STYLE SHIFTING IN BALINESE DIALOGUE

A DISCOURSE BASED STUDY

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Abstract

This study aims at investigating the use of speech levels in Balinese dialogues. The data were taken from two types of discourse (j.e. spoken and written) representing three different situations (the use of speech levels based on caste distinction, the use of speech levels in 'everyday life' settings, and the use of speech levels in modern life settings). The findings firstly support the idea of unplanned and planned that are usually correlated with spoken and written discourse; and secondly reveal that the norms of using the speech levels are not applied purely in modern Society.

1.1 Introduction

Balinese has been widely known as a language with a speech level system. This means that a Balinese speaker has to adjust the level of his/her speech according to the status of the person s/he is talking with and also with the third person s/he is talking about Apart from this, the speech level is also affected by the situation (i.e formal or informal) and the relationship between the speakers (j.e. familiarity and unfamiliarity). Thus, when A is talking with B, the language will be different if A and B are intimates and of the same 'status'; or if A and B are intimates but B is of a higher 'status'; or if A and B are intimates but A of a higher 'status'; or if A and B are total strangers, etc. It is commonly believed that such differences mainly lie in the use of lexicon rather than grammatical features, and the choice of speech levels is mostly determined by the caste of the speakers, together with other aspects such as education, occupation, wealth, kinship, and age. In other words, the speech level system in Bali is closely related to the sociological structure of Balinese society. Keeler (1975:117) points out that speech level operation reflects the categorization of people into castes. Balinese society is divided into four castes: *Brahmana* ('priests and their descendants'); *Ksatria* ('the royal family and the soldiers with their descendants'); *Wesia* ('traders and their descendants'); and *Sudra* ('the commoners'); with the first being the highest and the last the lowest The lower castes usually use high level (HL) to the higher castes, and the higher castes either use the mid-level (ML) or the low level (LL) when they speak to people of the lower castes. This makes Balinese very complicated. Bateson (1949), as c by Hunter (1988:5), states that it is essential for the people involved in a conversation to know the caste of each other, and then each of them adjusts the level of their speech. In modem standard Balinese the high level language is also considered to be the 'formal language'. Thus, in a traditional meeting (the meetings in villages for example) the village chief will address the audience in the high level language.

However, I believe the norm for the choice of the speech levels today is not as 'strict' as it was in the past. This is due to factors such as the following: people from a lower caste sometimes occupy top positions in the society; education has Progressively changed the idea of 'highness

[1] I wish to thank Prof B. Blake for reading earlier drafts of this paper and offering insightful comments. Needless to say, the way I make use of his comments and the remaining errors in this paper are my own responsibility.

or lowness' in status and the use of Bahasa Indonesia as a 'neutral' language has spread, so that for example, a speaker can avoid using different 'language' in different situations. Thus, despite the fact that the caste system in Bali remains fully operative, which consequently means that the speech levels will still be widely used, 'style shiftings' in Balinese discourse will always Occur. The term style shiftings here is suggested by Saville-Troike (1982). It refers to a change in language varieties which involves changing only the code markers, variable features which are associated with social and cultural dimensions as age, sex, social class, and relationship between speakers. Saville-Troike's definition of style shiftings is applicable to describe the speech levels in Balinese, as each level is in fact a variety of Balinese language in general. The discussion in this paper will focus on this issue.

1.2 Purpose of this Study

This is a descriptive study mainly aimed at describing the style shiftings which occur in Balinese dialogues. The dialogues are compiled from two types of discourse: spoken and written discourse, which are usually associated with the idea of unplanned and planned discourse (cf. Milroy & Milroy 1985, and Halliday 1985). In other words, the purpose of this study is to answer the question: "How are speech levels adopted in dialogue (i.e. question-answer pairs) in different situations and different types of discourse?"

1.3 Data

The data to be analyzed are in the forms of questions and answer pairs, and are compiled from spoken and written discourse representing three different situations as made clear in table 1 .

1.4 Method of Analysis

To answer the question of how speech levels are used in spoken and written discourse, all the dialogues are identified in terms of the speech levels used. The use of speech levels in each dialogue is then compared with the accepted norms of the use of speech levels.

