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

Edmundo Luna

University of California, Santa Barbara
<ecluna@umail.ucsb.edu>

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**" (**Crukcuk 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**"* (**Crukcuk 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:

(5)   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**"* (**Crukcuk Kuning**)

(6)   I   Sugih j-umah-ne   masiksikan,
            TITLE1 rich   LOC-house-3:POSS look.for.lice

            maan **kutu a-ukud**
            N:get louse NAS:one-CL:ANIMAL

*"Ms. Rich in her house looked for lice [in her own hair] and got **one louse**"*
(**I Sugih teken I Tiwas**)

        In cases where the head noun is not expressed, the ordering between the numeral and classifier is preserved, i.e. [Num CL], as seen in (7):

(7)   Ne   **a-diri**   buta, ane   lenan bongol.
            this.one NAS:one-CL:PERSON blind REL other deaf
"This one [guard] is blind, the other one is deaf" (**I Ketimun Mas**)

        In lieu of a numeral, a quantifier such as *saka* 'each' may be inserted into the numeral slot, as shown in (8):

(8)   "Akuda   ada Menaru dini kola lakar nguyak,
            how.many exist M.   here 1(L) will N:roll

            lakar tampah kola **saka ukud**."
            will slay   1(L) each CL:ANIMAL

*"However many Menaru (n.o. witch in the story) are here, I will roll them, I will slay **each one** [of them]."* (**I Cupak teken I Grantang**)

        It is also possible for a small class of quantity-modifying adverbs (e.g. *angan* 'a single one') to intervene between the head noun and the numeral classifier complex, as shown in (9):

(9)   Uling semengan mamencar
         since morning   fish.by.net

         tusing maan **be   angan a-ukud**.
         NEG   N:get fish single NAS:one-CL:ANIMAL

*"Since morning, [Cupak] went fishing and didn't get **a single fish**."* (**I Cupak teken I Grantang**)

Now that the necessary background information has been discussed, the following sections will present the distributional characteristics of the two animate classifiers and their correlations with the indexing of (low) social status.

4 Distributional Characteristics of *ukud* and *diri*

As the following two sections will show, the distributional characteristics of *ukud* and *diri* are quite similar, in that there is a tendency for both classifiers to introduce referents that bear a low social status relative to other participants within the stretches of narrative discourse in which they appear. (However, Balinese classifiers in general are rather rare in folktale narrative – Luna 2003 shows that they serve to introduce referents on the narrative discourse level.)

4.1 *Distribution of **ukud***

The classifier *ukud* is generally associated with a referent that is an animal, as shown in examples (10) and (11):

(10)   Tonden makelo   suba   teka i   rangsasa
          not.yet long.time already come TITLE1 demon

          ng-aba be   **kidang a-ukud**
          N-get   meat deer   NAS:one-CL:ANIMAL

*"Not long after that the demon came and took the meat of **one deer**"* (**Bulang Kuning**)

(11)   Mara keto,   saget   ma-kruyuk
          just   like.that suddenly MA-crow

          siap-e   a-ukud,
          chicken-DEF NAS:one-CL:ANIMAL

*"Just then, suddenly, **a chicken** crowed"* (**Tuung Kuning**)

However, it is possible for *ukud* to occur with human referents, as shown in (12) and (13):

(12)   Meme bapanne   demen pesan,
       mother father-LNK-3:POSS happy very

       wireh   ngelah **panak** mara **a-ukud**.
       because have   child   just NAS:one-CL:ANIMAL

*"His mother and father were very happy, because they now have **a child**."* (**I Cubling**)

(13)   Ada **dagang nasi**   **a-ukud**
       exist seller   cooked.rice NAS:one-CL:ANIMAL

       m-engkeb   ma-dagang.
       MA-be.hidden MA-sell

*"There is **a rice vendor** doing her trade in secret"* (**I Cupak teken I Grantang**)

Generally, situations where human referents or non-animal animate referents in general occur with *ukud* are in the minority compared to situations where the classifier is used with animal referents, as suggested by Table 2 below:

Table 2: *Token distribution of referent relations classified by **ukud**.*

Type of Relationship	No. Tokens
ANIMAL (/HUMAN)	15 (62%)
CHILD (/PARENT)	5 (21%)
SUBJECT (/SOVEREIGN)	0 (0%)
MISC LOW	3 (13%)
INDETERMINATE	1 (4%)
TOTAL	24 (100%)

The above figures show that *ukud* occurs most frequently with animal referents (15/24; 62%), which in itself is not surprising. However, the same classifier occurs with non-animal low-status referents in 8/24 tokens (5 CHILD (/PARENT) and 3 MISC LOW; 25%).

One may wonder why *ukud* would be used at all with animate referents that are not animals (which includes personified animals, as discussed below). For the five tokens where *ukud* classifies CHILD (/PARENT) referents, some extralinguistic commentary on Balinese culture must be considered here. For example, virtually all animals are considered to be separate from and inferior to humans in Balinese society. This manifests itself in ritual activities and prohibitions that ensure the separation of these two types of animates, such as the prohibition for babies to crawl "like animals" and the various religious rites of passage that rids humans of animal-like characteristics, such as tooth-filing (see Eiseman 1990 for a concise discussion on these cultural considerations). In general, children in Balinese society are traditionally viewed as not fully human when they are first born. As the

child ages, they gradually attain "human" status, which is marked by the religious rites of passage mentioned above. Thus, this cultural explanation would serve as one motivation for the possibility of classifying "children" with the *ukud* classifier, i.e. "children" are animate referents, but are not completely "human" from the perspective of Balinese culture and society; thus, by default, they may occur with *ukud*. Thus, this suggests that referents with *ukud* are generally of low social status, since both animals and children are traditionally viewed as occupying a lower status level than human adults in Balinese culture.

For the three MISC LOW tokens, *dagang nasi* '(cooked) rice vendor' is the referent for one token, while *Menaru* (a witch) is the referent for the other two. Two of these are shown below in (14) and (15):

(14)   Ada **dagang nasi**   **a-ukud**
            exist vendor cooked.rice NAS:one-CL:ANIMAL

            m-engkeb ma-dagang.
            MA-hide MA-sell

            Lantas *I*   *Cupak* ngojog
            then   TITLE1 C.   N-go.towards

            dagang nasi-ne   tur ma-takon,
            vendor cooked.rice-DEF and MA-ask

*"There was **a rice vendor** doing her business in secret. Then **Cupak** went towards the rice vendor and asked her…"* (**I Cupak teken I Grantang**)

(15)   "Bantas **Menaru a-ukud**
            around M.   NAS:one-CL:ANIMAL

            elah baan kola ng-itungang"
            easy by   1   N-count-APPL

*"I can easily reckon with **one Menaru**."* (**I Cupak teken I Grantang**)

In (14), the rice vendor is mentioned in conjunction with Cupak, one of the main characters of this particular story. At first glance, it is rather difficult to see why the vendor would occur with *ukud* since there is no obvious status differential between Cupak and the rice vendor. On the other hand, some versions of this story clarify some difference of status: Cupak and his fraternal twin brother Grantang were fathered by the Hindu gods Brahma and Vishnu, respectively (cf. Spies and de Zoete 1938[2002]:143-149). With this additional consideration, a clear distinction in social status is now apparent: the rice vendor can be shown to occupy a lower status than Cupak. In (15), the referent is the witch Menaru, which easily suggests a non-human classification. To sum up the distribution of referents with respect to *ukud*, the majority of the referents (23/24: 95.8%) are of low social status. Furthermore, there is no instance where *ukud* is used with a referent that has explicit high status.

