documents that can support the research process. By using the literature study method, the researcher selects several terms that include symbolic violence in Balinese, understands the meaning of these terms, and relates the meaning to the context obtained from the fact of inter-faith marriage tradition in Bali. Furthermore, data from various texts were triangulated to a number of key informants. The process of gathering information from key informants was done by interview. Key informants were determined by considering socio-cultural aspects, such as being skilled in Balinese, being an adult, understanding the research focus, understanding culture and having a stable psychology (Ataboyev, I. M., & Turgunova, 2022). Based on these criteria, five key informants were determined; they are modern Balinese literature authors; practitioners of classical Balinese literature (*dalang*); academics in the field of Balinese language; Balinese traditional leaders; and Balinese cultural practitioner. The obtained data of interviewing key informants can generally take the form of statement, description of research objects, experience, knowledge, interpretation, and personal feeling of informants related to research studies.

The data that has been collected through a literature study by using reading and note-taking techniques were analyzed and interpreted using a qualitative descriptive method which has several operational steps, namely data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusion. Simultaneous data reduction process is carried out through the process of identifying and coding. This is then followed by classification and interpretation using the theory of lexical semantics and symbolic violence according to Bourdie. After the data has gone through reduction process, the studied problems of the research are presented in a qualitative descriptive manner. The reduced data is presented by using narrative descriptions or descriptions using words. It should be emphasized that, the data presented using the narrative description is the result of identification and classification carried out in the reduction stage. The final step in data analysis is drawing conclusion from the findings in the data presentation process. Conclusion is drawn after presenting the obtained data using a narrative description.

3. Results and Discussions

Based on the data collection procedure as described in the methodology section, the data is obtained as shown in table 01 below.

Table 01.
Data of Symbolic Violence in the Marriage Tradition System in Bali

No	Terms	Lexical Meanings	Data Source
1	*Alangkahi Karang Hulu*	Step over head	Lontar
2	*Asu Pundung*	Carrying dog	Lontar
3	*Durwaka*	Insubordinate	Lontar
4	*Guru Piduka*	Apologies to the ancestors	Lontar
5	*Jaba*	Common people	Literary text
6	*Jero*	Calls for women from jaba level to go up in caste	Literary text
7	*Jiwa danda*	Fine	Awig-awig/ Customary law
8	*Kanoroyang*	expelled	Awig-awig/ Customary law
9	*Kesepekang*	Punishment ostracized	Awig-awig/ Customary law
10	*Leteh*	Dirty	Lontar
11	*Melegandang*	Forced marriage	Lontar
12	*Ngerorod*	Eloping	Literary text
13	*Ngumbang*	Tossed around	Literary text
14	*Ninggal Kedaton*	Leaving the origin	Lontar
15	*Nyeburin*	Jump over	Lontar
16	*Nyerod*	Fall/slip	Literary text
17	*Nyineb wangsa*	Releasing the dynasty	Literary text

18	*Nyumbah*	Worship	Lontar
19	*Paid bangkung*	Pulled by a sow	Lontar
20	*Pamarisuda*	Depuration	Awig-awig/ Customary law
21	*Parekan*	Servant	Literary text
22	*Patita*	Abolition of nobility	Lontar
23	*Patiwangi*	Eliminate the smell of fragrance / remove the caste	Lontar
24	*Prayascita*	Purification	Awig-awig/ Customary law
25	*Rerampagan*	Deprivation	Awig-awig/ Customary law
26	*Sentana rajeg*	Heir	Awig-awig/ Customary law
27	*Tan Masidhikara*	Do not share joys and sorrows	Awig-awig/ Customary law
28	*Tulah*	No respect	Lontar

Based on the data of symbolic violence in the marriage tradition system in Bali, there are terms that contain violence/discrimination for women and men which are classified as table 02 below.