TABLE 1. **Sources of data**

The source of

Spoken Discourse	Written Discourse	Purpose
1. A record of 'Drama Gong' (Traditional play)	1. Series of traditional stories published in the 'Bali Post'	To represent the use of speech levels based on caste distinction
2. A video record of dialogues between a traditional healer & her patients	2. Short stories	To represent the use of speech levels in 'real' life settings
3. A record of dialogues among students studying in Melbourne	3 A modern Balinese novel	To represent the use of Balinese in 'modern' settings

2.1 Balinese Speech Level System

Archaeological evidence shows that the contact between Javanese and Balinese had occurred since the eighth century AD (cf. Clynes 1989). It is believed that the Mataram Java Kingdom which was based in Java possibly controlled Bali since that time. A later important piece of evidence of the 'bond' between the two islands is pointed out by Goris (1954), as cited in Clynes (1989). According to this evidence, in the eleventh century Javanese took over completely as the language of royal edicts in Java and Bali. In addition, Java-Bali royal marriages in this period culturally and linguistically strengthen the link between the two islands.

There are two hypotheses on the origin of the Balinese speech level system: first, that Balinese 'borrowed' the Javanese speech level system; and second, it developed independently from the Javanese one. According to the first hypothesis, before the contact between Java and Bali occurred, Balinese did not ha\le speech levels. Studies supporting this are abundant. Clynes (1989) for instance points out that both Javanese and Balinese ha\le similar classification of the speech level system, as shown in table 2 below.

TABLE 2. Classification of speech levels in Javanese and Balinese

Level	Javanese	Balinese
Low (LL)	Ngoko	Basa Biasa
Medium (ML)	Madya	Madia
	Kromo:	Basa Alus:
High (Hl)	a) Kromo Inggil	a) Basa Alus Singgih
	b) Kromo Andep	b) Basa Alus Sor

This table reveals that beside having similar speech level classification, both languages have sub-categorization within the HL: Firstly, *Kromo Inggil* (Javanese) or *Basa Alus Singgih* (Balinese) refers to the speech level exclusively used to show special respect to the addressee or to a highly respected third person; and secondly, *Kromo Andep* (Javanese) or *Basa Alus Sor* (Balinese) refers to the speech level used to 'humble' oneself in deference to the second person or a third person, or in some cases, the second person, in deference to a third person.

The second hypothesis seems to be less popular that the first. According to this hypothesis, a large number of Sanskrit terms in the Old Balinese inscriptions were used in connection with the king. The influence of Sanskrit, according to those who support this hypothesis (cf. Zurbuchen 1987), had been found in inscriptions dated before the contact between Javanese and Balinese occurred. In other words, Balinese already had a speech level system prior to the contact between the two' islands because the language used in connection with the king was different from the language used in connection with common people.

Clynes (1989) who supports the first hypothesis challenges the second one. According to this writer, the texts from which the idea that Sanskrit was found to be used only in connection with the king (so that it relates to the HL), amount to little more than ten to eleven thousand words. This amount of data is not sufficient to draw such a conclusion. It is true that around 20% to 25% of the words are Sanskrit borrowings, but those are used to refer to people of all

stations: rulers, court officials, priests, villagers, merchants, thieves; as well as their actions and their possessions such as animals, plants, food, and so on. Thus, even though Sanskrit does occur in the Hl Modem Balinese (see below). it is more reasonable to accept that Balinese speech level system is borrowed from Javanese as Clynes further states:

> The Balinese borrowed not merely lexical items, but fully functioning system of speech level from the Javanese (Clynes 1989:120).

Clynes, from this quotation, is not only certain that Balinese borrowed the Javanese speech level system, but it also borrowed a great deal of lexical items. (cf. Keeler 1975, Suhamo 1982, Hunter 1988). In the following section, the comparison between the most striking levels: the LL and the HL will be made and the idea that the speech levels only differ lexically from each other will be argued against. It must be borne in mind that Balinese (as Javanese) has only a small number of specifically ML words. This level of speech usually combines the LL and the HL. The most important ML word that will frequently appears in the data is the first person pronoun ***tiang.***

2.2 LL vs HL Balinese

Extensive linguistic studies on Balinese have found that speech levels are not merely lexically different Keeler (1975:86) points out that speech levels mean not only the use of different words but also affixes. Hunter (1988:176) further states that in addition to being lexically different, speech levels differ in the use of pronominal, deictic, as well as prepositional forms. The comparison between the LL and the HL in the following sections focus on these aspects.

2.2.1 Lexicon

According to Zurbuchen (1987:16), almost all the lexical items from the Old Balinese inscriptions that are still in use in Modem Balinese are of the 'lower' common register. This statement implicitly supports the idea that the 'higher' registers are derived from other languages (i.e. either Old Javanese or Sanskrit).

