

Variation in Ampenan Sasak pronominal forms

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This study investigates the variation of pronominal forms in Sasak, an Austronesian language spoken in eastern Indonesia. The study marks the first variationist sociolinguistic work on Sasak. Using data from eight conversations between 15 non-noble speakers, pronominal forms were coded for whether they were realized as a free pronoun or a clitic. Further, the discourse was examined to identify the referents and to observe the pragmatic effect of the forms used. The results show clitics dominate the distribution. Further, the results demonstrate that a higher percentage of clitics are preferred with the basic form for first person referents, but speakers apply a different strategy for second person referents; speakers use first person plural and third person singular forms to address their interlocutor when triggered by a Face Threatening Act (see Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Keywords: Sasak, free pronouns, clitics, language variation, politeness

1. Introduction

Socially-conditioned linguistic variation has been a major focus within sociolinguistics. However, the majority of work on sociolinguistic variation is conducted on English (Adger & Trousdale, 2007; Grafmiller, 2014; Kortmann, 2006; Labov, 1966) and other major languages (Bassiouny, 2009; Enbe & Tobin, 2008; Li, 2010). This bias is also found in the literature on the languages of Indonesia where the study of language variation has largely been restricted to Indonesian and its varieties (Djenar, 2006; Djenar & Ewing, 2015; Errington, 1986; Sneddon, 2003) and the languages of Java (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982). Given the abundant number of endangered and minority languages in the country, more language variation research on a wider range of languages is needed.

The present study investigates language variation in Sasak, spoken on the island of Lombok. Through a quantitative analysis of eight conversations with local (non-noble) fishermen, this study aims to answer two research questions. First, it aims to investigate what factors affect variation between pronominal forms in Sasak. Second, this study looks at how variation in pronominal forms might be used as a politeness strategy.

Since there are only few studies on the language, this work contributes to the limited literature on Sasak, particularly on the urban variety of Sasak which is referred to in this study as Ampenan Sasak. It describes sociolinguistic variation in the pronominal system and provides new insight into the use of pronominal forms as the study includes situational elements found in discourse. Further, the study adds to the growing body of work on language variation in Indonesia where the research by cultural outsiders outweighs the research produced by insiders.

2. Pronouns in Indonesian languages

Sasak is an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia. Many Indonesian languages, and indeed many languages of Southeast Asia, have 'open system', in which more than one pronominal form is available for a given referent (Thomason & Everett, 2001). Djenar, Ewing, and Manns (2018) point out that referential expressions in many of the languages of Indonesia can consist of personal pronouns or non-pronominal forms, such as kinship terms, status designations, and names. For instance, a speaker can switch from using personal pronoun *saya* for a first person singular referent to using the name of that referent. In other words, this 'open system' includes variation in the pronominal paradigm as well as other forms that can be used pronominally in discourse. From a variationist perspective, referential forms are a promising focus of study in that there is a great deal of variation among forms within the languages of Indonesia, and the factors that influence which form is used are not always immediately evident, and vary.

The pronominal systems of Indonesian languages are also 'open' in the sense that they are prone to borrowing. The standard Indonesian word for the first person singular, for instance, is *saya*, borrowed from Sanskrit *sahaya*. While *saya* is typically found with the formal variety of Indonesian, *aku* is also used for first person singular as a less formal variety (Manns, 2012). In addition to level of formality, speaker-based information such as age, gender or first language, may also influence the choice of pronominal forms (Purwo, 1984). Moreover, Djenar (2007) argues that the matter of choosing pronominal forms is highly contextual. She observes intra-speaker variation in which individual speakers use different pronominal forms for a single referent within one speech situation. Djenar

examines three pronominal forms Indonesian celebrities use for self-reference in Indonesian – *aku*, *saya*, *gue/gua* – in addition to proper names. She claims that the choice of pronominal forms does not rely only on external factors such as the relationship between the speakers and the speech context, but that self-conceptions can also trigger a speaker to highlight different aspects of their identity within a single speech event. Her findings reveal that *aku* is typically used when speakers are presenting themselves as an individual who is different from others. She finds that the other pronominal forms can be utilized in similar ways, for instance when speakers want to present themselves as a member of a social group. Her findings provide evidence that pronominal variation in Indonesian is not simply prescribed by interspeaker social variables.

Likewise, work on Jakarta-Malay demonstrates how speakers construct their identities by varying the pronominal forms that they use. First and second person singular pronominal forms *gue/gua* and *elu/lu* mark the language of the youth of the metropolitan city of Jakarta (Djenar et al., 2018), and speakers use these pronominal forms to index their social identity as the youth of the capital city, in a context where being from the capital carries prestige. However, when young Jakarta-Malay speakers encounter a different social context, such as a formal speech situation, they switch from using *gue-elu* to standard Indonesian pronominal forms for first and second person. The use of first person pronoun *saya* indexes distance and formality. Further, Djenar et al. (2018) argue that the relationship between speakers also seems to influence the use of *gue-elu*. In non-romantic relationships, young speakers use *gue-elu*, whereas the standard Indonesian pronouns *aku-kamu* are used in romantic relationships. Interestingly, when a dispute arises in a romantic relationship, couples may switch to *gue-elu*, demonstrating that pronominal forms can vary depending on where a speaker is from, their relationship with their interlocutor, and their stance toward what their interlocutor is saying.

