

Balinese Code-Switching in Social Media Content Video of Cenk-Blonk Shadow Puppet

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ABSTRACT: The phenomenon of code-switching, where speakers alternate between different languages within a conversation, has become increasingly prevalent among Balinese speakers. This article explores the occurrence of code-switching in everyday conversations and informal social media content, with a specific focus on the popular Balinese YouTube channel, Cenk-Blonk. The language use in shadow performance usually reflects the use of language in society today. The research examines 60 YouTube videos from Cenk-Blonk shadow performance to identify and analyze the types and variation of code-switching employed. The study finds that intrasentential switching is the most dominant used with some pattern variation, while intersentential switching frequently appears in philosophical discourse. Indonesian, English, Old Javanese and Balinese's high register language with some variations of form are a lot occurred to switch Balinese's low register which usually used in informal context of the scenes.

KEYWORDS: code-switching, Balinese language, digital media, YouTube, Cenk-Blonk

I. INTRODUCTION

In the context of Bali, the use of Balinese language remains a strong cultural identifier among its speakers. However, in contemporary communication, especially with the influence of globalization and digital media, there has been a notable shift in how Balinese speakers use their language. Code-switching, specifically from Balinese to Indonesian or English, is increasingly observed not only in everyday conversation but also in digital content, such as YouTube videos, that cater to a broader audience. Today some Balinese Youtube channels use code switching for the language they showed. The channels mostly well known actually traditional performance such as comedy show and shadow puppet performance. Shadow puppet performance usually takes the story tale from Mahabhrata and Ramayana. Balinese shadow puppet performance commonly used Balinese and Old Javanese language for the dialogs. Old Javanese usually used by high characters and Balinese used by the servant characters. The high characters are actually characters that are exists in lakon pakem (standard tale that entirely stem from the puppet literary work). The servant characters are characters that are in charge of translating the language from the high character to the language that are known by the audience. This characters actually don't mention in the standard tale but in shadow puppet performance they are showed as the servants of the King or Gods.

Globalization and digital media influence the use of language. The use of Balinese language by shadow puppet performance today in Bali shows unique phenomenon especially in Cenk-Blonk shadow Puppets performance. It's well known as Cenk-Blonk shadow puppet performance because the puppeteer creates new servant characters as they are the icon named Cenk and Blonk. Prominent features of the language that used by the puppeteer is his skillful in playing the language to create humor and the frequent use of code switching. The puppeteer switches a lot the codes from Balinese into Indonesian and also English. The cleverness in playing with language and switching the codes makes the puppet show popular among people of various backgrounds and ages. The Cenk-Blonk puppeteer often hold live performances with overflowing audiences. In recent years, especially during the COVID-19 Pandemic, Cenk -Blonk performance has regularly uploaded its videos on its official YouTube channel named Cenk-Blonk.

There are some studies related to the use of code switching especially in Balinese shadow puppet performance, such as from Devianti (2021). She analyzed the code switching happened in servant characters of Cenk Blonk performance but only for video 26. She used observation method with the basic tapping technique, followed by the involved conversation observation technique and interview method for data collection. In analyzing the data, she employed the intralingual and extralingual equivalent methods, using the comparative linking technique to align core elements, applying Hymes' and Suwito's theories to identify types of internal and external code-switching. The findings reveal that the factors causing code-switching in the communication of the servant characters in Cenk-Blonk shadow show include the speaker, the topic of conversation, and the insertion for self-prestige.

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Sumalia (2015) also analyzed code switching in Balinese shadow performance, but his study case is Joblar shadow puppet performance. His study also find out the type and the factors of code switching happened. Sumalia (2015) analyzed the data through four processes: (1) transcribing the data, (2) reducing the data, (3) organizing the data, and (4) drawing conclusions. The analysis found instances of code-switching in the Wayang Kulit Joblar performance, including internal and external code-switching. The contributing factors were the speaker's personal motives, the desire for an insertion to enhance prestige, and the aim to add freshness and humor. Al-Qaysi (2017) investigated the attitudes of educators and students toward the use of code-switching on social networks in Oman's higher education context. Surveys were conducted with 338 students and 21 educators, supplemented by two interview sessions with both groups. The findings show that 86.40% of students and 81% of educators engage in code-switching on social media, with WhatsApp being the most commonly used platform for this practice. Moreover, students expressed a very positive attitude towards using code-switching on social media. The study also discusses further implications and suggests directions for future research. This current study aims to shed light on the type of code switching phenomenon by servant characters in shadow puppet performance in one of Bali's most popular YouTube channels, Cenk-Blonk.

