

## IN ALTRE LINGUE

### Going on the Hajj: An annotated text in the Menu-meni variety of Sasak, eastern Indonesia

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#### ABSTRACT

This paper is an annotated and commented transcription of a conversation in the Menu-meni variety of Sasak, an Austronesian language spoken throughout the island of Lombok, Nusa Tenggara Barat, eastern Indonesia. It was audio-recorded in the capital, Mataram, on 10<sup>th</sup> September 2001. The speakers are Hajji Sukri (SK), and his nephew Yon Mahyuni (YM). Both speakers originate from the Nuse hamlet of Ganti village in south-central Lombok, and are bilingual in the national language Bahasa Indonesia (BI), as well as Sasak; at the time SK was a subsistence farmer while YM was my PhD student at the University of Melbourne (he is now professor at *Universitas Mataram*) and spoke English fluently. The speakers had known each other since childhood, and had known the author since 1997. This text was recorded as an instance of informal conversation and is number 072 in my Sasak corpus; it was transcribed, analysed, and translated into English by me in collaboration with Yon Mahyuni.<sup>1</sup>

Sasak is the majority language of Lombok (Austin 2003). It shows wide regional and social variation, and although speakers have an ideology that there are five ethnolinguistically labelled dialects (named after the shiboleths for ‘like that-like this’) there are many more variants that are differentiated lexically, morpho-syntactically, and syntactically, showing great diversity in their pronominal clitics (Austin 2004), verb alternations (Austin 2001, 2012), aspect-mood-evidentiality encoding (Austin 2013), and locational deictic systems (Austin 2008, Sutarman 2010). In the discussion below we comment at various points on the distinctive characteristics of Ganti Menu-Meni Sasak.

Sasak also has a pervasive system of speech levels expressed through lexical choice, distinguishing high-middle-low forms that reflect speaker-addressee relationships as well as humble-honorific forms that express speaker-referent relationships (Nothofer 2000, Austin 2015, Austin & Nothofer 2012, Nothofer 2016). This text is primarily in low level Sasak, but does show a number of uses of high level forms to express politeness, especially by YM to the older SK. These are noted in the comments below.

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Yon Mahyuni for hosting the event in his house, and for assisting with the transcription and translation; all errors are mine alone. Thanks are due to Hajji Sukri and Yon Mahyuni for agreeing to the recording and publication of this text. In the text below, bolding indicates BI (mostly in verbatim quotations) or loanwords adapted from BI. Transcription, analysis, and translation were done using the Linguists Toolbox programme. Abbreviations used in the morpheme glosses are: 1 – first person; 2 – second person; 3 – third person; 3P – third person transitive object; appl – applicative; caus – causative; cont – continuous aspect; disc – discourse particle (generally marking topic); emph – emphatic; instr – instrument nominaliser; intr – intransitive verbaliser; loc – locative; nom – nominaliser; pass – passive; perf – perfect aspect; proj – projective mood; purp – purpose conjunction; redup – reduplication; spec – specific; tag – tag question; tr – transitive. In clitic combinations > separates subject and object, e.g. 1sg>3 indicates first person subject acting on third person object.

## The text

This text is a transcription of a conversation between SK and YM concerning SK's trip to Makkah for the Hajj. This involved a bus trip from Mataram, Lombok, to Surabaya, Java, and then a flight to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. This was the first time SK and his wife had been on an aircraft, and he describes various events on the flight from Surabaya that were remarkable to him. Of particular linguistic interest are the use of absolute directional deictics to describe locations within the aircraft, and the distribution of clitics attached to various hosts that encode core participants of the verbal event.<sup>2</sup>

*terus malik òjòk tó juluq ngincanglah ngincangte, ndéq tebèng ngincang*  
 terus malik òjòk tó juluq ngincang = lah ngincang = te ndéq te-bèng ngincang  
 then again to there first hang.about = top hang.about = 1pl not pass-give hang.about

*amun ndéq man lempek penòkòn tó léq kapan*  
 lamun ndéq man lempek peN-tòkòn tó léq kapan  
 if/when not yet properly instr-sit there loc passenger.vehicle

Then let's come back to the point; we were hanging about, we had not been allowed to hang about before we sat properly on the plane.<sup>3</sup> [SK]

*léq kapan, kembé amun ndéq tebèng ngincang?*  
 léq kapan kembé lamun ndéq te-bèng ngincang  
 loc passenger.vehicle why if/when not pass-give hang.about

On the plane, why weren't you allowed to hang about? [YM]

*nie ketuante léq tó semen lalòq*  
 nie ketuan = te léq tó semen lalòq  
 3 ask = 1pl loc there brash very

She [my wife] commented to me<sup>4</sup> there, "how brash [you] are". [SK]

*semen lalòq*  
 semen lalòq  
 brash very  
 Very brash. [YM]

*semen lalòq ite siq méléte ketaòn rueng ruanga kapan baé jaring*  
 semen lalòq ite isiq mélé = te ketaòn rue = ng ruanga kapan baé jari = ng  
 brash very 1pl by want = 1pl know shape = 3 room passenger.vehicle only become = 3  
 I was very brash because I wanted to know what the inside of the plane looked like. [SK]

*aran jaq makaqte*  
 aran jaq makaq = te  
 name disc first.time = 1pl  
 it was our first time<sup>5</sup> [YM]

<sup>2</sup> The transcription follows usual Indonesianist practice: *c* and *j* are palatal stops, *q* is a glottal stop, and *ng* is a velar nasal. For vowels *é* is mid-close front, *è* is mid-open front, *e* is schwa, *ò* is mid-close back, and *ò* is mid-open back.

<sup>3</sup> The unmarked reference for *kapan* is 'boat' but in this context it refers to the airplane. Below, SK also uses *kapan atas* 'boat above' to refer to 'airplane', in contrast to *kapan laut* 'sea boat'.

<sup>4</sup> The clitic =*te* attached directly to the verb here encodes transitive object; the plural form is used to express politeness in the first person

<sup>5</sup> Note the use of first person clitic to politely engage with the speaker; YM did not accompany SK on this flight.

*Makaqte*

makaq = te  
 first.time = 1pl  
 our first time [SK]

*aran jaq mèsaq paring kanakng itekan*  
 aran jaq mèsaq paring kanak = ng ite = kan  
 name disc alone most child = 3 1pl = tag  
 You know, we were the youngest. [SK]

*waktu nuqng*  
 waktu nuq = ng  
 time that = 3  
 that time<sup>6</sup> [YM]

*apaqng léq atas tóng, irapkè, angin aséng jaring nuqng?*  
 ape-q = ng léq atas tó = ng irap = kè angin asé = ng jari = ng nuq = ng  
 what-nom = 3 loc top there = 3 feeling = 1sg > 3 wind AC = 3 become = 3 that = 3  
 What is the thing on the top there? – I touched it<sup>7</sup> – that was the AC [airconditioning] wind. [SK]

*terus puteròkè indeng nuqng?*  
 terus puter = òkè inde = ng nuq = ng  
 then turn = 2 > 3 suppose = 3 that = 3  
 So did you really turn it?<sup>8</sup> [SK]

*éaqng bait fótó nu*  
 éaq = ng bait fótó nu  
 proj = 3 take photo there  
 He is going to take a photograph there<sup>9</sup> [SK]

*mòlahkò angenkò indeng, nganjeng*  
 mòlah = kò angen = kò inde = ng nganjeng  
 easy = 1sg feeling = 1sg suppose = 3 stand.up  
 It seems that I felt at ease, and stood up. [SK]

*lalò còbaqè inde = ng*  
 laló = ò còbaq = è inde = ng  
 go = 2 try = 3P suppose = 3  
 So you went and tried it? [YM]

*nggih, nyingkete siq andang batng niki, muq lauq ólét tòkòn,*  
 nggih nyingke = te siq andang bat = ng niki muq lauq ólét = t tòkòn  
 yes cont = 1pl rel face west = 3 this perf south from = 1pl sit

*ndéqng jaq bèngkò menu, muk bilinè tòkòn òjòk daye,*  
 ndéq = ng jaq bèng = kò menu muq = k bilin = è tòkòn òjòk daye  
 not = 3 disc give = 1sg like.that perf = 1sg leave.behind = 3 sit to north

<sup>6</sup> Note the use of the third person enclitic on a demonstrative to encode definiteness, since the time reference is now shared between YM and SK.

