

HUMANS, ANIMALS, AND THE INDEXING OF SOCIAL STATUS IN BALINESE FOLKTALE NARRATIVE: THE CASE OF *UKUD* AND *DIRI*

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0 Introduction

One concept that may be categorized and expressed by the presence of classificatory devices cross-linguistically is *social status*. More specifically, this sort of classification appears to capture the *differences* in social status present in any given situation. Aikhenvald 2000 states that languages that capture this particular distinction may do so along a number of parameters, such as social position, kinship, age, culturally appropriate level of accorded respect, etc. Keating 1997 describes two types of possessive classifier strategies in Pohnpeian that encode the social status level of the possessor: a set of classifiers for high-status possessors vs. a construction that uses a single classifier (*tungoal*) for low-status possessors. In Korean, three classifiers for humans exist - a general classifier (*myeng*), an honorific classifier for referents of higher status than the speaker (*pwun*), and a classifier for corpses or dead people (*kwu*) (Oh 1994). Thus, the use of specialized classifiers is an available strategy for explicitly expressing differences in social status in languages where such distinctions are integrated in their respective lexical grammars.

In contrast, Balinese, an Austronesian language well known for integrating considerations of status into its grammar through various “speech styles” (see Errington 1988 for a discussion on speech levels in Javanese), has numeral classifiers that traditionally are not described as explicitly expressing differences in social status. However, this study will show that their usage frequency in Balinese (folktale) narrative suggests otherwise: the two classifiers used for animate referents – *ukud* for animals and some humans and *diri* for humans – are used most often to introduce referents that occupy a lower status compared to other referents within the same stretch of narrative discourse, while the higher status referents are never mentioned with these classifiers. Two claims will be made here. Firstly, Balinese presents an alternative strategy for indexing low social status via classifiers since this not accomplished through a distinctly specialized set of classifiers. Rather, the *occurrence of the classifiers themselves* signals this type of low status indexing in Balinese since they are not obligatory quantification strategies. Secondly, these implicit functions would not be apparent without examining discourse data.

1 The Working Definition of a “Numeral Classifier”

Before proceeding, it is necessary to make explicit the working definition of a “numeral classifier” used here. Many classifier studies adopt a cognitive-semantic based definition, e.g. Aikhenvald 2000, Allen 1977, Lee 1987, *inter alia*. However, for reasons of simplicity, the present study will adopt the morphosyntactic definition given in Downing 1996 (16):

1. It may directly follow a numeral.
2. It readily co-occurs with a noun denoting the referent whose number is indicated by the numeral-classifier construction.
3. It denotes a natural unit of the referent, whose (usually but not necessarily inherent) characteristics dictate its choice.

The morphemes *diri* and *ukud* fit all three criteria, as seen in (1) and (2) below, respectively:

- (1) Ada tuturan satua anak ma-kurenan, ngelah kone
exist story tale person MA-spouse N:have it.is.said

pianak luh-luh duang diri
child female-RED NAS:two CL:PERSON

“There is a story about a man with a wife and, it is said, *two girls*” (*Crukuk Kuning*)¹

- (2) "Ih Tiwas, ene icang maan **kutu a-ukud**."
EXCL T. this 1(L) N-get louse NAS:one-CL:ANIMAL

“Hey Tiwas, I got *a louse*.” (**I Sugih teken I Tiwas**)

In these cases, both morphemes in question a) follow numerals (e.g. *duang* ‘two’ and the prefix *a-* ‘one’), b) co-occur with nouns that denote referents being quantified in these constructions (*pianak* ‘child’ and *kutu* ‘louse’), and c) denote natural units of the referents, as *ukud* (generally) denotes animals while *diri* denotes humans. Thus, these two morphemes fit the numeral classifier definition given above.

2 Data and Methodology

The data used in this study come from a Balinese folktale narrative genre known as *satua*, which were traditionally orally transmitted. They now appear as written texts that were

¹ Abbreviations used in this study: (H): high speech-style Balinese; (L): low speech-style Balinese; (M): medium speech-style Balinese; 1: first person; 2: second person; 3: third person; ADVERS: adversative; APPL: applicative; CL: classifier; DEF: Balinese “definite” suffix (*-e/-ne*); LNK: linker; LOC: locative; MA-: Balinese “S-Trigger” prefix; N-: Balinese “A-Trigger” prefix; NAS: nasalized numeral; NEG: negative; POSS: possessive; RED: reduplicated form; TITLE1: Balinese caste title; TITLE2: Balinese royal title. For working definitions of “trigger” terminology, please see Cumming 1991.