A. Code-Switching

The term 'code-switching' consists of two parts: 'switching', which means 'to move', and 'code', which refers to 'a variation within a language system'. Thus, etymologically, code-switching can be defined as the transition, shift, or movement from one language variation to another (Suandi, 2014:132). Code-switching is the act of alternating between two different languages with ease by bilingual speakers (Bullock & Toribio, 2009:1). Hoffman (1991:110) describes code-switching as an alternation in the use of two languages or linguistic variations within the same conversation. This switching can occur by changing the language or shifting communication styles.

Furthermore, Hoffman (1991:113) explains that the use of code-switching can be controlled and consciously done by the speaker, especially adults, depending on the context, situation, and personal factors influencing or desired by the speaker. This indicates that code-switching is not interference or a language error. It is an individual phenomenon where a speaker decides when, why, and how to alternate between languages (Bullock, 2009:6). Speakers juxtapose different grammatical subsystems in conversation when they code-switch (1982:97). Myers-Scotton (2007:3) mentions that bilinguals select language use by embedding a secondary language into the dominant language within the same conversation.

B. Types of Code-switching

Based on its typological characteristics, Poplack (1980:615), Appel & Muysken (1987:118), and Romaine (2001:122) describe code-switching as being divided into three types, there are; inter-sentential switching (code-switching within a sentence), emblematic switching/tag switching (extra-sentential code-switching), and intersentential switching (code-switching between sentences). Hoffman (1991:111-113) mentions the types of code-switching as emblematic switching (extra-sentential switching), intrasentential switching (within a sentence), intersentential switching (between sentences), code-switching to maintain continuity with the previous speaker, and code-switching with changes in speech features. Muysken (2000) further provides a detailed explanation of code-switching within a sentence, known as code-mixing. In his explanation, he implicitly states that elements often classified as extra-sentential switching are actually part of intrasentential switching, which falls under the alternation type. Some types in intrasentential-switching based on Muysken (2000) are insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. Based on the types of code-switching described by the experts above, this study classifies two general structural categories of code-switching that summarize the findings: intrasentential switching and intersentential switching.

II. METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study utilizes 60 videos from the Cenk-Blonk YouTube channel as its primary data source. The videos that used as data source were in series 61-120. The videos, which feature traditional Balinese puppetry and dialogues between characters, are analyzed to identify instances of code-switching. The theoretical framework for this analysis is based on the works of Poplack (1980), Appel & Muysken (1987), Romaine (2001), Hoffman (1991), and Muysken (2005), which provide a comprehensive foundation for categorizing and understanding different types of code-switching.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The result of this research found there are two types of code-switching found, they are intrasentential switching and intersentential switching. This findings follows Muysken (2005)'s view that elements often classified as extra-sentential switching are part of intrasentential switching. The intrasentential switching data found mostly the low Balinese register switched into Indonesian lexicon, some to English and Balinese high register. The intersentential switching type found only switched between Balinese and Indonesia, low Balinese register and high Balinese register or vice versa.

A. Intrasentential Switching

The study identifies that intrasentential switching is the most frequently occurring type of code-switching in Cenk-Blonk content. This type involves switching languages within a single sentence, where speakers mix elements of Balinese with Indonesian, Old Javanese, High register of Balinese and English. The variations found within intrasentential switching include:

1) Switching into Indonesian Lexicon:

Indonesian lexicon is often used within Balinese sentences, in form of words and particles. Indonesian particles such as 'pun', 'sih', 'loh', 'lah', 'kan', and 'kok' frequently appear to provide emphasis. This lexicon usage also includes word or group of word, in form of all of word classes, phrase, slang terms, pronouns, idioms, innovative words for creating sound effects and replacing harsh Balinese expressions. Some representative data that belongs to intrasentential switching that use Indonesian lexicon are given below;

Datum 1.

Sangut: **maksud** Melem duang sen tengah to? (WCB seri 61)

[.....what do you **mean** of the two and a half cents?]

Datum 2.

