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2016-09-14 LCAP 2016 Conference

# Sasak, eastern Indonesia: layers of language contact and language change

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Many thanks to Berndt Nothofer for sharing his Sasak materials and research on etymologies, and to colleagues in Lombok for assistance with data and analysis, especially Lalu Dasmara, Lalu Hasbollah and Sudirman.

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# Key points of today's talk

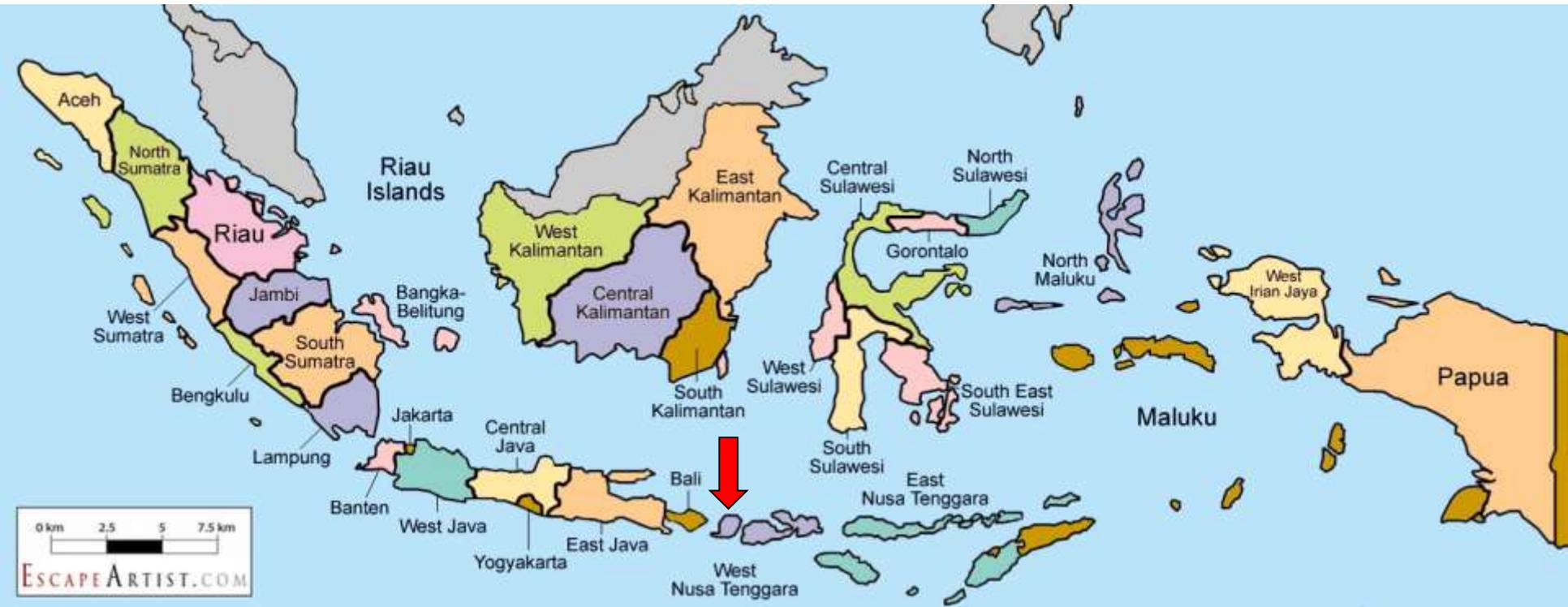
- The history and sociology of Lombok, eastern Indonesia has led to complex lexical borrowings from languages to the west through the innovation of a speech levels system
  - Earlier believed the 'core vocabulary' (body parts, kinship, numbers, pronouns) was immune from borrowing but not here
  - Sasak has innovated new non-etymological non-borrowed material through a kind of system pattern borrowing
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# Outline