4.2 *Distribution of* ***diri***

The classifier *diri* occurs with human referents, as shown in (16) and (17) below. However, unlike *ukud*, *diri* is only attested with human referents in the data:

(16)   I   Raksasa ngelah **juru ijeng** dadua.
        TITLE1 R.   have   guard   RED:two

        Ne **a-diri**   **buta**, ane   lenan bongol.
        this NAS:one-CL:PERSON blind REL other deaf

*"Raksasa had two **guards**. One was **blind [person]**, the other was deaf."* (**I Ketimun Mas**)

(17)   Ida   Sang   Prabu Daha ma-due   putra tetiga,
        TITLE1 TITLE2 P.   D.   MA-have child RED:three

        lanang kekalih   **istri   a-diri**.
        male   RED:two female NAS:one-CL:PERSON

*"The King of Daha had three children, two boys and **one girl**. (**I Dempu Awang**)*

At this point, one may want to hypothesize that since *ukud* appears with animate referents that have low status, any sort of truly human referent may be classified with *diri*. This appears not to be case, as seen in (18) and (19):

(18)   ***Ida   Sang   Prabu Daha*** [0] ma-due   putra tetiga,
        TITLE1 TITLE2 P.   D.   MA-have child RED:three

        lanang kekalih   **istri   a-diri**.
        male   RED:two female NAS:one-CL:PERSON

*"**The King of Daha [0]** had three children, two boys and **one girl**. (**I Dempu Awang**)*

(19)   ***Anak   luh   balu   [0]***
         person female widow 0

        ngelah **pianak luh   a-diri**.
        have   child   female NAS:one-CL:PERSON

        Adan-in-a   I   Ketimun Mas.
        name-APPL-3 TITLE1 K.   M.

        Ia mumah di   tanggu-n desa-ne,
        3 live   LOC tip-LNK village-DEF

desa   Dauh Yeh, paek teken alas.
village D.   Y.   near with forest

"[There was] **a widow** *[0] who had* **one girl [CL]**. *[She] was named Ketimun Mas. They lived in the outskirts of the village, the village of Dauh Yeh, near by the forest."* (**I Ketimun Mas**)

As is the case for *ukud*, the use of *diri* is optional. Furthermore, it seems that the types of referents that occur with *diri* are similar to those that occur with *ukud* (except for the fact that *diri* does not occur with animals), as illustrated in**Error! Reference source not found.**:

Table 3: *Token Distribution of Referent Relations Classified by* **diri.**

Type of Relationship	No. Tokens
ANIMAL (/HUMAN)	0 (0%)
CHILD (/PARENT)	7 (43%)
SUBJECT (/SOVEREIGN)	6 (38%)
MISC LOW	0 (0%)
INDETERMINATE	3 (19%)
TOTAL	16 (100%)

As the above figure shows, the majority of the referents with *diri* are either from the CHILD (/PARENT) (7/16: 43%) or SUBJECT (/SOVEREIGN) referent type (6/16: 38%). Therefore, the majority of these referents explicitly hold lower social status.

For the three indeterminate tokens, it is much more difficult to determine the social status of their associated referent (*widiadari* 'celestial nymphs') since these are non-human, and yet are "heavenly" (as opposed to demonic or malevolent) non-humans, as shown in (20):

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

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

        [SEVEN CLAUSES OMITTED]

        Uli   di   pengkeban I   Rajapala ng-lingling
        from LOC hiding.place TITLE1 R.   N-look.at

        saparipolah anak-e   luh-luh   ento.
        all.at.once person-DEF female-RED that

        Anake   luh-luh   ento jati-n-ne   *widiadari*.
        person-DEF female-RED that true-LNK-3:POSS celestial.nymph

[25 CLAUSES OMITTED]

Ane **a-diri** ka-tinggal-an ditu
REL NAS:one-CL:PERSON ADVERS-leave-ADVERS there

kebarat-kebirit ng-alih-alih-in klambi-n idane.
look.wildly N-take-RED-APPL dress-LNK 3(H):POSS

*"Suddenly there he [Rajapala] saw **seven maidens**. […] From his hiding place, Rajapala looked at all the women at once. The women turned out to be **widiadari** [celestial nymphs]. […] There was **one** [**nymph**] who was left there, looking frantically for her dress."* (**I Durma**)

These tokens with *widiadari* 'celestial nymph' may seem like counterexamples, in that these can be argued to be of a higher status than humans, even though they are expressed with *diri*. However, another thing to consider is that in this story, one of the nymphs ends up marrying a mortal, which brings her closer to "human" status. At that point, her social status relative to her future husband, I Rajapala, and other humans gradually becomes more ambiguous, which makes her status truly "indeterminate".