Tingen (1986) compiles a list of 'everyday words' that ha\le two variants in Modem Balinese. He categorizes the words into: kinship terms (12), parts of the body (112), things worn or put on the body (21), words about the house and things in it (40), words for food (27), animals (31), words indicating time (34), and a 'left over category' including adjectives, verbs and nouns (511). This number only accounts for less than 5% of the whole Balinese lexicon. Howe\ler, it is interesting to note that some II words have a choice in their HL counterparts, e.g.

LL	HL	English gloss
matanai	**surya, arka, baskara, raditia, rawi**	sun
cunguh	**irung, ungasan, grana**	nose
alis	**wimba, tarja, siratmaya**	eyebrow
kedis	**paksi, manuk**	bird
adan	**wasta, parab, biseka**	name
alas	**wana, kanana, arania**	forest
mati	**padem, seda, palatra, lebar, kantaka, lampus**	dead

The words listed above show that, despite the overall small size of HL lexicon in comparison with the LL lexicon, that some LL words have a choice in their HL counterparts. For instance, to ask a stranger where he got a bird from, one has a choice of either:

(1)	**Ring**	**dija**	**jero**	**polih**	**paksine**	**punika?**
	PREP	where	2nd	get	bird-DEF	DEM
(2)	**Ring**	**dija**	**jero**	**polih**	**manuke**	**punilca?**
	PREP	where	2nd	get	bird-DEF	DEM

'Where did you get the bird from?'

Both sentences (1) and (2) express exactly the same meaning. The HL words ***paksi*** (Sanskrit) and ***manut*** (Old Javanese) together merge into the Hl lexicon. Thus, it would seem that the idea that one language, either Sanskrit or Old Javanese, occupies one 'genre' (i.e. one le\lel of speech) in Balinese needs to be reexamined.

2.2.2 Affixes

In all Balinese grammar books consulted for this study, there are no separate descriptions of the LL and HL in terms of morphological processes. Tinggen's close readings of the most current Balinese grammar books found that all the authors share the same idea that there are eight suffixes (**-a, -an, -ang, -in, -e, -man,, -wan,** and **-wati**); and six confixes (**pa-an, pa-ang, pa-in, ma-an, ka-an, bra-an**). However, there are various ideas on the number and the type of prefixes in Balinese. To demonstrate this, consider the following table which lists the titles of Balinese grammar books and the number as well as the detail of prefixes they found in Balinese.

TABLE 3. **Balinese grammar books & idea of the number of prefixes in Balinese**

Title of book	Number of prefixes	Details
Pasang Aksara Bali (PAB)	19	***a-, pa-, maka-, ka-, pati-, para-, ma-, kapi-, sa-, kami-, kuma-, pari-, su-, pi-, sua-, bra-, dur-, nir-, upa-,***
Tata Bahasa Bali (TBB)	13	***N-, ma-, ka-, pi-, sa-, a, pra-, pari- pati- saka-, kuma-, maka-, nir-***
Garis-garis gesar Tata Bahasa Bali (GBTBB)	10	***pa-, pi-, ma-, ka-, sa-, saka-, mula-, maka-, pati-, kuma***
Kamus Bali-Indonesia (KBI)	13	***N-, ma-, ka-, pa-, pi-, para-, pari-, maka-, pati- pra-, kuma saka-, sa-***
Pacraken (P)	14	***a-, pa-, ka-, ma-, sa-, para-, pari-, pi-, maka-, kuma-, su-, pra-, kami-, kapi-***
Panuntun Pelajaran Kakawin (PPK)	14	***a-, ka-, sa-, ma-, pa-, para-, nir-, nis- dur-, dus-, su-, sua-, bra-, pra-,***
Pedoman Perubahan Ejaan Bahasa Ba1i Dengan Huruf Latin & Huruf Bali (PPEBB)	18	***a-, ka-, ma-, sa-, pa-, di-, para-, pra-, su-, sua-, nir-, dur-, kami-, maka-, pari-, sua-, pri-, pra-***

Table 3 reveals that there is no agreement yet on the number and type of prefixes in Balinese. If all the different prefixes are listed, there are in fact 21 of them altogether. This lack of agreement may be due to the variety of sources from which the data were taken. Some of the sources must be materials using languages (i.e. Sanskrit and Old Javanese or Kawi) which are not commonly used in Balinese everyday life. For instance, 'kakawin' (as in PPK), the religious verses which exclusively use old Javanese language or Kawi, and are orally performed and translated into the HL is not in fact a good source of data from which the idea of the types and the number of affixes in Balinese can be taken. This kind material cannot be understood by common people if it is not translated in Balinese. Some words of this original material do occur in the Balinese lexicon, but to consider that the morphological processes occurring in the original text are applicable to Balinese is not reasonable. For this reason, the affixes compared here are those listed in TBB, the grammar book which is written by the authorized committee in Bali Province. (It would seem that an exclusive study on the LL and HL morphology needs to be done.)

