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Base Sasak alus: mbé éléq?

Sasak polite language: where does it come from?

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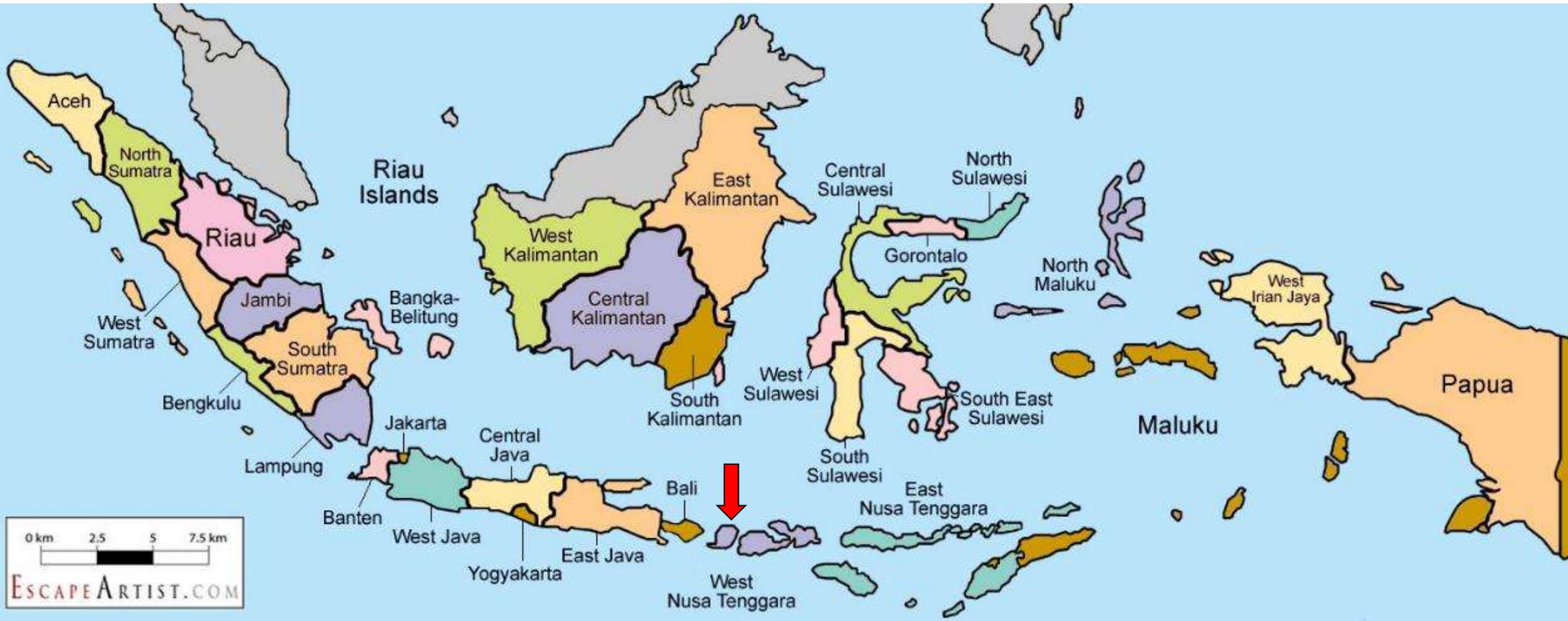
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Issues for discussion