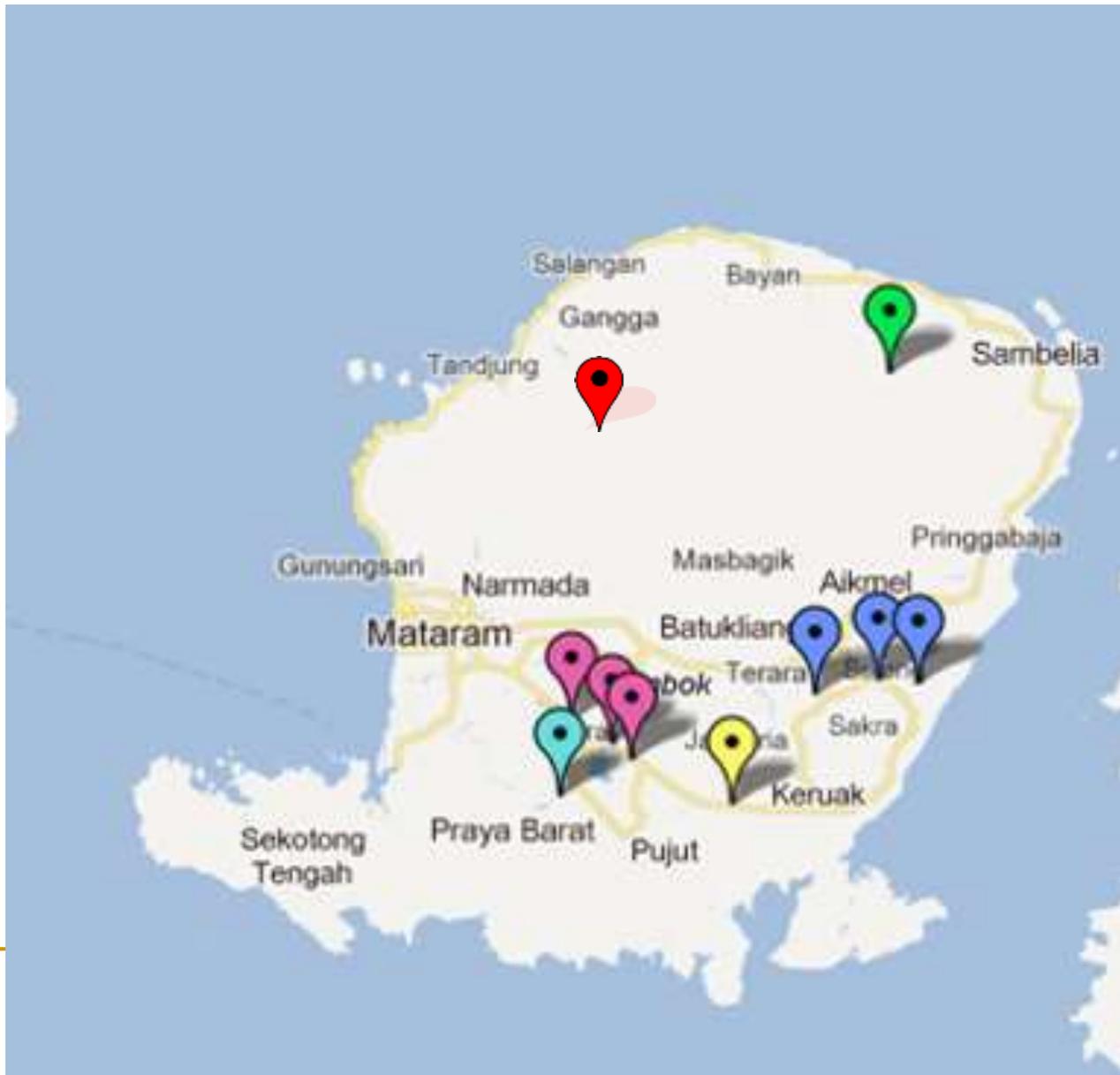
- Geography and History
  - Population and Sociology
  - Language variation
  - Contact phenomena
  - Conclusions
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# Indonesia





# Data collection



# Lombok history

- Majapahit dependency (13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century)



