Documenting endangered literary genres in Sasak, eastern Indonesia

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Abstract[1]

The island of Lombok, eastern Indonesia, is linguistically and culturally complex, with several languages being used there, including Sasak, Balinese, Kawi (a form of early modern Javanese) and Indonesian. Sasak shows wide geographical and social variation, with a system of speech levels, apparently borrowed from its western neighbours. The Sasaks also have a literary tradition of writing manuscripts on palm leaves (*lòntar*) in a manner similar to that of the Balinese (Rubinstein 2000, Creese 1999), and historically, the Javanese. Lombok today remains one of only a handful of places in Indonesia where reading *lòntar* (called in Sasak, *pepaòsan*) continues to be practised, however even there the number of people who are able to read and interpret the texts is rapidly diminishing.

In this paper I outline the nature of the Sasak literary materials (see also Marrison 1999, 2000, Van der Meij 1996, 2002), how reading is taught, the nature of reading performances, and the role of this genre within contemporary Sasak culture. This work results from fieldwork undertaken in two locations on Lombok, and studies I have carried out with some of the few younger specialists who is able to perform *lòntar* reading. The paper concludes with discussion of some challenges for language documentation theory and practice (Himmelmann 2002, Woodbury 2011) that arise in the process of recording and analyzing

pepaòsan due to their nature as multidimensional events linking written texts ('scripts') to multilingual polyphonic spoken performances in complex ways.
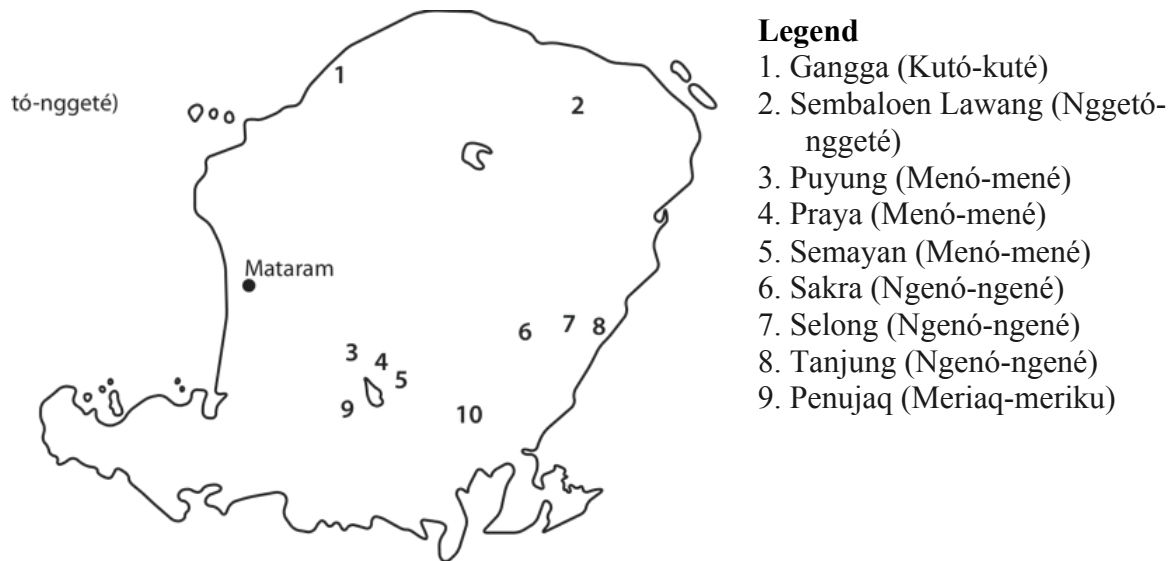

1. Introduction

The Sasak, who live on the island of Lombok in eastern Indonesia, have a literary tradition of writing on the dried leaves of the lontar palm (*Borassus flabellifer*) which they share with their western neighbours, the Balinese and Javanese. The lontar manuscripts are written in *Kawi*, a form of early Javanese, or Sasak, or a mixture of both. Historical evidence suggests that this tradition originated from contact between the Sasak and the Javanese and Balinese, both of whom dominated various parts of Lombok at different times. Compared to research on Balinese and Javanese literary traditions (Rubinstein 2000, Brandes 1901-1926, Creese 1999, 2009, McDonald 1986, among others), there has been very little work done on Sasak lontar (with the exceptions of van der Meij 1996, Achadiati et. al. 1999), and virtually nothing has been published about the performances (called in Sasak *pepaòsan*) associated with reading lontar (in Sasak *mace*). This paper reports on aspects of the Sasak tradition in its sociolinguistic context, and briefly and incompletely describes performances observed in southern Lombok in 2002 and in eastern Lombok in 2012. We also explore some issues which documentation of lontar reading performances raise for the theory and practice of language documentation as it has come to be understood in the past 15 years (Himmelmann 1996, 2002, Woodbury 2011).