Variation in pronominal forms is also linked with speech styles. Five Indonesian languages – Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese, and Sasak – are recognized as employing speech styles or language levels (Blust, 2013, p.129). Among these five languages, Javanese exhibits the most extensive speech level system, and the system has influenced the other four languages. In Javanese, in addition to complex dictated etiquette, such as how to sit, stand, and dress, speech styles mark politeness (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968). In general, Javanese consists of three speech styles: *ngoko* ‘low speech’ style, *madya* ‘middle speech style’ and *krama* ‘high speech style’, with an extension to an even higher speech style known as *krama inggil* (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982). The speech styles are distinguished by an extensive range of words, including pronominal forms. In addition to a complex set of rules around etiquette and registers, pronominal vari-

ation is one tool used to express politeness in Javanese. As a consequence of such a strong tie between pronominal forms and politeness, speakers who are insecure as to what form to use may employ ellipsis. This phenomenon is observed in the work of Wolff and Poedjasoedarmo (1982) who argue that the value of politeness associated with pronominals in Javanese may result in ellipsis on the second person referent. They claim to find no direct address at all for the second person referent within the conversations they analyzed. Ewing (2001, 2014) also confirms that ellipsis is a usual phenomenon in referential forms of Javanese conversation, but Ewing (2014) disfavors the idea that it is only due to politeness. Rather, he argues that ellipsis is a default mode for subject representation and speakers simply take advantage of this mode when it comes to marking social relationships through pronominal avoidance.

3. Sasak

3.1 Social caste and language

Sasak is spoken by approximately 3 million people (Eberhard, Simons, & Fennig, 2019) who inhabit the island of Lombok, in eastern Indonesia. The Sasak community employs a caste system that divides the Sasak people into nobles and non-nobles (Austin, 2014; Mahyuni, 2007; Syahdan, 2000) which historically originated as a result of influence from the Javanese kingdom (Nothofer, 2000). Thus, like Javanese, the caste system is accompanied by two language varieties; *alus*, high prestige speech style, and *jamaq*, low prestige speech style. The difference between the varieties is primarily dependent on lexical differences, including verbs, nouns for body parts, and pronouns. The following examples show such differences between *alus* and *jamaq*.

- (1) Tiang sampun medahar (*alus*)
 1SG already eat
 'I already ate'
- (2) Aku wah mangan (*jamaq*)
 1SG already eat
 'I already ate'

In their daily encounters, the nobles typically use *alus* while the non-nobles commonly use *jamaq*. Given such domains of language use and the fact that nobles are highly respected in the Sasak community, *alus* is often regarded as the language of politeness, resulting in the extended use of *alus* in codeswitching with Indonesian in office settings (Syahdan, 2000). As such, all Sasak speakers are expected to have a certain level of competence in speaking *alus*, including speakers of *jamaq*.

Sasak is rich in dialectical variation (Asikin-Garmager, 2017; Austin, 2013; Jacq, 1998). Despite this, there have been no descriptions of sociolinguistic variation in Sasak to date. In fact, there is only limited description of Sasak at all. The focus of this paper is the understudied *jamaq* variety. To my knowledge, there is no published work which specifically examines the variety. In addition to the recorded conversations discussed below, I am also able to rely on my own native speaker judgments and knowledge about the variety and its use. For instance, as a speaker of *jamaq*, I can confirm that there is a higher register of *jamaq* that is mostly indicated by pronominal forms (this will be discussed in the next section) and a few verbs, such as the words *ngelór* 'to eat' and *serioq* 'to see'. This register is often used, for instance, when talking to an elder interlocutor. It is important to highlight, however, that the high register in *jamaq* is not equal to *alus* in terms of the degree of politeness. In situations that require the use of *alus*, speakers of *jamaq* still need to use *alus*. Moreover, speakers of *jamaq* tend to regard their variety as rude because of their social status in the caste system and the fact that the *jamaq* variety is never used in formal situations.

3.2 Pronominal forms in Sasak

Previous studies of Sasak provide a general description of the speech style system from both synchronic (Mahyuni, 2006; Khalik, 2013) and diachronic viewpoints (Nothofer, 2000) and demonstrate how a high speech style is linked with code switching to Indonesian (Syahdan, 2000). There has, however, been no study investigating variation within speech styles, and relatively little is known about *jamaq*, particularly about the pronominal system. Moreover, previous descriptions of Sasak (Austin, 2004; Wouk, 1999, 2008) have included only limited descriptions of referential expressions, with little to no description of variation in pronominal forms.

One cultural aspect of variation in pronominal forms that has been observed is the use of pronominal variation to express values and culture (Mahyuni, 2006). This is exemplified by the Sasak term *lepas base* 'how to address someone', a phrase which highlights the importance of using the appropriate pronominal forms in conversation. It also implies that using the wrong form is socially damaging; using the incorrect form results in what in the community refers to as *ndéq taoq base* 'not knowing the appropriate language'.