Definitions for some of the above abbreviations are as follows: A) **Status titles (TITLE1)** indicate the social castes of referents whose names are marked with these titles: *i* is generally for people of low caste, while *ida* is reserved for royalty, high priests, deities, and the like. B) **Royal titles (TITLE2)** are typically used for royalty, which include *sang* for kings, *sri* for queens, and *raden* for their children. C) **Linker -n (LNK)** appears after vowel-final nouns in possession constructions. D) **“Definite” suffixes -e /-ne (DEF)**, which are structurally similar to the third person pronoun, are traditionally glossed as ‘the’.

compiled by the *Team Penyusun Buku-buku Sub. Bidang Satua Bali* [Book Compilation Group, Sector of Balinese *Satua*] (Warna (ed.) 1975) for use within the elementary school classroom. 21 *satua* were chosen from this compilation, i.e. those that had at least one numeral classifier construction with either *ukud* or *diri*. A total of 40 eligible tokens were found in the present data: 24 tokens with *ukud* and 16 with *diri*.

These tokens were then categorized into three main relational categories where a low vs. high status relationship would be present: CHILD (/PARENT), SUBJECT (/SOVEREIGN), and ANIMAL (/HUMAN). In addition, two miscellaneous categories were used: MISC LOW for cases where a status differential relationship is present but cannot be categorized under any of the above categories, and INDETERMINATE for cases where no status differential can be ascertained. 35 tokens had overt head nouns; 5 tokens had classifiers that were used anaphorically.

3 Balinese Numeral Classifier Constructions

It is useful at this point to consider the characteristics of the NP and numerals in Balinese, since both are extremely pertinent to the structural characteristics of Balinese numeral classifier constructions. After these two grammatical features have been described, the structural properties of Balinese numeral constructions will be discussed.

3.1 The Balinese NP

The NP in Balinese is generally head-initial. Nominal modifiers usually appear with the head noun in the following order: status titles >> royal titles >> N >> linker *-n* >> possessors >> “definite” suffixes >> quantifying expressions >> demonstratives.

3.2 Balinese Numerals

Balinese numerals, or more specifically numerals “two” through “seven”, have been traditionally described as being divided into three main paradigms (Kersten 1984, Barber 1977), each with its own set of functions. The first numeral paradigm is the *bentuk dasar* “basic forms”, with “basic” defined as the morphologically simplest of the three paradigms. The second is the *bentuk berduplikasi* “reduplicated forms”, which shows full reduplication for monosyllabic numerals (e.g. *pat* ‘four’ → *patpat*) and partial reduplication of the initial consonant plus an epenthetic vowel for polysyllabic numerals (e.g. *lima* ‘five’ → *lelima*). The third is the *bentuk berbunyi sengau* “nasalized forms”, where the numerals ‘two’ through ‘seven’ have an additional velar nasal suffix, except for ‘six’. Additionally, numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’ have high (H) and low (L) speech style variants. These three paradigms are illustrated in **Error! Reference source not found.** below:

Table 1: *The Three Numeral Paradigms in Balinese (following Kersten 1984).*

Num.	“Basic” Form	“Reduplicated” Form	“Nasalized” Form
‘1’	sa	-	[a-]
‘2’	dua (L) / kalih (H)	dadua (L) / kekalih (H)	duang (L), kalih (H)
‘3’	telu (L) / tiga (H)	tetelu (L) / tetiga (H)	telung (L), tigang (H)
‘4’	pat	patpat	petang
‘5’	lima	lelima	limang
‘6’	nem	nemnem	enem
‘7’	pitu	pepitu	pitung
‘8’	kutus	[akutus]	[kutus]
‘9’	sia	[asia]	[sia]
‘10’	dasa	[adasa]	[dasa]

The “nasalized” numerals are generally associated with numeral classifier constructions, as illustrated in (3)-(4):

- (3) kaget ada tingal-in-a anak luh
suddenly exist see-APPL-3 person female

bajang-bajang **pitung diri**
maiden-RED NAS:seven CL:PERSON

*“Suddenly there he [Rajapala] saw **seven maidens**” (I Rajapala)*

- (4) Ada tuturan satua anak makurenan,
exist story tale person MA-spouse

ngelah kone pianak luh-luh **duang diri**.
have it.is.said child female-RED NAS:two CL:PERSON

*“There is a story about a married person who had **two girls**” (Crukuk Kuning)*

As these examples show, the numerals associated with the numeral classifiers are of the nasalized numeral paradigm. However, in the present set of data, 31/40 tokens (77.5%) of *ukud/diri* tokens have the numeral “one” from this paradigm, which takes the form of the prefix *a-* rather than a form with the velar nasal suffix.

3.3 Structural Characteristics of Numeral Classifier Constructions

The internal structure of numeral classifier constructions in Balinese can generally be characterized by the following pattern: [N Num CL]. Thus, Balinese numeral classifiers are inserted into the syntactic slot that immediately follows the numeral, which is expected given the working definition of the numeral classifier above. In the data, this is the only attested pattern for tokens that have all three elements present (30 tokens). Examples of this pattern are shown in (5)-(6) below: