

# The Linguistic Ecology of Lombok, eastern Indonesia

Peter K. Austin

Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics

University of Melbourne. Vic 3010 Australia

Published as: Austin, Peter K. 2003. The Linguistic Ecology of Lombok. <i>PELBBA</i> 16, 165-198.
---

## Abstract

This paper is a discussion of the language ecology of the island of Lombok in eastern Indonesia, outlining the languages, dialects, and sociolects spoken there and their relationships to other speech varieties. Lombok shows a high degree of linguistic complexity, with layers of linguistic variation that is difficult to accommodate within sociolinguistic models such as diglossia. We will show that this is due to its history, and its geographical position between Bali to the west and Sumbawa and the Sunda Islands to the east — in many ways Lombok represents a transition zone, especially in areas of its morphosyntax. The paper finishes with some observations about current developments on Lombok and some speculations about the future.

## 1. Lombok and Sumbawa Research Project

Since 1995 I have been engaged in an international collaborative project working on the language situation on Lombok and the neighbouring island of Sumbawa, Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia. From 1998-2000 this work was supported by a research grant from the Australian Research Council, a collaborative grant from the University of Melbourne, a three-month fellowship from the DAAD (Deutsche Akademischer Austauschdienst) and Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt. From September 2002 I will hold a Humboldt Research Award at the University of Frankfurt to continue my work for a further year on this project.

The Lombok and Sumbawa Research Project involves scholars in Melbourne (Australia), Mataram (Indonesia), and Frankfurt (Germany), and has collaborative ties with a researcher at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Japan) who is doing studies of the language of Sumbawa. The principal investigators are Peter Austin, Mahsun, Syahdan, and Bernd Nothofer, and the main language consultants are Herman Suheri, Lalu Dasmara, Ispan Junaidi, Jallal, Yon Mahyuni, Sudirman, Nur Ahmadi, Lalu Hasbullah, Aozar Zawad, Haji Nasip, Haji Menan, Haji Sukri. Several students in Australia have been involved in the project as research assistants: Mary Ellen Jorden, Anthony Jukes, and Simon Musgrave, and a web site presenting our research has been established at [www.linguistics.unimelb.edu.au](http://www.linguistics.unimelb.edu.au). A series of *Working Papers in Sasak* reporting research in progress has been set up and two volumes have appeared to date; a third volume is in preparation.

The project has involved several sorts of data collection, including fieldwork in Lombok (concentrating in central and southern Lombok to date, although fieldwork in northern Lombok is planned for August 2002), recordings of speakers studying in Melbourne, and examination

of all existing published and unpublished source materials, including all known Dutch colonial sources, dating back to Zolinger (1847) and including the massive text collection of 2,500 pages of Sasak folk-tales collected by Hooykaas (partly published in Hooykaas, 1948). A database dictionary of some 10,000 items has been set up, along with a database of glossed and translated texts that currently includes over 70 texts (with over 3,500 sentences). In future research it is planned to develop multimedia materials including sound and video files — I will discuss these below.

## 2. Geography

The island of Lombok is located between Bali to the west and Sumbawa to the east; at approximately 70km by 80km Lombok is roughly the same size as Bali, from which it is separated by 35km of open sea at the nearest point. Physically Lombok is dominated by the volcano Gunung Rinjani (thought until 1994 to be extinct) which at 3,726 metres is the third highest mountain in Indonesia. To the south of the mountain is a fertile plain approximately 25km wide where the majority of the population of about 2.3 million lives. This geographical distribution has important linguistic consequences, especially in terms of the distribution of dialect features discussed below.

Lombok has been well known since the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a biogeographical transition zone. The famous British explorer and biologist Alfred Russel Wallace wrote in 1858 in a letter to Henry Walter Bates (quoted in van Oosterzee 1997) that he had identified a major division between western and eastern Indonesia, and that:

I believe the western part to be a separated portion of continental Asia, the eastern the fragmentary prolongation of a former Pacific continent

Wallace later presented his findings as a map and drew a dividing line, known as the Wallace line, which at its southern end runs between Lombok and Bali. Although later research has questioned whether the division is as abrupt as Wallace suggested, it is clear that Lombok is where the transition from western to eastern Indonesian fauna and flora begins. The northern part of the island is mountainous and verdant with tall trees and shrubs covering the land. The south is arid and covered by savannas. Large Asian mammals are absent. The shift gets more pronounced as one moves further east. Dry seasons are more prolonged, so in many areas corn and sago instead of rice is the staple food.

We will show below that there is evidence from morphosyntax that Lombok and the Sasak language is a linguistic transition zone as well.

## 3. History

The early history of Lombok is not well recorded, but annals from the 14th century Majapahit Javanese kingdom mention *Saksak*, which seems to refer to the Sasaks of Lombok. During this period there were numerous small kingdoms, frequently fighting with one another. From the early seventeenth century onwards, western Lombok came increasingly under Balinese influence from the kingdom of Karangasem. In 1677-78 there was a major war between the

Sasaks and Makassarese who entered east Lombok from Sumbawa; the Balinese helped the Sasak aristocracy to defeat the invaders. Infighting among the rajas of the four Lombok principalities, Pagasangan, Pugutan, Mataram and Cakranegara, weakened the hold of the Sasak rulers and by 1750 the whole of the island was in the possession of the Balinese. In 1830, Ratu Agung acceded to the throne of Mataram and over the next thirteen years brought the whole of Lombok under his rule. In 1849 he also gained control of Karangasem in East Bali in return for supplying his people to the Dutch as troops for their campaigns in Bali. There were rebellions by the eastern Sasaks in 1855 and 1871 but these were put down by the Balinese. Ratu Agung Ngurah, succeeded his brother in 1872, and, seeking to serve his own ambitions in Bali, pushed the demand for troops too far. The residents of Praya rebelled in 1891, and unrest quickly spread. The Dutch intervened eventually and invaded Lombok in 1894, bringing the entire island under colonial rule until Indonesian independence in 1949. The Dutch period was one of colonial exploitation through the support of the Balinese and Sasak aristocracy; the peasant majority suffered greatly, especially during famines in 1938-1940 and in 1949. The Dutch developed some educational materials in Sasak, based on Balinese models. We discuss these below.

#### 4. Population

The current population of Lombok is approximately 2.6 million of whom 90% are ethnic Sasak (about 2 million). There are also approximately 200,000 Balinese, mostly living in the western part of the island in and near the capital Mataram. There is also a group who identify themselves as Arabs, mainly living in kampung in Cakranegara and the descendents of Arab traders. There is a small number of ethnic Chinese, and also populations of other Indonesian groups, including Sumbawan, Bima, Bugis, Makassarese, Javanese, and Sundanese. There are a number of non-Indonesians as well, mainly associated with tourism and the mining and pearling industries.

The majority of Sasaks are rural farmers earning a living from cultivation of rice and other staple crops, as well as tobacco, chilis etc. There is an increasing trend towards urbanisation, with rapid growth of the two main towns of Mataram, Praya and Selong; the former has a growing mixed population from throughout Lombok as well as from outside the island. There has also been population movement through transmigration, and men and women seeking paid work overseas, particularly in Malaysia and the Philippines. The bulk of the population is Muslim, and *adat*, especially for marriage, remaining a very strong influence in most people's lives.

