Dynamics and Shifting Meanings of Balinese Greeting Forms

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Article Information	ABSTRACT
History Accept: 10 December 2024 Revised: 30 December 2024 Approved: 01 January 2025 **Keywords** Balinese greeting forms, dynamics and transformations, descriptive qualitative study	This research is a descriptive and qualitative study focusing on the dynamics and transformations in the importance of Balinese greeting forms. The study examined the intricate dynamics and transformations in the significance of Balinese greeting forms. The data were garnered from Balinese greeting forms found on YouTube video, TikTok, WhatsApp discussions, Balinese songs, and interviews conducted with students from Dwijendra Junior and Senior High Schools, as well as novice lecturers from Dwijendra University. Additional data sources included observations of greeting forms utilized in public venues, such as restaurants and small markets. Interactions between diners and waiters in eateries, as well as exchanges between customers and saleswomen in convenience stores were also documented. The research revealed two categories that exemplified the evolving dynamics of Balinese greeting forms: 1) BS_KK, consisting of *mbok, bli/wi/kak*, and *adik* or *dek*. 2) BS_KGP, comprising *ci*, aku, and *kamu*, and 3) BS_KBL, consisting of *cong, cuk*, and *bro/brader*.

1. Introduction

Significant dynamism currently marks the development of the Balinese language. This arises from interactions with Indonesian and English. The interaction between languages will induce alterations in phonology, morphology, and syntax. Of the three levels, the morphological level shows the greatest variability, particularly concerning vocabulary. The development of vocabulary is shaped by advancements in technology, shifts in social dynamics, and cultural transformations, as well as the interplay among various languages. Aitchison (1981) posits that alterations in vocabulary tend to occur at a more rapid pace than modifications in grammar.

This change also affected Balinese vocabulary. The interaction of Balinese with other languages is inextricably linked to this transformation. The inclusion of new greeting forms and changes in the meaning of greetings, particularly those used by the younger generation, are two examples of the changes that are taking place today. Words like *cong, cuk*, and others are becoming commonly used in communication by the younger generation. Likewise, *mbok*, a greeting word that originally meant "older sister," is now used to describe more than just familial ties. The word "mbok" is now also commonly used to refer to women who look young, even though the addressee's age may be older or younger than the one being addressed. The context of this situation occurs when the two do not know each other.

This phenomenon indicates a transformation in the meaning of certain greetings in Balinese culture. According to Philipsen and Huspek (1985: 94), greetings more comprehensively represent the social and linguistic backgrounds of the participants than other language elements. This is why numerous studies in sociolinguistics concentrate on the term greeting. According to Brown and Levinson (1987:126), these forms serve as significant language mechanisms that convey a speaker's attitude and assessment of their relationship with other speakers. The appropriate use of welcome words enables individuals to identify with a social group, whereas an inappropriate selection of greetings fosters positive connection.

Several studies have been conducted by researchers on the forms of greetings in Bali. Suwija (2018) indicates that Balinese greetings are numerous and diverse. This is attributed to various forms of kinship relationships, which encompass the following factors: (1) age of participants, (2) position within the family, (3) gender, and (4) direct family relationship. The manner of greeting in Bali varies according to the context and the social status of those involved. Suwija's study provides a comprehensive inventory of the existing greeting forms in Balinese. The dynamics and shifts in meaning in Balinese have not yet been analyzed. Temaja (2018) elucidated that in Balinese, kinship address terms exhibit linguistic and semantic variation, reflecting relationships derived from lineage and marriage. Variations arise based on formality, kinship type, age, marital status, gender, and social status, reflecting the intricate nature of social interactions in Balinese culture. Temaja's study exhibits similarities with Suwija's study. Danawaty (2017) asserted that greetings from widely used regional languages should be incorporated into Indonesian and promptly added to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), thereby enriching its content. Learning regional language greetings is considered important as it enhances communication, enriches the cultural vocabulary of the Indonesian language, addresses gaps in polite yet familiar personal pronouns, preserves cultural significance, structures social relationships, and mitigates awkwardness arising from semantic differences. According to Danawaty, contemporary Balinese individuals adopt a range of Indonesian greetings, especially those originating from slang.