2. Geography and history

The island of Lombok is located immediately to the east of Bali (approximately 8.5° South, 116° East) in the Lesser Sunda Islands in the Indonesian archipelago. Physically, Lombok is dominated by the active volcano Gunung Rinjani 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 social and linguistic consequences, especially in terms of the distribution of dialect features discussed in Section 3 below. Map 1 shows the locations where we have collected Sasak data and the 'dialect' spoken in each location.

Map 1: Lombok research locations and language varieties

Legend
1. Gangga (Kutó-kuté)
2. Sembaloen Lawang (Nggetó-nggeté)
3. Puyung (Menó-mené)
4. Praya (Menó-mené)
5. Semayan (Menó-mené)
6. Sakra (Ngenó-ngené)
7. Selong (Ngenó-ngené)
8. Tanjung (Ngenó-ngené)
9. Penujaq (Meriaq-meriku)

The early history of Lombok is not well documented, but the *Nagarakretagama* manuscript (written in Javanese in 1365 and taken from Cakrenegara by the Dutch in 1894) refers to Lombok's link to the Majapahit empire (1294-1478) during the 14th century. Hayam Wuruk (1328-89), the Majapahit King from 1350 to 1389, is said to have expanded Majapahit's influence over Bali and claimed Lombok, Sumbawa, and parts of Sulawesi (Ricklefs 1993:19; Clegg 2004:71).

On Lombok itself there were a number of Sasak kingdoms which were frequently in conflict. In 1334, the Majapahit Regent Gajah Mada visited the two most important Sasak kingdoms, Selaparang in east Lombok and Pejanggik in central Lombok (Clegg 2004:72). It was probably at this time that the Sasaks adopted a caste system and an aristocracy modeled on the Javanese court (see Section 3 below), and began to be influenced by Hindu-Buddhist cultural concepts and practices, including literacy (Pelras 1996:108). From the 16th century onwards, the Sasak adopted Islam, mainly beginning in East Lombok with the Selaparang kingdom. A syncretic form of Islam (called *wetu telu* in Sasak) that blends Hindu-Buddhist, Islamic and ancestor and spirit worship developed alongside more orthodox Sunni Islam (called *waktu lime* in Sasak). The significance of these religious divisions for lontar reading is discussed further below (see also Cederroth 1981, 1996).

In the 16th century, the Southern Balinese Gelgel kingdom dominated west Lombok centred on the port of Ampenan (Clegg 2004:76-77), while east Lombok came under the influence of the Islamic Makassarese empire that established relations with the Selaparang Kingdom in 1637 (Andaya 1981:1). In 1678, Gelgel drove the Makassarese out of east Lombok to Sumbawa, but sporadic resistance by the Sasak of Selaparang continued (Kraan 1980:4). Clegg (2004:81) points out that:

> Unlike East Lombok, there were no Sasak courts or aristocracy in West Lombok and the relationship between the Balinese rulers and the ruled Sasak was 'orderly' (Kraan 1980:4). Through inter-marriage and religious influence many Sasak were partially

integrated with their Balinese rulers. Sasak who adhered to Wektu Telu [sic.], the mystical form of Islam strongly influenced by Hindu-Buddhist and spiritual beliefs, often participated in Balinese religious festivities and worshipped at the same shrines (Harnish 1991). In East Lombok, where Balinese authority had only asserted a shadowy presence since 1668 and where a frustrated Sasak aristocracy existed, relations between the Balinese and Sasak were less harmonious. Adherents to purer form of Islam in east Lombok regarded the Balinese as 'unbelievers'.

In 1740, Gusti Wayahan Tegeh, son of the Karangasem Balinese King, conquered the Gelgel Balinese of West Lombok and took control of much of the island. He also introduced law books and other texts and established a priesthood, promoting Balinese culture (Kraan 1975:94); Clegg 2004:82). Following his death in 1775, separate Balinese states developed in west Lombok (Kraan 1980:5), and by the early 19th century, there were four rivals: Karangasem-Lombok (Cakranegara), Pagesangan, Pagutan, and Mataram. As Clegg (2004:83) notes:

> The Karangasem-Lombok Kingdom was the strongest and sought to enhance its court by collecting the greatest works of the Balinese and Javanese literary tradition eventually making it the centre of literary tradition even greater than those of their rival Kingdoms in Bali. Ironically, by following what they considered a 'Javanese model of culture', they were actually being 'ultra-Balinese' … (Vickers 1989:59)

The literary tradition of writing lontars in both Kawi and Sasak must have been strengthened by these developments.