Table.02
Classification of Symbolic Violence for Women and Men

No.	Discrimination Against Women	Discrimination Against Men	Discrimination against Women and Men
1	*Jero*	*Asu pundung*	*Paryascita*
2	*Melegandang*	*Alangkahin karang hulu*	*Tan Masidhikara*
3	*Ngumbang*	*Durwaka*	*Leteh*
4	*Ninggal kedaton*	*Parekan*	*Rerampagan*
5	*Nyerod*	*Nyeburin*	*Jaba*
6	*Nyineb Wangsa*	Tulah	*Ngerorod*
7	*Nyumbah*	Paid bangkung	*Jiwa dana*
8	*Patita*		*Guru piduka*
9	*Pattiwangi*		*Kesepekang*
10	*Sentana rajeg*		*Kanorayang*
11			*Pamarisuda*

Table 02 informs that women are more dominant in experiencing symbolic violence in inter-faith marriages that is 35.7%, compared to men who experience symbolic violence as much as 25%.

The symbolic violence experienced by husbands and wives simultaneously was obtained through the use of customary law terms because it violated family and social ethics by 39.3%. All these terms of symbolic violence for women were born from marriages of different castes, both from the women's descending and ascending castes. The symbolic violence experienced by men is caused by the act of marrying a woman from a higher level of caste. The term of symbolic violence contains discrimination experienced by both (husband and wife) for violating the marriage system in Bali so that they get customary sanctions.

3.1 Symbolic Violence against Women in Inter-faith Marriage

Women are the most dominant group experiencing symbolic violence. The results of study show that women from the three-caste group tend to experience violence symbolically in the context of inter-faith marriages. The term *nyerod*, for example, has a discriminatory meaning for women of the *tri wangsa*. *Nyerod* has the lexical meaning of slipping/falling. The predicate of *nyerod* is given to women of the three caste who have married men from the jaba caste. *Nyerod* can also be interpreted as a psychological sanction for women who have experienced a decrease in class as a result of marrying a man from the jaba caste. Wignjosoebroto (in Sadnyini, 2016) states that the social stratification of Balinese society is formed by very impermeable boundaries between level. In the socio-cultural environment, differences and boundaries between levels do not leave gaps for compromise. Socially, this stratification is guarded by very authoritative traditions, even guarded by family ethics. Violations of family ethics result in perpetrators of violations subject to sanctions based on family agreements. The term *nyerod* raises thorny problems both personally and socially, the parties that suffer the most are women. There are still many three caste groups who are not sincere and do not accept *nyerod* marriage, so that in its dynamics it creates problems when the perpetrators of *nyerod* marriage are separated (due to divorce or death). In the type of marriage of equal castes, the separated couple can return to their respective families' homes, but in the context of *nyerod* marriage, if separation occurs, the woman is not allowed to return to her original home. This is because the women have lost their *tri wangsa* title through the *pattiwangi* ritual procession so they cannot return to their original family home. Cases like this make the status of women unclear and adrift in the family and society, this term is called *ngutang raga* or *ngumbang*.

Pattiwangi is another symbolic violence contained in inter-faith marriages. The use of term *pattiwangi* is only addressed to *tri wangsa* women who have experienced a decrease in status because they married men from the jaba caste. Etymologically, *pattiwangi* comes from the term *pati*, which means dead, and w*angi*, which means fragrant. So, the term *patiwangi* is used in the ceremony of removing the fragrance name of a *tri wangsa* woman. This term is used in the context of a marriage between a *tri wangsa* woman and a *jaba* caste man, because her dynasty has been abolished, her name or nobility is no longer used, and then the male's family will give the *jaba* name. *Pattiwangi* is one form of symbolic violence that is carried out through euphemism/refining of meaning.

The term of *patiwangi* is a term of symbolic violence which contains discrimination against women. Only *tri wangsa* women who are married to *jaba* caste men get this term, while the bride and groom who are partners from families of the same class do not have the term *patiwangi*. This indicates that *pattiwangi* is used to distinguish women who are native of *jaba* caste and *tri wangsa* women who become *jaba* caste because of their marriage. *Pattiwangi* or *patitawangsa* is a ritual of descending the dynasty that must be performed by *tri wangsa* women who perform *pratiloma* (*nyerod*) marriages. If one looks closely, *patiwangi* is actually only a subjective theological interpretation to provide a deterrent effect and punishment for women who break the rules under the pretext of lowering their rank or caste. If referring to the teachings of *Tattwam Asi* and *Manusapada*, the degree of every human

being is the same without any exceptions. The *patiwangi* ceremony is an indication of the insincerity of some Balinese aristocrats in accepting inter-faith marriages.