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# Lombok history

- Borrowed Javanese cultural traditions: caste system, aristocracy, Hindu-Buddhist cultural concepts and practices, literacy
  - Influence of Makassarese (east Lombok) and Balinese (west Lombok) from 16<sup>th</sup> century
  - 1678 Balinese Gegel drive out Makassarese, 1740 Balinese Karangasem conquer Gegel, dominate all Lombok
  - Introduction of priesthood, books, Aksara Sasak, reinforcement of Javanese influences
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- Karangasem-Lombok enhanced court by collecting greatest works of the Balinese and Javanese literature, centre of literary tradition even greater than rival Kingdoms in Bali
  - 1855, 1871, 1891 Sasak rebellions; Dutch troops invaded 1894 destroying Balinese Mataram kingdom and occupying whole island
  - 1948 independent Indonesian Republic, spread of Islam
  - Post-independence Sasak-BI diglossia
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# Cultural contact

- Borrowing of major cultural features from Javanese and Balinese – Hindu religion (syncretism with Islam, later replaced by Sunni), social system of castes, writing system
  - Influence of texts in Arabic, especially Quran
  - Influence of Indonesian state post-independence
  - Recent influence of English and western culture
  - All has had an impact on Sasak language, especially in lexicon but also in grammatical structures
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# Borrowing of script

## Javanese script

ꦲ ꦩ ꦚ ꦫ ꦏ ꦢ ꦠ ꦱ ꦮ ꦭ

ha na ca ra ka da ta sa wa la

ꦥ ꦢ ꦗ ꦚ ꦚ ꦩ ꦒ ꦧ ꦠ ꦚ ꦚ ꦁ

pa dha ja ya nya ma ga ba tha nga

## Balinese/Sasak script

ꦲ ꦩ ꦚ ꦫ ꦏ ꦢ ꦠ ꦱ ꦮ ꦭ

ha na ca ra ka da ta sa wa la

ꦥ ꦢ ꦗ ꦚ ꦚ ꦩ ꦒ ꦧ ꦠ ꦚ ꦚ ꦁ

pa ja ya nya ma ga ba nga

# Lontar



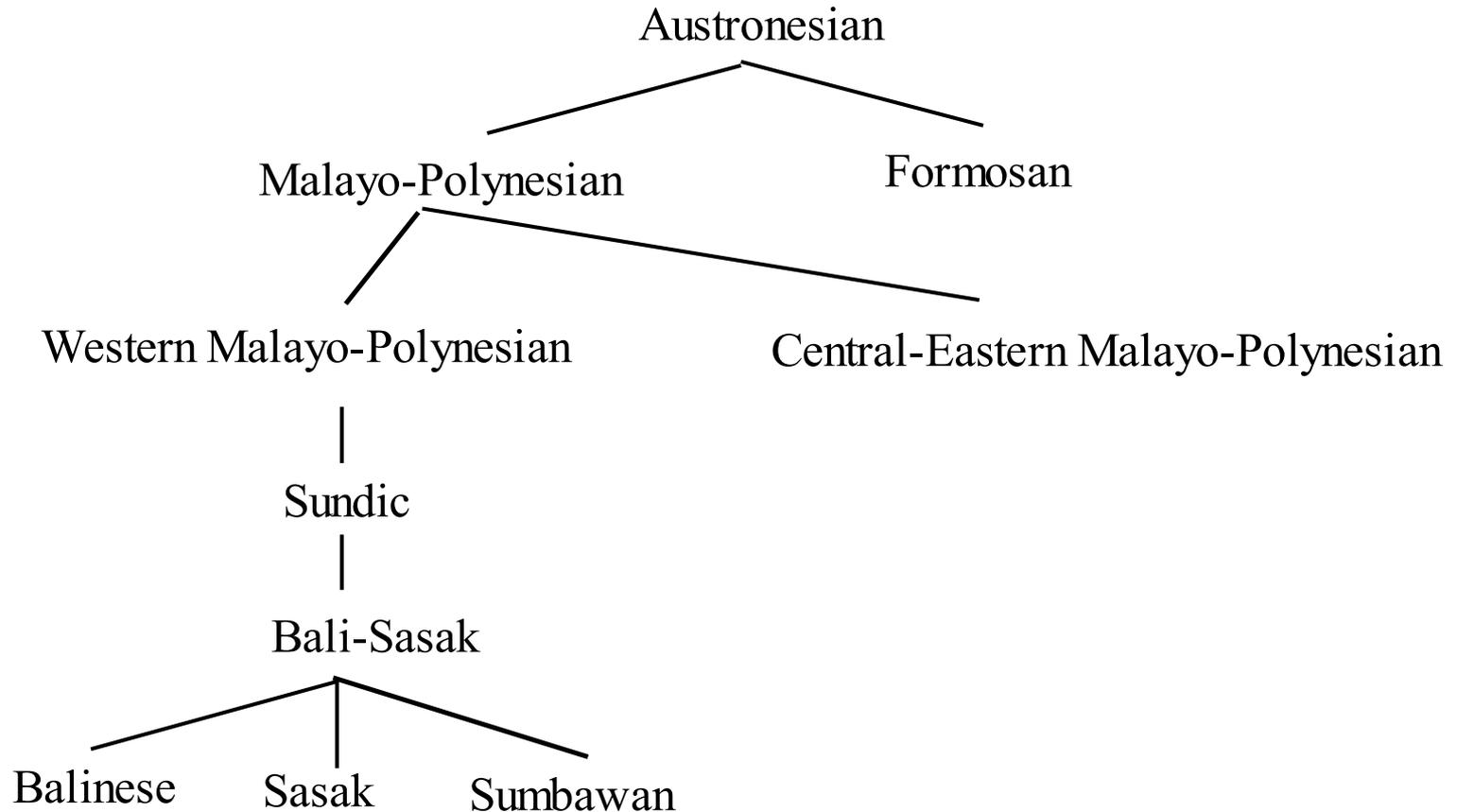


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# Population

- Sasak — 90% of Lombok population (2.85m)
  - Balinese (400,000)
  - Arab
  - Chinese
  - Other Indonesian (Sumbawan, Bima, Bugis, Makassarese, Javanese, Sundanese), and non-Indonesian
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# Language Relationships