In the 19th century, there were rising tensions between the Balinese kingdoms in west Lombok and the Sasak, who revolted in 1855 and 1871, led by Islamic aristocrats from east Lombok. The Dutch intervened militarily in 1894 following a further Sasak rebellion in 1891, destroying the Balinese Mataram kingdom and occupying the whole of the island by the end of August the following year. Dutch control continued until 1942 when the Japanese occupied Lombok, and was reestablished in 1946 by the Nederland Indies Civil Administration (Clegg 2004:99-100), finally ending in December 1949 when Lombok became part of the Republic of Indonesia.

3. Sasak people and language

The current population of Lombok is approximately 3 million of whom 85% are ethnic Sasak (about 2.6 million). There are also approximately 300,000 Balinese, mostly living in the western part of the island in and near the capital Mataram.

The majority of Sasaks are rural farmers earning a living from cultivation of rice and other staple crops, as well as tobacco, melons, chilis, etc. There is an increasing trend towards urbanisation, with growth of the main towns of Mataram (West Lombok), Praya (Central Lombok) and Selong (East Lombok). Mataram has a growing mixed population from throughout the whole island, as well as from elsewhere in Indonesia and overseas. There has

also been population movement through government-sponsored transmigration, and men and women legally and illegally seeking paid work overseas, particularly in Malaysia, the Philippines and the Middle East (see Mantra 1999, Hernandez-Coss et al. 2008). The bulk of the Sasak population is Muslim, and *adat* (social and cultural traditions) especially for inheritance and marriage, remains a very strong influence on most people's lives, particularly those living in rural areas.

Since at least the 14th century, Sasak society has been divided into the following caste-like social classes:

mènak	1st caste - nobles
prewangse	2nd caste
jajarkarang	3rd caste - commoners
sepangan	lowest caste, servants of *mènak*

The *mènak* comprise about 8% of the Sasak population and identify themselves as descendants of the royal courts. The *mènak* live in separate villages and follow strict social principles; they intermarry as a group and any female *mènak* who marries outside the group loses her noble status and is shunned by her family. There are strong language use preferences associated with the *mènak*–commoner distinction, and marking of this by sociolectal speech level differences is mentioned further below (see also Austin 2010b).

The Sasak language is spoken by ethnic Sasaks across the island in family and village domains but has no formal status and no literacy functions for most speakers. Bahasa Indonesia is the language of education, media, government, business, literacy and status. It is also the language of inter-ethnic communication. There is some evidence of language shift towards Bahasa Indonesia taking place in urban areas where there are mixed populations, however this is mainly seen in the form of code-mixing and code-switching, rather than wholesale abandonment of Sasak (Syahdan 2000). The language shows a great deal of regional variation (Austin 2003, Mahsun 2006, Teeuw 1951, 1958), both in lexicon and grammatical structure (Austin 2003, 2006, 2012, 2013).

Sasak also possesses a system of speech levels (Nothofer 2000, Austin 2010b, Austin and Nothofer 2012), similar to that of Balinese and Javanese (Clynes 1994, Errington 1983), coded by lexical differences. There are three levels (low, mid, high) together with humble (speaker-reference) and honorific (non-speaker reference) forms. In Sasak, the non-low forms are referred together as *alus* 'smooth, polite'. The distribution of the level contrasts is quite irregular with different lexical items showing a range of different patterns (Austin and Nothofer 2012). The non-low forms are used in formal contexts and with social superiors, especially in situations where *mènak* are involved. Interestingly, this system of speech levels appears to be uniform across all Sasak regional varieties (the same non-low terms are used in all varieties, even when the low forms show striking regional variation), and is fixed with about 300 non-low items. The relationship between the levels is completely lexicalized, with no regular morphological formations deriving forms in one level from those in another level. Nothofer (2000: 83) argues that the data on Sasak speech levels: 'lend further support to the hypothesis that this system is not a Sasak creation but a borrowing phenomenon.' He identifies influence from Balinese, and also from at least two types of Javanese:

one can indeed identify two different periods during which Javanese must have had an impact on Sasak. High words such as *bije* 'child' (N3), *pulih* 'to obtain' (V16), *panggih* 'to receive' (V22) and maybe *dóhur* 'head' (N8) appear to have been borrowed from the kind of Javanese as it was spoken during the Majapahit reign. On the other hand, high vocabulary such as *layang* 'letter' (N10), *bemanik* 'to call' (V7) or *nurge* 'excuse me' (V3) appears to have been borrowed from a kind of Javanese as it might have been spoken in the 17th century when Lombok was Islamised.