In general, pronominal forms in Sasak may be divided into 'basic' and 'polite' forms. Further, each speech style has its own basic and polite forms, and polite forms in *alus* have a higher degree of politeness compared to the polite forms in *jamaq*. Thus, what is polite in *jamaq* is not polite in *alus*. As an illustration, using the *jamaq* 1SG polite pronominal *ite/te* is not acceptable among the nobles since

the more appropriate pronoun is the *alus* polite form *tiang*. However, using the polite forms of *alus* in an inappropriate setting can also be perceived negatively; if a non-noble uses *alus*-based polite forms with a familiar non-noble person in a casual conversation, such an action could imply that the speaker is maintaining social distance from the hearer or that they are trying to sound more educated. In addition, *jamaq* speakers have more flexibility than *alus* speakers in opting for either basic or polite forms. In *jamaq*, it is permissible to refer to oneself with the basic form, regardless of age, which is not the case among nobles. A younger noble speaker must always use the polite form to refer to themself.

To my knowledge, no research has explored how basic and polite forms of free pronouns and clitics are used in conversation. There is a concession that polite forms should be used when the interlocutor is older, with the expectation that Sasak speakers will address interlocutors who are older than them with polite forms regardless of the intimacy level. From this standpoint, the elder speaker usually addresses themself with the basic form. Talking to noble people also requires the use of polite forms, but when age is taken into account, an overlap may occur. Polite forms are also used in reference to people who have gained a religious title (Mahyuni, 2006). If an individual has gone to Mecca as a pilgrim, the individual achieves a higher position in the community, receives Haji ‘hajj’ as their first name, and is addressed using polite forms.

3.2.1 *Pronominal forms in Ampenan Sasak*

The current study focuses on the variety of Sasak spoken in Ampenan, the most ethnically heterogeneous city in the Mataram municipality. The variety spoken in Ampenan, which I refer to as Ampenan Sasak (AS), is part of the larger *ngenó-ngené* dialect as described by Austin (2004), but it exhibits some distinct differences in morphosyntax and pronominal forms from Austin’s description of *ngenó-ngené*. Ampenan is primarily made up of ethnically Sasak people, but it is an urban area with interaction between people from different ethnolinguistic groups, including Balinese, Javanese, Chinese, and Arab Indonesians. Pondok Prasi, the neighborhood in the subdistrict of Bintaro where the research was carried out, is inhabited by a large number of fishermen as well as non-fishermen who interact closely with each other as well as with other ethnic groups mentioned. This study investigates variation in pronominal forms produced by speakers of Ampenan Sasak using the *jamaq* style. This work is the first to look at the distribution of pronominal forms in conversational Sasak. It will later become clear that speech style, social group, and relationship between speakers are not enough to predict pronominal forms. Thus, this study includes a consideration of discourse to account for the observed patterns.

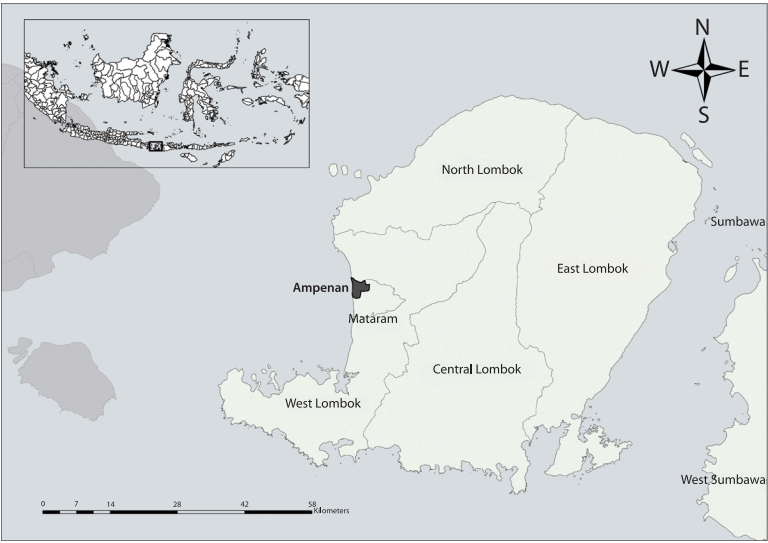


Figure 1. Location of Ampenan shown in black on the island of Lombok, Indonesia

The complete list of free pronouns and clitics found in *jamaq* Ampenan Sasak is shown in Table 1. The information presented in Table 1 builds on Wouk (1999) with the addition of *jamaq* Ampenan Sasak forms that were either missing from or incorrectly presented in her work. Note that for some grammatical persons (first person plural and third person), there is no polite form for either the free pronoun or the clitic. Table 1 also shows that there is only one third person form, with no distinction for gender or number. Moreover, both basic and polite forms of first person clitics as well as the polite form of second person singular clitics are phonological reductions of the associated free forms. Meanwhile, the second singular and third person plural clitics and free forms are phonologically distinct.

Table 1. Pronouns in *jamaq* ‘low speech style’ spoken by the non-nobles in Ampenan

Grammatical person	Free pronoun		Clitic	
	Basic	Polite	Basic	Polite
1SG	<i>aku</i>	<i>ite</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>te</i>
1PL	<i>ite</i>	–	<i>te</i>	–
2SG masculine	<i>ante</i>	<i>side</i>	<i>mèq</i>	<i>de</i>
2SG feminine	<i>kamu</i>	<i>side</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>de</i>
3	<i>ie</i>	–	<i>ne, n</i>	–

In regard to the forms themselves, pronominals in Sasak consist of free-standing pronouns as well as clitics (Austin, 2004; Wouk, 1999, 2002, 2008). Free pronouns can stand alone; clitics are reduced pronominal forms which must attach to a host. In Sasak, clitics may attach to words of multiple classes, including prepositions, adverbs, nouns, and auxiliaries.

