

# Documenting Interaction and Variation in Ampenan Sasak

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# Documenting variation

- Studying language variation has been an important part of linguistics, but it is often restricted to English and other major languages.

## **From a documentary linguistics perspective:**

- Hildebrandt et al (2017) highlight the fact that more work is needed on the language variation in endangered and minority languages.
- The inclusion of variation is key in building a multipurpose record of the language and greatly enriches it.

# Studying variation in understudied languages

## From a sociolinguistics perspective:

- Stanford and Mansfield (2017) state the importance of this work for the advancement of sociolinguistics theory and advocate for more research from “insider” sociolinguists.

# Goal of the presentation

To show how documenting interaction and different communities of practice can yield better and more comprehensive documentation.

- By investigating the language of fisherman in a coastal suburb of Mataram in western Lombok.

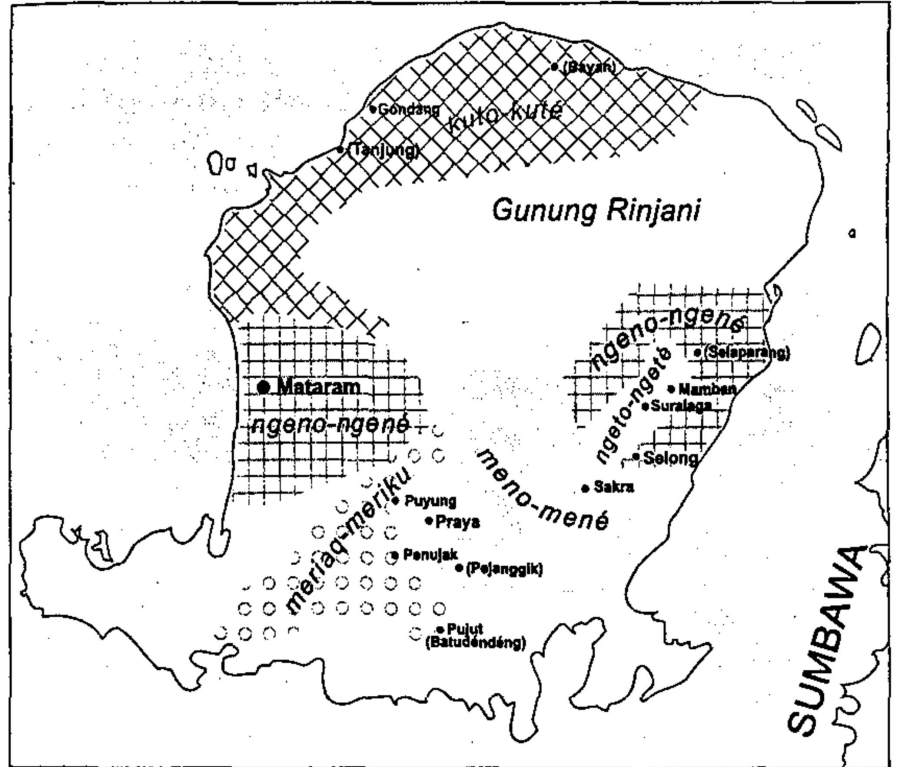
# “Traditional” view of Sasak dialects

Based on words for “like this” and “like that”:

1. *Ngeno-ngené* (central west coast and central east to north east coast)
2. *Meno-mené* (around Praya, Central Lombok)
3. *Ngetó-ngeté* (around Suralaga and Sembalun)
4. *Kuto-kuté* (north coast)
5. *Meriq-meriku* (south central)

Ampenan-Sasak geographically falls within Ngeno-ngené dialect area.

(see Jacq 1998 for further discussion)



# “Traditional” view of Sasak dialects

Linguists have noted extensive variation among dialects:

1. Speakers use a single form of the shiboleth: ‘like this, like that’
2. Phonological differences
  - e.g., in vowel inventories
3. Differences in clitic forms
  - e.g., differences in the phonological realization: =*k* vs. =*ku*
4. Differences in verbal affixes
  - e.g. different causative/applicative suffixes

# Ampenan Sasak: A hotspot for variation

- Ampenan is a coastal suburb of Mataram, mostly comprising ethnically Sasak people, but also others (e.g., Javanese, Chinese, Balinese).
- We refer to the language spoken there as “Ampenan Sasak”.

## Variation within Ampenan

1. Inter- and intra-speaker variation
  - *Ngeno-ngene* is used by most speakers.
  - Few speakers use *meno-mené*.
  - Some speakers also mix *ngené* and *meno*
2. Inter- and intra-speaker variation of /s-/ and /h-/
3. Variation in realization of clitics =*k* and =*ku* and =*n* and =*ne*
4. Variation in the realization of *N-*

# mené

O: ape kadu=te be-buke puase?  
what use=1PL INTR-open fasting  
'what will we use (eat) for breaking  
the fasting?'

saq **mené** laloq  
REL like.this INTENS  
'it is like this'

((LAUGHING))





# *ngeno-ngené*

O: lah mélé=te maraq **ngenó** kan,  
DM want=1SG like like that right  
'hey I want to be like that right'

B: a:rò:, cerite dòang.  
DM story only  
'Uh just a story'

B: lamun=te wah mengalami **ngené** kan sakit.  
if=1SG already experience like.this right hurt  
'if (like me who) has experienced it like this it is hurt right'



# Variation in clitics

- Ampenan Sasak also shows variations in clitic realizations
  - It does not have enclitic *e* (compared with Asikin-Garmager 2017; Austin 2004; Wouk 1999)
  - Enclitics dominate the distribution (n=2,675), but the proclitics are also appearing (n=181); this is in contrast with Wouk (2004) who finds that proclitics are dominant
  - Other clitics associated with *meno-mené* also occur (*ke* and *m*)