Note that these layers of Javanese are referred to in Sasak as *Kawi*. This is the literary language that is used in Sasak puppet theatre, poetry and in some of the lontar (see Section 4). Note also that Kawi continues to be used for hyperpoliteness in Sasak, especially by *mènak*, as in the following examples:

Low	High	Kawi	Gloss
	nurge	*ampure*	apology
maté	*ninggal*	*mangket*	die
awak	*rage*	*pragayan*	body

4. Sasak literature

As noted above, the Sasaks have a long literary tradition of inscribing texts on the dried leaves of the lontar palm which was borrowed from the Javanese and Balinese. The oldest extant texts date from the 19th century, many having been collected by the Dutch and now to be found in libraries in Bali, Leiden in the Netherlands, and Canberra in Australia (see Marrison 2000 for a full catalogue of manuscripts held in the West). The Mataram Museum also has a collection, and a number are held by individuals and families on Lombok where they are treated as heirlooms and handed down from one generation to the next.

Since the 1970s, there has been activity locally to copy the lontar texts onto paper and to publish them for study, performance and sale. This is especially true of lontar which deal with the history of the Sasak kingdoms, such as *Babad Lombok* (Wacana 1979) and *Babad Selaparang*. Very few of the texts have been well studied or translated into other languages.[2] Thus, Marrison (1999) has just seven pages on the history of study of Sasak literature, and van der Meij (2002:3) points out that 'in the Western scholarly tradition the literature of the Sasak has been all but ignored.' This is, van der Meij (2002:2) argues, because: 'the island [of Lombok] had been ignored and was regarded merely as an appendix to Bali.'

The lontar of Lombok are written in Kawi, or Sasak, or a mixture of the two in a script (called in Sasak *aksare*) that originates from southern India and is almost identical to the script used for Balinese. The basic letters are called *hanacarake* and consist of a consonant plus the vowel *a*:

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[2] Thus, van Eerde (1906) presents a summary overview of with line by line translations in Dutch of a *Tutur Monyeh* lontar. Van Eerde (1913) gives a Dutch translation and romanised transcription of the *Cilinaya* lontar (unfortunately the transcription of Kawi and Sasak forms contains some errors). See Appendix 1 for samples.

ꦲ	ꦤ	ꦕ	ꦫ	ꦏ	ꦢ	ꦠ	ꦱ	ꦮ	ꦭ
ha	na	ca	ra	ka	da	ta	sa	wa	la

ꦥ	ꦗ	ꦪ	ꦚ	ꦩ	ꦒ	ꦧ	ꦔ
pa	ja	ya	nya	ma	ga	ba	nga

Syllables with other vowels use these symbols and add diacritics above, below or around the basic *Consonant+a* symbol. There are also means for indicating syllable-final consonants and encoding consonant clusters.[3] Figure 1 shows an example of a lontar in this script[4]:

Figure 1. Sasak lontar

There are lontar from Lombok written in Kawi that were composed locally and are not copies of Javanese originals (van der Meij 2002). Both Kawi and Sasak lontars follow a small set of fixed metres and rhyming patterns that are similar to, but more limited than, the Javanese and Balinese models on which they are based. For example, the metre *dangdang gule* consists of 10 lines of 85 syllables while *maskumambang* has 4 lines of 34 syllables. The metres show the following pattern of number of syllables and the vowel of the last syllable in the line:

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[3] See en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balinese_script and www.omniglot.com/writing/balinese.htm for descriptions and illustrations of the major principles, accessed 2010-10-08. Also van der Meij 1992 appears to be a description of Sasak writing, but I have not been able to consult it.
[4] http://www.art-pacific.com/artifacts/indonesi/lomlonto.htm, accessed 2013-01-29.

dangdang gule		*maskumambang*	
Syllables	Last syllable vowel	Syllables	Last syllable vowel
10	i	12	i
10	a	6	a
8	e	8	i
7	u	8	a
9	i		
7	a		
6	u		
8	a		
12	i		
8	a		

The following is an example of *dangdang gule* from the lontar called *Rengganis*, which is in Sasak:[5]