It is essential to examine the evolving nature of the Balinese language, particularly the dynamics of greeting forms and the changing meanings associated with them. This study seeks to examine the dynamics of Balinese greeting forms and the changes in their meanings. This study is warranted for a variety of reasons.

Preserving cultural identity

The Balinese language is an important part of the Balinese people's cultural identity. Words, expressions, and greetings in the Balinese language contain profound connotations that reflect local social, cultural, and religious beliefs. Examining the patterns of Balinese language development allows us to better understand how cultural identity is preserved, particularly in the face of societal change and the impact of globalization.

Preventing Language Extinction

Regional languages, especially Balinese, are on the verge of extinction in the age of globalization as national and foreign languages gain control in various facets of daily life. Studies of how the Balinese language evolved demonstrate how widely the language is still used today. They can also be utilized to devise strategies for keeping the language alive and useful rather than extinction.

Understanding Social Change

The method of greeting exemplifies the conventional social hierarchy of Balinese society. Changes in the utilization of these greeting styles are frequently associated with broader societal transformations, including shifts in relationships within families, intergenerational connections, and social interaction patterns. Analyzing the dynamics of the Balinese language enhances our comprehension of these social transformations.

The Influence of Globalization and Modernization

Globalization has had a significant impact on language use, particularly with the introduction of new terminology from Indonesian, English, and other foreign languages to Balinese. Examining the evolution of the Balinese language is vital for understanding how it has adapted to changing circumstances while retaining important traditional characteristics.

Linguistic Enrichment

The study of Balinese language dynamics significantly enhances the development of linguistics, particularly within sociolinguistics and historical linguistics. Variations in language can elucidate the evolution of linguistic structures in conjunction with social and cultural transformations, as well as the introduction and impact of new elements on the local vernacular.

2. Method

This study was both descriptive and exploratory in nature, with the goal of describing the dynamics and shifts in the meaning of greeting forms in Balinese. The phenomenon of greetings changing meaning has not been thoroughly investigated; this study was exploratory in its nature, aiming to identify the reasons that trigger the shift in meaning. This study utilized data from YouTube material, TikTok, WhatsApp chats, Balinese songs, and interviews with various students from Dwijendra Junior and Senior High Schools, as well as novice lecturers from Dwijendra University. Additional data sources included observations of greeting forms utilized in public venues such as hospitals, restaurants, shopping malls, and convenience stores.

Data is collected by documenting the utilization of Balinese greeting forms in WhatsApp groups, YouTube, TikTok, and Balinese music. We also document interactions between customers and waiters in restaurants, as well as exchanges between customers and sales staff in convenience stores. Data collection was conducted through interviews with several Dwijendra junior and senior high school students encountered inadvertently while conversing with their peers. We

conducted interviews to analyze the prevalent greetings utilized in Balinese dialogues. We conducted interviews with faculty members from the Faculty of Education and Teacher Training at Dwijendra University to enrich the data. The interviewed lecturers were novice lecturers who extensively utilize Balinese in their communications.

Data reduction is the next step after data collection. Data reduction is a technique of analyzing data by separating unnecessary data. We then codify the form and type of greeting used in the data, which includes conversations, field notes, and interviews. Kridalaksana's opinion (1982) served as the basis for the codification. The forms of greeting are 1) pronouns, such as I, you, and he; 2) proper names, such as Galih and Ratna; 3) kinship terms, such as father and mother; 4) titles and ranks, such as doctor and teacher; 5) pe + V(erbal) forms or actor words, such as audience and listener; (6) N(ominal) + ku, such as my beloved and my God; (7) deixis or pointer words, such as here and there; (8) other nouns, such as mister and *nyonya*; and (9) zero feature, which is the existence of a meaning without the form of the word. The next step is to select data that is in accordance with the research focus. We grouped the relevant data into the category of greeting forms (BS). After selecting and grouping the data, we arranged them in a table and coded them.