#### 5. Sociology

Traditionally Sasak society was divided into the following caste-like social classes:

<i>mènak</i>	1st caste - nobles
<i>perewangse</i>	2nd caste
<i>jajarkarang</i>	3rd caste - commoners
<i>sepangan</i>	lowest caste, servants of <i>mènak</i>

The *mènak* comprise about 8% of the Sasak population and were historically descendants of the royal courts; there are today no *radèn* ‘prince’ or *datu* ‘king, queen’, though these figure strongly in folk-stories and historical tales. The *mènak* live in separate villages and follow strict social principles; they intermarry as a group and any *mènak* who marries outside the group loses their noble status and is shunned by the family. Many Sasak commoners can identify a female ancestor who was *mènak* but who married out. There are strong language use preferences associated with the *mènak* – commoner distinction, and marking of this by sociolectal speech level differences, discussed further below.

The *mènak* are strongly identified with Sasak *adat* and have been vocal in upholding their rights in relation to traditional Sasak beliefs and behaviours. They have been influential in education circles, and involved in debates about the maintenance of caste-based social and linguistic distinctions, a matter to which we return later.

Modern Indonesian society is built on an egalitarian ethos based on education and attainment of social position; this sometimes runs into conflict with more traditional Sasak beliefs. How these are played out has interesting consequences for language use in Lombok that will be discussed below.

## 6. Languages

The linguistic repertoire of people on Lombok consists of a range of languages. For ethnic Sasaks we can identify three major languages:

- *Sasak* — this is the home and village language for most of the population, showing a wide range of regional dialectal variation. Sasak is taught in some schools as part of ‘local content’ education, however materials are scarce, and somewhat problematic since they do not well represent all the varieties of the language. The main public use of Sasak is in mosques, and during *adat* ceremonies, such as weddings and funerals. It is not generally used in written publications nor in the media, and there appears to be no written literature in Sasak;
- *Kawi* — this is a form of early Modern Javanese, and is the literary and poetic language, still used in reading lontar and in the Sasak wayang puppet theatre, which remains very popular. *Kawi* terms are also used by *mènak* when speaking politely. *Kawi* is written in *aksara*, similar to Balinese writing and derived historically from a South Indian script; there are now school textbooks to teach *Kawi* and *aksara* at primary school levels (Parman 2000);
- *Bahasa Indonesia* — this is the national language, used in most public domains on Lombok, especially in education, government business and the media, and as a medium of inter-ethnic communication. As a result of intermarriage, including marriages between speakers of different dialects, there are now children, especially in the urban areas, who speak Bahasa Indonesia as their first language. The issue of language shift will concern us later.

For ethnic Balinese we also find:

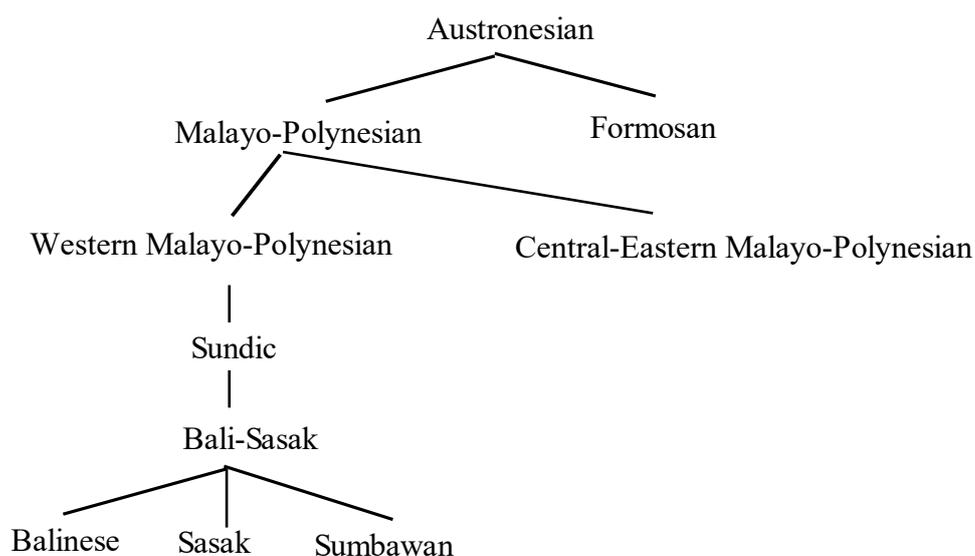
- *Balinese* — this is the home language of ethnic Balinese families, but is generally not learnt by Sasaks and other non-Balinese groups. Balinese has influenced Sasak through the speech levels system, and has been a source for much borrowed vocabulary.

In addition, the following languages have a role on Lombok, typically in more restricted domains:

- *Arabic* — this is the language of religion for Muslims, and most children study at least some Arabic, though often not achieving high levels of fluency. There are a large number of Arabic loans in Sasak, some received directly and others via Bahasa Indonesia.
- *Dutch* — older people have some fluency in Dutch and it can be studied as a school subject. There are some loans from Dutch into Sasak, dating from the colonial period.
- *English* — this language is important for the tourist industry and for employment by multinational corporations on Lombok. There is considerable interest in studying English, especially from university students.
- Other Indonesian languages — are range of other Indonesian languages are encountered in daily life, especially Javanese used with some traders, and Samawa used by villagers who migrated from the neighbouring island of Sumbawa. Both Javanese (through Kawi) and Samawa have been a source for borrowed vocabulary; often Samawa loans such as *tau* ‘person’ and *asu* ‘dog’ have negative and insulting connotations.

## 7. Language Relationships

Sasak is usually classified as a member of the Austronesian language family, and subgrouped in Western Malayo-Polynesian with Balinese and Sumbawa. Esser (Esser, 1938) classified the languages together, as did Dyen (Dyen, 1965, 1982) who groups them as ‘Balic’ based on lexicostatistics. Mbetete (Mbetete, 1990) designates them as Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa and proposes some phonological and lexical commonalities, which he uses to reconstruct Proto Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa and Proto Sasak-Sumbawa, thereby distinguishing a Balinese branch and a Sasak-Sumbawa branch. Blust (Blust, 1984-85) subgroupes the three languages together with Javanese, and proposes a South Borneo subgroup including Malayo-Chamic, Javanese plus Bali-Sasak-Samawa and the three so-called Barito subgroups of South Borneo. Grimes (Grimes, 1992) gives the following proposed partial family tree reflecting Blust’s work:



Adelaar (2002) reconsiders the evidence for these groupings and proposes that Balinese-Sasak-Samawa sub-groups together with Malay and Chamic, rather than with Javanese. Regardless of the precise details of the analysis, it is clear that Sasak is closely related to Samawa, and that both languages group together with Balinese as a subgroup. Importantly, Sasak-Samawa is the easternmost representative of Western Malayo-Polynesian; there is a major genetic division down the middle of Sumbawa Island since Bima, on the eastern half is clearly a Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian language. We will show below that the genetic picture is a simplification however since Sasak has a number of transitional features that link it with Samawa and other languages further to the east. The task of untangling genetic inheritance from areal characteristics is one that we will address in future research.