Blonk : Nasi anggo **makan** dogen suba keweh, buin nasi bakal baang virus (WCB seri 62)

[just the rice for daily **consuming** is difficult for me to get, moreover the rice that will be given to the virus]

The datum 1 and 2 above are example data which use Indonesian lexicon in form of noun. The use of Indonesian noun 'maksud' (mean) which is in Balinese 'tetuek' or 'suksman' and the use Indonesian 'makan' (eating) then Balinese 'madaar' or 'ngajeng' are commonly happened in Balinese daily language today among the Balinese society. Some youth Balinese is not familiar and moreover don't know the meaning of 'tetuek' or 'suksman' whether they belong to Balinese active users. Both Balinese words tetuek or suksman may understood by the elder Balinese language users and those usually used in more formal conversation or cultural occasion. The switch that used by Cenk-Blonk puppeteer in datum 1 shows he wants to create the statement that used by the character Sangut was sounded casual. The quite similar phenomenon is happened with the use of Indonesian word 'makan' in the middle of Balinese language in datum 2 which also often happened in daily conversation in Balinese society. Balinese society often used Indonesian word 'makan' which is in Balinese has some lexicon variety such are, ngeleklek, madaar, maem, ngajeng, merayunan. Those variety have the same meaning is 'consuming food' or 'eating' but they have different register. In very low Balinese register will use 'ngeleklek', in low Balinese register that usually use in daily conversation to close relatives, it will be use 'madaar', 'maem' or 'ngajeng' and in Balinese high register will use 'ngerayunan'. The switching used by 'makan' in the middle of Balinese language in datum 2 shows the simpler way of the speaker in choosing the word. The context of that datum 2 is casual conversation that happened between character Blonk to his friend Cenk. The context contained makes him uses low Balinese register. Some varieties of vocabulary that have similar meaning made the speaker switch the language into Indonesian which have simple variety to create the suitable context.

Datum 3.

Cenk : Yeh... Blonk, engken ne Blonk, jek **ribet**, semun cine dadi **ruwet**? (WCB seri 62)

[Hi Blonk, what happened, **troublesome**, why does your face looks **dull**?]

Datum 3 is the example of intrasentential switching which use Indonesian words in the middle of Balinese sentence. It belongs to insertion, because the switching happened just by inserting words from another language and follows the matrix language structure. The Indonesian words that inserted here come from adjective that have quite similar phonemes at the end of sound of the words. Indonesian adjectives 'Ribet' [ribət] and 'ruwet' [ruwət] seemed were used intentionally to produce interesting sound effect. Actually this effect will help lead the audience to understand the context of the character's condition mentioned. The insertion that used in that utterance indirectly to create emphasis.

Datum 4.

Sangut : Amen **bersatu** iraga ajak makejang enggal kone viruse **menyebarkan** sinah liu anake bakal sakit (WCB 63)

[If we **united**, it said the virus will **spread** quickly so many people will get sick]

Datum 4 is example of insertion by inserting Indonesian verbs in matrix language of Balinese. The insertions do not change the matrix language structure. The switching of Balinese into Indonesian here just only to emphasize the topic idea of the utterance. Balinese lexicon has some vocabs that relate or has similar meaning with Indonesian 'bersatu' which are 'guluk' or 'sagilik-saguluk' and for Indonesian 'menyebarkan' relate with Balinese 'milehan' but Indonesian lexicon used more in society because those lexicons are specific words that used to specific topic which is something that relate to covid-19 pandemic. The used of those Indonesian lexicon today especially when the era of pandemic are often heard used by Balinese users. Those words become specific terms that usually used by Balinese user when they talked about pandemic whether they have Balinese correlation words

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for that term. Moreover, the active elder Balinese users who may do not know about those Indonesian lexicon also used them in daily conversation. This phenomenon also found in dialog among low servant characters in this traditional puppet performance. Switching into Indonesia language also found a lot in form of particle, such are 'pun', 'sih', 'loh', 'lah', 'kan', and 'kok'. Datum 5 below is the example of the use of Indonesian particle 'sih'.

Datum 5

Delem : Nyejer pejati **sih** suba nyejer pejati Ngut.... (WCB 67)
[setting up pejati (sih) has done Ngut]

The switching by using several particles in Indonesian mostly found just for emphasizing the specific thing. The use of those particle create a relaxed context in conversation.

From all the data found mostly when the speaker wants to mention thing about number, it would be used mostly in Indonesian, like the example in datum 6 and 7 below.