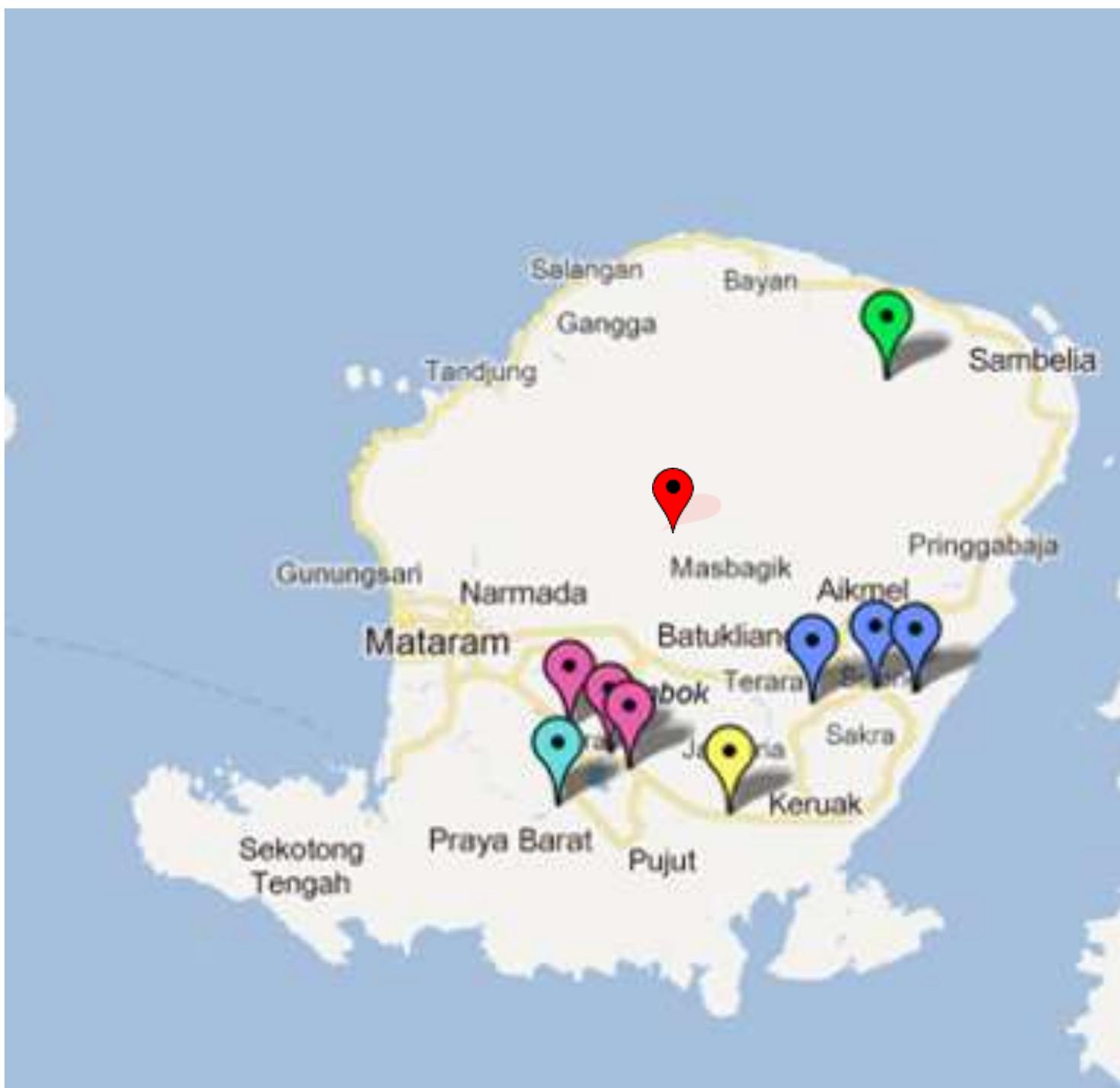
1. Introduction to Sasak language and culture
2. Base alus
3. History of linguistic and cultural contact
4. Origins of base alus
5. Conclusions

Indonesia



Sasak language and culture

1. Sasak language primarily spoken on Lombok, NTB, approx. 3 million speakers, diglossia with Bahasa Indonesia
2. Austronesian language related to Samawa and Balinese (BSS)
3. Large dialect variation across Lombok – phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, lexical differences, even between villages 2km apart (Teeuw 1950)
4. Sasak language ideology – 5 dialects named for ‘like that-like this’: Ngeno-ngene, Meno-mene, Nggeto-nggete, Kuto-kute, Meriaq-meriku
5. Not accurate on the ground (c.f. Menu-meni, Ngeno-mene), not geographically homogeneous, reflects historical political ideology



Dialek

1. Phonetic variation, e.g. 'eye'

[mʌtʌ] ~ [mʌtɜ] ~ [mɜtɜ] ~ [mɔtɔ] ~ [mete]

2. Morphological variation, e.g. 2nd person pronominal clitics

=mèq ~ =bi ~ =di ~ =m ~ =ò

(e.g. 'your mother' amaqmèq, amaqbi, amaqdi, amaqm, amaqò)

3. Syntactic variation, e.g. nasal verbs (Austin 2012), target in relative clauses

Dialek

'I will go to this market'

saya akan pergi ke pasar ini

Selong	ginku	laló aning	peken siné
Selaparang	genku	laló ah	peken néné
Bayan	jageku	laló jòk	peken néné
Praya	iaqk	laló òjòk	peken né
Ganti	éaqkò	laló jòk	peken seniq
Kute	aqk	laló jòk	peken siaq

Majapahit dependency (13th-15th century)



Lombok history

- During Majapahit period, Sasaks borrowed Javanese cultural traditions: caste system, aristocracy, Hindu-Buddhist cultural concepts and practices, literacy
- Influence of Makassarese (east Lombok) and Balinese (west Lombok) from 16th century
- 1678 Balinese Geger drive out Makassarese, 1740 Balinese Karangasem conquer Geger, dominate all Lombok
- Introduction of priesthood, books, Aksara Sasak (Austin 2010) based on Balinese script, reinforcement of Javanese influences