In complex sentences, subordinate clauses show flexibility in the preference for free pronouns or clitics. Examples (3)–(7) below show that either free pronouns or clitics can be used to activate a referent and by the same token, it is not necessarily the case that a reduced form is used when a referent has been activated. Examples (5) and (6) have the same denotational meaning, but in (5), a clitic is used to activate a referent, while in (6) a free pronominal form is used. Example (5) also shows a free pronoun is used for an activated referent instead of a clitic.

- (3) Aku ndéq lapah sèngaq wah=ku kaken jaje nó
 1SG NEG hungry because PFV=1SG eat cake DET
 ‘I am not hungry because I have eaten the cake’
- (4) Ndéq=ku lapah sèngaq wah=ku kaken jaje nó
 NEG=1SG hungry because PFV=1SG eat cake DET
 ‘I am not hungry because I have eaten the cake’
- (5) Kaken=ku jaje nó sèngaq aku lapah
 eat=1SG cake DET because 1SG hungry
 ‘I ate the cake because I was hungry’
- (6) Aku kaken jaje nó sèngaq=ku lapah
 1SG eat cake DET because=1SG hungry
 ‘I ate the cake because I was hungry’
- (7) Aku uléq, terus kaken jaje
 1SG go.home then eat cake
 ‘I went home and ate the cake’

Thus, while the syntactic distinction between free pronouns and clitics is clear, a reliance on information structure is not enough to predict whether the free pronominal form or the clitic will appear, which also indicates that information structure may not be the prominent factor. For this reason, careful attention should be paid to discourse when analyzing pronoun and clitic distribution in AS. This discussion will be covered in the results and discussion sections.

To summarize, this paper focuses on variation in pronominal forms found in the *jamaq speech style of Ampenan Sasak*, with recognition of the fact that even within the *jamaq speech style* there is register variation. Given the large number

of possible pronominal forms, we might expect speakers to exhibit a great deal of variation. This paper is an initial investigation of the variation, what factors influence whether a speaker uses a free pronoun or a clitic in any given instance, and whether there are situations which cause speakers to adopt a politeness strategy other than using the prescribed basic or polite form.

4. Methods

4.1 Speakers

Fifteen non-noble male fishermen were interviewed for this study. All were fishermen who own their boats and who receive fish in exchange for bringing non-boat owning fishermen to the sea. This study focuses on the speech of fishermen because their language use is stereotyped as being crass, rude, and unfriendly with a great deal of slang. It is also difficult for them to access *alus* due to their lack of education and their informal work environment. In other words, fishermen might be expected to have the least competence using *alus* among the Sasak community. Indeed, during the metadata interviews some speakers expressed their insecurity speaking *alus*, stating that they could not speak that variety as they are non-noble. Additionally, given the nature of their job which often requires them to shout at one another on the sea, they speak louder than other Sasak speakers with different professions. In other words, all of the speakers are competent speakers of *jamaq* Sasak since they use the variety on a daily basis, but because of other factors such as their status as non-nobles, they are not competent in *alus*.

The present work is centered in Pondok Prasi, a neighborhood located at the subdistrict of Bintaro which is approximately 0.82 km². All of the speakers were born in the neighborhood of Pondok Prasi. The mean participant age was 36, and the median was 35. Within this age range, it is assumed that the speakers are all communicatively competent and understand the norms on the language when speaking with each other. The age gap between interlocutors varied across the interactions, with 8 years as the median. I expect that the age gap would affect the pronominal forms that speakers choose to use as they employ different politeness strategies. The highest education level achieved varied from elementary to junior high school, and all speakers were literate in Indonesian. There were only two speakers who had ever left their hometown, both of whom worked in Malaysia for 2–4 years. All twelve speakers were married; three of them were married to women from outside Ampenan while the others had spouses from Pondok Prasi.

4.2 Data collection

The fifteen speakers were recorded speaking in dyads, but one speaker participated twice in the recordings, so there are eight recorded conversations of 30 minutes each. Six conversations were collected in summer 2018 and two were recorded in summer 2019. Most of the recordings were conducted in the speakers' houses and a few were done by the beach when they returned from the sea. Depending on their availability, participants either chose their own conversational partners or were paired with someone they agreed to converse with by the author and a research assistant. They were asked to talk about fishing. The speakers were told that the purpose of the recordings was to investigate language use among non-nobles but were not told that the analysis would focus on pronominal forms or politeness.