Except for some affixes (e.g. ***pati-***, and ***kuma-, .-a/-ida, bra-an***), this study assumes that all affixes that can be attached to the LL lexicon can also be attached to the HL without changing the meaning carried by the affixation process. A rough illustration of this is given in the following table:

TABLE 4. Affixes which are shared by the LL and HL Affixes LL Hl

Affixes	LL	HL	English
N-	**ng**adep	**ng**adol	to sell
pa-	**pa**takon	**pa**taken	question
ma-	**ma**ubad	**ma**ramba	to medicate
ka-	**ka**tebek	**ka**tuwek	be stabbed (passive)
sa-	**sa**inget	**sa**eling	as long as one can remember
a-	**a**besik	**a**siki	one
pari-	**pari**unduk	**pari**indik	the problem
pati-	**pati**grape	?	touch (repeatedly)
maka-	**maka**dadua	**maka**kalih	both
saka-	**saka**besik	**saka**siki	one by one
kuma-	**kuma**nyama	?	LIKE siblings
-ang	neka**ang**	ngarauh**ang**	to MAKE come
-an	gede**an**	ageng**an**	big-COMP
-in	isin**in**	daging**in**	to fill in
-e/-ne	unduk**e**	indik**e**	problem-DEF
	baju**ne**	klambi**ne**	shin-DEF
pa-an	**pa**sare**an**	**pa**kolem**an**	the place to sleep
ka-an	**ka**luwung**an**	**ka**luwih**an**	the goodness
ma-an	**ma**reren	**ma**rari**an**	to rest
bra-an	**bra**gedeg**an**	?	easily annoyed

Table 4 illustrates that the LL and HL mainly differ on lexical ground rather than affixes. (Prefix ***ka-*** which is shared by the LL and the HL is more frequently used in the HL).

2.2.3 Pronominal System

Unlike other languages such as Ute which has a very 'neat' pronominal system (see Givon 1984), both HL and LL Balinese do not have specific terms for singular vs plural personal pronouns, nor different terms for gender. It is only in LL that the second person singular is differentiated in terms of gender, as shown in the following table.

TABLE 5. **LL and HL personal pronouns in Balinese**

	LL	M L	HL
1st person	***cang*** ***icang*** ***kai*** ***ake*** ***(a)wake***	***tiang***	***titiang***
2nd person	***cai*** *(male)* ***nyai*** **female)* ***iba***	***ragane***	***ratu*** *jero(ne)*
3rd person	***ia***	***dane*** ***ipun***	ida

Table 5 reveals that the LL has more words for the first and second person pronouns than the HL. It is also clear that Balinese does not have plural pronouns. To indicate the plural, a word indicating number or a word meaning 'all' is used.

In Balinese literature, a king usually uses first person pronouns ***gelah*** or ***nira*** to refer to himself. These two pronouns are exclusively used by the kings. In addition to this, the pronominal system in Balinese may also use kinship tern For instance the kin term memr (ll) 'mother' can also be used as 1st and 2nd person pronouns as demonstrated in the following examples:

(3) ***Baang meme nyilih pipise malu, Man.***
give mother-1st borrow money first name
'let me (mother) borrow the money first, Nyoman.'

(4) ***Icang lakar ngalemeng nengokin meme mai***
1st FUT every day visit-LOC mother-2nd here
'I will visit you (mother) every day here.'

The use of kinship terms for pronouns is a common feature in Balinese, especially in spoken discourse. Unlike English, which might use kin terms for first person pronouns only on a specific occasion (for instance, when it mother speaks to her little child 'Mummy will take you to the zoo'), in Balinese the use of the kin term for this context is normal, or in other words, has a wider scope of use.

Another pronoun that is not included in Table 5 and will irequently oca in the data is .n.lc. This pronoun is unique, because it can refer to man different entities, for instance: humans (HUM) and proper nouns (PN), e.g.

(5) ***Anak*** ***pada*** ***maboros*** ***ka*** ***alase*** (LL)
HUM(3rd) PL to hunt PREP forest-DEF
'They all went hunting in the forest'

(6) ***Bajun*** ***memene*** ***jemuh*** ***tiang,*** ***anak*** ***belus.*** (ML)
dress mother (2nd) dry (under the sun) 1st PN wet
'I put your dress under the sun to dry, it is wet.'