The data that had been reduced then underwent analysis to ascertain the dynamics of Balinese greeting forms. The changes, adjustments, and advances that take place in the Balinese language over the course of time because of a variety of internal and external forces are referred to as the dynamics of the Balinese language. The Balinese language is not a fixed-place language. It is always evolving because of the influence of social dynamics, culture, technological advancements, and globalization. Various forms of Balinese greetings have evolved in meaning. Semantic analysis was employed to examine the shift in meaning by comparing the original meaning of the greetings with their subsequent meanings in various circumstances. Additionally, the patterns of shifts were examined to determine if the alterations in the meanings of greetings signify transformations in cultural values, such as respect, equality, or familiarity.

3. Results and Discussion

With a focus on the dynamics and shifts in language meaning, three forms of Balinese greeting can be determined.

Table 1.
Forms of Balinese Greetings

No	Forms of greetings (BS)		
1	BS_KK (Kinship)	BS_KGP (personal pronouns)	BS_KBL (other nouns)
2	*Bli /wi* (older brother))	*Ci* 'you'	*Cong*
3	*Mbok* (older sister)	I	*Cuk*

4	Brother	You	Bro/brother
5	Older brother/*Dek*		*Semeton*/*Ton*/siblings

The forms of greeting are 1) BS_KK which consists of *mbok, bli/wi*/bro, and older brother or *dek*. 2) BS_KGP which consists of *ci*, I, You, and 3) BS_KBL which consists of *cong*, *cuk*, bro/brother, *semeton*/*ton*/siblings.

Use of the Greeting Form *Bli/Wi*
When addressing a male addressee who is older than the addresser, the addresser typically uses the greeting form *bli*.

Data 1
```
1) A  :Bli, dija ada anak ngadep don lontar?
          'Bli, where do people sell palm leaves??'
   B  : Di online ada jani Tut
          It's  available online now Tut
2) A  : Dija kurenan bline magae, Bli?
          'Where does your wife work, Bli?'
   B  :  Di Peken Badung Man.
          ' At Badung market, Man'.
3) A  : Suba ulihang Bli bukune Luh Rai?
          : 'Have I returned the book, Luh Rai?'
   B  :  Suba Suba Luh.
          ' Yes, Luh'
```

In the three discussions, the greeting form "*bli*" signifies that the addressee is senior to the responder. The utilization of proper nouns by the interlocutor (*Tut, Man,* and *Luh*) to refer to the addressee substantiates this assertion. The utilization of proper names signifies that the addressee is senior to the recipient, and both parties are conscious of this age difference. The greeting form "*bli*" has undergone a change in meaning.