<sup>7</sup> Menu-Meni is unusual among Sasak varieties in having portmanteau enclitics that express the transitive subject and transitive object directly attached to the verb when there is no host in the clause, such as an aspect-mood particle, to which the transitive subject clitic can attach. There is another instance in the next line.

<sup>8</sup> Here *inde* is an evidential that expresses the speaker's supposition that the event of the verb which precedes it may have taken place (see Austin 2013).

<sup>9</sup> This is a reference to me as I took photographs of the speakers conversing.

*ngileng*      *dòang*    *indeng,*      *kaq*            *tuanò*      *tie*  
 N-kile=ng    dòang    inde=ng    kakaq      tuan=ò    tie  
 tr-stare.at=3   only    suppose=3   older.sibling   master=2   that

Yes,<sup>10</sup> while we were facing forwards (lit. west),<sup>11</sup> we sat in the left-hand (lit. south) part; because she didn't give me (enough space) like that, I left her behind and sat on the right-hand side (lit. north), she kept staring,<sup>12</sup> my wife.<sup>13</sup> [SK]

*araq*    *taòng*      *kòsòng*    *menu?*

araq    taòq=ng    kòsòng    menó  
 be    place=3    empty    like.that

Were there any empty places? [YM]

*araqng*      *kòsòng,*    *niki*    *anuq*    *dengan,*    *isian*            *nempulu*    *dengan,*  
 araq=ng    kòsòng    niki    anuq    dengan    isi-an            nem-pulu    dengan  
 be=3      empty    this    thing    person    content-nom    six-ten      person

*muq*            *kancete*      *sèket*      *jage*  
 muq            kance=te      sèket      jage  
 perf            with=1pl      fifty      perhaps

There were empty places, because this plane was for 60 passengers but we were 50 perhaps.<sup>14</sup> [SK]

*oh?*    *araq*    *bangku*    *kòsòng*    *jaring?*

oh    araq    bangku    kòsòng    jari=ng  
 oh    be    seat    empty    become=3

Oh? There empty seats then? [YM]

*araq*    *bangku*    *kòsòng,*    *muk*            *bilinè*            *òjòk*    *daye,*      *gedek*      *rueng*            *tebilin*  
 araq    bangku    kòsòng    muq=k      bilin=è            òjòk    daye      gedek      rue=ng      te-bilin  
 be    seat    empty    perf=1sg    leave.behind=3    to    north    angry    shape=3    pass-leave.behind

*indeng*      *kilengkò*            *dòang,*    *lutng*      *kilengkò*            *sérékò*      *lampaq,*  
 inde=ng    kile=ng=kò      dòang    lut=ng    kile=ng=kò      séré=kò    lampaq  
 suppose=3   stare.at=3=1sg    only    more=3    stare.at=3=1sg    more=1sg    walk

*laguq*    *tó*      *mélékò*      *ketaòn*    *ruen*      *tó*      *léq*    *anuq*    *dengan,*    *léq*    *kaptèn,*    *kaptèn*  
 laguq    tó      mélé=kò      ketaòn    rue=n      tó      léq    anuq    dengan    léq    kaptèn    kaptèn  
 but    there    want=1sg    know    shape=3    there    loc    thing    person    loc    captain    captain

<sup>10</sup> SK uses two high speech level words in this sentence: *nggih* 'yes' (cf. low level *ya*) and the demonstrative *niki* 'this' (cf. low *né*), while the remainder of the sentence uses low level vocabulary only. This mixing of occasional high level interjections and deictics in otherwise low speech is typical for expressing politeness by Sasak commoners (in contrast to *mènak* 'nobles'). The interaction being recorded may have also been a factor.

<sup>11</sup> Sasak speakers use absolute directionals such as *bat* 'west', *daye* 'north', and *lauq* 'south' (in Menu-meni, the cognate terms in other varieties may have different reference, see Austin 2008) rather than relative deictics to express spatial locations. Here an English speaker would use 'forwards' rather than 'west' (in the direction of travel, as the plane flies west from Surabaya), 'left' rather than 'south', and 'right' rather than 'north' to describe locations within the aircraft itself.

<sup>12</sup> In Menu-meni (and Meno-mene varieties) nasal-prefixed verbs are de-transitive and do not take a specific object. In other varieties of Sasak they remain transitive and have syntactic functions (see Austin 2012). Thus, *ngileng* means 'she was staring', compared to *kilengko* 'she stared at me', four turns below.

<sup>13</sup> In Sasak *kakaq* (in fast speech *kaq*) 'older sister' is used to express 'wife' (here with the additional honorific *tuan* 'master'), while deictic switch between first and second person is used in polite conversation to incorporate the addressee (Austin 2015). Thus, *kaq tuan=ò* literally means 'your respected older sister'.

<sup>14</sup> Note that *sèket* 'fifty' is a suppletive numeral (cf. *lime* 'five') which has been borrowed from Javanese; others include *lékur* 'twenty', and *selaè* 'twenty five'.

*unite ndèh kapan atas*  
 uni = te ndèh kapan atas  
 say = 1pl tag passenger.vehicle top

There were empty seats, I left her on the right (lit. north), she looked angry being left, just staring at me, she stared at me more and I walked more, but there I wanted to know about the thing there near the person, near the captain, ‘captain’ isn’t that what we say for a plane? [SK]

***pilòt***  
 pilòt  
 pilot  
 Pilot [YM]

***pilòt, pilòt*** *aran amunng kapan atas tie*  
 pilòt pilòt aran lamun = ng kapan atas tie  
 pilot pilot name if/when = 3 passenger.vehicle top that  
 Pilot, it’s called pilot when it’s an aeroplane. [SK]

*ó*  
 oh  
 oh  
 Oh [YM]

*ó, pilòt*  
 oh pilòt  
 oh pilot  
 Oh, pilot [SK]

*kapan laut baruqng kaptèn*  
 kapan laut baruq = ng kaptèn  
 passenger.vehicle sea recently = 3 captain  
 If it’s a boat you call him ‘captain’. [SK]

*dateng tó indeng muk paranè, “Bapak mau kemana”, “Saya*  
 dateng tó inde = ng muq = k paran = è bapak mau kemana saya  
 come there suppose = 3 perf = 1sg think.about = 3 father want what 1sg

***mau minum kopi” unikò keneè, “éé, kebetulan bis kupa” uning***  
 mau minum kopi uni = kò keneè = è éé kebetulan bis kupa uni = ng  
 want drink coffee say = 1sg tell = 3 hey coincidence finished coffee say = 3

*indeng, “aiq tèh méléqòkè” uning, méléqtè unikò,*  
 inde = ng aiq tèh méléq = òkè uni = ng méléq = te = è uni = kò  
 suppose = 3 water tea like = 2 > 3 say = 3 like = 1pl = 3 say = 1sg

*isiqangkò isiq anuq indeng gelas pelastik muk*  
 isiq-ang = kò isiq anuq inde = ng gelas pelastik muq = k  
 fill-appl = 1sg by thing suppose = 3 glass plastic perf = 1sg

*paran ndéqng menu kepanasng muk inemè lèilah kòtòng*  
 paran ndéq = ng menu ke-panas = ng muq = k inem = è lèilah kòtòng  
 think.about not = 3 like.that emph-hot = 3 perf = 1sg drink = 3 oh.God! burn

*béwéhkò idapng, kepanasng anèh aiq nuqng, parankè ndéqng*  
 béwéh = kò idap = ng ke-panas = ng anèh aiq nuq = ng paran = kè ndéq = ng  
 mouth = 1sg feeling = 3 emph-hot = 3 please water that = 3 think.about = 1sg > 3 not = 3

*menu kepanasng, laguq baukò tahan jaq, laguq selametng ndéqkò*  
 menu ke-panas = ng laguq bau = kò tahan jaq laguq selamet = ng ndéq = kò  
 like.that emph-hot = 3 but can = 1sg endure disc but save = 3 not = 1sg

*sakit jaq indeng*  
 sakit jaq inde = ng  
 sick disc suppose = 3

I got there, and then I thought about it, “Sir, where are you going?” [said the flight attendant]<sup>15</sup>, “I want to drink coffee” I said telling him, “Oh, unfortunately coffee is finished” he said, “Do you like tea?” he asked, “I like it” I said, he filled up for me<sup>16</sup> a plastic glass, which I thought was not so hot, I drank it, Oh God!<sup>17</sup> it burnt my mouth, it was really hot, you see that water, I thought it wouldn’t be that hot, but I could stand it, but fortunately I wasn’t sick, you know. [SK]

*oh, lupaqò indeng*  
 oh lupaq = ò inde = ng  
 oh forget = 2 suppose = 3  
 Oh, it seems you forgot [YM]

*lupaqkò*  
 lupaq = kò  
 forget = 1sg  
 I forgot [SK]

*paranòkè ès*  
 paran = òkè ès  
 think.about = 2 > 3 ice  
 You thought it was ice [YM]

*parankè aiq ès*  
 paran = kè aiq ès  
 think.about = 1sg > 3 water ice  
 I thought it was ice water. [SK]

*éé, muk tulak, tulakkò òjòk kaq tuanò indeng, muk*  
 éé muq = k tulak tulak = kò òjòk kakaq tuan = ò inde = ng muq = k  
 hey perf = 1sg return return = 1sg to older.sibling master = 2 suppose = 3 perf = 1sg

*ceritaqkè, “semen lalòqò” uning kenekò, laguq ite adite ketaòn*  
 cerite-q = kè semen lalòq = ò uni = ng kene = kò laguq ite adi = te ketaòn  
 story-caus = 1sg > 3 brash very = 2 say = 3 tell = 1sg but 1pl in.order.to = 1pl know

*unite isiq éaq becerite léq balé lèmaq, tó balé.*  
 uni = te isiq éaq be-cerite léq balé lèmaq tó balé  
 say = 1pl purp proj intr-story loc house tomorrow there house

Hey, I went back, I went back to your older sister, I told her what happened; “you’re very brash” she said to me, but I told her in order to know what I would say at home later, there at home. [SK]

*gumaneò indeng bòyaq-bòyaqè*  
 gumane = ò inde = ng bòyaq-bòyaq = è  
 purpose = 2 suppose = 3 redup-look.for = 3  
 Did you look for it on purpose?<sup>18</sup> [YM]

<sup>15</sup> This sentence is in Bahasa Indonesia (BI), being a verbatim quotation of the flight attendant. SK’s reply is also in BI, however the following “*aiq tèh méléqòkè*” is a translation into Sasak.

<sup>16</sup> The expression *isiqangkò* is an applicative which introduces a beneficiary as a direct argument of the verb (which is then indexed by the first person clitic that expresses patient objects of non-applicativised verbs). There are further examples below.

<sup>17</sup> *lèilah* is a loan from Arabic.

<sup>18</sup> Note that when there is a clause-initial host, such as the adverb in this example, it bears the transitive subject clitic while the transitive verb hosts the object clitic. In the absence of an adverb then a portmanteau expressing both subject and object is hosted by the verb.

*gumanekò indeng, ngelamang-ngelamang tó dalem, laguq kaq*  
 gumane = kò inde = ng ngelamang-ngelamang tó dalem laguq kakaq  
 purpose = 1sg suppose = 3 redup-roam there inside but older.sibling

*tuanò indeng, beléq malung.*  
 tuan = ò inde = ng beléq malu = ng  
 master = 2 suppose = 3 big shame = 3

I wandered about on purpose into there, but your older sister thought it was a big embarrassment. [SK]

*uli, muleng, anuq nine nie dengan*  
 uli mule = ng anuq nine nie dengan  
 yes true = 3 thing female 3 person  
 Yes, that's true, she is a woman. [YM]

*nggih, ndéqng bèngkò, laguq ndéqkò rumuqè, timaqng dateng te*  
 nggih ndéq = ng bèng = kò laguq ndéq = kò rumuq = è timaq = ng dateng te  
 yes not = 3 give = 1sg but not = 1sg pay.attention = 3 even.if = 3 come that

**Surabaya** *baé menuju Jeddah indeng, ndéqkò uah rumuqè,*  
 Surabaya baé menuju Jeddah inde = ng ndéq = kò uah rumuq = è  
 Surabaya only go.forwards Jeddah suppose = 3 not = 1sg already pay.attention = 3

*nie jaq sili dòang*  
 nie jaq sili dòang  
 3 disc be.angry only

Yes, she didn't let me, but I didn't care even when we came to Surabaya going towards Jeddah, I hadn't paid attention to her, she was just angry. [SK]

*menu ntan, menu ntan tesiliq*  
 menu ntan menu ntan te-siliq  
 like.that manner like.that manner pass-scold  
 You got scolded like that? [YM]

*nggih, laguq amung ndéq menu ndéqte nòh ketaòn laite ngupi*  
 nggih laguq amu = ng ndéq menu ndéq = te nòh ketaòn lai = te N-kupi  
 yes but if/when = 3 not like.that not = 1pl emph know towards = 1pl tr-coffee

*aiq tèh, aiq nyet unikò*  
 aiq tèh aiq nyet uni = kò  
 water tea water freezing say = 1sg

Yes, but "if we didn't do like that we wouldn't know the place to drink coffee, tea, or cold water" I said [SK]

*mbé taòqng tepiaq*  
 mbé taòq = ng te-piaq  
 where place = 3 pass-make  
 Where it is made [YM]

*nggih, bedóé pawòn dengankan*  
 nggih be-dóé pawòn dengan = kan  
 yes intr-have kitchen person = tag  
 Yes, they have a kitchen, don't they. [SK]

*berembé rueng taóng tepiaq?*  
 berembé rue = ng taó = ng te-piaq  
 how shape = 3 can = 3 pass-make  
 How can they be made? [YM]

*nggih, muq sering-tengan taòqng pawòn tie indeng*  
 nggih muq sering-tengan taòq = ng pawòn tie inde = ng  
 yes perf middle place = 3 kitchen that suppose = 3  
 Yes, the kitchen was halfway along, I guess [SK]

**Garuda bapaq**

Garuda bapaq

Garuda Mr

Was it Garuda? [YM]

nggih, **Garuda** DC sepulu siq isian

nggih Garuda DC se-pulu siq isi-an

yes Garuda DC one-ten rel content-nom

Yes, it was a Garuda DC-10 [SK]

pituq ratus nggih

pituq ratus nggih

seven hundred yes

seven hundred [YM]

ndéq, **Boeing** saq pituq ratus

ndéq Boeing saq pituq ratus

not Boeing rel seven hundred

No, it is Boeing which is 700<sup>19</sup> [SK]

óó

oh

oh

Oh [SK]

isian telung atus pituq pulu lime, ie isian DC sepulu,  
 isi-an telu-N ratus pituq pulu lime ie isi-an DC se-pulu  
 content-nom three-link hundred seven ten five 3 content-nom DC one-ten

ie isian **Garuda** DC sepulu senuqng, ngelamang-ngelamang  
 ie isi-an Garuda DC se-pulu senuq = ng ngelamang-ngelamang  
 3 content-nom Garuda DC one-ten that = 3 ?-roam

bòyaqè indeng, mute dait pawòn  
 bòyaq = è inde = ng amu = te dait pawòn  
 look.for = 3 suppose = 3 if/when = 1pl find kitchen

The capacity is 375<sup>20</sup>, that's the capacity of a DC-10, that's the capacity of that Garuda DC-10, I wandered about looking and then I found the kitchen. [SK]

sekéq pawòn?

sekéq pawòn

one kitchen

Is there one kitchen? [YM]

nggih, sekéq tó tengaqng taòqng, "ini untuk air apa ini buq?" unikò  
 nggih sekéq tó tengaq = ng taòq = ng ini untuk air apa ini Buq uni = kò  
 yes one there middle = 3 place = 3 this for water what this Madam say = 1sg

keneè, "air kupa" uning cóbaqkò njekè indeng, tetung ising kupa,  
 kene = è air kupa uni = ng cóbaq = kò njek = è inde = ng tetu = ng isi-N kupa  
 tell = 3 water coffee say = 3 try = 1sg press = 3 suppose = 3 true = 3 content-link coffee

"ini untuk air apa?" unikò, "air tèh", cóbaqkò njekè pacu,  
 ini untuk air apa uni = kò air tèh cóbaq = kò njek = è pacu  
 this for water what say = 1sg water tea try = 1sg press = 3 true

<sup>19</sup> This is a cleft sentence comprised of a focal NP followed by a headless relative clause introduced by the relativiser *saq* (in Menu-meni and Meno-mene, but *si(q)* in other varieties).

<sup>20</sup> The suffix *-ng* here (in other varieties *-n*) is a linker that appears within NPs between the head and modifiers, including possessors or parts, e.g. *balé-ng amaq* house-link father 'father's house', *seri-ng pesisi* edge-link beach 'edge of the beach'.



*tetung tèt, pentèsng dengan niqng angenkò*  
 tetu = ng tèt pentès = ng dengan ni-q = ng angen = kò  
 true = 3 tea smart = 3 person this-spec = 3 feeling = 1sg

Yes, one there in the middle, “what sort of water is this for Mrs?” I said asking her, “coffee” she said, I tried to press it, truly the contents were coffee “what sort of water is this for?” I said, “tea”, I tried to press it and it was true, it was really tea, these people are smart I felt. [SK]

*malik indeng ngkah tèt, “ini untuk air apa ini” unikò, “air dingin” uning,*  
 malik inde = ng ngkah tèt ini untuk air apa ini uni = kò air dingin uni = ng  
 again suppose = 3 stop tea this for water what this say = 1sg water cold say = 3

*njekè pacu kenòpng nuqng tadòngkè aiq nyet pacu laguq tèsngkan*  
 njek = è pacu kenòp = ng nuq = ng tadòng = kè aiq nyet pacu laguq tès = ng = kan  
 press = 3 true press = 3 that = 3 catch = 1sg > 3 water freezing true but test = 3 = tag

Again the tea stopped, “what water is this for?” I said, “cold water” she said, she pushed and pressed that one, and I caught really freezing water, but she tested it.<sup>21</sup> [SK]

*nyetng jaring*  
 nyet = ng jari = ng  
 freezing = 3 become = 3  
 It had become freezing [YM]

*nyetng*  
 nyet = ng  
 freezing = 3  
 Freezing [SK]

*cóbaqòkè indeng malik?*  
 cóbaq = òkè inde = ng malik  
 try = 2 > 3 suppose = 3 again  
 Did you try it again? [YM]

*cóbaqkè dòang, adite siq bedóé pengalaman ntankò rèkèngè*  
 cóbaq = kè dòang adi = te siq be-dóé pengalaman ntan = kò rèkèng = è  
 try = 1sg > 3 only in.order.to = 1pl rel intr-have experience manner = 1sg count = 3P  
 I just tried it in order to have the experience, that’s how I treated it.<sup>22</sup> [SK]

*uli*  
 uli  
 yes  
 Yes [YM]

*“nggih, mòlah nani jaq” unikò keneè, “kembéng”, “terusan méléte ngupi*  
 nggih mòlah nani jaq uni = kò kene = è kembé = ng terus-an mélé = te N-kupi  
 yes easy now disc say = 1sg tell = 3 why = 3 then-compar want = 1pl tr-coffee

*mòlahte laló pesètang diqte, méléte aiq nyet mòlahte” unikò keneè,*  
 mòlah = te laló pesèt-ang diq = te mélé = te aiq nyet mòlah = te uni = kò kene = è  
 easy = 1pl go press-appl self = 1pl want = 1pl water freezing easy = 1pl say = 1sg tell = 3

*“tó mbé taòqng”, “tóng” unikò keneè, laguq ndéq mélé betènaq niekan,*  
 tó mbé taòq = ng tó = ng uni = kò kene = è laguq ndéq mélé be-tènaq nie = kan  
 there where place = 3 there = 3 say = 1sg tell = 3 but not want intr-invite 3 = tag

<sup>21</sup> Note that *njek* means ‘to press down hard on something’ while *kenòp* means ‘to push with a finger’.

<sup>22</sup> This sentence nicely shows clitic placement in Menu-meni Sasak: the first verb bears a portmanteu clitic = *kè* indicating 1<sup>st</sup> person acting on 3<sup>rd</sup> person, the final verb has only = *è*, a 3<sup>rd</sup> person object clitic, as the subject = *kò* is hosted by the clause-initial noun *ntan* ‘manner’.

*malung dòang*  
malu = ng dòang  
shame = 3 only

“Yes, it is easy now” I said, “how come?” [my wife asked], “later if I want to have coffee it is easy for me to go and press it for myself, if I want cold water it is easy” I said telling her: “there is where the place is”, “there” I told her, but she didn’t want to try, she was just embarrassed. [SK]

*ndéqò ketuanè indeng, ape méléqng nie?*  
ndéq = ò ketuan = è inde = ng ape méléq = ng nie  
not = 2 ask = 3 suppose = 3 what love = 3 3  
Didn’t you ask her what she wanted? [YM]

*sai?*  
sai  
who  
Who? [SK]

*kaq tuankò nòh*  
kakaq tuan = kò nòh  
older.sibling master = 1sg emph  
Your wife [lit. my older sister] [YM]

*timaqng jaq araq anuq méléng laguq ndéqng semen, ndòt-ndòt dòang gawéqng*  
timaq = ng jaq araq anuq mélé = ng laguq ndéq = ng semen ndòt -ndòt dòang gawéq = ng  
even.if = 3 disc be thing want = 3 but not = 3 brash redup-stay only work = 3

*nie, laguq jangke senuqng ndéqte tebèng nòmer kursi dengan paq Yun, bèbas*  
nie laguq jangke senuq = ng ndéq = te te-bèng nòmer kursi dengan paq Yun bèbas  
3 but cont that = 3 not = 1pl pass-give number chair person Mr Yun free  
Even if she wanted it but she wasn’t outgoing, she just sat there working, but until then we had not been given a seat number, Yun, we were free. [SK]

*oh mbé-mbé taòqte mélé tòkòn*  
oh mbé-mbé taòq = te mélé tòkòn  
oh redup-where place = 1pl want sit  
Oh, we could sit anywhere we wanted [YM]

*mbé-mbé taòqte mélé tòkòn*  
mbé-mbé taòq = te mélé tòkòn  
redup-where place = 1pl want sit  
We could sit anywhere we wanted. [SK]

*sèngaq siq kòsòng jaring*  
sèngaq siq kòsòng jari = ng  
because rel empty become = 3  
Because there were empty ones [YM]

*nggih, jangke taóte bekelin dait kaq tuankò wayengkan?*  
nggih jangke taó = te be-kelin dait kakaq tuan = ò waye = ng = kan  
yes cont can = 1pl intr-separate and older.sibling master = 2 approximately = 3 = tag  
Yes, so I could be separated from your older sister, isn’t it [SK]

*mm*  
mm  
um  
Mm [YM]

*bilin-bilintè uah tòkònkan, nané dengan nòmer kursi bedóéng*  
bilin-bilin = tè uah tòkòn = kan nané dengan nòmer kursi be-dóé = ng  
redup-leave.behind = 1pl > 3 already sit = tag now person number chair intr-have = 3

*renggang lalòqkan tie*  
 renggang lalòq = kan tie  
 distant very = tag that

I left her already sitting, now she had a seat number that was really far away, that one. [SK]

*ndéqte taó nguit baé unite juluq?*  
 ndéq = te taó nguit baé uni = te juluq  
 not = 1pl can move only say = 1pl first  
 Let's say I couldn't move at all at first. [YM]

*nggih, mbé taòqng kòsòng laiqte ngalèh*  
 nggih mbé taòq = ng kòsòng laiq = te ngalèh  
 yes where place = 3 empty into = 1pl move  
 Yes, wherever there were empty places we could move to. [SK]

*ie taòq kelebèhante jaring laèq*  
 ie taòq ke-lebèh-an = te jaring laèq  
 3 place nom-more-nom = 1pl become = 3 in.past  
 That was our additional place in the past [YM]

*muk araq sópòq sahabatkò léq niki Pelambéq, kelupaqkò aran,*  
 muq = k araq sópòq sahabat = kò léq niki Pelambéq ke-lupaq = kò aran  
 perf = 1sg be one friend = 1sg loc this Pelambeq nom-forget = 1sg name

*Darme-Darme, tiang, "ndéqkò taó matéq aiq nuqng", "laló tanggaqè ntèh",*  
 Darme-Darme tiang ndéq = kò taó maté-q aiq nuq = ng laló tanggaq = è ntèh  
 Darme-Darme 1sg not = 1sg can dead-caus water that = 3 go look.at = 3 hort

*aran jaq maraq ntan kunci angin ntan tepeliset menu,*  
 aran jaq maraq ntan kunci angin ntan te-peliset menu  
 behaviour disc like manner key wind manner pass-snap like.that

*"seniqng baruq ndéqng taó matékan", "maté nanéa" uningkan,*  
 seni-q = ng baruq ndéq = ng taó maté-q = kan maté nané = a uni = ng = kan  
 this-spec = 3 recently not = 3 can dead-caus = tag dead now = exclam say = 3 = tag

*bedóéng waktu dengan ntan matéq diqng.*  
 be-dóé = ng waktu dengan ntan maté-q diq = ng  
 intr-have = 3 time person manner dead-caus self = 3

There was a friend of mine from Pelambeq, I forget his name, Darme-Darme, "I can't stop [lit. kill] that water" (he said), "let's go and take a look" (I said), it was just like a key that had been snapped off, "this one just now cannot be stopped" (he said), "but, it's stopped now" he said, it must have had time to stop itself. [SK]

*uli*  
 uli  
 yes  
 Yes [YM]

*òtòomatis, ie litóng baraq nu uahng kadaq.hajat*  
 òtòomatis ie litó = ng baraq nu uah = ng kadaq.hajat  
 automatic 3 come.there = 3 tell there already = 3 pass.water  
 It was automatic, he came to report that he had already been to the toilet<sup>23</sup> [SK]

*leger lalòqng amung tututkò, "kembéqkè baruq?" unikò,*  
 leger lalòq = ng amu = ng tutut = kò kembéq = òkè baruq uni = kò  
 nervous very = 3 if/when = 3 pick.up = 1sg why = 2 > 3P recently say = 1sg

<sup>23</sup> Non-specific objects of transitive verbs are not cross-referenced and hence *baraq* 'tell' does not bear an object clitic; a 3sg subject is attached to the preceding verb which it is a complement of. Note that *kadaq hajat*, a very polite express for urination, is a loan from Arabic قضاء حاجات (*qada' hajat*) meaning 'fulfilling needs'.

*“meniqkè”, meni, “kesóérng aiq tiaqng” uning meni*  
 meni-q = kè meni kesóér = ng aiq tie-q = ng uni = ng meni  
 like.this-caus = 1sg > 3 like.this spray = 3 water that-spec = 3 say = 3 like.this

He was very nervous when he picked me up, “what have you done?” I said, “I did like this”, like this, “that water sprayed out” he said like this. [SK]

*té anuq indeng kamar mandiq*  
 té anuq inde = ng kamar mandiq  
 here thing suppose = 3 room bathe

I suppose that here [you are talking about] the bathroom [YM]

*nggih, tó dalem kapan uah unite juluq, laguq tó pótóng muri*  
 nggih tó dalem kapan uah uni = te juluq laguq tó pótó = ng muri  
 yes there inside passenger.vehicle already say = 1pl first but there tip = 3 back

*taòqte, muk pacu meniqè, lèilah lèilah mung kesóér, lèilah*  
 taòq = te muq = k pacu meni-q = è lèilah lèilah mu = ng kesóér lèilah  
 place = 1pl perf = 1sg true like.this-caus = 3 oh.God! oh.God! then = 3 spray oh.God!

*kelegerkò anèh, “berembé baé ntankò nané” angenkò*  
 ke-leger = kò anèh berembé baé ntan = kò nané angen = kò  
 emph-nervous = 1sg please how only manner = 1sg now feeling = 1sg

Yes, there inside the plane that I spoke about first, but they were behind me, I really did like this, Oh God!, it sprayed out, Oh God! I was really nervous, “what am I going to do now?” I thought. [SK]

*laguq dimeng setenge menit atau semenit maténg indeng*  
 laguq dime = ng se-tenge menit atau se-menit maté = ng inde = ng  
 but when = 3 one-half minute or one-minute dead = 3 suppose = 3

but after half a minute or one minute it stopped it seems [YM]

*meniqkè nòh, araq pituq kalikò pemenuqè amung*  
 meni-q = kè nòh araq pituq kali = kò pe-meni-q = è amu = ng  
 like.this-caus = 1sg = 3 emph be seven time = 1sg caus-like.this-caus = 3 if/when = 3

*maté, kadikò ndéq pemenuqè masih éaqng matéq diqng,*  
 maté kadi = kò ndéq pe-menu-q = è masih éaq = ng maté-q diq = ng  
 dead if.only = 1sg not caus-like.that-caus = 3 still proj = 3 dead-caus self = 3

*laguq siq aran bòngòhte, éé biste njekè, ieng pituq kali*  
 laguq siq aran bòngòh = te éé bis = te njek = è ie = ng pituq kali  
 but rel behaviour stupid = 1pl hey finished = 1pl press = 3 3 = 3 seven time

*ieng maté, siqkò njek-njekè indeng, laguq ndéqng maraq ntan anuq*  
 ie = ng maté isiq = kò njek-njek = è inde = ng laguq ndéq = ng maraq ntan anuq  
 3 = 3 dead because = 1sg redup-press = 3 suppose = 3 but not = 3 like manner thing

*ntan maraq tujaq niqng ntan, ndéqng tekenòp*  
 ntan maraq tujaq ni-q = ng ntan ndéq = ng te-kenòp  
 manner like pound.rice this-spec = 3 manner not = 3 pass-press

I did it like this, it was seven times I did it like this and then it stopped, if only I hadn't done like that it would have stopped itself, but that was because we were stupid, well we finished pressing it, it was the seventh time and it stopped, because I pressed it repeatedly I suppose, but it wasn't like the way [we] pound rice, it wasn't pushed with a finger [SK]

*terus*  
 terus  
 then  
 then [YM]

*kòntèq-kòntèq cerite indeng, laguq Pak Peter*  
*kòntèq-kòntèq cerite inde = ng laguq Pak Peter*  
 redup-short story suppose = 3 but Mr Peter  
 to shorten the story I suppose, but Peter [is recording this] [SK]

*tedóqangè baé*  
*tedóq-ang = è baé*  
 silent-caus = 3 only  
 I'll just finish it. [SK]

*kòntèq-kòntèq ceriteng, kembéqkè baruq amung maté, puterkè*  
*kòntèq-kòntèq cerite = ng kembéq = kè baruq amu = ng maté puter = kè*  
 redup-short story = 3 why = 1sg = 3 recently if/when = 3 dead turn = 1sg > 3

*pituq kali amung maté, bègaq pahamò, "cobaqè" unikè kene,*  
*pituq kali amu = ng maté bègaq paham = ò cobaq = è uni = kè kene*  
 seven time if/when = 3 dead enough understanding = 2 try = 3P say = 1sg > 3 tell

*laguq dengan mule taó matéq diqng lasing, laguq siq aran bòngòhte uah,*  
*laguq dengan mule taó maté-q diq = ng lasing laguq siq aran bòngòh = te uah*  
 but person true can dead-caus self = 3 because but rel behaviour stupid = 1pl perf

*ngònèq-ngònèqng tóng, mélékò anuq karing, mélékò kadaq.hajat, kembé*  
*ngònèq-ngònèq = ng tó = ng mélé = kò anuq karing mélé = kò kadaq.hajat kembé*  
 eventually = 3 there = 3 want = 1sg thing then want = 1sg pass.water why

*amuò ndéq taó meró, laguq sebenerng jaq kalingte éaq mélé ndèh,*  
*amu = ò ndéq taó meró laguq se-bener = ng jaq kali-N = te éaq mélé ndèh*  
 if/when = 2 not can stand but irreal-truly = 3 disc time-link = 1pl proj want tag

*ndéqte mélé dòang masih tiang wayeng, pòkòq siq ketaòn*  
*ndéq = te mélé dòang masih tiang waye = ng pòkòq siq ketaòn*  
 not = 1pl want only still 1sg approximately = 3 really rel know

To shorten the story, what did I do so that it stopped, I turned it seven times and then it stopped, you understand well enough, "try it"<sup>24</sup> I said to him, but it could really stop itself, just because we were stupid, eventually, I wanted to what's-it then, I wanted to pass water, "why can't you hold on?" [I thought], but even if I really had wanted to, I didn't want to yet, I just wanted to know. [SK]

*pókóqkò siq ketaòn*  
*pókóq = kò siq ketaòn*  
 really = 1sg rel know  
 My thing is to know. [YM]

*pókóqkò siq ketaòn, pengalamante dalem kapan ntante rèkèngè*  
*pókóq = kò siq ketaòn pengalaman = te dalem kapan ntan = te rèkèng = è*  
 really = 1sg rel know experience = 1pl inside passenger.vehicle manner = 1pl consider = 3P  
 My point is to know, I think about my experience inside a plane. [SK]

*muleng bapaq, sukahte daitè indengkan*  
*mule = ng bapaq sukah = te dait = è inde = ng = kan*  
 true = 3 Mr difficult = 1pl find = 3P suppose = 3 = tag  
 That's true Mr, I suppose it is really difficult for us to encounter it [for the first time] [YM]

*dateng tó, lèilah anuq penggitan dòang apaqapaqte kan léq wéíséi*  
*dateng tó lèilah anuq peN-gitaq-an dòang apaq-apaq = te kan léq wéíséi*  
 come there oh.God! thing nom-see-nom only redup-whatever = 1pl tag loc WC

<sup>24</sup> Note that in imperatives the 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject is not encoded as a clitic attached to the verb. Thus compare *cobaq = è* try = 3O 'you try it!' and *puter = kè* turn = 1sg > 3 'I turn it'.

*nu paq Yun nah*  
 nu paq Yun nah  
 there Mr Yon nah

We got there, Oh God!, everything is visible there in the toilet [WC], Yon [SK]

*isiq kaceng indeng*  
 isiq kace = ng inde = ng  
 by glass = 3 suppose = 3

Because of the mirror I suppose [YM]

*isiq kaceng, sólekò isiq tòkòn indeng apaqng baé bèaq-bèaq*  
 isiq kace = ng sóle = kò isiq tòkòn inde = ng ape-q = ng baé bèaq-bèaq  
 by glass = 3 besides = 1sg because sit suppose = 3 what-caus = 3 only redup-red

*niqng angenkò, njek siq ijó nuqng nyetng aiq nuqng,*  
 ni-q = ng angen = kò njek siq ijó nu-q = ng nyet = ng aiq nu-q = ng  
 this-spec = 3 feeling = 1sg press rel green that-spec = 3 freezing = 3 water that-spec = 3

*njekè siq bèaq nuqng nggaq-nggaqng kepanasng sugun aiq tiaqng*  
 njek = è siq bèaq nu-q = ng nggaq-nggaq = ng ke-panas = ng sugun aiq tie-q = ng  
 press = 3P rel red that-spec = 3 redup-only = 3 emph-hot = 3 come.out water that-spec = 3

Because of the mirror, besides I was sitting, “what is this red thing?” I thought, I pressed the green one and it was cold water, I pressed the red one and only very hot water came out. [SK]

*mm*  
 mm  
 um  
 mm [YM]

*untungkò cóbaq tèsè baruq angenkò, andékò ndéq tèsèkan*  
 untung = kò cóbaq tès = è baruq angen = kò andé = kò ndéq tès = è = kan  
 luck = 1sg try test = 3P recently feeling = 1sg if = 1sg not test = 3P = tag

*éaqkò kelòkòs*  
 éaq = kò kelòkòs  
 proj = 1sg peel.off

Fortunately, I thought I’d try to test it before, if I didn’t test it my skin would have peeled off [SK]

*berembé, uli*  
 berembé uli  
 how yes  
 How come? [YM]

*nggih, laguq sebenerng jaq uning pramugari nikikan ndéqte kanggó*  
 nggih laguq se-bener = ng jaq uni = ng pramugari niki = kan ndéq = te kanggó  
 yes but ?-truly = 3 disc say = 3 flight.attendant this = tag not = 1pl allow

*nyuciang isiq aiq, laun bakatng amban, salaq-salaq ntan laun bakatng amban*  
 nyuciang isiq aiq laun bakat = ng amban salaq-salaq ntan laun bakat = ng amban  
 wash.up by water later wound = 3 carpet redup-fault manner later wound = 3 carpet

*uning, laguq ndékò mélé rumuè tiaqng, tisu sadangangte*  
 uni = ng laguq ndéq = kò mélé rumu = è tie-q = ng tisu sadang-ang = te  
 say = 3 but not = 1sg > 2 want look.after = 3P that-spec = 3 tissue provide-appl = 1pl