From 1700

- Karangasem-Lombok enhanced court by collecting greatest works of the Balinese and Javanese literature on lontars, centre of literary tradition even greater than rival kingdoms in Bali. Kawi (early Modern Javanese) was an important literary language
- 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

Base alus

1. obvious and distinctive feature shared with languages to west (Balinese, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese) **special vocabulary** coding politeness in a series of levels. This vocabulary (*alus* in Sasak) is pervasive and readily observed (cf. websites)
2. *alus* items occur in formal situations, reflecting 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 Syahdan 2000.
3. Mènaks expect to receive *alus* from all interactants but can asymmetrically use low speech levels to commoners
4. some *alus* forms are polysemous, ie. they cover a range of meanings for which there are different low forms, eg. *nade* 'to eat, drink', *sisip* 'don't know, wrong, forget', *manah* 'feelings, want'.
5. Alus uses morphological resources to derive forms and has a low number of roots, eg. *sermin* 'to see' → *penyermin* 'eye', *besermin* 'to cry'; *ungas* 'to smell' → *pengungas* 'nose'

Speech levels

- *style* – low, mid and high, encoded by lexical choice
 - 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 2nd or 3rd person of discourse
 - *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

- The system has quite a few differences from Balinese and Javanese

Speech levels

I go to eat chicken

You go to eat chicken

Low: aku laló mangan manòk

kami laló mangan manòk

Low+humble: kaji lampaq mangan manòk

Mid: aku laló bekelór manòk

side laló bekelór manòk

High: tiang laló mangan manòk

pelungguh lumbar madaran manòk

High+humble dèwèk laló mangan manòk

High+honorific

dekaji margi majengan manòk

Note: manòk 'chicken' is neutral

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>terimaq</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, 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>sine</i>		<i>driki</i>		
'there.near addressee'	<i>siné</i>		<i>drike</i>		
'there.distal'	<i>sinó</i>				

Hyperpoliteness can be expressed via Kawi (early Modern Javanese), e.g. *dudu* 'not',
cf. high *nèntèn*, low *ndéq*

Speech levels differences between languages

	Javanese	Balinese	Sasak
Low	580	480	197
Mid	50	----	8
High	480	480	186
Humble	20	40	19
Honorific	190	240	15

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

Complex history

- Most Sasak polite forms are **loans** from Old Javanese, Modern Javanese and/or Balinese
- A few are local creations
- For Old Javanese, we 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 Old Javanese or Balinese 91 items
 - from Balinese 16 items
 - from Old Javanese 7 items
 - from Malay/Indonesian 25 items
 - from other languages 15 items
 - no etymology 8 items (mostly mid)
- Note: Balinese has **no** specifically mid terms and mixes high+low for mid

Complex history

Changes in speech level or politeness type of loan words (66 of 160 = 41%)

- Raising style level:
 - Neutral > High 14
 - Low > Mid 2
 - Low > High 7
- Lowering style level:
 - High > Mid 1
- Switches between style and reference
 - Honorific > High 29
 - Humble > High 7
 - High > Honorific 3
 - High > Humble 3

History of Sasak developments

1. Old Javanese speech level system and parts of its vocabulary (16th century)
 - **Sasak Old Javanese borrowings**
2. Balinese speech level vocabulary (around 1700)
 - **Sasak Balinese borrowings**
3. **Innovation:** Sasak **mid-level** vocabulary (date not clear)
4. Javanese manuscript vocabulary (up to present)
 - **Sasak Kawi borrowings**

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' (< Sanskrit)
 - MID *side* '2nd person' (< PAN *si-iDa '3plural')
 - MID *silag* 'please, come on' (< Malay)
- Some mid level terms have no cognates:
 - MID *bekelór* 'to eat'
 - MID *seréóq, serióq* 'to see'
 - MID *sópóq* 'one'
 - MID *penenteng* 'eye'

Conclusions

1. Sasak speech level system has been **borrowed** from Balinese and Javanese as a result of extensive contact throughout the history of Lombok, especially 13th to 17th centuries
2. Borrowing did **not** involve code copying (pattern or matter copying), cf. literature on language contact, e.g. Matras 2020, Matras and Adamou 2023, Johanson 2023
3. It was locally elaborated, especially mid-level
4. Lexical borrowing of non-low forms into Sasak shows multiple types of changes from the source languages (eg. Javanese neutral to Sasak high, Balinese honorific to Sasak high)
5. only a few correspondences between the level in Sasak and that of the source languages (eg. Javanese and Balinese high to Sasak high)
6. Sasak situation is a rare case of speech level borrowing whose complex history can be relatively securely reconstructed

Tampi asih

Terimaq kasih

Thank you

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