Data 2
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customer    : Bli, menune ada Bli?
               ' Bli, is there a menu?'
Waiter      : Ada Bli. Antos jebos Bli nggih.
                  ' Yes, there is, Bli. Wait a moment, Bli.'
```

In data 2, the customer and the waiter have different ages. The age difference ranges from four to five years. The customer is senior to the waiter. Distinctively, both the customer and the waiter employ the greeting "*bli*." This indicates a change in the significance of the greeting "*bli*." Greeters employ the greeting form "*bli*" to address both older and younger greeters. The significance of the greeting form "*bli*" has undergone considerable extension in connotation. Data 2 utilizes the greeting form bli to cultivate a sense of closeness between the speaker and the listener. Akinlende (2008) asserts that the manner of greeting serves as a marker of interlocutors' social standing and distance, conveying their

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emotions and facilitating face-saving. The sender and the recipient diminish social distance to foster intimacy.

The use of the greeting form *bli* is not only limited to referring to the addressee (male) from most circles, but the form of greeting *bli* can be used to address people who come from noble circles (*Ida Bagus, Dewa, Gusti, Anak Agung* and the like).

Data 3
   (1) *Bli* Gus, coba analisis jebos niki!
      'Bli Gus, try analyzing this!
   (2) *Bli* Dewa ngaba file e.
     ' *Bli* Dewa brought the file.

In data 3, people from the noble circles of Ida Bagus (Gus) and Dewa use the greeting form *bli*. The findings provide a correction to the study conducted by Suwija (2018), which states that the greeting form *bli* is used to address greeters (men) from most circles.

Currently, the use of the words *bli* and *wi* can replace each other. Suwija (2018) asserts that older brothers from noble circles use the greeting form *wi*. However, based on the study, the form of greeting is used not only to address an older person but also to address someone who is younger. The *wi* greeting form is also used to address males from most circles, not just the aristocracy. Currently, people use the greeting forms *bli* and *wi* interchangeably.

The Use of the Form of Addressing *Mbok*
The *mbok* form of greeting is a form of greeting used to refer to the addressee who is older than the addresser.

Data 4
A   : Mbok pidan teka?
        ' Mbok when did you come?'
B   : Ibi Kadek
         ' Yesterday Kadek.'
A   : Bin pidan Mbok balik ke Gianyar?
        ' when will Mbok return to Gianyar?'
B   : Bin telun Dek.

In data 4, the addresser (A) uses the greeting *mbok* to refer to the addressee (B). The use of this form of greeting is because the addressee is older than the speaker. Meanwhile, the addressee uses her own name (Kadek) to address the speaker. The choice of greeting form used by the interlocutor in the conversation is because the addresser and addressee already know each other, and they already know the age difference.

Today, the use of the *mbok* form of address is not limited to older women, as demonstrated in the conversation in Data 5.

Data 5
Buyer   : Mbok ada green sand?
                   ' Mbok, do you have green sand?'
Shop attendant: O, wenten . Di leret kedua Bli.
                     ' Yes, I do. On the second row, Bli.'
Buyer   : Ok, Suksma Mbok
                     'Okay, thanks, Mbok.'

In the conversation in data 4, the addresser (buyer) and addressee (salesperson) have different ages. The greeter is older than the addressee. The salesperson chooses to use the *bli* greeting, and the buyer (the greeter) uses the *mbok* greeting. Currently, the *mbok* form of greeting has expanded in meaning. Not only do we use the word *mbok* to refer to older addressees, but also to younger ones. The addressee uses *mbok* to foster intimacy and reduce distance between them (cf. Susanto, 2014).

Forms of Greeting *Adik/Dik/Dek*

Balinese people generally communicate with their children by calling their own names. For example, if the daughter is named Indah, the parents will call her by that name. Nowadays, Balinese people also use the greeting forms *Kakak/Kak, Adik/Dik*, and *Adek/Dek* to address their children. The Indonesian language is the source of this form of greeting. Parents and their children use this form of greeting intensively in their communication. The use of this form of greeting is very popular today.

Originally, the word *adik* denoted a kinship in which a married couple had two or more children. The form of greeting used by older siblings to address their younger siblings. But nowadays, the form of greeting *adik/dik /dek* is also used by parents to address their children

Data 6
Mom   : *Adik kayeh nae malu!*
                     'Adik, please take a bath first!'
Child   : *Ita nu ngae tugas Mak.*
                     'Ita is still working on my assignment, mom'