I was not present during the conversations to ensure that my presence would not influence how the speakers conversed and due to Islamic cultural norms regarding gender that restrict our interactions. Religion plays a substantial part in daily life on Lombok, which is known as “the island of a thousand mosques.” Sasak men and women who are not related are expected to maintain a particular distance and avoid eye contact when speaking to each other. As a woman who is a member of the Sasak community, these norms also apply to me. As a result, it was initially hard to recruit speakers since I could not simply approach them. Thus, I worked with a male research assistant to recruit the speakers. Since this research assistant is a family member, I did not face similar challenges in communicating with him as the norms applied to kinship are looser. Moreover, he has never moved from the neighborhood and has good relationships with fishermen there. During the data collection, he helped with recruiting speakers and preparing the recording sessions. His presence during the sessions was particularly helpful because explaining the task was always awkward; they listened to me, but they spoke to my research assistant when they had any questions. Once their questions were answered, we turned on the recorder and left the area.

4.3 Coding

The conversations were transcribed in ELAN. Each token of a first or second person pronominal form was coded for (1) free pronoun or clitic, (2) grammatical person, (3) the position of the clitic as either pro-clitic or enclitic, and (4) politeness level. The actual referent was also coded, meaning that free pronouns and clitics were coded not only based on their grammatical referent, but were also coded for who they actually referred to in the conversation. Coding the actual referents was done to ensure that free pronouns and clitics had the correct referents,

particularly because some pronominal forms can refer to the same grammatical person. For instance, 1SG polite and 1PL take the same pronominal forms *ite* and *te*. Therefore, to differentiate between the grammatical person and the actual referent, the discourse was examined. The referent's number (e.g., 1SG vs 1PL) was then clear from context, so the number and politeness could be assigned accordingly. Consideration of the surrounding discourse was also needed to determine the politeness level. The politeness level coding was binary (basic or polite) and was determined by (1) the use of the polite form of the free pronoun or clitic, and (2) a close examination of the discourse for tokens with first or second person referents. This was also to observe whether the distribution of the pronouns was as prescribed as in Table 1 above. The close examination of the discourse involved selecting tokens from these referents and then determining whether they were preceded by Face Threatening Acts (Brown & Levinson, 1987), (see Section 6).

4.4 Data analysis

This is a variationist sociolinguistics study that applies binominal logistic regression. The dependent variable is the pronominal form (free pronoun vs. clitic). Meanwhile, the independent variables are grammatical person, person reference, and politeness level. The analysis is limited to the first and second person forms. Further, a qualitative analysis of the discourse in which pronominal forms are used was conducted to get a better understanding of the role that the variation plays in the interaction.

5. Results

In the eight conversations, 985 pronominal forms are realized as free pronouns and 2,860 as clitics. In other words, clitics dominate the pronominal distribution across all referents in Ampenan Sasak.

Moreover, information status as proposed by Lambrecht (1994) seems to play a role in determining whether a pronoun occurs as a free pronoun or a clitic in discourse. Free pronouns are used to activate a referent and followed by clitics once the referent has been established as in (8). However, an interesting pattern was also found where clitics can also activate a referent as in (9) where the speaker opens a new topic in the conversation.

- (8) Aku gedek siq m̀ontòr tuaq Man rubin.
 1SG angry by bike uncle M. yesterday
 'I was pissed off by Uncle Man's bike yesterday'

jangke sèket kali=ku èngkòl ndéq=ne idup
 until fifty times=1SG kick NEG=3 live
 ‘I kicked it up to fifty times; it did not turn on’ (KN1-033)

- (9) Jaq=ku jòk Malaysia dòang jage né.
 Will=1SG PREP Malaysia DM maybe this
 ‘Maybe it seems that I should go to Malaysia’ (KN1-033)

This result could also be interpreted as evidence that, while other Indonesian languages favor non-overt realization of referential expressions, speakers of *jamaq* Ampenan Sasak favor clitics.

The data demonstrate show that clitics in Sasak regularly attach to verbs, nouns, negation, auxiliaries, conjunctions, adverbs, and adjectives, and a small number of clitics also attach to determiners, numerals, discourse markers, prepositions, and quantifiers. Typologically, this result confirms that clitics in Sasak have a freer distribution compared to so-called Indonesian-type languages (Chen & McDonnell, 2019) such as Javanese and Balinese where clitics tend to attach to verbal predicates. Among these hosts, verbs and nouns are the most dominant. While clitics always occur as enclitics with nouns, they may occur as either a proclitic or an enclitic with verbs, except for the second singular person clitic =*m* which only occurs as enclitic. Note that =*m* was not proposed in Table 1 but it occurs as a surprising finding in the corpus. More about the clitic will be discussed later. Table 2 below shows the occurrences of clitics in the corpus hosted by verbs and nouns, shown separately for referent.

Table 2. Clitic distribution across verbs ($n=869$) and nouns ($n=927$) as the hosts, which together make up the majority of clitics (total clitics = 2,860)

Person	Verb proclitic	Verb enclitic	Noun	Other
1SG	68	317	177	240
1PL	82	91	100	184
2SG	7	49	60	82
3SG	4	231	566	535
3PL	6	14	24	23

As shown in Table 2, the majority of clitics for the first and second person in the data attach to verbs, where they occur dominantly as enclitics. In contrast, most of the clitics used for the third person attach to nouns.