Banjur turun Radèn Banjaran Sari	Then descend King Banjaran Sari
Lemanano, laiq balé kambang	To there, to house floating
Manjak mecó mòmòt baè	Sit then think only
Ndéqne lain dalem ujut	Not like in life
Mun Dènde Ayu La Rengganis	Then Princess Rengganis
Penggitan dalem bòsang	Vision in stomach
Ruanne tadah layu	Appearance manner half-awake
Pan ndéq uah njep lan nada	Then not having slept and eaten
Siqne sedih, si kangen Dènde La Rengganis	Which=he sad, which recall Princess Rengganis
Likatne léq kiri kanan	Glance.over.shoulder to left right

An example of *maskumambang* from the *Puspekrame* lontar is:

1 *Léq pancòran manggóng   léq sedin perigi*

   loc   waterfall   arrive.and.sit loc side   waterfall

   At the waterfall he sat by the side of the spring

2 *Pesiraman   Radèn   Teruna*

   bathing place   Prince   Terune

   The bathing place of Prince Terune

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[5] I am grateful to Sudirman for reciting this section of *Rengganis* for me; the transcription and literal word-for-word translation are mine.

3 *Radèn   Mas   Witaresari*

   Princess Mas Witaresari

   Princess Witaresari

4 *Bijen   Datu   Indrekila*

   child   King   Indrekile

   The child of King Indrekile

Some of the lontar texts, such as *Rengganis* and *Tutur Mònyeh* are popular, and readings of them are performed on occasion, however other texts are much less well known. As van der Meij (2002:158-159) notes: 'nowadays the reading of *lontar* is becoming increasingly rare. Owing to changes in the culture of the island and the different perceptions people have of their position in the world, the texts are read less and less often and the tradition is in danger of becoming extinct.'

As the examples above suggest, the lontar texts are highly elliptical and poetic and their interpretation must be taught. According to my consultants, learning how to perform lontar readings takes place in a series of steps. Texts are studied in small groups with a reader who knows how to perform *mace* (see Section 5). The students first repeatedly copy out the script of the text without being able to read or understand it.[6] Next, the teacher recites the text with the correct metre and intonation, and finally the interpretation and context of the text is imparted. Learning to read in this fashion can take several months or more.

5. Reading the lontar

Although catalogues that include Lombok lontar exist, and some publications and translations of them have been made, there has been very little attention paid to actual performances of reading the lontars, called *pepaòsan* in Sasak (in Balinese *babaosan*). Thus, van der Meij (1996) appears to be the first published description of *pepaòsan* but includes only four pages of information and all references to reading practices are in the past tense, such as: '*Rengganis* … used to be very popular, and present-day Sasaks still remember readings of it. It was read at festivities where adolescents gathered to find a partner' (van der Meij 1996:156). Van der Meij (2002) has one chapter of just 13 pages on 'Texts among the Sasak' that includes brief descriptions of performances but these are all based on second-hand accounts from interviews. Van der Meij (2002:5) explains that 'being myself employed elsewhere and not in academia, I was not in the position to study manuscript usage in Lombok, as extensive fieldwork was impossible.'

My own research on Lombok has primarily concentrated on studying the morphology and syntax of Sasak using a range of research methods, including collection of narrative texts and conversations, use of stimuli such as the picture book *Frog Story* (Berman & Slobin 1994, Luepke 2009), elicitation and participant observation. I discussed lontar reading with

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[6] Sudirman showed me a workbook of one of his student's which he had corrected.

my consultants who pointed out that texts were widely used in a range of contexts, particularly for healing (see also Hay 2001: 301-302), and for ceremonies such as circumcision, funerals and weddings, and in rural areas as part of a process to ensure fertility of cows, horses and water buffalo.

In August 2002, an unexpected opportunity arose during my fieldwork in Lombok to observe and document a performance of *pepaòsan* and one type of Sasak literacy practice. I was invited by my consultant Sudirman to accompany him to Móntókóq hamlet of Penujaq village in southern Lombok (where the Meriaq-meriku variety of Sasak is spoken) to see a lontar reading following a circumcision ceremony. Several hours of video and audio were recorded, and although some was analysed with Sudirman in July 2003 when he visited Frankfurt through sponsorship of the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, most of the materials are yet to be transcribed and translated. I present here a short description of the performance which seems to have been quite typical of such contexts. Further work on the materials, and more data collection in the future is planned.

The performance began in the evening at around 7pm at a specially constructed covered location in the hamlet and involved three main readers and an audience of perhaps 100, all male (and all non-*mènak* commoners). After eating a meal and reciting prayers, the performers took their places in the centre of the *pepaòsan* area on mats, surrounded by the audience. Above the performers was a fluorescent light and brightly coloured cloths hanging from the ceiling. Paper copies of lontar written in Sasak *aksara* script were used, rather than palm leaf manuscripts, and they were placed on decorated pillows in front of the readers, along with a container of betel nut and associated lime and leaves – see Figure 2.