People often use the word *adik/di*k or *dek* as a greeting to convey familiarity and affection. Although in literal terms, it means younger sibling. The use of the greeting form *adik* in the current family context is more flexible. The use of this form of greeting gives the impression that the mother wants to express a warm and caring emotional relationship with her child.

The use of the word sister can be a mother's attempt to create a familiar and warm atmosphere among family members. By addressing children in this way, mothers can strengthen emotional bonds and encourage feelings of mutual respect among other siblings in the family. Not only do parents use the greeting form *dik* to address their children, but grandmothers also use it to address their

grandchildren. Consider the following data (data recorded at a Balinese restaurant in Lukluk Village, Badung Regency, Bali)

Data 7
Grandma   : Dik sing dadi nakal.
                ' Dik, You can't be naughty.
Grandpa   : Choose quickly! What to buy?
Grandma   : Aduh nakal sajan ne. Dik .. Adik.
                 ' How naughty. Dik... Adik'

The use of the word "*dik*" is to show the closeness between the addresser and the addressee. Parkinson (2020) contends that the type of greeting conveys (un)familiarity, power, solidarity, and equality. In this case, family members, specifically grandmothers, use the *dik* form of greeting to establish emotional closeness with their grandchildren. Uniquely, the use of the form of greeting *dik* is used to address her child, who is an only child. This shows that the use of the word *adik/dik/dek* does not necessarily refer to the child as a younger child. This is due to the influence of the use of the greeting form *adik/dik/dek* in soap operas.

Forms of greeting *Kakak/Kak*

The phenomenon of using the greeting form *kakak/kak* is similar to the use of the word *adik/dik/dek*. Currently, Balinese people use this form of greeting very intensively. Soap operas aired by several national television stations influence this form of greeting. The use of this form of greeting is due to the influence of the Indonesian language.

Data 8
Mom   : *Kakak* mandi malu.
             '*Kakak*, take a bath, first.'
Child   : Dija mandi Mak?
              ' Where to take a bath, mom?'
Mom   : Di kamar mandi diwang.
              'In the bathroom outside'
Mom   : Kak, suba suud mandi?
              ' Kak, have you taken a bath?'

A mother uses the greeting form *kakak/kak* to ask her child to take a bath immediately. The purpose of this form of greeting, brother or sister, is to build emotional closeness between the mother and her child. Susanto (2014:142) asserts that the utilization of greeting forms serves to convey feelings of respect, solidarity, intimacy, and familiarity toward others, as well as to sustain social relationships in everyday life. In this case, a mother uses the form of greeting brother/sister to create intimacy and express affection for her child. Interestingly, she also uses the greeting.

Kakak literally refers to an older sibling, regardless of gender. In a family context, one uses the greeting *kakak* to refer to or address an older sibling.

Outside the family context, people use it to address or refer to someone older as a sign of respect, particularly in casual daily conversations.

Forms of Greeting *Aku* and *Kamu*

The use of the greeting forms *aku* and *kamu* is very intensively used by teenagers today. This phenomenon occurs due to the influence of the Indonesian language. The use of the greeting forms *aku* and *kamu* is found in many Balinese song lyrics.

Data 9
Lagu : Magaleng rindu

Sube mekelo dini aku ngantosang
' I've been waiting here for a long time'
Megaleng rindu.
' With such great longing.'
Miss your jokes miss your smile.
Dije kamu jani.
'where are you now.'

Sing ngidaang aku ngengsapang.
' I can't forget.'
Rase tusing percaya kamu tega ninggalin aku.
' Can't believe you left me.'
Sing ade hujan sing ade angin sing tawang ape mekade.
' o rain no wind, don't know what caused it.'
Kamu megedi.
' You left me.'

The use of the greeting forms *aku* and *kamu* shows that the interlocutors already know each other and have a close relationship. Brown & Levinson (1987) state that work on politeness theory is based on three main factors: (1) power relationships (P) (e.g., parent-child, boss-employee), (2) solidarity or social distance (D) (e.g., the degree of familiarity), and (3) the weight or rank of the imposition of the speech act (R) (e.g., criticism, admiration). When examined based on Brown and Levinson's theory, the use of the greeting forms *aku* and *kamu* is used to show solidarity and closeness between them. In the song lyrics, the use of the greeting forms *aku* and *kamu* show that the addresser (*aku*) and the addressee (*kamu*) have a close relationship (dating).

In informal situations, people typically use the word *aku* as a first-person singular pronoun. Its use reflects closeness, a relaxed impression, and the absence of a rigid hierarchy between the speaker and the interlocutor. Similarly, we use the word *kamu*, a second-person singular pronoun, to refer to the interlocutor. Similar to *aku*, it possesses an informal nature and finds frequent use in situations that do not necessitate a formal level of politeness.