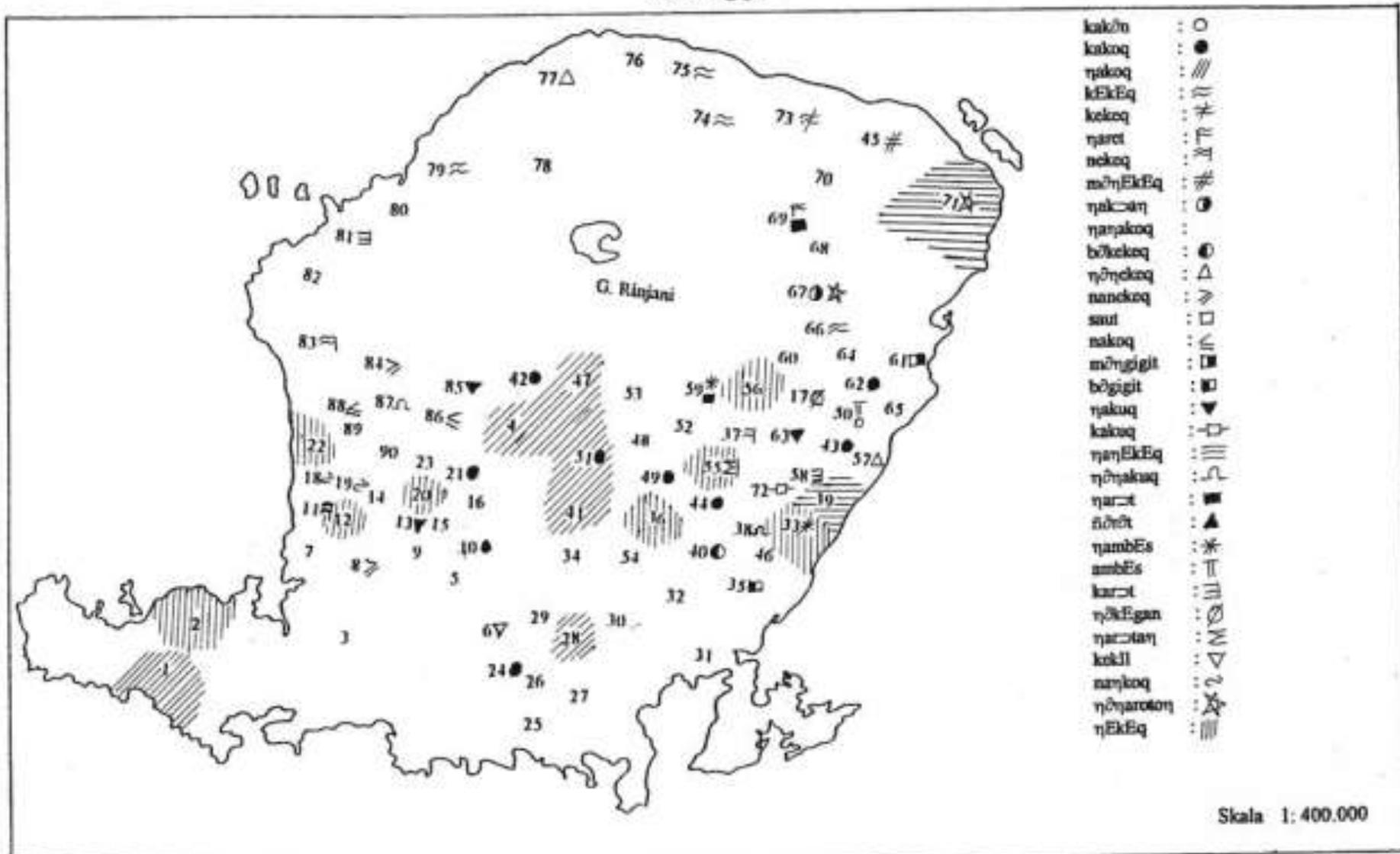
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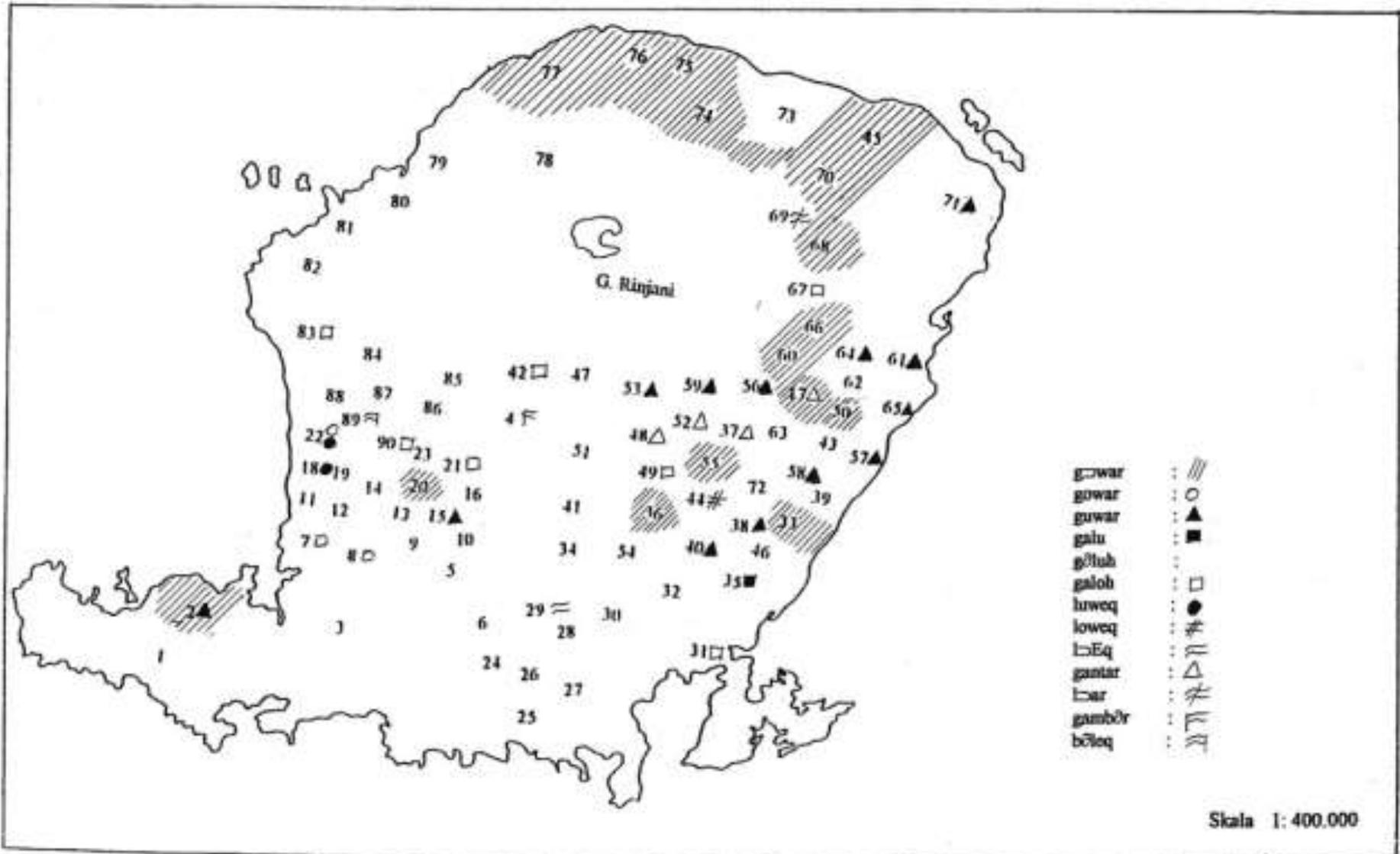
# Sasak language

- 2.85 million speakers
  - Lots of **regional variation** – phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon
  - **Ethno-linguistic labels**: Ngenó-ngené, Nggetó-nggeté, Menó-mené, Kutó-kuté, Meriaq-meriku
  - **Speech levels**: lexical alternatives mark low-mid-high status of addressee in relation to speaker, and humble-honorific forms express relation between speaker and some other referent – uniform across Lombok
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# Dialect Lexical Variation 'to bite'

Peta 65 'gigit'





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# Lexical contact

1. Speech levels
  2. Other Javanese-Balinese influence
  3. Arabic
  4. Indonesian/Malay
  5. English
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# Speech levels

- *style* – low, mid and high, encoded by lexical choice (note: some items are neutral for style; apart from 1sg pronoun high forms cannot be used for reference to self or one's family/group; mid is used to seniors of one's own descent group)
- *reference* – marks deference to a 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person of discourse. Words belong to two subclasses: *honorifics* referring to possessions and actions of a highly respected person; *humble* referring to actions directed to a highly respected person.
- utterances in any of the three styles may contain honorific/humble reference forms.

# Speech levels differences

	<b>Javanese</b>	<b>Balinese</b>	<b>Sasak</b>
<b>LOW</b>	580	480	197
<b>MID</b>	50	----	8
<b>HIGH</b>	480	480	186
<b>HUMBLE</b>	20	40	19
<b>HONORIFIC</b>	190	240	15

- Javanese honorific words: 34%
- Balinese honorific words: 46%
- Sasak honorific words: 7%

# A complex system

	Low	Mid	High	Honorific	Humble
1sg	<i>aku</i>		<i>tiang</i>		<i>kaji, dèwèk</i>
2	<i>kamu</i>	<i>side</i>	<i>pelinggih</i>	<i>dekaji</i>	
3	<i>ie</i>			<i>deside</i>	
‘eat’	<i>mangan</i>	<i>bekelór</i>	<i>madaran</i>	<i>majengan</i>	
‘see’	<i>gitaq</i>	<i>seréóq</i>	<i>sermin</i>	<i>cingakin</i>	
‘say’	<i>uni</i>	<i>base</i>	<i>manik</i>		<i>matur</i>
‘go’	<i>laló</i>		<i>lumbar</i>	<i>margi</i>	<i>lampaq</i>
‘give’	<i>bèng</i>			<i>ican</i>	<i>atur</i>
‘receive’	<i>trimaq</i>			<i>panggih</i>	<i>tampi</i>
‘yes’	<i>aóq</i>		<i>nggih</i>		<i>meran</i>

# A complex system

'eye'	<i>mate</i>	<i>penenteng</i>	<i>penyerminan</i>		
'head'	<i>òtak</i>	<i>sirah</i>	<i>tendes,</i> <i>prabu</i>		
'body'	<i>prane</i>		<i>déwék</i>	<i>batang</i>	<i>rage</i>
'hand'	<i>ime</i>		<i>gading</i>		
'all'	<i>pade</i>		<i>sami</i>		
'what'	<i>ape</i>		<i>napi</i>		
'here'	<i>te</i>		<i>driki</i>		
'there.near addressee'	<i>té</i>		<i>drike</i>		
'there.distal'	<i>tó</i>				