Symbolic violence that has a good effect on women of the *tri wangsa* and *jaba* caste is contained in the term *sentana rajeg*. *Sentana* in the term of *sentana rajeg* means descendant of heirs, while *rajeg* means firm, upright. Thus *sentana rajeg* means heir whose existence is confirmed at home. *Sentana rajeg* is an alternative that is possible if a family only gives birth to girls. In addition, the appointment of *sentana rajeg* is generally carried out when girls carry out a marriage ceremony. This shows that the issue of inheritance will affect the choice of marriage type by the Balinese. The case of this marriage is usually carried out by families who do not have male offspring as heirs or caretakers of the female family's *swadarma* (obligations).

The term *sentana rajeg* in the context of marriage in Bali is pinned on a woman who has no brother or is the only child in her family. This term has a discriminatory meaning because it positions women as an alternative choice after men in the context of inheritance. The patriarchal tradition does indeed give Balinese men greater *swadikara* (rights) of inheritance than women because *swadarma* (obligations) that must be borne are also very big. Balinese men have responsibilities, such as carrying out their obligations as indigenous people, maintaining the continuity of *sanggah/merajan* (place of worship), the obligation to carry out *yadnya* ceremonies (*Dewa, Manusa, Pitra Yadnya*), continuing the *purusa* lineage, and others (Windia, 2015). The patriarchal tradition in the context of Balinese marriage system places men as the "centre" who gives domination of social control while women are in a subordinate position. Cohen and Young (1973: 320) describe that the dominant class controls stereotypes and images of women in social contexts.

3.2 Symbolic Violence against Men in Inter-Faith Marriage

Symbolic violence in inter-faith marriages is not only suffered unilaterally, by women only. Men from the *jaba* caste also suffer violence symbolically. The symbolic violence suffered by men is represented through terms that contain negative meanings. In contrast to women who use the mechanism of euphemism, the violence experienced by men is through the mechanism of coarsening meaning. Violence experienced by dominant men uses a metaphor that compares things to show the characteristics of similarities between the two things being compared. In the context of inter-faith marriages, *jaba* caste men who violate family and social ethics are compared to animal behavior, such as the terms of *asu pundung* and *paid bangkung*.

Asu Pundung is a term in Balinese which consists of two words namely, *Asu* and *Pundung*. The meaning of the word *Asu* in this term is a dog, while the word *Pundung* means to carry, so *Asu Pundung* means to carry a dog. *Asu Pundung* is used in the context of marriage that is pinned on ordinary men (*jaba* caste) who are married to a woman of *tri wangsa* (*three castes*). The same thing is also stated in *Lontar Purwadigama* that it is an act of *asumundung* for a man to marry a *Brahmin* woman and a *ksatrya* woman. The behavior of a *jaba* caste man who marries a *Tri Wangsa* woman is assumed to be a "dog" that has no ethics. This is a form of discrimination against men because this term distinguishes men who marry women from the *Tri-Wangsa* group and men who marry women of the same clan. This term also creates symbolic violence, as if men are not humane, because humans (men) are likened to animals that have a lower degree than humans.

The form of discrimination in the Balinese language which is referred to a men from *jaba* caste is also reflected in the use of the term *alangkahin karang hulu*. Looking at the word order, the term *alangkahin karang hulu* consists of two words, namely *alangkahin* which means to step over, and *karang hulu* which means head or center. So, *alangkahin karang hulu* can be interpreted as an act of overstepping one's head. In the context of eastern society norms, an act that oversteps the head is an act that is considered to violate decency ethics. This term is only used in the context of marriages

between men from the *jaba* caste and women from the *tri wangsa* class. This is a term of symbolic violence which contains discrimination against men. This term states that a man from a *jaba* caste who marries a woman from a higher caste is considered to have stepped over the heads of the nobles in Bali.