In sentence (5) above ***anak*** is used as a third person pronoun, and the word ***pada*** indicates that the third person is plural. In (6) ***tiang*** marks the sentence as ML, while ***anak*** refers to the NP ***bajun memene***, and in (7) ***anak*** represents the word 'because'. In the data, we will see other functions of ***anak***. It must be borne in mind that this 'pronoun' can be used 'universally' both in the LL and the HL.

2.2.4 Deidic terms

Deixis has been defined as devices that link the utterance with its spatiotemporal and personal context. (ct. Tans 1980:1). One part of deixis which is claimed to have two variants in Balinese (i.e. II and Hl variants) is the demonstrative. The following table clearly illustrates this.

TABLE 6. **Deidic terms of demonstratives in LL and HL Balinese**

LL	HL	English gloss
ene	***puniki***	this
ento	***punika***	that
kene	***sapunki***	like this
keto	***sapunika***	like that
dini	***driki***	here
ditu	***drika***	there
mai	***mriki***	come here
kema	***mrika***	come there

2.2.5 Prepositional Forms

The prepositional system in the HL Balinese is interesting since in some cases it neutralizes several oppositions maintained in the LL. An example of this is given by Hunter (1988:176) who points out that the preposition ***ring*** in the HL neutralizes the distinction between locative markers such as ***j-.*** markers indicating destinations such as ***di*** and ***ka***, and the grammatical preposition ***teken***. To make this clear, consider the following examples.

(8) a. Ia pules j-umah. (LL)
3rd sleep LOC-home ,

b. Ida makolem ring puri. (HL)
3rd sleep PREP home
'S/he is sleeping at home.

In sentence (8a) the locative marker ***j-***, which is exclusively used with NP ***umah***, carries a locative meaning ('at home'). This is represented by ***ring*** in the HL.

(9) a. ***Bapan icange negak di duri.*** (LL)
father 1st- POSS sit PREP behind

b. ***Ajin titiange melinggih ring pungkur***. (HL)
father 1st- POSS sit LOC behind
'My father is sitting at the back.'

Sentences (9a) and (9b) reveal that all the words have low and high varial including the preposition forms indicating place (di → rin,).

(10) a. ***Kema jemak iban-iban ka paon. (LL)***
IMP take 2nd-REFL PREP kitchen

b. ***Mrika ambil raga-raga ring pawaregan. (HL)***
IMP take 2nd- REFL PREP kitchen
'Please go to the kitchen and help yourself.'

In sentence (10b) the destination marker ***ka*** in the LL is also represented by ***ring*** in the HL.

(11) a. ***I meme gedeg pesan teken icang*** (LL)
ART mother angry very PREP 1st

b. ***I biang kalintang duka ring titiang*** (HL)
ART mother very angry PREP 1st
'Mother is very angry with me.'

Sentence (11 b), again, reveals the use of ***ring*** in the HL to represent prepositional form ***teken*** in the LL. Thus, it is clear that some prepositional forms in the LL (i.e. ***j-, di, ka***, and ***teken***) are neutralized in the form of ***ring*** in the HL. On the other hand, the preposition ***teken*** which corresponds to 'by' in the adjunct phrase of an English Passive is expressed in two ways in the HL: ***antuk*** and ***olih***.

(12) a. ***Surate bacan-a (teken i bapa).*** (LL)
letter-DEF read-3rd PREP ART father

b. ***Sewalapatrane ka-wacen (antuk/olih i aji).*** (HL)
letter- DEF PASS-read PREP ART father
'The letter is read by father.'

In the HL sentence (12b) above either of the words ***antuk*** and ***olih*** can be used to represent the LL preposition **teken**.

Up to this point we have learned that the LL and Hl do not only differ in terms of lexicon (as has been widely believed), but they also differ in terms in the use of function words such as prepositional forms, deictic terms and pronominal system.

3.1 Data Analysis

This section will focus on how style shifting occurs in spoken and written discourse. The analysis will also be aimed at discovering whether there is any difference in the pattern of shifting in the two types of discourse.

3.1.1 Spoken Discourse

It seems that the spoken discourse taken from three different sources (table 1) shares a specific characteristic, that is, this type of discourse uses a great deal of short forms of deictic terms (esp. demonstrative terms), personal pronouns and kin terms, negations, and some words which can be categorized as 'panicles' (since they do not have lexical meanings). The short forms found in the spoken data are listed in Table 7.