## 8. Sasak Dialects

Sasak has five ethnolinguistically named dialects that are differentiated according to the terms for ‘like that’ (*begitu*) and ‘like this’ (*begini*). Speakers identify the following dialect names and give them these approximate locations (see also (Thoir, 1985/86)):

- (1) *Ngenó-Ngené* — central west coast and central east to north east coast;
- (2) *Menó-Mené* — around the towns of Puyung and Praya, central Lombok;
- (3) *Ngetó-Ngeté* — around Suralaga and Sembalun in the north-east;
- (4) *Ngenó-Mené* — around Bayan in the north (also called *Kutó-Kuté*);
- (5) *Meriq-Meriku*— south central area around Bonjeruk and Sengkol (Pujut).

Interestingly, these locations correspond to the five Sasak kingdoms of early times, and thus the dialect variation seems to be associated with prior social and political alliances, at least

from an ethno-linguistic perspective. Note that using this formulation there would be other dialects (such as *Menu-Meni*, and *Ngenó-Mené*) however these labels do not receive general recognition.

There is strong evidence for wide lexical variation in Sasak dialects, from the dialect research of Teeuw ( Teeuw, 1951, 1958) and Mahsun (Mahsun, 1999). Remarkably, this variation has remained relatively constant over the 50 years between these two studies. Thus, some terms show a multitude of forms, eg. the term for ‘bite’ depicted in Map 1 from Mahsun 1999. Other lexical items show different distributions; and the precise nature of the ‘dialect’ variations needs further detailed research.

Sasak also shows wide regional variation in pronunciation, even when there is a single lexical item, including:

1. variation between *i* and *é*, *u* and *ó*, *ó* and *ò*, eg. *irung* ~ *érung* ‘nose’ *uléq* ~ *óléq* ‘to return’, *tókól* ~ *tòkòl* ‘to sit’
2. variation between final *-r* and final *-h*, and between final glottal stop *-q* and final *-h*, eg. *dengar* ~ *dengah* ‘to hear’; *kókóq* ~ *kókóh* ‘river’
3. variation between medial *-r-* and nothing (*-ø-*), and medial *-r-* and *-d-*, eg. *daraq* ~ *daq* ‘blood’, *irup* ~ *érup* ~ *idup* ~ *édup* ‘alive’

Some varieties of Sasak appear to contrast mid-open and mid-close front and back vowels (here written *é* and *è*, *ó* and *ò* respectively) while others do not; Teeuw investigated this issue in his 1949 dialect survey of Lombok, but it requires further detailed examination, especially for contemporary dialects.

Equally distinctive are features of morphology and syntax that show dialectal geographical variation. Thus, in pronouns we can identify several systems, with differences both in form and in semantic contrasts. Consider the following Tables, which set out two main patterns, labelled here A and B (from data to hand so far, pattern A is used by Ngenó-Ngené speakers and pattern B by Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku speakers. Notice that the A set contrast male and female reference in second person (not distinguished in B), and inclusive and exclusive reference in first person plural (again not distinguished in B). These differences can lead to some cross-dialect misunderstandings. Note also that all dialects have the same high and honorific pronouns, and that these have been borrowed from Balinese and Javanese (Nothofer, 2000).

**Table 1: Free Form Pronouns**

	First		Second		Third	
	A	B	A	B	A	B
Singular – low male	<i>aku</i>		<i>ante</i>	<i>kamu</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>ie ~ nie</i>
Singular – low female			<i>kamu</i>			
Singular – high	<i>tiang</i>		<i>side</i>			
Singular – honorific	<i>kaji</i>		<i>peleunggih ~ pelungguh dekaji</i>		<i>deside</i>	
Plural – inclusive	<i>ite</i>	<i>ite</i>				
Plural – exclusive	<i>kami</i>					

**Table 2: Bound Form Pronouns**

	First		Second		Third	
			A	B	A	B
Singular – low male	<i>ku</i>	<i>=k</i>	<i>mèq</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>=n</i>
Singular – low female			<i>bi</i>			
Singular – high	<i>∅</i>		<i>de</i>			
Singular – honorific	<i>kaji</i>		<i>pé</i>			
Plural – inclusive	<i>te</i>	<i>=t</i>				
Plural – exclusive	<i>∅</i>					

Some morphosyntactic features are identical across Sasak dialects, while others show variation. For example, the past perfective auxiliary (equivalent to Bahasa Indonesia *sudah*) is *wah* in all dialects, while the future auxiliary (*akan*) is *gen* or *yaq*. Interestingly, Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku show a special auxiliary *muq* or *bin* or *sin* that is used just with transitive verbs to carry the enclitic subject pronoun; this does not appear in Ngenó-Ngené. Other areas of difference are relative clauses and causative constructions— these are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

## 8.1 Relative clauses

Like many Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, Sasak shows a distinction between unmarked (zero) verbs and nasal prefixed verbs; this distinction is important in cross-clausal syntax such as the formation of relative clauses. These show major dialect differences in Sasak,

and we will see a transition from a system like Balinese in Ngenó-Ngené to one like Samawa in Menó-Mené.

Consider first Balinese. Balinese has intransitive verbs that take a single argument pre-verbal NP, transitive verbs that take an Agent and Patient, and ditransitive verbs that take an Agent, a Theme and a Goal.

Intransitive verbs in Balinese show a split (Arka 1998) between unergative verbs that typically take a prefixed nasal, and unaccusative verbs that do not. The basic distinction in Balinese intransitives is that volitional verbs, verbs of emission, and manner of motion verbs are all unergative, while states and directed motion verbs are unaccusative. The following examples from Arka 1998 illustrate the contrast:

Unaccusative	<i>ulung</i>	‘fall down’	Unergative	<i>negak</i>	‘sit’
	<i>teka</i>	‘come		<i>nyongkok</i>	‘squat’
	<i>mulih</i>	‘go home’		<i>ngeliling</i>	‘roll’
	<i>pungkat</i>	‘collapse’		<i>ngendih</i>	‘flare’
	<i>mati</i>	‘dead’		<i>manjus</i>	‘bathe’

Balinese transitive (and ditransitive) predicates occur as either unmarked (zero) verbs with the order Patient-Verb-Agent, or as nasal verbs (taking a nasal prefix) with the order Agent-Verb-Patient, as in (Artawa, Artini and Blake 1997, Arka 1998):

- (1) *Putu tepukin tiang ditu.*  
 Putu see 1sg there  
 ‘I saw Putu there.’
- (2) *Tiang nepukin Putu ditu.*  
 1sg N-see Putu there  
 ‘I saw Putu there.’

The Patient of a nasal verb can be definite, as in (Artawa, Artini and Blake 1997: 488):

- (3) *Cai ngedengang gambaran-e ka guru-ne.*  
 2sg N-show picture-def to teacher-def  
 ‘You showed the picture to the teacher.’