Figure 2. Lontar reading at Penujaq

The performance began with one reader addressing the audience in a mixture of high Sasak and Kawi, inviting them to listen to the performance and apologising for any errors or

mistakes. Then a number of lontar texts were read (*mace*) by two readers, who acted in alternation. One reader (called *pemaòs*, in the centre of Figure 2) recited one or two lines of the Kawi and/or Sasak text with the appropriate metre,[7] and a second reader (called *pujangge*, on the right in Figure 2) provided an interpretation of the lines into contemporary Sasak. A third reader (or the audience) joined the *pemaòs* to recite the last few words (with their melody of each section). The performance was thus polyphonic, requiring the active participation throughout of the *pemaòs*, the *pujangge* and the audience. Text readings such as this take many hours and it is not uncommon for performances to continue until 1am or later, as this one did.

I had a second opportunity to observe a *pepaòsan* in the village of Lenek in east Lombok in July 2012 that was organised for me by University of Mataram lecturer Nur Ahmadi and his former student Wiwik Widiarti, who had carried out a project on child health in the village and knew the residents well. Through her contacts she was able to arrange for a lontar reading performance by three old men (also commoners) in the house of her main contact. This was not a ceremonial occasion but was specifically organised for my benefit, and consisted of selections from the lontar *Tutur Monyeh* which lasted for approximately two hours in mid-afternoon, after which the men returned to their work in the paddy fields. All three performers were over the age of 70, and although one had brought an actual lontar with him (visible on the floor in Figure 3), they performed using a romanised typescript which the *pemaòs* read (the *pujangge* did not read from a script but had clearly memorised the whole lontar. It appears that these three men are the only performers living in Lenek. Figure 3 shows this performance in progress.

Figure 3. Lontar reading in Lenek village.

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[7] A proper study of the melodic structure of *pepaòsan* performances is necessary but beyond the scope of this report.

Our observations of these performances suggest that at least one previous claim about Sasak literacy and literary practices needs correction. Van der Meij (1996:157) says that 'we know that paper was introduced a long time ago (though no research has yet been done on this subject), but it has never been used for manuscripts in the Sasak area.' Clearly, this is not correct for Lombok today, and was not true from the 1970's, according to my consultants. Figure 4 shows a paper copy of a lontar written in Sasak *aksare* script used at the Penujaq performance.

Figure 4. Paper copy of lontar

The number of people who can perform *mace* and the roles of *pemaòs* and *pujangge* is currently restricted and may be no more than 100 at the time of writing. The West Nusa Tenggara government promotes *mace* at the Mataram Museum as part of its support for *adat* but only a few texts are performed and performances are generally limited in time. Increasingly, texts in Arabic or Malay are used at funerals and other ceremonies. The performance of other texts is in danger of disappearing as readers who know them die without teaching others. Without a reader, the text cannot be learned or performed, even if a copy of the manuscript exists.

There is some evidence that the actual manuscripts as well as the performance tradition are also under threat. Van der Meij (2002:193) points out that:

> the *waktu lima* are continuing their efforts to eradicate old customs and practices root and branch, which has resulted in the destruction of old manuscripts. Their preference goes out to Arabic teachings and orthodox books in modern Indonesian. The influence of the *waktu lima* on the *wetu telu* is substantial and many manuscripts are no longer found among the latter group … Nowadays, because people need money, manuscripts are being sold in great numbers to the international tourists visiting the island, as well as on Bali … many manuscripts are disappearing fast

Clearly more work on documenting the existing materials needs to be done urgently.

6. Implications for language documentation

From the time of Saussure and throughout structuralist linguistics, including the era dominated by Chomsky since 1965, linguists have considered the proper domain of research as being the systematic linguistic knowledge possessed by native speakers of a language (Saussure's *langue*, Chomsky's *competence*) that allows them to speak and understand it. This has meant that actual language use (Saussure's *parole*, Chomsky's *performance*) was seen as defective or flawed, subject to the vagaries of false starts, speech errors and the limitations of human frailty. The field of language documentation that has emerged in the last 15 years (Himmelmann 2002; Woodbury 2011) has attempted to deal seriously with actual language use by concentrating on it as a core source of data (along with speakers' metalinguistic knowledge of the linguistic system), and trying to record a range of types of actual language use in their social and cultural context with the goal of collecting a representative corpus of material. There have been some attempts to typologise the kinds of genres to be collected (Himmelmann 2002; Seifart 2008) and the types of data to be analysed (Himmelmann 2012), however this has remained a highly under-theorised area, especially when one considers the relationship between text and audio or video media documenting language in use (performance).