❑ Hyperpoliteness expressed via Kawi (early Modern Javanese)

# Complex history

- Sasak polite forms (160) are loans from Old Javanese, Modern Javanese and/or Balinese, or local creations
- For OldJav cannot be sure if they entered directly during Majapahit, via Balinese or more recently (through modern literary influences)
- Polite vocabulary (mid, high, humble, honorific) sources (from Nothofer):
  - from OldJav or Balinese 91 items
  - from Balinese 16 items
  - from OldJav 7 items
  - from Malay/Indonesian 25 items
  - from other languages 15 items
  - no etymology 8 items (mostly mid)

# Complex history

- Changes in speech level or politeness type of loans:
- Raising style level:
  - Neutral > High 14
  - Low > Mid 2
  - Low > High 7
- Lowering style level:
  - High > Mid 1
- Style to reference
  - Honorific > High 29
  - Humble > High 7
  - High > Honorific 3
  - High > Humble 3

# Sasak innovations

Old Javanese speech level  
system and parts of its  
vocabulary

► (16<sup>th</sup> century) Sasak – OJ borrowings



Balinese speech level  
vocabulary

► (around  
1700)

Sasak – Balinese borrowings



Javanese manuscript  
vocabulary

► (up to  
present)

Sasak – Kawi borrowings

**innovation:** mid level  
vocabulary (time of  
development not clear)

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# Mid level innovations

- Mid level terms do not have cognates in Javanese or Balinese
  - some mid level terms have cognates in other languages:
    - MID *base* 'to say, tell'
    - MID *side* '2<sup>nd</sup> person'
    - MID *penenteng* 'eye'
  - Some mid level terms have no cognates:
    - MID *bekelór* 'to eat'
    - MID *seréóq, serióq* 'to see'
    - MID *sópóq* 'one'
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# Other loans from Javanese and/or Balinese

## ■ Numerals

<i>due pulu</i>	‘twenty’	Sasak
<i>lékur ~ likur</i>	‘twenty’	Loan from Balinese
<i>lime lékur</i>	‘twenty five’	Sasak + Balinese
<i>se-laè</i>	‘twenty five’	Loan from Balinese
<i>karóbelah</i>	‘150’	Loan from Balinese
<i>s-atak</i>	‘200’	Loan from Balinese
<i>s-amas</i>	‘400’	Loan from Balinese
<i>dómas</i>	‘800’	Loan from Balinese
<i>sange</i>	‘900’	Loan from Balinese
<i>lakse</i>	‘10,000’	Loan from Sanskrit via Javanese and Balinese

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# Loans from Arabic

- Pronoun – Ngeno-ngene dialect only *ante* 2<sup>nd</sup> person masculine
  - Nouns – terms for days of week, prayer times, religious concepts, scientific/philosophical concepts, personal names:
    - *saptu* ‘Saturday’
    - *asal* ‘origin’
    - *doe* ‘prayer’
    - *jekat* ‘tithe’
    - *Hasbullah* ‘personal name’
  - Interjections:
    - *alhamdulillah* ‘praise be to God’
    - *assalaamualaikum* ‘greetings’
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# Loans from Malay/Indonesian and English

Terminology relating to modern life comes from Malay/BI and English (in some cases Sasak terms exist)

- *gòtòng-ròyòng* ‘communal labour’
  - *gusar* ‘panic, extreme unease’ (cf. *bingung*)
  - *harga* ‘price’ (cf. *aji*)
  - *hòstèl* ‘hostel’
  - *kampus* ‘campus’
  - *móbil* ‘motor car’ (cf. *mòntòr*)
  - Etc.
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# Conclusions

- Sasak has been subject to external contact with speakers of a range of languages in recorded history since 13<sup>th</sup> century
  - Social and political domination by Javanese and Balinese has resulted in borrowing of speech levels system, individual lexical items (sometimes with level or type change), and numbers
  - Other influences from Arabic, Malay/Indonesian and English
  - Core low/neutral vocabulary is Sasak but outside this there has been massive borrowing and linguistic change, including local innovations that are not borrowed
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Tampi asih

Terima kasih

Thank you

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