Balinese also has passive construction marked by the prefix *ka-* where the omissible agent occurs in a prepositional phrase following *antuk* or *teken*, as in (Artawa, Artini and Blake 1997, Arka 1998):

- (4) *Gumi-ne ka-prentah (antuk/teken) bangsa gelah*  
 country-def pass-govern by people own  
 ‘The country is governed (by our own people)’

The nasal verb is required in clause linkage where an Agent NP is being anaphorically elided (as in relativisation of an A, zero anaphora of A in a complement clause etc – see Artawa 1994, Artawa, and Blake 1997, Arka 1998). An example involving relative clauses (from Artawa 1994 135-137) is:

- (5) *Emeng-e* [*ane gugut cicing*] *gelem*  
 cat-def [rel bite dog] sick  
 ‘The cat [which the dog bit] is sick.’
- (6) *Emeng-e* [*ane ngugut cicing-e*] *galak*  
 cat-def rel N-bite dog-def fierce  
 ‘The cat [which bit the dog] is fierce.’

Clearly these examples show that only the Patient of a zero verb and the Agent of a nasal verb can be omitted within the relative clause.

Let us now look at Samawa. Here we find it has a head-marking structure given by Shiohara 1999 as follows:

- (7) (negator) (auxiliary verb) (pronoun(for A/S)=)verb (noun/pronoun(for P))

A pronominal clitic (for subject) optionally occurs immediately before the verb, with one exception noted below:

- (8) *Ku=lalo*  
 1sg=go  
 ‘I go.’
- (9) *Nene=lalo*  
 2pl=go  
 ‘You(pl.) go.’

The third person proclitic *ya=* ‘3’ may be attached only to a transitive verb to cross-reference its subject, never to an intransitive verb, and its occurrence/absence depends on the relative order of the verb and the Agent. We find *ya=* ‘3’ is optionally attached to the verb if the Agent does not precede the predicate, that is, if the Agent follows the predicate (where it occurs as part of a PP following *ling*), e.g.(10), (11), or if the Agent is absent, e.g.(12).

- (10) *Ya=inúm kawa=nan ling=Nya=Amin.*  
 3=drink coffee=that by=Mr.=Amin
- (11) *Kawa=nan ya=inúm ling=Nya=Amin.*  
 coffee=that 3=drink by=Mr.=Amin
- (12) *Kawa=nan ya=inúm.*  
 coffee=that 3=drink

Note that *ya=* ‘3’ cannot be attached to the verb if the Agent precedes the predicate, compare:

(13) *Nya=Amin inúm kawa=nan*  
 Mr.=Amin drink coffee=that

(14) \**Nya=Amin ya=inúm kawa=nan*  
 Mr.=A. 3=drink coffee=that

As Shiohara (1999) notes, Samawa also has nasal verb alternates of two argument verbs, however these are **intransitive** and can never occur with a Patient NP (the Patient must always be understood as non-specific and cannot be interpreted as definite or anaphoric). Consequently, the clitic *ya=* is never found with nasal verbs, nor is the Agent ever marked with *ling*. Syntactically, there are two types of correspondence between sentences with a basic transitive verb and those with a nasal verb: A=S, and P=S.

[1] A=S pattern

In the vast majority of verbs, the Agent of a basic transitive verb corresponds to the intransitive subject of a nasal verb, as in:

basic two-place verbs	nasal verbs
<i>inum</i> ‘to drink’	<i>nginom</i> ‘to drink’
<i>udit</i> ‘to smoke’	<i>ngudit</i> ‘to smoke’
<i>tunung</i> ‘to grill’	<i>nunung</i> ‘to grill’
<i>siong</i> ‘to roast’	<i>nyiong</i> ‘to roast’
<i>seru</i> ‘to fry’	<i>nyeru</i> ‘to fry’
<i>samong</i> ‘to answer’	<i>nyamong</i> ‘to answer’

A pair of examples is:

(15) *Nya=Amin udit roko=nan.*  
 Mr.=Amin smoke cigarette=that  
 ‘Mr. Amin smokes the cigarette.’

(16) *Nya=Amin ngudit.*  
 Mr.=Amin N-smoke  
 ‘Mr. Amin smokes.’

[2] P=S pattern

Shiohara’s data yielded only six pairs in which the Patient of a basic transitive verb corresponds to the intransitive subject of a nasal verb.

**basic two-place verbs***paning* ‘to give a bath’*selam* ‘to sink’*putar* ‘to turn[something]’*péngko* ‘to change the direction of[animals such as horse]’*sompo* ‘to make[someone] ride on shoulders’*pamong* ‘to smell’**nasal verbs***maning* ‘to take a bath’*nyelam* ‘to dive’*mutar* ‘to spin’*méngko* ‘to change the direction of oneself’*nyompo* ‘to ride on[someone’s] shoulders’*mamong* ‘to stink’, i.e. ‘to emit an unpleasant odour’

A pair of examples is:

- (17) *Ina=nan paning todé=nya*  
 mother=that give a bath child=3  
 ‘The mother gives her child a bath.’

- (18) *Todé=nan maning.*  
 child=that N-take a bath  
 ‘The child takes a bath.’

Now consider Sasak. As in Balinese and Samawa, verbs in Sasak may be sub-categorised as intransitive, transitive or ditransitive, depending on the number of arguments they select. Intransitive verbs show the familiar unaccusative-unergative split, with unaccusatives being unmarked and generally indicating states or directed motion. Unergative verbs all take a nasal prefix (realised as a homorganic nasal before voiced consonants, as a homorganic nasal replacing voiceless consonants, or as the velar nasal *ng* before vowels and *l*) and generally describe volitional actions, emissions or manner of motion verbs. The members of the two classes do not correspond exactly to those of the two classes in Balinese (as Ahmadi 1996 notes), but the following is a representative list

Unaccusative	<i>teriq</i>	‘fall down’	Unergative	<i>nangis</i>	‘cry’
	<i>dateng</i>	‘come’		<i>ngònòng</i>	‘swim’
	<i>pelai</i>	‘run’		<i>ngemòs</i>	‘smile’
	<i>gulung</i>	‘roll’		<i>ngleget</i>	‘shiver’
	<i>uléq</i>	‘return’		<i>ngutaq</i>	‘vomit’
	<i>sakit</i>	‘be ill’		<i>mandiq</i>	‘bathe’

For an intransitive verb (or a non-verbal predicate) the usual word order is for the single argument of the verb to precede it, as in:

(19) *Amaq=ne sakit*  
 father=3 ill  
 ‘His father is ill.’

(20) *Acông inó berari*  
 dog that run  
 ‘That dog runs’

Transitive and ditransitive verbs occur in two construction types, as in Balinese: the zero-verb (or unprefix verb) construction, and the nasal-verb construction, marked by a nasal prefix. In Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku the nasal construction is extremely rare, and can only be used when the Patient is non-referential. In Ngenó-Ngené all transitive verbs can occur in both construction types, as in:

(21) *Aku balé beli*  
 1sg house buy  
 ‘I buy a house’

(22) *Aku mbeli balé*  
 1sg N.buy house  
 ‘I buy a house’

In addition to the nasal prefix, these constructions differ in word order: the Patient-like argument must precede the zero verb (normally with the Agent-like argument before it), and the Agent must precede the nasal verb (with the Patient after the verb). In addition, the zero verb can be used as an imperative in Sasak, but the nasal verb cannot (unlike Balinese where there is a contrast in the imperative: the nasal verb is used when the Patient is non-specific, see Artawa, Artini and Blake 1997). The Agent of a zero verb may follow the verb in Ngenó-Ngené Sasak, but this is highly marked, and impossible for a third person pronominal agent (compare Balinese where the usual order with zero verbs is for the Agent to follow the verb). Alternatively, the Agent can be expressed as the object of the preposition *isiq* (also used to mark the Agent in a passive construction – see below), and follow the verb in a prepositional phrase, as in:

(23) *Balé beli isiq lóq Ali*  
 house buy by art Ali  
 ‘Ali bought a house’

The nasal prefixed verb is syntactically required when anaphoric linkage with omission of Agent of the transitive or ditransitive verb is required, as in Balinese. Thus, in relativisation in Ngenó-Ngené Sasak, the relative clause must contain a gap that is coreferential with the head noun; this can be an intransitive subject or a Patient with a zero verb (see also Austin 1999 for further details and exemplification). Examples are:

- (24) *Kanak* [siq berari] inó  
 child rel run that  
 ‘That child who is running’
- (25) *Buku* [siq mèq=beli] inó  
 book rel 2=buy that  
 ‘That book which you buy’

If the relativised NP is in Agent function within the relative clause then the nasal construction must be used, as in:

- (26) *Dengan* [siq mbeli buku] inó  
 man rel N.buy book that  
 ‘That man who bought a book’
- (27) \**Dengan* [siq beli buku] inó  
 man rel 3sg=N.buy book that  
 ‘That man who bought a book’

The structure of two-place predicates in Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku Sasak is somewhat different. Here the usual word order is Agent Verb Patient for both zero-verb and nasal-verb constructions. In addition, relative animacy is an important factor. When the Agent NP is inanimate it must be expressed in an *isiq* phrase after the verb, as in:

- (28) *Mu=n* téóp kelambi=nó isiq angin  
 foc=3 blow shirt=that by wind  
 ‘The wind blew the shirt away.’

When the Agent is third person animate and the Patient is first or second person, then a passive construction must be used (see also examples (37) and (38) below). When the Agent is third person animate and the Patient is also third person (animate or inanimate) then the *isiq* phrase must be used to code the Agent, as in:

- (29) *Mu=n* jelóq kelambi=nó isiq inaq  
 foc=3 dry in sun shirt=that by mother  
 ‘Mother dried the shirt in the sun.’
- (30) *Yaq=n* gitaq kanak-kanak=nó isiq Herman  
 fut=3 see reduplicated-child=that by Herman  
 ‘Herman will see the children.’

The nasal verb in these dialects is used when the Patient-like argument is non-referential and in this construction the Patient can be omitted (compare Samawa where no Patient can be expressed). The Patient of a zero verb cannot be left unexpressed. Consider the following examples:

- (31) *Kanak=nó* jangke=n pancing mpaq/lépanq/léndóng

- child=that    pres=3    catch    fish/frog/eel  
 ‘The child is catching fish/frogs/eels.’
- (32) *Kanak=nó    jangke=n    mancing    mpaq/lé pang/léndóng*  
 child=that    pres=3    N.catch    fish/frog/eel  
 ‘The child is catching fish/frogs/eels.’
- (33) *Kanak=nó    jangke=n    mancing*  
 child=that    pres=3    N.catch  
 ‘The child is catching (fish).’
- (34) *Ie                    mace*  
 3                    N.read  
 ‘He is reading (a book).’

The nasal verb is **not** required for clause combination in Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku dialects; any core NP (intransitive subject, Patient or Agent) can be omitted under coreference. Thus we find relative clauses such as the following (note that a nasal verb would be required in the corresponding Ngenó-Ngené construction):

- (35) *Basóng    [saq            kókóq=k            uiq]=nó            berelòng            putéq*  
 dog            rel            bite=1sg            yesterday=dem    tail            white  
 ‘The dog that bit me yesterday has a white tail’

Importantly, exactly the same requirement holds in Samawa — any core NP can be omitted inside the relative clause and the nasal verb has no role to play in meeting relativisation requirements. Again, Ngenó-Ngené is exactly like Balinese while Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku are like Samawa, showing that Sasak dialects represent a transition between Balinese-type structures to the west and Samawa-type structures to the east.

## 8.2 Causative constructions

Sasak dialects also show major differences in the encoding of constructions that increase transitivity, namely causative and applicative constructions. In Ngenó-Ngené both causatives and applicatives are coded by the addition of a suffix to the basic verb root. Firstly, causative constructions involve the addition of an agent (causer) who causes a change in the situation. For intransitive verbs the suffix *-ang* is added to the verb root, deriving a transitive verb whose Patient corresponds to the single argument of the root (the causee, see also (Ahmadi, 1996)), as in:

<i>butung</i>	‘stand’	<i>butung-ang</i>	‘make stand’
<i>teriq</i>	‘fall’	<i>teriq-ang</i>	‘make fall’
<i>tindóq</i>	‘sleep’	<i>tindóq-ang</i>	‘make sleep’
<i>dateng</i>	‘come’	<i>dateng-ang</i>	‘make come’

For transitive verbs, both the suffix *-ang* and a prefix *pe-* are added to the verb root to make it causative. In the resulting verb the Patient corresponds to the Patient of the root and the Agent of the root (the causee) is expressed as a Locative (preceded by the preposition *léq*), as in:

- (36) *Mòntòr=nó*    *pe-singgaq-ang=ku*    *léq*    *ie*    *isiq*    *aku*  
 car=def        pe-borrow-ang=1sg    at    him    by    1sg  
 ‘I let him borrow the car.’

The second valence increasing operation which applies to two-place verbs is the applicative. There are two applicatives in Ngenó-Ngené, one coded by the suffix *-ang* and one coded by the suffix *-in*. The *-ang* applicative derives a ditransitive verb whose Goal NP is semantically a benefactive, goal, instrument or source. The introduced NP typically precedes the verb and an unmarked Patient follows the verb (if the applied NP is an instrument then the Patient must take a preposition, either *aning* ‘to’ or *léq* ‘in’). Consider these examples (noting the difference in the function of the verbal enclitic):

Benefactive:

- (37) *Ante*    *beli-ang=ku*    *buku*    *siné*  
 2        buy-appl=1sg    book    this  
 ‘I bought you this book’

Locative:

- (38) *Lemari=nó*                    *ku=tòlòq-ang*                    *buku*  
 cupboard=def                    1sg=put-appl                    book  
 ‘I will put in the cupboard the book’

Source:

- (39) *Ie*        *singgaq-ang=ku*                    *buku*  
 3        borrow-appl=1sg                    book  
 ‘I borrowed from him the book’

Instrument:

- (40) *Parbal*    *ku=taliq-ang*    *léq*        *uman=ku*  
 dressing    1sg=tie-appl    on        wound=1sg  
 ‘I tied the dressing on the wound’

The following example from the texts collected by Hooykaas in 1948 shows that the applied object can be any semantic role, here the entity of concern with a psychological predicate:

- (41) *Amaq=ne*    *siq*    *léq*    *rau*                    *ngimpi,*    *impi-ang=ne*  
 father =3    rel    in    unirrigated.field    N.dream    dream-appl=3

*buaq keléndé=ne*  
fruit watermelon=3

‘Their father who was in the field dreamt, he dreamt about his watermelon fruit.’ (Amaq Walu, 30)

The applied NP in all these examples has all the syntactic properties of a three-place verb Goal NP. Of special interest in Ngenó-Ngené Sasak is the fact that a single affix *-ang* is used to code **both** causative (with intransitive verbs) and applicative (with transitive verbs).