To sum up the distribution of referents with respect to *diri*, the majority of the referents (13/16 tokens; 81.3%) are either CHILD (/PARENT) or SUBJECT (/SOVEREIGN), i.e. they are referents of low social status. Again, like *ukud*, this figure shows that most referents occurring with *diri* occupy low, not high, social status.

In general, both classifiers appear to occur most frequently with referents that are explicitly of low status (33/40 tokens; 82.5%), as shown in
and Figure 1 below:

Table 4: *Token Distribution of Referent Relations Classified by **ukud** and **diri**.*

Type of Relationship	*ukud*	*diri*	TOTAL
ANIMAL (/HUMAN)	15	0	15
CHILD (/PARENT)	5	7	12
SUBJECT (/SOVEREIGN)	0	6	6
MISC LOW	3	0	3
INDETERMINATE	1	3	4
TOTAL	24	16	40

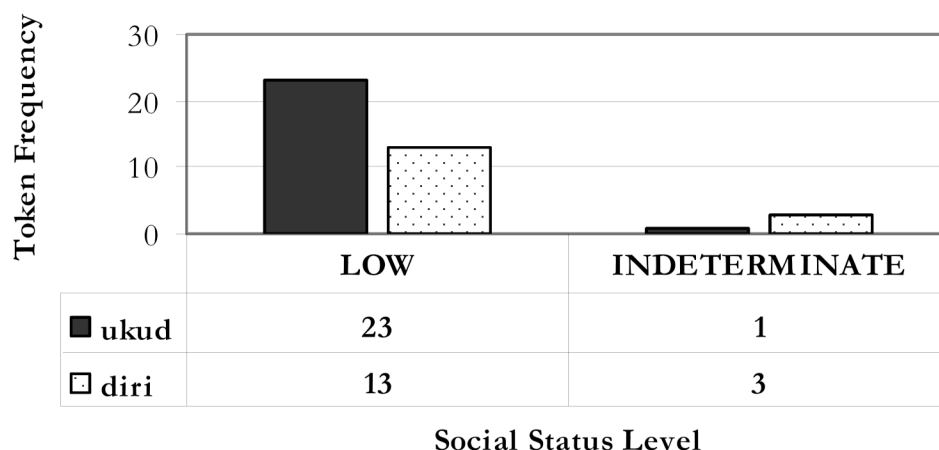| Token Frequency	LOW	INDETERMINATE
■ ukud	23	1
□ diri	13	3

Social Status Level

Figure 1: *Distribution of Referents with **ukud** and **diri** according to Social Status.*

5 Why Would Classifiers Index Low Status Referents?

At this point, one may want to pose the following question: why would Balinese animate classifiers be used to index characteristics such as low social status onto their associated referents? Firstly, it is important to reiterate that numeral classifier constructions are *not obligatory devices for quantifying referents*, as shown below in (21):

(21)   Ida   Sang   Prabu Daha ma-due   ***putra   tetiga***,
        TITLE1 TITLE2 P.   D.   MA-have child(H) RED:three(H)

        lanang kekalih   istri   a-diri.
        male(H) RED:two(H) female(H) NAS:one-CL:PERSON

*"The King of Daha had **three children**, two boys and **one girl**. (**I Dempu Awang**)*

In this case, three referents are being quantified (*putra* 'child', *lanang* 'male', and *istri* 'female'), and yet only one of these referents occurs with a numeral classifier construction; the other two referents are mentioned with the Balinese reduplicated numerals.