Data 10
A   : Aku buung mani ke umah kamu

'I'm not going to your house tomorrow.'
B   : Nah sing engken.
            'Yes, it's okay.'
A   : Bin puan ada jumah kamu?
            'Two more days you're home?'
B   : Ada, aku sing kija
              'I'm not going anywhere.'

The addresser and addressee choose the greeting words "saya" and "kamu" to foster intimacy between them. The speakers are close friends and medical students at a private university in Denpasar, Bali. They can both communicate using Indonesian and Balinese. Because of the influence of the use of the greeting forms me and you in Indonesian, when they communicate, they also intensively use these forms of greeting.

Form of Greeting *Ci*

Ci or "*Cai* are second-person singular pronouns. In Balinese, the word *cai* refers to men, while the pronoun *nyai* refers to the second person singular of the female gender.

Data 11
   (1) Nyai buin pidan mulih?
       'When are you coming home?'
   (2) Cai sing taen melajah.
       'You never learn.'

In sentence (1), *nyai* is a second-person singular pronoun referring to women, while *cai* is a second-person singular pronoun referring to men. However, the use of the word *nyai* nowadays seems to be less and less used by the younger generation in communication. They prefer to use the greeting form ci to address interlocutors of both male and female genders.

Data 12
A   : Kija ci
              '' Where are you going?'
B   : Ke kantin, Ci kija?
              '' To canteen, and you?'
C   : Ke kantin masi.
            ' To canteen, too.'

We observed this conversation by listening to Dwijendra High School students during their break. The conversation took place between male students (A) and female students (B). Both male and female interlocutors use the greeting form *ci*.

Data 13
A   : Ci kija?
            ' Where are you going?'

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B   : Milu Ci?'
   ' Can I join?'

   We collected this conversational *ci* word data during a break for the Dwijendra Junior High School students. A is a male student, and B is a female student. In the data, both male and female students use the form of greeting *ci* in communication. Based on the results of the study, the meaning of the form of greeting *cai/ci* has changed. The form of greeting *cai/ci* not only refers to male sex but also refers to female.

Greeting Form of *Cong*

   The word *cong* is short for *locong* or *kocong*. Both words are proper names. This name is generally given when a baby is born male. The proper name for a female baby is *luweng*. After a three-month ceremony, the baby receives a name. But nowadays, the use of the *cong* greeting form is widely used by the younger generation when speaking Balinese. The use of cong is casual, familiar, and informal. This word is usually used to call or greet peers or people who are already closely known, both in the context of joking and daily socialization.

Data 14
A   : Cong meli bakso?
   ' *Cong* buy meatballs?'
B   : Aing mbok
   ' No *Kak*.'
C   : Minuman beliang?
   ' Buy drink, *Cong*?'
D   : Dadi masi mbok
   ' Okay Kak.'

   In data 14, the addresser (A) asks the addressee (B) using the greeting cong. This form of greeting refers to someone of the male gender. Interlocutors use this form of greeting to express familiarity. The formality or informality of the situation, the politeness, or the deference the speaker wants to express can all be reflected with a term of address. The use of *cong* in data 14 reflects the social relationship between the two.

Data 15
A   : Cong coba atur pertemuan jak kepala sekolah nah!
   ' *Cong*, try to arrange a meeting with the principal!'
B   : Bin pidan rencana Pak?
   'When, Pak?
A   : Early January.
B   : I will, Pak.

   Data 15 is about conversations in WhatsApp groups. The use of greeting forms is used in informal and intimate situations. The addresser (A) has a much different age from the addressee (B). The age of the addresser (B) is around 50,

and the addressee (B) is around 38 years old. The use of the *cong* greeting form by the addressee to reduce the distance between the addressor and the addressee. The addressee holds a higher position than the addresser. The addressee realizes that to reduce the power of locution in the form of orders, the addressee uses the form of greeting *cong*. Mayuko (2015) points out that the utilization of terms of address is determined by various social characteristics, including relationships with family members, age, gender, religion, occupation, closeness, distance, formality, informality, and geographical groups (Surono, 2018; Tauchid 2018 a&b, Awoonor-Aziaku, 2021). The addresser uses the *cong* form of greeting to create closeness and does not maintain distance from the addressee.

Forms of Greeting *Cuk*

Cuk is a shortening of the word *jancuk*. *Jancuk* is used by East Javanese people. East Javanese people use the word *jancuk* to express emotion or anger. Today, people use the word *jancuk* as a greeting to convey intimacy. The word *jancuk* literally means to have sex. However, the user community has recently adopted the word *jancuk* as a symbol of identity. In fact, it is used as a form of greeting to call out among friends to increase the sense of togetherness. *https://republika.co.id/berita/pmihv8282/emjancukem-antara-ungkapan-kemesraan-dan-makian*