TABLE 7. **Short forms used in spoken discourse and their 'origins'**

	Short Forms	Origin	Level	Engllish
Demonstrative	nika	punika	HL	'that'
	niki	puniki	HL	'this'
	ne	ene	LL	'this'
	to	ento	LL	'that'
Pronoun	ci	cai	LL	'2nd-male'
	da	ida	HL	'3rd'
Tense/Aspect	ba	suba	LL	'PERF'
	kar/kal	lakar	LL	'FUT'
	nu	enu	LL	'still'
Negation	ten	nenten	HL	'no'
	sing	tusing	LL	'no'
	da	eda	LL	'don't'
Question Word	cen	encen	LL	'where'
	kuda	akuda	LL	'how many'
Others	ja	saja	LL	see data
	ben	baan	LL	see data
	nak	anak	HL/LL	see data

3.1.2 The Use of Speech Level in Spoken Discourse

It has been stated earlier that the LL and HL variants are mostly found in open classes of lexicon in general and other aspects namely: deictic terms, pronominal system, and the prepositional forms. Thus, as might be expected, the shiftings mostly occur in those aspects. In each of the following dialogues, words in bold indicate the HL, underlining indicates the ML and no mark is used to indicate the LL.

(13) DIALOGUE 1

Old Man: ***Mangkin, mangkin, mangkin, nggih***
wait wait wait yes

indik catur Wangsane nak kenken ragane puniki
about four group (caste) HUM how 2nd DEM
'Well, what caste do you belong to?'

Girl 1: ***Catur wangsan tiange?*** ***Tiang nak sudra.***
four group 1st- DEF 1st HUM name of caste
'My caste? I belong to sudra caste (ordinary people)'.

Old man: ***Men,*** ***nyen*** ***adan*** ***ceninge?***
FILL who name child (2nd)- DEF
'And, what is your name?'

Girl 1: ***Tiang*** ***mawuta*** ***Ni Luh Madu Raras.***
1st name(TR) name
'My name is Ni Luh Madu Raras'.

In the conversation between an old man and a girl, who have not met before the old man opened the conversation by asking the girl about her caste. The old man used the ML which is characterized by the combination of the LL ***kenken*** the specific ML pronoun ***ragane***, and the HL ***mangkin*** (a discourse filler), ***nggih*** (yes), ***indik*** (about), and ***puniki*** (demonstrative). The girl answered the question using the same level of speech (ML) which is characterized by the 1st person pronoun ***tiang***. The style shifting occurred after the caste of both of them was identified. The old man used the LL since the girl came from the same caste as he and she was younger, but the girl kept her ML because the man is older.

(14) DIALOGUE 2

Queen: ***Dadi*** ***ada*** ***dini*** ***i*** ***dewa*** ***di*** ***tengah*** ***alase***
why exist DEM ART child PREP middle forest
yuktine ***cening*** ***lakar*** ***lunga*** ***kija?***
actually child FUT go where
'Why are you here in the middle of the forest;
where are you going actually?'

Prince: ***Pacang*** ***ngaruruh*** ***putran*** ***ibune*** ***puniki***
FUT look for chiled-POSS mother DEM
'I am looking for your daughter'.

The conversation in Dialogue 2 occurred between a queen and a prince from different kingdoms who knew each other. The queen addressed the prince in the ML (i.e. by using the combination of the HL words ***i dewa*** (child), ***yuktine*** (short form of ***sayuakti*** meaning 'actually', and ***lunga kija*** (question word meaning 'go where?'); and the LL words ***dadi*** (why), ***ada*** (exist), ***dini*** (demonstrative), ***di tengah alase*** (in the middle of the forest); but the prince, since he was younger, responded in the HL.

The two dialogues taken from the "Drama Gong" performance reveal that the speech level system is adopted in accordance with the 'theoretical rules' that:

1. low caste people must use the Hl to higher caste people.
2. A younger person usually speaks in a 'higher level of speech' to someone older of the same caste. If the older person speaks in the LL. the younger will respond in the ML, but if the older person speaks in the ML, the younger will use the HL. (For the details of the 'rules', see Sutjiati Beratha 1992:36-40).

The 'deviation' of the use of speech levels from the rules seems to occur in the data recorded from the Balinese used in 'real' life or, in other words, spontaneous dialogues (see sources 2 and 3). This is illustrated in dialogue 3 to 5 below.

DIALOGUE 3

Healer: ***Rabine cen tu?***
spouse where 2nd
'Where is your wife?'

Client 1: ***Nak ten milu mangkin mriki***
HUM NEG follow now DEM
'She is not coming now.'

The healer was an ordinary person (sudra caste), and the client came from the highest caste (Brahmana caste). According to the rules, the healer must speak in the HL to the client, but she used the combination of the HL ***rabine*** and ***tu*** and the LL ***cen*** instead. Thus, the healer 'shifted', from the HL to the ML in this context. The client, on the other hand, conforms to the rules by using the ML to a stranger.