Ngenó-Ngené Sasak also has a locative applicative construction (as in Balinese) indicated by suffixing *-in* to the two-place verb; this introduces a locative argument as the Goal with the old Patient being expressed like the (unmarked) Theme of a three-place verb. Examples are:

<i>talet</i>	‘to plant’	<i>talet-in</i>	‘to plant in’
<i>ganjel</i>	‘to wedge’	<i>ganjel-in</i>	‘to wedge in’
<i>tòlòq</i>	‘to put’	<i>tòlòq-in</i>	‘to put in’
<i>taròq</i>	‘to bet’	<i>taròq-in</i>	‘to bet on’

A sentential example is (Ahmadi 1996:75):

(42) *Lemari inó tòlòq-in petugas inó buku*  
cupboard that put-appl worker that book  
‘The worker put books into the cupboard.’

A textual example from Hooykaas’ stories is:

(43) *Lóq Te-iwóq-iwóq te-ketuan, pire isiq=ne*  
art name-orphan pass-ask how.many by=3  
  
*gen taròq-in manòk=ne*  
fut bet-appl chicken=3

‘The Orphan was asked how much he would bet on his chicken.’ (Anak Iwóq, 032)

In central-southern Menó-Mené Sasak causatives of intransitive and transitive verbs are formed by prefixing *pe-* to the root. Intransitive verbs become transitive (adding an Agent); transitive verbs remain transitive (the Patient of the transitive root is expressed as a locative PP in the derived causative construction). This is quite different from Ngenó-Ngené where underived Patient keeps its core status and the underived Agent is demoted to locative adjunct status.

Examples are:

Intransitive:

<i>téndòq</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>pe-téndòq</i>	‘to put to sleep’
<i>lampaq</i>	‘to walk’	<i>pe-lampaq</i>	‘to move’
<i>kécelep</i>	‘to sink’	<i>pe-kécelep</i>	‘to drown’

Two-place:

<i>gitaq</i>	‘to see’	<i>pe-gitaq</i>	‘to show’
<i>kenal</i>	‘to know’	<i>pe-kenal</i>	‘to introduce’

Menó-Mené has applicative constructions derived from transitive verbs (the resulting verb acting like a three-place verb) however **only** benefactive applicatives are possible. The beneficiary must be cross-referenced on the verb by a portmanteau applicative-agreement morpheme:

1sg	- <i>angk</i>
1pl	- <i>at</i> ~ - <i>ant</i>
2	- <i>am</i>
3	- <i>an</i>

An example is:

- (44) *Mu=k*      *beli-am*      *buku=nó*  
past-1sg      buy-appl:2      book=this  
‘I bought you this book’

Notice that there is nothing corresponding to the *-in* locative applicative in Menó-Mené Sasak.

Importantly, if we compare the Sasak dialect patterns we observe here, we see that Ngenó-Ngené is again identical to Balinese (using *-ang* for both causative and a wide range of applicative functions) while Menó-Mené is similar to Samawa (which has *pa-* for causative, and no applicative constructions). Thus, the Lombok dialects show transitional features placing them between Balinese and Samawa.

## 9. Speech levels

An obvious and distinctive feature of Sasak that it shares with languages to its west such as Balinese, Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese is the existence of special vocabulary coding politeness in a series of levels. The use of this vocabulary, called *alus* in Sasak (as against ‘non-polite, normal’ vocabulary called *biase* or *jemaq*) is pervasive and readily observed. Any time Sasaks speak in formal situations we find the use of these special lexical forms. Formality here reflects various dimensions of the speech situation, including the relative social position of the participants, degree of familiarity, type of interaction, and the perceived nature of the speech

event Switching between speech levels is also common and has functional and affective importance that is explored in some detail in recent work by Syahdan (Syahdan 1999).

The speech level system consists of two subsystems. The first one is the style system. As in Balinese and Javanese, three styles are distinguished, which are referred to as the low, mid and high styles. Besides this style system there is also a so-called reference system. It marks deference to a person who may be the second or the third person of the discourse. In this reference system words belong to two subclasses: those which refer to the possessions and actions of a highly respected person, and those which refer to actions directed to a highly respected person. In accordance with Clynes (1994) we refer to these subclasses as honorific-1SG and honorific+1SG, since words of the first subclass may never be used for the first person and those of the second may be used to refer to the speaker. Utterances in any of the three styles may contain honorifics.

The style system and the reference system are marked by the use of distinct words to express a wide variety of basic meanings. The three styles and the two reference subclasses are expressed by the use of words which in addition to their fixed denotative meaning carry a connotative meaning. Sasak for example has three alternative forms expressing English ‘eye’: LOW *mate*, MID *penenteng* and HIGH *penyerminan*. The first word marks an intimate relationship between speaker and addressee, the second word a more distant one and the third word a formal one. For English ‘to give’ Sasak has HON+1SG *atur* and HON-1SG *ican*. The first word one ‘lowers’ or ‘humbles’ the referent (often the speaker) and the second one especially honours the person referred to. Thus, in Sasak there are four distinct word classes which Clynes (1994) calls attitudinal classes, since they carry an additional status meaning (Stevens 1965:295): low, mid, high and honorific. No status meaning is carried by words for which only one form exists. These words are called neutral (NEU), since they can co-occur with words of any attitudinal class. Neutral lexical items form the bulk of the vocabulary.

There is evidence that the speech level system has been borrowed into Sasak, from Balinese and Javanese (Nothofer, 2000) for the following reasons:

- it is uniform across all Sasak dialects (the same *alus* terms are used everywhere even when the *biase* forms are quite different)
- it is a fixed non-productive system in Sasak, with no regular morphological relationships between the lexical items in the levels
- the mid and high levels are marked by borrowings from Balinese and Javanese (as well as having forms which are Sasak creations and not borrowed)

The following examples illustrate the system. Firstly, we have sentences with low and neutral vocabulary in (45) and low neutral and mid in (46):

(45)	<i>Ie</i>	<i>wah</i>	<i>mangan</i>
	NEU	LOW	LOW
	he	already	eat
	‘He has already eaten.’		