Data 16
A   : Cuk, Cuk nyen di sie konsumsi?
            ' *Cuk,Cuk* who is in charge for consumption division?'
B   : Gek Aya asane mbok
            ' It is Gek Aya *Mbok'*

The younger generation in Bali also uses the current form of greeting, *cuk*. The use of the greeting form *cuk* no longer has a negative connotation (intercourse). People use this form of greeting along with the words *cong* and ci. You can use the greeting form *cuk* to address both male and female individuals. When the interlocutor has a familiar relationship, one uses this form of greeting. Mansor and Chin (2022) identified five social factors influencing address terms: context, social relationships, age, family ties, and social standing. In this case, the interlocutors share a close social relationship, which leads to the use of the greeting form *cuk*.

Data 17
A   : Cuk, manggo printere?
            ' Cuk, is the printer being used?'
B   : Aing
            'No.'
A   : Baang nyilih malu Cuk.
            'Can I use it?.'
B   : Nah Cuk
          'Yes, please, Cuk.'

Data 17 is a conversation between a brother and sister. The age difference between them is one year. In communicating between brother and sister, they intensively use the form of greeting *cuk*. This suggests that family relationships also influence the use of the *cuk* greeting form. Interlocutors do not use other forms of Balinese greeting, but they use the *cuk* form to show family relationships and familiarity between them. Magashi (2024) observes that suitable address terms foster a positive environment conducive to harmonious interaction, whereas unsuitable address terms can result in conflicts and communication breakdowns. The use of the *cuk* form of address creates a conducive atmosphere in family relations so that conversations take place harmoniously between interlocutors. The interlocutors in this case apply politeness strategies in language. The interlocutors demonstrate politeness by not maintaining a distance between them.

Gan et al. (2015) asserted that examining a politeness strategy necessitates examination of certain elements, including address forms, which differ between cultures. The use of address forms signals respect or disrespect to the addressee depending on how it is uttered and perceived. It also varies depending on the level of formality of the interaction and the role relationship between the two interlocutors.

Forms of greeting *Bro / Brother* and *Mas Bro*

The *bro* form of greeting comes from the English word "brother." We abbreviate this form of greeting as *bro*, or we use it according to the pronunciation of brother. Male greeters exchange this form of greeting. The use of this form of greeting is to show familiarity between interlocutors.

Data 18
A   : Bro suba mapasang banner e?
           ' Bro, has the banner been installed?'
B   : Bensep kel pasang.
            ' It will be installed later, sir.

Data 19
Conversation in a whatsapp group
A   : Rahajeng wanti warsa Pak Rektor
              ' Happy birthday Mr. Rector.'
B   : Suksma Brother. Salam rahayu.
              ' Thank you, Broder. Salam Rahayu.'
A   : Nggih Suksma.
           'Nggih suksma'

The use of the *bro* or *brother* form of greeting has recently become popular among Balinese people. Both the younger and older generations use this form of greeting. In data 18, the addresser (A) uses bro to create an intimate atmosphere and reduce the impact of the command on the addressee (B). The addresser (A) is the Dean of the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education (FKIP) of Dwijendra University, while the addressee (B) is an employee at the Faculty of

Teacher Training and Education of Dwijendra University. We use bro to maintain politeness and prevent face-threatening acts (FTA). The use of bro can reduce the threat to the face of the addressee (B) due to the orders given by the addresser (A) (Gan et al., 2015: 47).

We took Data 19 from the WhatsApp group of Dwijendra University in Denpasar, Bali. The data employs a form of brotherly greeting to foster intimacy between the interlocutors. The addresser (A) said happy birthday in formal Balinese: 'Rahajeng wanti warsa Pak Rektor." Although A conveyed a formal birthday greeting, B reciprocated the greeting by saying, "Suksma, brother." "Salam rahayu. The use of this brader was chosen by B to reduce the distance between interlocutors. The addressee (B), who is the rector, does not position himself as the leader. If he does so, it will create a distance between him and the addresser (A). B uses the brother greeting to reduce distance and foster familiarity and brotherhood. B chooses politeness strategies in communicating with A. B minimizes the power relationship with A by not taking advantage of his position as rector.