Paid Bangkung is a Balinese term that contains the meaning of psychological violence refered to men, both from the *tri wangsa* and *jaba* caste groups. *Paid Bangkung* consists of two words, they are *paid* which means pulled, and *bangkung* which means sow. So, the term *paid bangkung* means being pulled by a sow. The term *Paid Bangkung* is used in the context of marriage which is pinned on men who want to carry out the *nyentana* marriage system. *Nyentana* marriage is a type of matrilineal marriage, in which the man follows the lineage of the woman. The term *nyentana* is an alternative marriage for the family of woman who does not have male descendant. In a patriarchal context, *nyentana* perpetrators receive a negative and inferior label called *paid bangkung*. The negative term *paid bangkung* can be interpreted as a form of ridicule and harassment made by the Balinese themselves for Balinese men who are under the control of women. The term belongs to a form of discrimination against men, because it distinguishes men who live in their own homes from men who follow their wives.

The meaning of *paid bangkung* is interpreted negatively by society because it is considered that men are controlled by women. Many people think that a man who did *nyentana* marriage must carry out his obligations just like a woman. Men are not allowed to make decisions in any situation or condition. In this case, the Balinese symbolic violence *paid bangkung* is used to discredit a man who is considered helpless. This shows that there is a misunderstanding in interpreting the term *paid bangkung* in *nyentana* marriage. Judging from the context of *paid bangkung*, it does not mean that men have to carry out all the obligations and characteristics of women. In *nyentana* marriage, there may be some men who experience this, but it does not apply universally to men who are doing *nyentana*.

3.3 Symbolic Violence against Women and Men in Inter-faith Marriages

A married couple, both men and women can simultaneously suffer violence symbolically in carrying out inter-faith marriages. This symbolic violence arose as a result of the couple not obtaining the consent of both families. Inter-faith marriages between *tri wangsa* women and *jaba caste* men who do not get approval are called *ngerorod*. *Ngerorod* has the meaning of stealth or elopement. In the short story "Bohong" by Gde Aryantha Soethama, it is told about the *ngerorod* (elopement) case committed by the character Agung Sagung Mirah and Wayan Jirna. Agung Mirah and Wayan Jirna were required to marry in *ngerorod* (elope) way by the family in *Puri* because Wayan Jirna came from the descendants of *jaba* caste. As *jaba* caste men, I Wayan Jirna do not have the right to propose to Sagung Mirah, they were required to carry out a *ngerorod* marriage (elope). According to tradition, the procession of proposing to a woman can only be carried out by couples who have equal degrees. Sociologically, the *ngerorod* marriage between Mirah and Wayan Jirna was deliberately requested by the family in *Puri* so that the disgrace of the marriage would not be heard by other relatives in *Puri*. Inter-faith marriage is seen as an act of curse (unethical) or seditious (insubordinate) which can reduce the degree of family nobility. Therefore, as much as possible the marriage must be kept secret and carried out secretly so that the honor of royal family is not tarnished. *Ngerorod* marriage can also be interpreted as a representation of father's efforts to maintain the status quo as a family of aristocratic class.

The married couple also experienced violence from the use of terms that appear in customary law, such as *jiwadana*, *rerampagan*, *kanorayang*, *prayascita*, and *pamarisuda*. According to Artadi (in Sadnyini, 2014: 186) the Balinese people have inherited habits genealogically regarding accusations

pinned against inter-faith marriage actors who are considered to have tarnished family harmony, so it is necessary to restore stability through a ceremonial ritual. The custom of Balinese people was born from a consensus on behalf of collectivity based on belief in magical religious values. Terms in the customary law of inter-faith marriage are written in the 1927 Paswara Bali, such as *Jiwadana*, *rerampagan*, *kanorayang*, *prayascita*, and *pamarisuda*, were formally revoked or abolished through Decree of DPRD Bali Number 11 of 1950, so they are rarely applied in society.

4. Conclusion

In the Balinese marriage tradition, the caste system is considered as one of the things that supports the validity of a marriage. Therefore, many Balinese terms appear in inter-faith marriage. These terms contain symbolic violence, both through the mechanism of euphemising, blurring or even coarsening meaning. The results of research show that the violence suffered by women is constructed through euphemistic mechanism, such as the use of terms *jero*, *pattiwangi*, and *sentana rajeg*. Meanwhile, the violence experienced by men is constructed through a mechanism of coarsening meaning, such as the terms *asu pundung* and *paid bangkung*.