The standard references on language documentation (see especially Schultze-Bernd 2006) see audio and/or video inscriptions of spoken or signed language in use as primary, and text as a secondary addition (termed 'annotation', which Nathan and Austin 2004 argue is a kind of metadata) to be time-aligned to the media source as a means of entry into and interpretation of the recordings. One of the main tools in the language documenters toolkit is the ELAN annotation software program, which enables multiple parallel strands of textual metadata (transcription, glossing, morpho-syntactic analysis, translation, gesture, spatial representations etc.) to be associated with pieces of the inscriptions. It iconically represents the secondary role of text by subsuming it visually under the audio or video signal in the analytical interface to the software itself.

But what of instances of language use where there is pre-existing (written) text that enters into a relationship with the contextually determined individual use itself? Taking some inspiration from theatre studies (Carlson 1985, Rozik 2010), we may wish to refer to the written text as a *script* while the instance of language use related to it is a *performance* (just as Shakespeare's published text for *Macbeth* may be performed as a play on different occasions and in different ways). In the simplest case, that of literal reading or recitation of a written text (such as reading the Torah during a bar mitzvah), the spoken performance can be put in one-to-one correspondence with the written text, and time aligned with it. In other cases, the relationship is a more abstract one since each actor (performer, and in some cases the director and/or producer) will bring to the text their own particular interpretations of how it should be performed.

For *pepaòsan* there are added complications in that while there is a single script (written on the lontar), it represents only *part* of what must be performed, namely the part that the *pemaòs* should produce. Lontar reading performances are polyphonic since at least two 'readers' must take part, but the script for the *pujangge* is not explicitly represented in the lontar itself, but must be learned and/or improvised on the spot. Indeed, it could in principle take place in any language, not only the traditionally mandated contemporary Sasak.

This appears to be the case in Bali, for example[8]. Indeed, in a *babaosan* performance which I observed at the opening ceremony of the International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics in Bali in June 2012, the lontar was read in Sanskrit, and there were interpretations of it given in Bahasa Indonesia and English.

What then is the relationship between the script (written on the lontar) and the particular reading performance on a given occasion and inscribed in audio and/or video files? Clearly, the relationship is both partial and under-determined, and hence different in kind from both a ritual text reading and a scripted play[9]. It seems to me that it is a special kind of intertextual relationship, understood in a way similar to what Rozik (2010: 101) presents for drama: 'the relationship between a performance-text and its source play-script is only a particular case of intertextual relationship reflecting creative interpretation' (compare this with more traditional views discussed in Carlson 1985). How should this intertextual relationship be represented in our language documentations then? It seems that an approach that would time-align, say using ELAN (or alternatively atemporally link[10]) the lontar text with the performance speech events would be too simple-minded. Indeed, so far we do not have any instances of attempts to represent such relationships, let alone a theory that encompasses them, that would be able to answer the question for us. Perhaps further explorations in performance studies, including theatre, dance and music, will be of assistance to language documentation here, but the field itself needs to confront and deal with the script-performance relationship. At present I do not have any solid proposals to make concerning representations of the intertextual relationships that *pepaòsan* create, but suggest that they should be a topic for further research for language documentation.

7. Conclusions

The island of Lombok once had an active literary tradition of writing on palm leaves (and paper) and performance of readings in Kawi and Sasak. This tradition has been little studied by outsiders, and today it is under threat as the influence of orthodox Islam within Lombok sees certain practices associated with the past being negatively evaluated and performers are under pressure to stop carrying them out. The time is ripe for a proper ethnographically, linguistically and historically informed study of literary practices on Lombok, after many years of neglect, and before the literature and the skill to perform recitation of it disappears entirely.[11] Such study can also contribute to understanding and representing intertextuality within language documentation corpora.

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[8] I have been told that in Bali *pujangge* can perform in Bahasa Indonesia. My consultants state that this does not occur on Lombok.

[9] And different also from improv, which is perhaps more like the documentary linguist's typical experience of recording narratives and conversation in the field, often described in the literature as 'natural data'.

[10] As, for example, Thieberger 2006 links his grammar text to sentence tokens in his recorded corpus.

[11] The situation in Lombok is to be contrasted with Bali where in recent times 'textual singing has undergone a process of remarkable renewal and transformation' and where a 'cultural practice that a generation ago was threatened with extinction, and was seen as no longer of

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relevance to modern Balinese society, captured the imagination of so many Balinese and has been transformed into a popular culture mass media phenomenon' (Creese 2009:210).