(16) DIALOGUE 4

Healer: ***Sungkan kenken to?***
sick how DEM
'What illness is that?'

Client 2: ***Ten uning.***
NEG know
'I don't know.'

Again, the healer addressed her client whom she had never met before in the combination of HL .***sungkan*** and the LL ***kenken***, and ***to***. The client responded in the HL.

(17) DIALOGUE 5

Student 3 : *Ajak kuda manyama, De?*
together how many sibling(ITR) name
'How many brothers and sisters do you ha\lel'

Student 4: *Ajak dasa.*
together ten
'Ten altogether.'

Student 3: *Ditu kan ada masih nak triwangsa a?*
DEM EMP exist also HUM aristocrat yes ,
There are also aristocratic people there, aren't there?'

Student 4: *O ada pidan mangkunne anak da bagus.*
exist PAST temple leader HUM highest caste
'0 yes, there are. The former temple leader came from the highest caste.'

Student 3: *Yen dadi mangku kena urunan*?
if become temple leader charge (PASS) donation
'Is a temple leader supposed to give donationl'

Student 4: Yen urunan resmi sing tawang la
if donation formal NEG know 3rd
'If a formal donation, I don't know. He is a generous person.'

Dialogue 5 was a conversation between 'two friends'. Both came from the sudra caste. As might be expected, they used the LL when the conversation was about themselves. However, when they were supposed to shift to the HL as soon as the topic was about a third person who was from the highest caste, they continued on using the LL instead. ***la nak sosial jelemanene*** consists of LL words. Notice that the words ***social*** and ***resmi*** are borrowed terms from Bahasa Indonesia.

Up to this point, we have seen that spoken discourse is not only characterized by the use of a great deal of 'short forms' but also by the 'deviation' from the accepted rules on the use of speech levels in Balinese society.

3.2 Written Discourse

In general, written discourse has similar characteristics to spoken discourse in terms of the pattern of questioning as well as answering. However, in comparison with spoken discourse, written discourse uses significantly fewer soon forms.

3.2.1 The Use of Speech Levels in Written Discourse

Apart from being different from spoken discourse in terms of the use of short forms, written discourse shows less frequency of 'deviation' from the rules of the use of speech levels. This is clearly demonstrated in the following data.

(18) DIALOGUE 6

King:	*Cai*	*Clemen*	*teken*	*kamen,*	*pipis,*	*mas*	*muah*	*ane*	*len-lenan?*
	2nd	like	PREP	clothes	money	gold	and	REL	others
	'Do you like clothes, money, gold, and the likesl'								
Belog:	*Inggih*	*Ratu*	*Dewagung*	*titiang*	*nenten*	*nunas*	*sane*	*kenten-kenten*	
	(filler)	2nd	highness	1st	NEG	cadge	REL	like that.	
	'Oh your Highness, I do not want things like that.'								

In dialogue 6, it is clear that the king, as the most respected person spoke in the II to a commoner, and the ordinary person responded exclusively in the HL.

(19) DIALOGUE 7

Wife:	*Apa*	*sing*	*perlu*	*aturin*	*ida*	*rauh*	*tedun*	*mai?*
	what	NEG	need	tell-LOC	3rd	come	down	here
	'Isn't it necessary to ask him to come down here?'							
Husband:	Ah	depin,	**matur**	akepto	dogen	**ida**		
	(filler)	NEG	say	that	only	3rd		
	suba	**uning**	teken	banan	beline.			
	already	know	PREP	condition	brother (1st)-DEF			
	'No, just say that, he already knows about my condition.'							

In the question, the wife used LL words when asking her husband whether they needed to ask the third person to come to their house. As soon- as she needed to mention the third person who was from the highest caste, all the words referring to the third person shifted to the HL (i.e. ***aturin, ida, rauh, tendun***). In answering the question the husband uses the LL but then switched to the 3rd person pronoun ***ida*** and the verb ***uning.***

(20) DIALOGUE 8

Teacher: *Ento belin Nyomanne?*
DEM brother-POSS name- DEF
'Is that your brother?'

Nyoman: ***Inggih, ipun sampun*** pak
yes 3rd (DEFR) EMP sir
'Yes he is, sir.'

Dialogue 8 reveals a conversation between a teacher and a student naned *Nyoman*. The teacher, as a 'respected person', used the LL to the student. The student, on the other hand, used the HL to show his respect to his teacher. To refer to his own brother, the student used a deferential third person pronoun ***ipun***. The word ***pak***, which is commonly used to address a respected mature male second person, is borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia. Notice also, that the lull form of ***nggih*** was used by the student (i.e. ***inggih***).