As a social practice, language is the result of interaction between social structure and linguistic habitus. The symbolic violence in the use of Balinese language in inter-faith marriage is not merely a linguistic phenomenon but also a cultural phenomenon. Balinese symbolic violence in inter-faith marriage is a model of cultural and social domination that takes place communally in the life of people in Bali. The use of Balinese terms in the inter-faith marriage system is highly discriminatory in terms of gender. Symbolic violence was born due to the domination of hegemonic ideology in Bali which was represented by the caste system. This hegemonic ideology aims to distinguish someone who enters into an ordinary marriage from an unusual marriage, such as a marriage of different castes or a marriage that is not in accordance with the customary law of marriage in Bali, such as the *nyentana* (matrilineal) marriage system, while in Bali it adheres to a patrilineal marriage system.

The symbolic violence of Balinese language in the customary law of inter-caste marriage in Bali raises various meanings and views of society. Most of appeared Balinese language terms contain discrimination between groups, both in terms of caste and gender. Symbolic violence that contains discrimination against women, namely, *jero, melegandang*, *pati wangi*, *patita, ngumbang, nyineb wangsa, nyerod, nyumbah,* and *sentana rajeg*. As for men, namely, *asu pundung*, *alangkahin karang hulu, paid bangkung, tulah, durwaka, nyeburin, parekan, jaba*. And symbolic violence that contains discrimination for both genders, namely, *ngerorod, jaba*, jiwa *dana, rerampagan, kanorayang, pamarisuda*, and so on.

Acknowledgement

Thank you to all those who have supported the current research. Special gratitude is delivered special to members of researcher who have provided conceptual contributions so that this research results can be presented. Hopefully, the research results can be useful for academics and the development of compliance with literary

References

Arnawa, N. (2022). Linguistic devices in traditional forms of Balinese humour. In *Humour in Asian Cultures* (pp. 62-87). Routledge.

Arnawa, N., Gunartha, I. W., & Sadwika, I. N. (2018). Balinese Hegemonic Politness in Awig-Awig of Desa Pakraman. *Theory & Practice in Language Studies*, *8*(11). http://dx.doi.org/10.17507/tpls.0811.13.

Arnawa, N., Winaja, I. W., & Widanta, I. (2021). Metaphors about Balinese Women: From Semantic Analysis to Cultural Pragmatic Interpretations. *Language Related Research*, *12*(5), 239-277. http://10.52547/LRR.12.5.10.

Ataboyev, I. M., & Turgunova, F. R. (2022). The concept of semantic field in linguistics. *ACADEMICIA: An International Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, *12*(3), 319-324.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2020). Outline of a Theory of Practice. In *The new social theory reader* (pp. 80-86). Routledge.

Dwipayana, I. K. A., & Astawan, N. (2021). The Domination of Patriarchism In Inheritance Customary Systems.

Dwipayana, I., Adhi, K., & Adnyana, I. B. G. B. (2019). Legitimasi Hukum Adat Bali dalam Karya Sastra Kultural. *Retorika: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, dan Pengajarannya*, *12*, 208-222.

Dwipayana, K. A., & Artajaya, G. S. (2018). Hegemoni ideologi feodalistis dalam karya sastra berlatar sosiokultural Bali. *Jurnal Kajian Bali*, *8*(02).

Haryatmoko, D. (2007). Etika Komunikasi. *Yogyakarta: Kanisius*.

Leech, G. N. (2014). *The pragmatics of politeness*. Oxford Studies in Sociolinguis.

Rusmini, O. (2000). *Tarian Bumi*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Rusmini, O. (2003*). Kenanga.* Jakarta: Grasindo.

Sadnyini, I. A. (2016). *Sanksi Perkawinan Terlarang di Bali Dulu dan Kini.* Denpasar: Udayana University Press.

Setia, P. (2014). *Bali Menggugat*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia.

Sobur, A. 2009. *Analisis Teks Media, Suatu Pengantar untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik, dan Analisis Framing*. Bandung: PT RemajaRosdakarya.

Soethama, G. A. (2006). *Mandi Api*. Jakarta: Kompas.

Wijaya, P. (1971). *Bila Malam Bertambah Malam.* Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.

Windia, W. P. 2013. *Perkawinan Pada Gelahang di Bali*. Denpasar-Bali: Udayana University Press.