Secondly, as noted above, Balinese is known for its multi-layered socially sensitive lexicon (i.e. speech styles). In the same example above, there are many overt markers of the high speech style, not only from the referents expressed here (which are all high speech style forms), but also with the reduplicated numerals *kekalih* 'two' and *tetiga* 'three'. Thirdly, referents that explicitly have higher status are introduced into a stretch of narrative discourse by other means, such as names and kin terms. This is illustrated in (22)-(23) below:

(22) Ka-crita   jani **Ida**   **Raden Mantri Koripan**,
      3-tell.story now TITLE1 R.   M.   K.

      nuju   peteng   **ida** ma-linggih
      N:take.place afternoon 3(H) MA-sit(H)

      di   bale-kambang-e di   taman,
      LOC hall-floating-DEF LOC garden

*"Now the story is told about **Raden Mantri of Koripan**; during the afternoon, **he** was sitting in the floating hall in the garden"* (**I Dempu Awang**)

(23) Ada tutur-tuturan satua **Men**   **Cubling**.
       exist story   tale mother.of C.

      Ane muani m-adan   **Pan**   **Cubling**.
      REL male   MA-name father.of C.

      Panak-ne   m-adan   kone   I   Cubling.
      child-3:POSS MA-name it.is.said TITLE1 C.

*"There is a story about **Men Cubling**. [Her] husband was named **Pan Cubling**. [Her] child was named I Cubling.* (**Men Cubling**)

In these cases, the names are preceded by either a caste title, a royal title, or by a teknonym, which clearly indicate their higher social status, i.e. SOVEREIGN and PARENT, respectively.

Thus, these three factors, i.e. non-obligatory usage, explicit indications of social status elsewhere in the grammar, and referent introduction via names/kin terms, in conjunction with the discourse-based frequency presented above, appear to greatly influence the occurrence of numeral classifier constructions in Balinese narrative discourse.

6 Concluding Remarks

In this study, it was shown that the two animate numeral classifiers and their associated constructions in Balinese, *ukud* and *diri*, occur most frequently with referents that occupy a lower status relative to other referents within the same stretch of discourse, even though these classifiers are not specialized to do so. In relating these distributional facts with other factors, such as the non-obligatory usage of these constructions, the occurrence of status-sensitive speech styles, and the introduction of referents of higher social status referents through other means, it appears that these Balinese classifiers are not merely counting animate referents, but are indexing low social status simply by being used in a stretch of discourse. Thus, this study has validated the following points: 1) the occurrence of linguistic forms can be used to serve functions other than its "traditional/conventional" usage, e.g. indexing social status, even if these are not made explicit, and 2) these implicit functions are apparent only when discourse-based data are considered.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2000. *Classifiers: a typology of noun categorization devices.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Allan, Keith. 1977. Classifiers. *Language* 53.2: 285-311.

Barber, C. C. 1977. *A grammar of the Balinese language*, vol. 1-2. Aberdeen University Library, Occasional Publications 3. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University.

Cumming, Susanna. 1991. *Functional change: the case of Malay constituent order. Discourse perspectives on grammar 2*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Eiseman, Fred B., Jr. 1990. *Bali: sekala & niskala. Vol. 1: essays on religion, ritual, and art*. Hong Kong: Periplus Editions Ltd.

Errington, J. Joseph. 1988. *Structure and style in Javanese: a semiotic view of linguistic etiquette*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Keating, Elizabeth. 1997. Honorific possession: power and language in Pohnpei, Micronesia. *Language in Society* 26: 247-268.

Kersten, J. 1984. *Bahasa Bali*. Ende, Flores, Indonesia: Nusa Indah.

Lee, Michael. 1987. The cognitive basis of classifier systems. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 13: 395-407.

Luna, Edmundo C. 2003. *The discourse functions of numeral classifiers in Balinese and Minangkabau folktale narrative*. University of California, Santa Barbara: MA thesis.

Oh, Sang-ryong. 1994. *Korean numeral classifiers: semantics and universals*. Seoul, South Korea: Thaehaksa.

Spies, Walter and Beryl de Zoete. 1938[2002]. *Dance and drama in Bali* (reprint). Hong Kong: Periplus Editions Ltd.

Warna, Drs. I Wayan (ed.). 1975. *Satua Bali*. Denpasar, Indonesia: Team Penyusun Buku-Buku Sub. Bidang Satua Bali.