Datum 6

Sangut: Yen adep te mobile ne paling sing Nyoman laku ngelah pipis **dua ratus juta**, Man. (WCB 78)
[if you sell this car, you will get **two hundred millions**, Man]

Datum 7

Blonk : Tumben wake seleg ngucapang mantrane ento **3 x 3** (WCB 78)
[I've just regularly mention that mantra 3 x 3]

The use of numeral lexicon 'dua ratus juta' in Indonesian rather than 'satak yuta' in Balinese which is actually easier and shorter to utter than in Indonesian lexicon shows that code switched to emphasize the amount of money that become the topic of the utterance. Switching to another code sometimes has function to emphasize the main topic of the utterance. In datum 7 was found again the switching code from Baline to Indonesian in mentioning number. The numeral lexicon 3x3 which was mentioned 'tiga kali tiga' (three times three) in Indonesian than 'telu pang telu' in Balinese found because the Indonesian tiga kali tiga is a lexical term that relate to the topic how the way to consume the medicine from the doctor. The Indonesian as embedded lexicon I that utterance actually reflect connotation meaning which describe the speaker Blonk has mentioned the mantra regularly as someone that consume medicine from the doctor, three times in a day, which are three times in the morning, three times in afternoon and three times in the evening.

There are some data found the Balinese switches into Indonesian for a rude word (in datum 8). Sialan in Indonesian is also a swear word, but if it used in Balinese like 'bangsat' will create a very rude word.

Datum 8

Blonk : Neh...**sialan**, mati lampu listrike. (WCB 72)
[Ouch... damn, it's blackout]

If Balinese lexicon was still used without changing in Indonesian 'sialan', the expression results very rude context. Because this video is video performance with a lot of viewer from all ages, the switching used to create neutral context.

There are a lot data found mixing between Indonesian and Balinese in a word. So in the mixing word, both morphemes, Indonesian and Balinese, combine each other.

In datum 9 the free morpheme is Indonesian and added Balinese bound morpheme as a suffix -ne. In datum 10 is vice versa. The free morpheme is from Balinese and added prefix and also suffix from Indonesian. Datum 10 was done to create a fun for comedy.

Datum 9

Sangut: **Memangne** kuda Nyoman baanga gajih ken bose (WCB 73)
[**Actually** how much does your boss actually pay you Nyoman?]

The matrix language of datum 9 is Balinese which got embedded language from Indonesia at the beginning. The Indonesian lexicon 'memang' combined by Balinese bound morpheme 'ne' in this utterance datum 9 to result the casual context between the participants. Balinese has the word that has similar meaning of 'memang' which is 'sujati'. In Indonesian, the lexical 'memang' is commonly used without suffix 'nya' or 'ne' in Balinese which are both provide definite determination and topicalization. In Balinese the lexicon 'sujati' if it doesn't added by suffix 'ne' is hears strange. The appearance of Balinese bound morpheme in Indonesian lexicon shows the existence of the word formation structure of the matrix language that is Balinese. The use of 'sujatine' in the context of situation will create more serious context than using Indonesian 'memang'. The question in Balinese from Sangut here in the context was aimed to Blonk, his best friend. The switching used here result casual and also sympathy question.

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Datum 10

Sangut: Melem seleg ngurusin **permitraan**, perselingkuhan. (WCB 82)
[.... Melem takes care of **affair**, affair wholeheartedly]

In datum 10 which is the matrix language is Balinese occurs Indonesian bound morphemes in Balinese lexicon. 'Mitra' in Balinese means adultress, but in Indonesian also has the lexicon 'mitra' which has quite different meaning. In Indonesian 'mitra' means work colleague. The Indonesian circumfix per- -an which will form a nominal word class is inserted in Balinese 'mitra' in datum 10 is at first to obscure the negative meaning of the lexicon 'mitra' in Balinese but the deeper meaning based on the context of conversation just to emphasize and create a fun and mockery effect because at the end of the utterance the speaker mention the Indonesian full lexicon 'perselingkuhan' which is the noun class word that means affair.

Switching from Balinese into Indonesian also found using Indonesian slang word, phrase or statement. Datum 11 is one example of it.

Datum 11

Delem : Menurut kaka bes **lebay**, bes **alay** oknum kesehatane to
[.... I think they are too **exaggerate**, so **extra** that professional healthcare ...]

Alay is a slang Indonesian that used mostly by youngest generation in Indonesia today. It is an abbreviation of "anak lebay" in Indonesian. Anak means "kid" and lebay is a term or a slang used to describe someone who overreacting to everything. The used of alay and lebay in datum 11 found based on the context situation of the utterance. The speaker there wanted to produce an attractive statement by using Indonesian words that heard up to date and have similar rhyme. This strategies used mainly to emphasize the topic of the conversation.

2) Switching into English Lexicon:

The use of English words is less frequent than Indonesian but still significant. This variation includes commonly used adjectives like 'happy', 'please', 'stop', and morpheme combinations between Balinese and English, such as 'ngeshare'.