# Documenting variation: Fisherman in Ampenan

# Different speech communities interacting

## Nobel vs. non-nobel class

- There are only a few noble people but they gain respect in the community
  - Associated with *alus* 'high speech style'
  - Non-noble with *jamaq* 'low speech style'
- *Alus* is often used as a politeness standard
- Non-noble adjust their language when speaking to the noble (insecurity results in code switching to Indonesian)

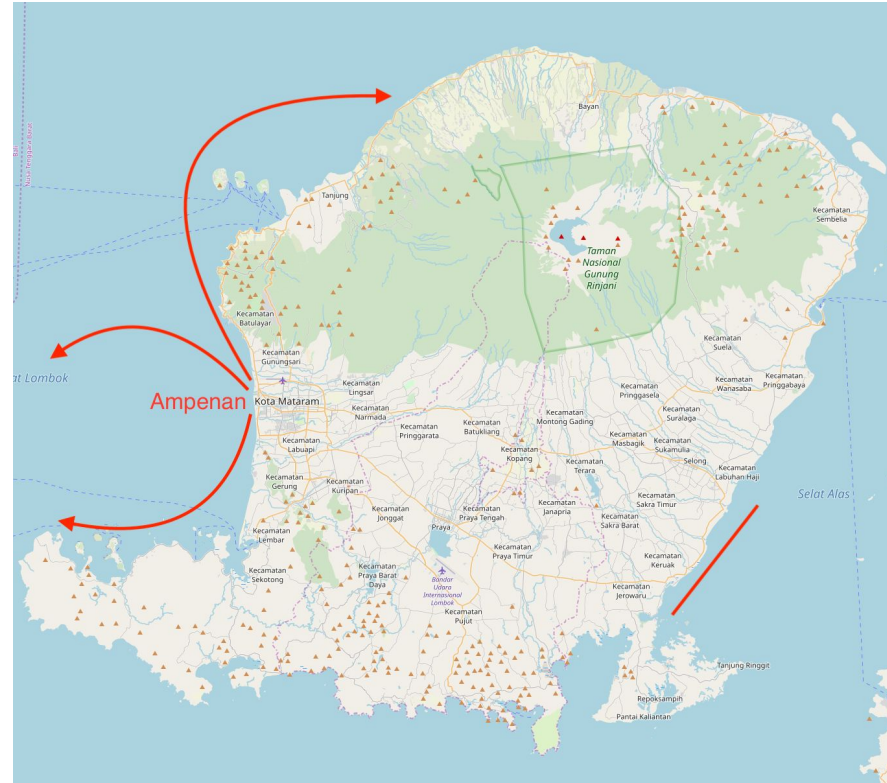
# Different speech communities interacting

## Fisherman vs. Non-fisherman

- Fisherman do not only live by the beach but also in other parts of the neighborhood
- Non-fisherman typically do not live by the beach and are more educated

# Why fisherman?

- Large numbers of fisherman in this coastal suburb
- Community has frequent contact with others from other parts of the island
- Play an important role in shaping daily life in Ampenan
- Often are stereotyped to speak in a 'rude' manner
- They have the least access to *alus* register



# Challenges to document variation among fisherman

## 1. Data collection

- As a woman working with male speakers, the islamic norms applied
  - It was harder to recruit speakers
  - Solution was to hire a male research assistant (all the communication was through him)
- Also difficult to collect sociolinguistic interviews...
  - Drew upon interaction instead

## 2. Data analysis

- Difficult to collect enough data for a robust statistical analysis

# Research question

Are person and politeness level related to the realization of a pronominal form as a clitic vs. a free pronoun?



# Corpus

- Dialogues between male speakers who considered themselves fishermen
- Mean/median age = 36/35
- Mean/median age gap = 9.5/8
- One speaker (O) participated in two conversations (2 & 8)
- Recordings took place at homes and in one case the beach.

Conversation	Speaker	Age
1	A	42
	I	56
2	O	28
	B	37
3	W	35
	H	41
4	M	32
	K	36

Conversation	Speaker	Age
5	R	27
	D	28
6	B	28
	Y	44
7	A	29
	S	46
8	O	28
	W	35

# Findings

- There is an overall preference for clitic pronouns in all forms
- First person
  1. Speakers especially favor clitics when producing first person referents in the basic form
  2. Much more variation for first person referents when using a polite form
  3. Polite forms appear to be marked in AS
    - This may be the reason full pronouns are used.
- Second person
  1. Almost no difference in frequency of clitics/full across basic and polite forms
  2. Younger speakers invariably address elder interlocutors with a polite form
  3. Older speakers invariably address younger speakers with a basic form

**Qualitative analysis reveals that speakers make use of other strategies to mark politeness.**

- Of the 198 tokens where the referent was the addressee,
  - 21 tokens were realized using non-2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominal form

Person		#
1st person plural	= <i>te</i>	18
3rd person singular	<i>ie</i> , = <i>ne</i>	5

- This seems to occur in cases when there is a face-threatening act

# Face Threatening Act (FTA)

- Face is the most significant element to be maintained in interaction (Brown & Levinson 1978, 1987)
- **Positive face:** the need to be approved and appreciated
- **Negative face:** the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, and rights to non-distractions
- **FTA:** any utterance that threatens one's face

# Conclusion

- Documenting interaction can shed light on variations of various aspects of the language
- Urban areas such as Ampenan are interesting areas to explore variation
- Challenges in language documentation is not only faced by “outsiders” but also “insiders”

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