*maraq kebeléq ulu, tisu tiaqng, isiqng suruqte nyuciang baé*  
 maraq ke-beléq ulu tisu tie-q = ng isiq = ng suruq = te nyuciang baé  
 like emph-big head tissue that-spec = 3 in.order.to = 3 ask = 1pl wash.up only

*unite juluq laguq ndéqkò mélé tiang, berembé éaqkò irap, aran jaq*  
 uni = te juluq laguq ndéq = kò mélé tiang berembé éaq = kò irap aran jaq  
 say = 1pl first but not = 1sg want 1sg how proj = 1sg touch behaviour disc

*ndéqte biase*

ndéq = te biase

not = 1pl usual

Yes, but the flight attendant actually said, we were not allowed to wash up<sup>25</sup> using water, it could make a mess of the carpet, if you did it in the wrong way it would mess up the carpet she said, but I didn't want to care about it, they provided tissues for us as big as a head, that tissue [was there] but we should use it to clean up first, but I didn't want to, how would I touch it, it was behaviour that I wasn't used to. [SK]

*uli*

uli

yes

Yes [YM]

*nggih, ndéqte biase, ahirng gelas nuqng anuqkò tiang siq nadòng*  
 nggih ndéq = te biase ahir = ng gelas nu-q = ng anuq = kò tiang siq N-tadòng  
 yes not = 1pl usual end = 3 glass that-spec = 3 thing = 1sg 1sg rel tr-catch  
 yes, we weren't used to it, in the end it was the glass I used to catch. [SK]

*mm*

mm

um

mm [YM]

*menu dòang, ketaòn akan*

menu dòang ketaòn akan

like.that only know trick

Just like that, I knew the trick [SK]

*kelaéqò òjòk Surabaye tie*

ke-laèq = ò òjòk Surabaye tie

emph-in.past = 2 to Surabaya that

Long ago when you [flew] to Surabaya [SK]

*òjòk Jeddahng*

òjòk Jeddah = ng

to Jeddah = 3

to Jeddah [SK]

*óó*

oh

oh

Oh [YM]

*òjòk Jeddahng, amung siq tóng jaq ndéqte uah anuq,*

òjòk Jeddah = ng amu = ng siq tó = ng jaq ndéq = te uah anuq

to Jeddah = 3 if/when = 3 rel there = 3 disc not = 1pl already thing

*seberaqte èndah tó*

se-beraq = te èndah tó

one-while = 1pl also there

To Jeddah, when we were there, we didn't do (the same thing), because we only had a short time there [SK]

*siq ngònèqte ndéq*

isiq ngònèq = te ndéq

because long.time = 1pl not

Because it was too long not to ... [SK]

<sup>25</sup> This refers to the Muslim practice of washing with water after using the toilet, rather than using toilet paper.

*siq ngònèqte, amung isiq òjòk Jeddah nuqng jaq indeng,*  
*isiq ngònèq = te amu = ng isiq òjòk Jeddah nu-q = ng jaq inde = ng*  
 because long.time = 1pl if/when = 3 in.order.to to Jeddah that-spec = 3 disc suppose = 3

*éé ngònèqte irapng, kedemente pirem lèlènte*  
*éé ngònèq = te irap = ng ke-demen = te pirem lèlèn = te*  
 hey long.time = 1pl feeling = 3 emph-be.fond.of = 1pl fall.asleep soundly = 1pl

*léq kursi nuqng*  
*léq kursi nu-q = ng*  
 loc chair that-spec = 3

Because it was too long, at the time we went to Jeddah, we felt it was a long time, we really enjoyed it, we slept soundly in that chair. [SK]

*sòlas jamò indeng*  
*se-òlas jam = ò inde = ng*  
 one-teen hour = 2 suppose = 3  
 eleven hours for you I guess [YM]

*nggih, sòlas jam, ketujung njekè baruq siq bèaq niqng, andékò*  
*nggih se-òlas jam ketuju = ng njek = è baruq siq bèaq ni-q = ng andé = kò*  
 yes one-teen hour fortunately = 3 press = 3P recently rel red this-spec = 3 if = 1sg

*éaq ndéq njekè, berembé, ndéqte kelòkòs angenkò, kepanasng anèh*  
*éaq ndéq njek = è berembé ndéq = te kelòkòs angen = kò ke-panas = ng anèh*  
 proj not press = 3P how not = 1pl peel.off feeling = 1sg emph-hot = 3 please  
 yes, eleven hours, fortunately he pressed the red one, if I didn't press it, wouldn't my skin have peeled off, it was so hot. [SK]

*mm*  
 mm  
 um  
 mm [YM]

*muq dimek sugun indeng, apaqng jage njekng jangke*  
*muq dime = k sugun inde = ng ape-q = ng jage njek = ng jangke*  
 perf when = 1sg come.out suppose = 3 what-caus = 3 perhaps press = 3 cont

*nuqng, kesóerng ijó aiq tiaqng, malik*  
*nu-q = ng kesóer = ng ijó aiq tie-q = ng malik*  
 that-spec = 3 spray = 3 green water that-spec = 3 again

At the time we went out, we didn't know what he pushed at that time, that fresh water sprayed out, again [SK]

*mm, isiqng bisóq lasing side*  
*mm isiq = ng bisóq lasing side*  
 um by = 3 clean because 2  
 Yes, that's what they use to clean it [YM]

*bisóqng ndèh, kebeléqng isiq tebisóq wésé nuqng jaq*  
*bisóq = ng ndèh ke-beléq = ng isiq te-bisóq wésé nu-q = ng jaq*  
 clean = 3 tag emph-big = 3 by pass-clean toilet that-spec = 3 disc  
 It was clean, it was really big (the water) to clean that toilet [SK]

*uli*  
 uli  
 yes  
 Yes [SK]



**kelòset**, lain isiqte **nyuciang** baruq nuqng  
 kelòset lain isiq = te nyuciang baruq nu-q = ng  
 closet other by = 1pl wash.up recently that-spec = 3

A [water] closet, different from the previous one that we used to wash up with [SK]

*lainan*  
 lain-an  
 different-compar  
 different [YM]

*nggih, laguq kembé amung menu kebeléqng aiq tiaqng*  
 nggih laguq kembé amu = ng menu ke-beléq = ng aiq tie-q = ng  
 yes but why if/when = 3 like.that emph-big = 3 water that-spec = 3

Yes, but how could that water be so big? [SK]

*ie amung bersi dengan*  
 ie amu = ng bersi dengan  
 3 if/when = 3 clean person  
 That's the way it cleans<sup>26</sup> [YM]

*meliwer, anuq ijó maraq rueng daun sager, lèilah, kederesng nané*  
 meliwer anuq ijó maraq rue = ng daun sager lèilah ke-deres = ng nané  
 rotate thing green like shape = 3 leaf k.o.tree oh.God! nom-flow.quickly = 3 now

*berembé ntan matéqè angenkò, tedóqangké baé cóbaq tèsè*  
 berembé ntan maté-q = è angen = kò tedóq-ang = kè baé cóbaq tès = è  
 how manner dead-caus = 3P feeling = 1sg silent-caus = 1sg > 3 only try test = 3P

*angenkò, badéqkè maraq ntan isiq uiqng angenkò, mung*  
 angen = kò badéq = kè maraq ntan isiq uiq = ng angen = kò mu = ng  
 feeling = 1sg guess = 1sg = 3 like manner by yesterday = 3 feeling = 1sg then = 3

*matéq diqng, semikin anuq tiaqng mònès, mélé lalòqkò tanggaq anuqng*  
 maté-q diq = ng semikin anuq tie-q = ng mònès mélé lalòq = kò tanggaq anuq = ng  
 dead-caus self = 3 more thing that-spec = 3 beautiful want very = 1sg look.at thing = 3