The coding reveals an interesting finding with respect to the first and second person referents; namely, the occurrence of two clitics typically associated with

the variety spoken in Central Lombok, referred to as the *meno-mené* dialect. The two clitics are the first person basic clitic *ke* ($n=117$) and second person singular basic clitic *m* ($n=9$). Clitic *m* is gender-neutral, unlike the other second person clitic *mèq* which is used for a male referent. Additionally, clitic *m* occurs strictly as an enclitic while this is not likely the case with *mèq* which can occur either as enclitic or proclitic. Both clitics associated with *meno-mené* were observed only in one conversation and were produced by both speakers in that conversation. Further discussion is presented in the general discussion.

To examine differences in the patterns of clitics and free pronouns across politeness levels, clitic production is shown across politeness level for first person and second person referents in Figure 2. This analysis is restricted to tokens with first and second person referents since these are the only grammatical persons with a prescribed polite form. Speakers with only one token ($n=3$) were removed since their only possible percent values are floor (0%) or ceiling (100%) which could render the plot misleading, so the Figure represents clitic production for twelve speakers.

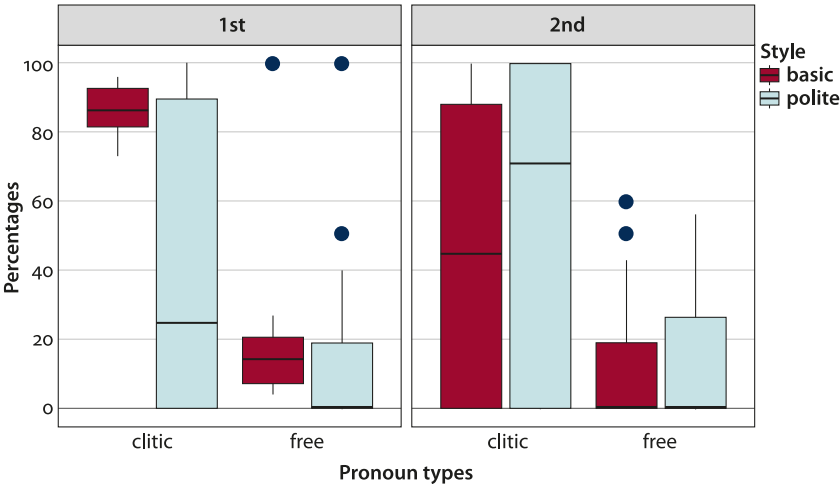


Figure 2. Clitic production for first and second person referents across politeness level for 12 speakers

The boxplot shows that clitics dominate the distribution both in the first and second person referents. However, the distribution is different across these referents. For the first person referent, the density concentrates at the higher percentage at approximately 80%–95% and the median (shown by the line in the box) is 85%. This shows that speakers are more likely to favor clitics when the situation calls for using a basic form. In contrast, there is more variation across speak-

ers in whether they will use a clitic when a polite form is used. This is indicated by the boxplot of polite form of clitic distribution which concentrates on 0–90% while the median is only 25%. Thus, for the first person referent, a clitic is strongly favored for the basic form, but speakers vary in terms of whether they use clitics or free pronominals for the polite form.

In contrast, no such difference is evident for second person referents, suggesting that speakers are no more likely to use a clitic when the situation calls for a basic form than when it calls for a polite form. This is shown in the boxplot showing the density percentage between the basic vs. polite form of clitic as almost equal; 88% vs. 100%.

There is data sparsity between the first and second person referent where 1sg far outweighs 2sg. Thus, since 1sg has more tokens, a statistical model was then limited to the first person referent to examine if there is a significant difference in the production of clitics and free pronouns. It fitted a logistic mixed-effects model with pronominal form (free pronoun vs. clitic) as the dependent variable, politeness level (basic vs. polite) as a fixed effect, and speaker as a random intercept. The model indicates that the effect of politeness is significant ($p=0.0253$), with greater productions of free pronouns with polite forms, whereby the use of a free pronoun was more likely when the utterance required the use of a polite form compared to utterances that mandated use of a basic form. This result indicates that the use of free pronouns appears to be a strategy for marking politeness in the first person referent.

Table 3. Output of model fit only to data with a first person referent. `model <- glmer(pronoun.vs.clitic ~ politeness.level + (1|speaker), data = data.1sg, family = binomial)`

	Estimate	Std. error	Z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	−1.967	0.1558	−12.658	<2e-16
Politeness level (polite vs. basic)	0.7896	0.3531	2.237	0.0253

When discourse is examined more closely, another trend emerges for the second person referent, suggesting that speakers may sometimes apply a different strategy to mark politeness. Of the 198 tokens where the referent was the addressee, 21 tokens were realized as non-second person pronominal forms; eighteen tokens were realized using the first person plural clitic *te*, three were tokens of the third person singular clitic *ne*, and two were tokens of the third person singular free pronoun. What is intriguing about this finding is that the pattern of occurrences is not random. Rather, the discourse indicates that speakers use such a strategy of politeness when there is a situation that triggers awkwardness

in which speaker A is saying something that may insult speaker B. Theoretically, this situation can be viewed with respect to Brown and Levinson's theory of 'face' (1987), where 'face' is defined as something that conveys emotion, and hence, 'can be lost, maintained, enhanced, and must be attended to in interaction' (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.65). Since 'face' is crucial in interaction, they argue that every participant in an interaction tries to secure each other's face by acting in ways that show that each is aware of the other's 'face' needs.