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Appendix

Van Eerde (1906)

doch dat overigens Asschepoester daarin een rol speelt, blijkt niet.

De auteur heeft zijn eigene omgeving gedacht als het land, waar de roman speelt, de bijzonderheden zijn gelocaliseerd op de Oostkust van Lombok, die men daarin herkent en de ligging van de Oostelijke poeri komt vrij wel overeen met die van het huis van Djèro Michram. Ook overigens spreken en handelen de personen in de roman geheel als Lombokkers en ook als zoodanig heeft dit letterkundig product waarde.

Men waant zich op de Oostkust, als daar een prauw van den overwal aankomt met vreemde handelaren, die zich bij de inlandsche hoofden aanmelden enz.

Hieronder moge een zeer verkorte inhoudsopgave volgen van dezen roman, naar het exemplaar, dat zich in het Rotterdamsche museum »Prins Hendrik» bevindt onder n° 6971, gevolgd door de transcriptie met Latijnsche karakters, zooals die door een Wésija op Lombok is gemaakt.

Inhoud van den Toetoer Monjèh.

Metrum: Sinom.

De auteur brengt den lezer zijn' groete en zegt, dat dit verhaal uit tijdverdrijf is opgesteld, »daar de rijst nog niet gaar is,» en dat het tot vermaak moge dienen. Hij tracht geleerde menschen na te bootsen en vraagt vergeving voor zijn slechte voordracht, de ontbrekende woorden, de letters »Kippekrabbels» en de taalverwarring, want het is Sassaksch, Balineesch en Javaansch door elkaar. Hij verhaalt nu van drie broeders, alle vorsten over rijken, die door de zee van elkaar gescheiden zijn.

1°. De vorst van Lajàng Sari had twee zonen: de oudste Kitap Moentjar uit een bijwijf, de jongste Witarasari uit een voorname moeder.

2°. De vorst van Indra sekar had een zoon Djajeng sekar en eene dochter Dinda Mas Windoe Sari.

3°. De vorst van Indra Pandita had 9 dochters, waarvan hij acht zeer beminde, doch de jongste, de schoonste, werd niet door haar ouders bemind. Zij heette Dinda Mas Widaradin en wordt als zeer bekoorlijk beschreven. Zij had echter een ellendig lot, ging slecht gekleed, want hare ouders en zusters gaven niets om haar; dikwijls wenschte zij dood te zijn. Nooit

Van Eerde (1913)

Toetoer Tjilinaja.

Dangdang goela.

Bismillah irachim: Tabé' ingsoen amoerwahing sëgënding gagoeritan tëmbang dandang goela, minangkë salémor até, sangnë hini' baoe patoet, djoemakanë moenggoeh lé' toelis basë Sasak rarampoetan, jen asala' tandoek, patoetang padë si' tëmbang si mëmatja djrah sidë padë sili si sastrakoe de' onja'.

Myah dinangkoe sinënoelis, malëm Sënen malih oelan çafar tanggal loelikoer taoen bé, jen tjarë Bali itoeng dinë tëngën aranirekoe mijah taoë koe nëkë Doekoet aranipoen lan rah ënëm tënggëk toenggal.

Sigën kotjap gënkoe panggong lé' bawon toelis tjaritan datoe Dëhë. Mijah tjaritan datoe si lé' Këling lan sëmalih padë 'ndé' déjang bidjë sasanak bangkol baé djarinë loembar datoe, datoe Dëhë loembarning Këling, bandjoernë bësëmajë gën apatoeh oedjoet balalangon lé' kajangan gënnë nëdë lé' Batara Goeroe Sakti adé'në bëdoewé bidjë.

Dëhë djandji bandjoer loembar glis, datoe mijah pangiringnë padë toernë ta-iring bandjoer si' kaoela lawan prënjai, ramé taoe ninë mamë lëka' ngiring datoe, djari 'ndé' kotjap lé' langan, kotjap datëng lé' Batara Goeroe Sakti, bandjoernë padë mandjak.

Ndé'në soewé bandjoer padë mandi', datoe mijah pangiringno padë, ninë mamë padë ramé, bandjoer bëmanik datoe, datoe Dëhë njoegoel sësangi, mogangkoe katariman si' Batara Goeroe, era' moen koe déjang anak, po'në ninë, koe këté njaoer sësangi, koe njambëli kao' doewa. Toer kao'në padë bëkoelit si' permas kalawan saklat, bëtanggë' mas batarétes, bakoepak

19