(46)	<i>Ie</i>	<i>wah</i>	<i>kelór</i>
	NEU	LOW	MID

Notice that low cannot combine with high words (as in 47) but we must use high alone (or neutral) as in (48):

(47)	* <i>Ie</i>	<i>sampun</i>	<i>kelór</i>
	NEU	*HI	MID

(48)	<i>Ie</i>	<i>sampun</i>	<i>madaran</i>
	NEU	HI	HI

Note that honorific terms can be used in both high and low registers:

(49)	<i>Ie</i>	<i>wah</i>	<i>majengan</i>
	he	already	eat
	NEU	LOW	HONORIFIC

(50)	<i>Ie</i>	<i>sampun</i>	<i>majengan</i>
	he	already	eat
	NEU	HI	HONORIFIC

The following examples illustrate the style choices more fully:

(51) low style

<i>aku</i>	<i>wah</i>	<i>mangan</i>	<i>kamu</i>	<i>ndèq man</i>	<i>mangan</i>
1sg	already	eat	2	not yet	eat
LOW	LOW	LOW	LOW	LOW	LOW

(52) mid style

<i>aku</i>	<i>wah</i>	<i>mangan</i>	<i>side</i>	<i>ndèq man</i>	<i>bekelór</i>
LOW	LOW	LOW	MID	LOW	MID

(53) high style

<i>sampun</i>	<i>tiang</i>	<i>mangan</i>	<i>pelinggih</i>	<i>nènten man</i>	<i>madaran</i>
HIGH	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	HIGH

(54) high style with honorifics

<i>sampun</i>	<i>kaji</i>	<i>mangan</i>	<i>dekaji</i>	<i>nènten man</i>	<i>majengan</i>
HIGH	HUMBLE	LOW	HONORIFIC	HIGH	HONORIFIC

These variations are in wide use in Lombok. Here we have two examples from texts, firstly from the story of the King of Aca, recorded by Hooykaas in 1948:

(bold=high, underline=honorific)

*Jari dedare anak begang sinó, tegadingang mantuk isiq Datu Ace, tipaq repóq deside.*

jari	dedare	anak	begang	sinó	te-gading-ang	mantuk
become	youth(f)	child	mouse	that	pass-hold(high)-applic	return.home(high)

isiq	datu	Ace	tipaq	repóq	deside
by	King	Aca	at	hut	3(honorific)

The girl, child of the mouse, was carried home by King Aca to his hut in the fields.

***Serauh** deside léq repóq tepeliharaq bagus, teican bèndang kèrèng, mangan nginem.*

se-rauh	deside	léq	repóq	te-peliharaq	bagus
irreal-come(high)	3(honorific)	loc	hut	pass-take.care.of	good

te-ice-an	bèndang	kèrèng	mangan	ng-inem
pass-bestow(honorific)-nom	wrap	wrap	eat	N-drink

When (he) got to the hut the girl was well looked after, given clothes, food and drink.

The following is the opening section from a conversation between two *mènak* recorded by Lalu Dasmara at Ketara in central Lombok:

S: *Assalaamualaikum*

Greetings

MB: *Waalaiikumussalam. Dawek melinggih.*

Greetings. Please sit down.

S: *Nggih, **tampi asih**, mbé eh, **margin** Kaq **bólingk niki**?*

nggih	tampi	asih	mbé	eh	margin=n	Kaq	bóling=k	niki
yes	receive	favour	where	eh	go=3	o.brother	o.sibling=1sg	this
high	high	high	neut		high=neut	neut	high=neut	high

Yes, thank you, where has our elder sister gone now?

MB: *Nggih, **sésip** ak **matur**, mbé **jage** baruq, **tó** muri **jage** taòqn nyeken **meriap***

nggih	sésip	yaq=k	matur	mbé	jage	baruq	tó	muri	jage
yes	fault	fut=1sg	say	where	perhaps	recent	there	back	perhaps

taòq=n	nyeke=n	N-periap
place=3	cont=3	tr-cook

Yes, it would be wrong for me to say (=I don't know), she probably is in the back cooking.

S: *Nggih, gumantingki dèwèk parek niki beli, sèngaq kasusah manahk dèwèk siq bijem saq males lalòqn yaq lampaq sekólah iaq, muq berembé aran tank yaq ngejap, yaq ngajah, petétóq.*

nggih	gumanti-N=k	dèwèk	parek	niki	beli	sèngaq	ke-susah
yes	on.purpose-link=1sg	self	come	this	o.brother	because	emph-trouble
manah=k	dèwèk	isiq	bije=m	saq	males	lalòq=n	yaq
mind=1sg	self	because	child=2	rel	lazy	very=3	fut
lampaq	sekólah	iaq	muq	berembé	aran	tan=k	yaq
walk	school	this	focus	how	name	manner=1sg	fut
N-jap	yaq	N-ajah	petétóq				
tr-preparation	fut	tr-educate	show				

Yes, I have come here on purpose brother because I am very sad because of this child of mine (lit. yours) who is very lazy about going to school, how should I get him to study, to direct him?

Control of the speech levels and register variation is highly regarded by *mènak*, many of whom insist on its use in their presence. For many educated commoners, this is a demonstration of the non-egalitarian traditions of the Sasak which stands in opposition to modern Indonesian society — these issues are being actively debated in Lombok and are important for the future development of the language, especially educational materials. Interestingly, most of the school books produced to date have been made by *mènak* and they all contain lessons in the use of *alus*, even from the lower primary school level. The future of *alus* and its wider use is an important issue for resolution among Sasaks.

## 10. Impact of other languages

Sasak has been in contact with a range of languages for hundred of years and has borrowed heavily from them, mainly in the area of lexicon. We find words from Javanese, Balinese, Samawa, Arabic, Dutch, English, and Indonesian. Javanese and Balinese loans are especially prominent in *alus* and high literature contexts, while recently Indonesian has been having an influence.

Most Sasaks today are bilingual in both their own dialect of Sasak and Bahasa Indonesia, and we find code-switching between the two languages, especially in urban contexts. There has been an important study of this area for educated Sasaks at work by Syahdan (Syahdan, 2000), from whom the following materials are derived.

Syahdan argues that Sasaks have both unmarked and marked code choices: the unmarked choices are determined by context, and speaker-hearer relationships:

Context	Speaker	Interlocutor	Code
formal		unknown, non-Sasak	Indonesian
		unknown Sasak	<i>alus</i> , <i>alus</i> /Indonesian
		known equal, close	<i>jamaq</i> /Indonesian
		known equal, distant	<i>alus</i> /Indonesian
	subordinate	superior	<i>alus</i> /Indonesian; <i>alus</i> <sup>1</sup>
	superior	subordinate	<i>jamaq</i> /Indonesian; <i>jamaq</i> <sup>2</sup>
informal	<i>mènak</i>	adult <i>mènak</i>	<i>alus</i>
		adult non- <i>mènak</i>	<i>alus</i> /Indonesian; <i>jamaq</i> /Indonesian
	non- <i>mènak</i>	adult <i>mènak</i>	<i>alus</i> /Indonesian
		adult non- <i>mènak</i>	<i>jamaq</i> , <i>jamaq</i> /Indonesian
	<i>mènak</i> or non- <i>mènak</i>	child	<i>jamaq</i> /Indonesian, Indonesian

As this table indicates, there are many contexts in which code switching is normal. Syahdan, following the model of Myers-Scotton, distinguishes several types of code switching:

*Types of code switching* (plain=BI, italics=*jamaq*, bold=*alus*):

- *sequential unmarked* — triggered by change in topic or participants, intersentential

eg. A, S lecturers, D dean, E driver

A Kapan diantar? (when do you want to be dropped off?)

S Ayo (OK! Let's go)

D Kemana? (where)

S *Uléq* (go home).

D Belum jam dua (It's not yet two o'clock).

S *Pak B, piranm uléq side?* Ndak apa apa kan saya ikut? Mau ikut *léq Pak B.*  
(Mr B, when are you going home? Is it okay if I join you? I'll join Mr. B.)

the driver E comes back from dropping off D's handouts

D *Wah?* (to the driver)

(Have you (dropped it) already?)