Politeness strategies determine three contextual factors, first, it takes account of the power relations between the speaker and hearer; second, it considers the social distance between the listener and the speaker, and last, it deals with how great the face threatening act is. Generally, people determine to be cooperative in their conversation. The number of strategies people use depends on how people perceive their FTAs in every conversation according to their culture (Ezechukwu, 2024:110)

Forms of greeting *Semeton/Ton*

The greeting form, *semeton*, means "brother" or "relative." The root word of *semeton* is *metu*, which means "born." The formation process is sa + metu + an → *sametuan* 'one birth.'. The word *semetuan* undergoes a morphophonemic process (encoding) to become *semeton*. *Semeton* is used to address people who are related by blood, such as siblings or close relatives.

Data 20
   (1) Titiang madue semeton kakalih.
        ' I have two siblings.'
   (2) Semeton tiange sampun seda.
        ' My brother is dead.'

The use of *semeton* in sentences (1) and (2) in data 20 refers to siblings. In Balinese society, *semeton* is also used to address people who are considered part of a wider community, such as fellow banjar (customary community) members, neighbors, or friends.

Data 21
   (1) Semeton titiang sane banget tresna sihin titiang
        ' Brother whom I love very much.
   (2) Semeton sareng sami, elingan benjang jagi kawentenan rapat.
        ' Ladies and gentlemen, remember there will be a meeting tomorrow.

The use of greeting forms in sentences (1) and (2) in data 21 does not refer to kinship. In a more general context, the *semeton* form of greeting refers to fellow Banjar members.

This form of greeting is currently popular among the younger generation. However, the younger generation frequently shortens the *semeton* greeting form to ton. People frequently use the ton greeting form on social media. One TikTok account uploaded an accident that occurred on the Ida Bagus Mantra Denpasar bypass road. The account owner only shows a video of the accident but does not provide a description of it, so many netizens ask about it.

Data 22
   (1) Sira sane seda Ton?
      ' Who passed away Ton?'
   (2) Meninggal karena apa nika Ton?
      ' What he died of, Ton?'
   (3) Ring dija tabrakan Ton?
      ' Where the collision occurred?'

The forms of greeting used in sentences (1), (2), and (3) in data 22 refer to a wider scope. Conversations on social media use this form of greeting to express brotherhood or solidarity in the virtual sphere. In virtual space, most interlocutors do not know each other. By using the ton greeting form, the interlocutors respect each other, and its use can build harmony on social media. Greeting forms are typically employed to demonstrate kindness and compassion towards one another (Ismiyani, 2014). In social media, interlocutors do not know each other, so establishing communication by paying attention to politeness is important.

4. Conclusion

The current Balinese greeting form has experienced additions and changes in meaning in some forms of greeting. Based on the studies that have been carried out, there are additional forms of Balinese greetings, namely, *brother/kak, sister/dek, aku, kamu, cong, cuk, bro/brader,* and *semeton/ton*. The forms of greeting that experience changes in meaning are: *bli/wi, mbok, ci*, and *semeton*.

The greeting form (*bli/wi*) has experienced a shift in meaning. Greeters not only use the greeting form *bli/wi* for older greeters, but also for younger ones. The greeting form *bli* has experienced an expansion of meaning. The purpose of this is to foster a sense of intimacy between the addresser and the addressee. Similarly, we use the greeting form *mbok* not only to address older addressees but also to address younger ones. The *mbok* form of greeting has experienced an expansion of meaning. In addition to the greeting forms *bli/wi* and *mbok*, the greeting form ci has also expanded in meaning. Nowadays, ci does not only refer to men but also to women. The greeting form *semeton* is currently used not only to refer to kinship but also in a broader context.

Limitation

This study has limitations. The data collected is limited to certain areas of Bali, so it does not reflect the overall variety of greeting forms in different regions. The informants selected did not cover proportionally different age groups, genders, or social strata, which may affect the representation of the data. Language is a dynamic entity, and changes in greeting forms may occur faster than the time of research, so the results may become outdated.

Suggestion

Research related to the dynamics and changes in the meaning of greeting forms needs to be studied by other researchers; this is based on the rationale that language development is very dynamic. Moreover, Balinese society is currently a bilingual society; of course, people will adopt forms of greetings from other languages. We need to delve into the phenomena so that scientific studies can systematically record the dynamics and changes in the meaning of greeting forms.

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