Datum 12

Blonk : Diapin polon wake ne kendor, goban wakene masih **error**, rejekin wake ne pragat tekor, tur wake masih bukan orang tersohor (WCB 80)

[even though my brain is stupid, my face is **error**, I may not have good luck, and I'm not a famous person...]

Switching into English lexicon in a form of adjective in datum 12 above is made as creativity of the puppeteer in playing to the language. the word "error" use as a code to switch from Balinese and Indonesian that mixed in a sentence above to make the same rhythm at the last sound of the word "kendor", "error" and "tersohor". Despite the use of English adjective 'error' doesn't really suitable to describe 'face' which in Balinese is 'goban', the speaker used that English lexicon just to create an interactive sound in the utterance.

3) Switching into Balinese High Register:

In some sentences, high register Balinese lexicon is used within low register Balinese sentences. This typically occurs when the characters refer to or address a higher entity, such as God or a person of higher social status.

Datum 13

Pekak Dalang : Sesai pekak suba nyatuaang, tur suba liu anake **wikan** nyambatang (WCB 85)

[I (grand father) has often shares and many **wise person** mentioned it]

"wikan" as high register Balinese switches in the middle of Balinese sentence. "wikan" in low and middle Balinese register said 'dueg' means smart which in that utterance context is oriented for someone which has high academic sosial status. This phenomenon often happened in Bali and also found in the data sources. Another example in datum 14 below;

Datum 14

Cenk: Makane di Kitab Suci Yayur Weda to **mungguh**, Blonk (WCB 85)

[that's way in sacred scripture of Yayur Weda it's **stated**, Blonk]

The speaker used the word "mungguh" which means 'stated' depends on using Balinese low register "ngenah" which has the same meaning because of that word is pointed to Yayur Weda which is a Hinduism sacral scripture. That sacral scripture in Balinese culture and society has a high position because it often used by the highest caste or someone who has high religious knowledge or honored individual in the community.

B. Intersentential Switching

In addition to intrasentential switching, the study also identifies instances of intersentential switching, particularly in dialogues that present philosophical theories. In this context, complete sentences in Indonesian are often used to ensure that the

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philosophical messages are clearly understood by the audience. Additionally, clause-level switches, proverbs, and song lyrics in Indonesian, English and Sanskrit are also found.

Datum 15

Cenk : Da cai nelik nengeng memedih keto Blonk. Kone **tersenyum merupakan Yadnya yang utama.** (WCB 87)

[Don't glare and get upset like that Blonk. Someone says **smiling is the best offering.**]

The example above is switching from full Balinese sentence into Indonesian sentence at the next sentence. The switching into full Indonesian sentence in datum 15 is to emphasize the statement that important discussed before by the participants of the conversation. The use of intersentential switching found from the data source often the citation from another language that wellknown in society or that has very deeply meaning. Another example is found switching from Balinese sentence into Sanskrit;

Datum 16

Cenk : Sastra suci Sarassamuscaya ento nuturang Blonk. **Yadyapin akweha tuwi; mangke wēlkang tuwi, yan antukning anyāya, nisphala ika, kalinganya, tan si kweh, tan si kēdik, amuhara kweh kēdik ning dānaphala, kunēng paramāṛthanya, nyāyānyāya ning dāna juga.**

[That Sarassamuscaya sacred scripture states about that Blonk. **It's not the size of the gift that makes it noble and meaningful, but rather giving it to the right person at the right time.**]

In datum 16 the switching from Balinese into full Sanskrit creates a sacral context to attract audience focus to the statement. Recite the full Sanskrit from the sacred scripture actually will attract the audience to listen and more concern with the next statement to find out the meaning of the Sanskrit. Because that language is rarely used in society and only a few people know the meaning. The puppeteer often switch the language into Sanskrit and translate it into Balinese or Indonesian by some ways. The translation of the Sanskrit doesn't mention directly but with some example or story which the meaning will be get from those.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This study demonstrates that code-switching is a significant linguistic phenomenon in contemporary Balinese communication, especially in the digital context. The dominance of intrasentential switching in Cenk-Blonk content reflects a strong integration of multiple languages in the daily lives of Balinese speakers. Meanwhile, intersentential switching underscores the role of Indonesian as a language of wider communication, particularly in conveying complex concepts. Code switching in Balinese language into other such as Indonesian, English, high Balinese register or other actually become strategy by the puppeteer to generate attractive, creative and informative language to maintain the existence and the sustainability of this traditional art form in the era of modern entertainment on social media. This research contributes to a deeper understanding of code-switching in Balinese and opens opportunities for further studies on the impact of digital media on language use in multilingual societies.

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