E ***Ndéq araq dengan saq anuq nike. Laguq araq dengan saq terimaqn nike.***

(The person you meant was not there. But somebody took it.)

D *Sai?* (who ?)

E ***Araq saq bagian nerimaqn nike. Bèng tiang*** tanda terimanya.

(One who is in charge of taking (paper). I gave it to him.)

D *Ape unin?* (What did he say?)

<sup>1</sup> If the speaker is a *mènak* and the superior is a non-*mènak* then *jamaq* rather than *alus* is used by the *mènak*, or else only Indonesian (to avoid the choice of speech level in Sasak).

<sup>2</sup> If the speaker is much younger than the subordinate then *alus* or *alus*/Indonesian is preferred.

- *non-sequential unmarked*— between intimates, both inter- and intra-sentential (see above A-S-D triad)
- *marked*— to express emotions, and exclude interlocutors

eg. H,I, S Sasak lecturers, L non-Sasak lecturer — conversation in BI

- H            Anda jangan cepat cepat menyalahkan.  
(you should not quickly say that I am wrong)
- L            Masalahnya adalah Kuto kuté itu kan dipakai di Lombok Utara mana itu.....  
(The case is that Kuto kuté is spoken in North Lombok, where is it....)
- I            Bayan
- L            Ya, Bayan dan di Bayan itu kan orang Sasak yang tinggal. Jadi salah itu kalau mengatakan Kutokuté itu bukan Sasak.  
(Yes, Bayan, and Sasak people live at Bayan, right?. So it is wrong to say Kuto kuté is not Sasak).

H is annoyed by L's comment
-----------------------------

- H            *Paling taòqne baé tau siné.*  
(He always behaves like he knows everything.)
- S (to H)    *Déndég menó side.*  
(you do not do that).
- L (to H)    Kenapa, pak?  
(What is it sir?)
- H            Ya perlu penelitian.  
(Yes, we need to do research).

- *exploratory*— used to explore a possible change in relationships. This occurs when negotiating politeness levels and ethnic identity markers

In contemporary Sasak society this kind of code switching is both highly flexible and functional, however there are some signs that younger urban Sasaks are switching to Bahasa Indonesia, away from Sasak, as their primary medium of communication. This occurs for several reasons:

- intermarriage between speakers of different languages, or of different dialect, where Indonesian is the main common language of spouses
- the connotations of rural life and backwardness of Sasak, and the need to pay attention to the speech levels system, which can be avoided by the use of Indonesian

While Sasak is clearly not threatened at the moment, it is possible at some future time that it could acquire the status of a “second class” language with respect to Indonesian, and lose numbers of speakers.

## 11. The future?

I end with some brief notes on current developments in Lombok that will have important implications for the future of the language:

1. moves towards regional linguistic and cultural autonomy — with the introduction of local content in school curriculums, and increasing political freedoms, there is the possibility of increasing the range of domains within which Sasak is used, and expanding its functionality. To date there has not been much use of Sasak in the media, especially formal publications, often for fear of discriminating against other language groups in Nusa Tenggara Barat, however this may change in the future. Perhaps we will see increased literacy levels and, eg. writing competitions that will promote Sasak linguistic and cultural identity;
2. moves towards Sasak standardisation — it is clear that the complex dialect situation raises numerous problems for further extension in the use of Sasak, especially in education. The early Dutch school books from the 1920's and 1930's chose the Ngenó-Ngené dialect for their medium of instruction, however the materials developed by schools in the 1990's included a mixture of dialects, often on the same page, with rather confusing results. I have been told by teachers that they avoid the use of these materials because the children cannot understand the material that is not in their dialect. Discussions are currently underway in Lombok about this issue, with some voices being raised in support of Ngenó-Ngené as the widest dialect, however, as we saw above, this will be challenging for central and southern Lombok children since the morpho-syntactic structure of Ngenó-Ngené and their native dialects are so different;
3. the future of *alus* style — as mentioned above, Sasaks are currently debating the role of the speech levels system and whether it should be continued, with vocal support from *mènak* and opposition from non-*mènak*. How this will be played out is an interesting socio-political question;
4. language shift and role of Bahasa Indonesia — the future relationship between Sasak and Bahasa Indonesia is an area of some concern, and fears have been raised for the loss of children's competence in Sasak, especially more traditional knowledge such as Kawi and *adat* matters. There is also anecdotal evidence of some dialect levelling in the speech of children, although no empirical study of these areas has been undertaken yet. We need detailed studies of children's acquisition of Sasak, including the speech levels system, and Bahasa Indonesia to serve as a basis for our understanding of these questions.

Clearly, Lombok remains as complex and fascinating today as it has been in its history, and the future holds many challenges for the languages and peoples of Lombok and neighbouring islands.

## References

- Adelaar, K. Alexander. 2002. The genetic affiliations Of Balinese, Sasak and Sumbawan with Malayo-Javanic and Chamic languages. University of Melbourne, MS.
- Ahmadi, Nur. 1996. *Kajian tipologi sintaksis bahasa Sasak dialek Ngeno-Ngene, Sastra dan Bahasa*, Universitas Udayana: MA.
- Blust, Robert A. 1984-85. The Austronesian homeland: a linguistic perspective. *Asian Perspectives* 26:45-67.
- Dyen, Isidore. 1965. A lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages. *International Journal of American Linguistics, Memoir* 19.

- Dyen, Isidore. 1982. The present status of some Austronesian subgrouping hypotheses. In *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Vol.2: Tracking the travellers*, ed. L. Carrington and S.A. Wurm A. Halim, 31-35. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Esser, S.J. 1938. Languages. In *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland, sheet 9b*. Batavia: Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap.
- Grimes, Barbara. 1992. *Ethnologue*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hooykaas, Christian. 1948. *Einege Sasakse Volksvertelsels (Lombok)*. 's-Gravenhage: N.V. Uitgeverij W. van Hoev.
- Mahsun. 1999. *Kajian dialek geografis bahasa Sasak*. Mataram: University of Mataram.
- Mbete, Aron Meko. 1990. *Rekonstruksi protobahasa Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa*, Fakultas Pascasarjana, Universitas Indonesia: PhD.
- Nothofer, Bernd. 2000. A preliminary analysis of the history of Sasak language levels. In *Working Papers in Sasak, Vol. 2*, ed. Peter K. Austin, 57-84. Melbourne: University of Melbourne.
- Syahdan. 2000. Code-switching in the speech of elite Sasaks. In *Working Papers in Sasak, Vol. 2.*, ed. Peter K. Austin, 99-109. Melbourne: University of Melbourne.
- Teeuw, Andries. 1951. *Atlas dialek pulau Lombok [Dialect atlas of the island of Lombok]*. Jakarta: Biro Reproduksi Djawatan Topografi.
- Teeuw, Andries. 1958. *Lombok: een dialect-geographische studie [Lombok: a dialect geographical study]*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Thoir, Nazir, Ketut Reoni, I Ketut Karyawan. 1985/86. *Tata Bahasa Bahasa Sasak [A Grammar of Sasak]*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.
- Zolinger, H. 1847. Het eiland Lombok. *Tijdschrift voor Nederland's Indië* 9:177-205, 301-383.