(21) DIALOGUE 9:

Aunt: ***Kenken sujatinne keneh Ayune teken I Nyoroman?***
how actually mind name-POSS PREP ART name
'How actually is your relationship with Nyoman?

Ayu: ***Ten sapunapi-sapunapi, bi. Biasa dogen tiang marimp***
NEG how aunt usual only 1st friend (ITR)
'Nothing Special, aunty. We are just friends.'

In dialogue 9 we can see that an aunt, as an older family member speaking to a younger family member, spoke in the LL to her niece. The niece, on the other hand, used the ML to respond.

(22) DIALOGUE 10

Man 1 : ***Ih beli nang Bangsing uli dija busan beli***
hi brother (2nd) name from where before brother
'Hi brother (nang Bangsing) where have you been?'

Man 2: ***0, beli jumah ja, nyadia beli mai tekening cai***
brother (1st) home EMP in purpose 1st DEM toward 2nd
'Well, I've been at home, I come here on purpose to see you,

Man 1 and Man 2 in the dialogue above ire friends. Since Man 2 is older than Man 1, Man 1 addressed Man 2 with the kin term ***beli*** 'brother'. However, since they ire friends, they used the LL.

(23) DIALOGUE 11

Man 3: ***Napi awanan tiange kena danda?***
what reason 1st get (PASS) fine
'Why am I fined?'

Village Chief: ***Ento baan caine tuara ngidepang arah-arahe***
DEM because 2nd NEG follow notice-DEF
ngalih kayu ka gunung.
seek for wood PREP mountain
'That was because you did not follow the notice to seek woods in the mountain.'

The man in dialogue 11 used the ML, which is characterized by the first person pronoun ***tiang,*** but the village chief, as a respected person in the society, used the LL to the man even though the man may have been older than the chief.

Dialogues 6-11 reveal that speech levels are 'neatly used' according to the accepted rules in Balinese society. Dialogue 6 is a conversation between the king and a commoner. According to the rules, the king spoke in the LL, and the commoner had to speak in 'pure' HL. In dialogue 6, this rule is 'perfectly applied'. In dialogue 7, a husband and his wife used the LL to speak to each other. However, as soon as the topic changed and they must speak about a third person who is from the highest caste, their speech level shifted to the HL. They used the HL lexicon for the third person pronoun, and other words referring to the third persons they talked about. In dialogue 8, a teacher spoke in the LL to his student; and the student answered in the HL. When the student needed to mention his brother, he used the 'humble' third person pronoun ***ipun***. This dialogue conforms to the rules of the use of speech level as well. Dialogues 9, 10 and 11 also reveal the conformity of the rules because the 'aunt' as an older family member was addressed in the ML by her niece (dialogue 9); two friends in dialogue 1O, used the LL to each other; and in Dialogue 11, an 'ordinary person' spoke in the ML to his village chief, and the village chief responded in the LL.

4. Conclusion

In general, we can see that in both spoken and written discourse, style shiftings are mostly motivated by the relative status of the participants in the conversations and also the status of any third person who may be the topic of conversation. According to the data. these shiftings can be identified from the use of personal pronouns, deictic terms, and verbs referring to the 'respected' participants or third persons. In comparison with spoken discourse, in which deviations from the rules of the use of speech levels frequently occur (see dialogues 3,4, and 5), written discourse always seems to conform to the rules. Even in source 3 of the written discourse, which represents the use of speech level in modem Balinese, the rules are 'perfectly applied'. In spoken discourse, the deviations mostly occur in the data taken from the real life use of speech levels (source 2 and 3). The findings that the rules of the use of speech levels are 'purely applied in the written discourse, and 'deviated' in the spoken discourse, I think, support the idea of 'unplanned' and 'planned; that are usually applied to the two types of discourse. In other words, a writer usually brings in his/her mind the idea of 'correctness' that is realized by redrafting and rereading what s/he wrote; while on the other hand, a speaker normally has a shorter time to produce as well as to process hislher speech. Thus, to conclude, style shiftings in spoken and written discourse are similar in the way that they are predominantly motivated by the 'status' of the participants involved in a conversation and the 'status' of the third person who is the topic of the conversation. However, the two types of discourse differ in at least two ways: firstly, spoken discourse tends to use more short forms of negation, deictic terms, pronouns, etc. (see table 8 above) than written discourse; and secondly, the rules of the use of speech levels are purely applied' in written discourse, while in spoken discourse, these rules are sometimes 'broken'. .

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