Further, given the nature of an interaction in which every participant has their own 'face wants', it is inevitable that certain kinds of acts threaten 'face.' Brown and Levinson label these Face Threatening Acts (henceforth FTA) (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.65) and define them as certain kinds of acts, either through verbal or non-verbal communication, which go against the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker. In this corpus, a close analysis of the discourse indicates that FTAs may trigger speakers to replace the second person pronominal form with other pronominal forms. An FTA occurs, for example, in discourse Examples (10) and (11) below.

(10) <At Irwan's house in the village of Pondok Prasi, Irwan is a 56 year old man and Ali is a 42 year old man.> (KN1-031)

1. Irwan: *seninaq=ku taò=n laló meken entiq empaq ante ngumbé taò=n*
 Wife=1SG able=3 go market carry fish 2SG how able=3SG
laló meken?
 go market
 'my wife can go to market carrying the fish, how about you, can she go to market (to sell the catch)?'
2. Ali: *ndéq=n taó meken ie* [LAUGH]
 NEG=3SG able market 3SG
 'she cannot go to the market [LAUGH]'
3. Ali: *ye wah mentòès- mentowaq dòang*
 that DM parent.in.law-parent.in.law DM
 'that is true, just my parents-in-law'
4. Ali: *jari ès-an léq bòk tó*
 become ice-App Loc box that
 'as the one putting the ice (on the fish) in the box'
5. Irwan: *sebenerne amun=ne taò ndéq=te jaq lelah anuq*
 actually if=3SG able NEG=1PL will tired whatchamacallit
istilah=ne
 term=3SG
 'actually if she could, you would not be tired you know'

6. Ali: *ie be-dèngah dòang léq bale*
 3SG AFF-babysit DM loc house
 'she just babysits at home'

In Example (10), Irwan is comparing his wife with Ali's wife. He feels proud that his wife can help him sell the catch at the market, and he asks if Ali's wife could also do it. Irwan's question in line 1 can be regarded as an interrogative speech act because it is the act of asking a question that is accompanied by an act of expressing derision towards Ali. Since both speakers are relatives and neighbors, they know each other and each other's families well. Given the close relationship between the two speakers, we can assume that Irwan actually knows the answer to his question. This is later confirmed by Ali's answer acknowledging that his wife is just a housewife. Further, in line 5, Irwan does not hold back from an FTA. Following the schema for possible strategies to do FTAs by Brown and Levinson (1987), Irwan does the FTA through a redressive action which threatens Ali's negative face. That is, Irwan expresses his negative opinion about Ali's wife, but in doing so, he mitigates the severity of his utterance by using the first person plural clitic *te* as shown in line 5. The 1PL form is used even though it is clear from the context that the referent is Ali.

Example (11) illustrates the use of third person clitic *ne* to refer to the second person referent.

- (11) <At their brother's house in the village of Pondok Prasi, Openg is a 33-year-old man and Karim is a 36-year old man. Openg is Karim's younger sibling.>

(KN1-040)

1. Openg: *beli jari barén=ne ndéq naraq tòngkòl*
 buy become bait=3 NEG exist tuna
 'buy (something) for the bait, there is no tuna'
2. Karim: *ndéq taken siq angin né nyet lalóq=ne*
 NEG bear by wind this cold too=3
 '(I) cannot bear the wind it is too cold'
3. Openg: *barén=ne pòq èndah ndéq naraq mbé taòq=ku jaq nganuq*
 bait=3 by also NEG exist where place=1SG will N-get
 'there is also no bait where could I get it'
4. Karim: *ndéq=ne anuq cumiq ngònèq léq anuq*
 NEG=3SG whatchamacallit squid earlier loc whatchamacallit
tuaq Nan
 uncle Nan
 'Someone did not buy squid earlier from uncle Nan'

5. Openg: *baréh tunuq empaq*
 later roast fish
 '(I) will roast some fish later'

In Example (11) Openg tells Karim that he does not have any bait for fishing. After Karim says he cannot go fishing due to the cold weather, Openg again confirms that there is also no bait and he has no idea where to get it. In line 4, Karim then chastises Openg for not buying squid that could be used as the bait. This act can be regarded as an FTA towards Openg's positive face. This is expressed in line 3, where he wants his excuse for not going fishing to be approved. However, instead of understanding the excuse, Karim criticizes Openg in line 4, but in doing so, Karim uses the third person singular *ne* instead of using the clitic for the second person singular. Using this clitic implies that Karim is trying not to be too direct in blaming his brother; he could have done it in a less polite way by using basic clitic *mèq* like what he uses to address Openg in the majority of discourse throughout this conversation. As a result of this politeness strategy, Openg does not explicitly defend himself as he likely would have if his brother had used the basic clitic *mèq*. Instead, Openg switches the topic in the last line by saying he will roast some fish later. Switching the topic implies that Openg acknowledges his mistake of not buying the squid as the bait. Hence, it is evident that speakers use the first and third person clitics to replace using a second person referent in certain situations as described, which can be interpreted as another facet of pronominal variation with respect to politeness.

6. Discussion

The results suggest that clitics dominate the distribution of the pronominal forms in *jamaq* Ampenan Sasak, with the basic form of clitics being especially common for first person referents. Meanwhile, in line with what is reported by previous studies, there is no polite form identified for the first person plural and third person referents.

With respect to the first person singular referent, what exactly triggers the speakers to use clitics instead of free pronouns is not quite clear. One possibility is that clitics are favored due to their flexibility, as they can be used in various syntactic and discourse positions. Clitics do not always occur when the referents have been established, but they can in fact be used to activate referents. With respect to basic vs polite forms, once the basic form is chosen, it marks the identity of the speaker as belonging to the non-noble group. With regard to the polite form, there seem to be certain situations that occur in the discourse that affect speakers'

decision to use the polite form, such as when they try to be humble. For instance, an older speaker in the data suddenly switched to using the polite form to address himself when he was talking about the fact that he owns a boat, compared to the younger interlocutor who does not have any boat and really wants one. Given how pronouns are prescribed in terms of age, it is not expected that an older speaker would use a polite form at all. Thus, it can be inferred that polite forms appear to be marked in *jamaq* for first person referent in Ampenan Sasak which may be the reason to use free pronouns.

While overall speakers favor clitics when using the basic first person referent, the speakers' choice of producing a free pronoun versus a clitic does not appear to be linked with politeness for the second person referent. Instead, the speakers use a different strategy to express politeness for the second person referent. In this case, they use the first plural and third singular grammatical persons when directly addressing their interlocutor.

Consequently, the clitic distribution of the basic and polite forms for second person referent is almost equal and the numbers are very restricted. This is due to how the second person referent is largely prescribed based on age. However, the results also indicate that there is a link between pronominal forms and politeness in a way that has never been explained in previous studies of Sasak. It seems that when certain situations occur in discourse where politeness is an issue, the speakers use a different strategy regardless of their age. This strategy appears to be motivated by Face Threatening Acts (FTA, Brown & Levinson, 1987), where speakers tend to try to secure their own and each other's faces. When there are utterances that threaten one's face, speakers adopt politeness strategies to mitigate the threat to the addressee's face. Hence, once Irwan in Example (10) threatens Ali by comparing their wives, he then mitigates the impact of his utterance by using another pronominal form which can be considered as a softening mechanism that provides Ali a face-saving line of escape (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 70). A similar strategy is also utilized by Karim toward Openg in Example (11) in which he expresses his disapproval by using a third singular pronominal form. This is also a softening mechanism that leaves Openg an 'out' but unlike Irwan who uses the first person plural pronominal form which to some extent, could be interpreted as expressing solidarity, Karim chooses to distance himself from the act he considers as carelessness by using the third singular pronominal form.

7. Conclusion

This study has shed light on variation in pronominal forms in the *base jamaq* or low speech style in the Ampenan variety of Sasak spoken by a non-noble group of

fishermen living in the village of Pondok Prasi. Variation in first and second person pronominal forms was examined, and clitics were found in greater frequency than free pronouns. Clitics were found to attach to hosts of various classes, with some word classes more commonly serving as hosts, depending on the referent. Moreover, clitics were mostly realized as enclitics, regardless of the host.

More importantly, this study shows that pronominal forms function as a means used by speakers of the low speech style of Sasak to express politeness, given the fact that they lack access to the high registers associated with the high speech style which is generally used to mark politeness. While speakers clearly prefer clitics with the basic form for a first person referent, clitics are distributed evenly between the basic and polite forms with a second person referent. However, for instance, when a second person referent coincides with a Face Threatening Act, speakers use clitics that grammatically do not belong to the second person referent, opting to mitigate the threat to their interlocutor's face. Thus, this study also suggests that pronominal forms in the low speech style of Sasak are not as rigidly prescribed as how they have been described in previous work on the language.

This study marks the first variationist analysis of Sasak through providing an investigation of variation among pronominal forms in *jamaq* Ampanan Sasak. One possible avenue for future investigation is to quantitatively examine pronoun ellipsis, which is not considered in this study. This would provide a clearer picture of the likelihood of ellipsis in Ampanan Sasak. More generally, a great deal of variation in pronoun variety remains to be described.

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Abstract (Standard Indonesian)

Penelitian ini menyelidiki variasi bentuk pronomina dalam bahasa Sasak, bahasa Austronesia yang dituturkan di Indonesia bagian timur. Studi ini merupakan karya sosiolinguistik variasionis pertama dalam bahasa Sasak. Dengan menggunakan data dari delapan percakapan antara 15 penutur non-bangsawan, bentuk pronomina diberi kode apakah bentuk tersebut direalisasikan sebagai kata ganti bebas atau klitik. Selanjutnya wacana tersebut diteliti lebih jauh untuk mengidentifikasi referensi orang yang dimaksud dan mengamati efek pragmatis dari bentuk yang digunakan. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa klitik mendominasi distribusi bentuk pronomina. Hasil lebih jauh juga menunjukkan bahwa persentase yang lebih tinggi dari klitik lebih disukai dengan bentuk dasar untuk referensi orang pertama, tetapi penutur menerapkan strategi yang berbeda untuk referensi orang kedua; penutur menggunakan bentuk jamak orang pertama dan bentuk tunggal orang ketiga untuk menyebut lawan bicara mereka ketika dipicu oleh Face Threatening Act (lihat Brown dan Levinson, 1987).

Kata kunci: Sasak, pronomina bentuk bebas, klitik, variasi bahasa, kesopanan

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