*karing pilòtng, ie mélé lalòqkò tanggaq, tóng balaqngkò, ndéqkò mélé,*  
 karing pilòt = ng ie mélé lalòq = kò tanggaq tóng mélé balaq = ng = kò ndéq = kò mélé  
 then pilot = 3 3 want very = 1sg look.at there = 3 forbid = 3 = 1sg not = 1sg want

*tamekò baé, anuq bekelambu, andéng éaq berimpet lawang nuqng*  
 tame = kò baé anuq be-ke-lambu andé = ng éaq be-impet lawang nu-q = ng  
 enter = 1sg only thing intr-curtain if = 3 proj intr-close door that-spec = 3

*jaq sang anuq nòq sukahng nòq*  
 jaq sang anuq nòq sukah = ng nòq  
 disc perhaps thing disc difficult = 3 disc

It whirled around, it was green like sager leaf, oh God! it flowed quickly now “how could I stop it now?” I felt, I just let it go by itself, I just tested it, I thought it was like before I suppose, then it stopped by itself, that stuff is more clean now, I really wanted to see the pilot now, that's what I really wanted to see, at that time she [the flight attendant] stopped me, I didn't want to, I just went in, it was curtained off, if the door is closed like this, I thought it would be difficult [SK]

*uli*  
 uli  
 yes  
 Yes [YM]

<sup>26</sup> The word *dengan* ‘person’ is often used as a particle to encode politeness.

*anèh, berimpetng payukan, laguq tebalaqte indeng isiq anuq, pramugari*  
 anèh be-impet = ng payu = kan laguq te-balaq = te inde = ng isiq anuq pramugari  
 please intr-close = 3 result = tag but pass-forbid = 1pl suppose = 3 by thing flight.attendant

*niki, laguq ndéqkò mélé tebalaq tiang, wayaqkè besatu, muq*  
 niki laguq ndéq = kò mélé te-balaq tiang waye-q = kè besatu muq  
 this but not = 1sg want pass-forbid 1sg approximately-caus = 1sg > 3 serve perf

*lalóng tame, dimeng uah, wayaqkè besatu karing nikan, ndéqkò*  
 laló = ng tame dime = ng uah waye-q = kè besatu karing ni = kan ndéq = kò  
 go = 3 enter when = 3 perf approximately-nom = disc serve then this = tag not = 1sg

*tebèng tame, nané éaqkò laló tame, éaqkò laló tame nané betutup lawangkan,*  
 te-bèng tame nané éaq = kò laló tame éaq = kò laló tame nané be-  
 pass- enter now proj = 1sg go enter proj = 1sg go enter now intr-  
 give close door = tag

*berembé ntan adite siq mauq gitaq pilòtng dòang angenkò ni,*  
 berembé ntan adi = te isiq mauq gitaq pilòt = ng dòang angen = kò ni  
 how manner in.order.to = 1pl in.order.to can see pilot = 3 only feeling = 1sg this

*muq wayaqkè besatu, satuq pilòtng indeng, dimeng tame*  
 muq waye-q = kè be-satu satuq pilòt = ng inde = ng dime = ng tame  
 perf approximately-caus = 1sg > 3 intr-serve serve pilot = 3 suppose = 3 when = 3 enter

*besatu muk turutè indeng, likatng meni, turis tiaqng,*  
 be-satu mu = k turut = è inde = ng likat = ng meni turis tie-q = ng  
 intr-serve then = 1sg follow = 3P suppose = 3 look.over.shoulder = 3 like.this tourist that-spec = 3

*ngemòsng, tamekò terus, muk meni ntankò léq kursi,*  
 ngemòs = ng tame = kò terus mu = k meni ntan = kò léq kursi  
 smile = 3 enter = 1sg then then = 1sg like.this manner = 1sg loc chair

*tanggaqè baé, telu aran pilòt*  
 tanggaq = è baé telu aran pilòt  
 look.at = 3P only three name pilot

There it was closed, but I suppose we were forbidden by that, the flight attendant, but I didn't want to be forbidden, I predicted the time for serving, then she went in, after that, I predicted the time for serving then, I was not allowed to go in, now I would go in, I would go now, the door was closed, I thought "How can I get to see the pilot?", I predicted the time when she would serve, serve the pilot I guess, when she entered to serve I would follow her, she looked over her shoulder like this, this white person,<sup>27</sup> she smiled, I went in then, I was like this on the chair (near the cockpit), I just saw him, so there were three pilots. [SK]

*muleng*  
 mule = ng  
 true = 3  
 That's true. [YM]

*nggih, méléng bawaq njekngkè méléng atas njekngkè, menu dòang, muq*  
 nggih mélé = ng bawaq njek = ngkè mélé = ng atas njek = ngkè menu dòang muq  
 yes want = 3 below press = 3 > 3 want = 3 top press = 3 > 3 like.that only perf

*kanceng telu, siq dueng jaq santé baé juluq, selung anuq bareng genti*  
 kance = ng telu siq due = ng jaq santé baé juluq selung-selung anuq bareng genti  
 with = 3 three rel two = 3 disc relax only first suddenly thing together replace  
 Yes, if he wanted down he pushed it, if he wanted up he pushed it, just like that, there were three, the two relaxed first (while one worked), oh, they replace each other (taking turns) [SK]

<sup>27</sup> Speakers of Sasak, like other Indonesians, use the English loan word *turis* 'tourist' as a generic term to refer to any Caucasian-looking person. Here the reference is to a non-Indonesian flight attendant.

ie aran **kópilòt** dengan, **pembantu** arting  
 ie aran kópilòt dengan peN-bantu arti = ng  
 3 name co-pilot person instr-help meaning = 3  
 He is called co-pilot, it means helper [YM]

ie *keneng* **kópilòt** *nggih*, ie aran *ntan* *angenkò*  
 ie kene = ng kópilòt *nggih* ie aran *ntan* *angen* = kò  
 3 tell = 3 co-pilot yes 3 name manner feeling = 1sg  
 He is called co-pilot, that's what I thought [SK]

*terus, terus*  
 terus terus  
 then then  
 Go on [YM]

*andéng* *mélé* *jelapan* *njekngkè*, *menu* *dòang* *ntan*  
 andé = ng *mélé* *jelap-an* *njek* = ngkè *menu* *dòang* *ntan*  
 if = 3 want fast-compar press = 3 > 3 like.that only manner  
 If he wanted [to go] faster he pressed it, just like that [SK]

*napi* *keneò*, *anuq* *tiaqng*  
 napi *kene* = ò *anuq* *tie-q* = ng  
 what mean = 2 thing that-spec = 3  
 What do you mean by that?<sup>28</sup> [YM]

*éé*, *kenòpng* *jaring* *siq* *mélé* *ntun* *taèk* *siq* *jelap*  
 éé *kenòp* = ng *jari* = ng *siq* *mélé* *ntun* *taèk* *siq* *jelap*  
 hey press = 3 become = 3 rel want descend climb rel fast  
 Well, he pressed if he wanted to go down or go up quickly [SK]

*oh*, *uli* *dengan* *giging* *indeng*, *pade* *maraq* ***Hònda***, ***atau*** ***móbil***  
 oh *uli* *dengan* *gigi* = ng *inde* = ng *pade* *maraq* *Hònda* *atau* *móbil*  
 oh yes person tooth = 3 suppose = 3 plural like Honda or car  
 Oh, that's true, that's the gear, just like a Honda or car. [YM]

*nggih*, *laguq* *tó* *apéng* *taòq* *kaceng* *ie* *taòqng* *penòq* *óléq* *atas*  
 nggih *laguq* *tó* *apé* = ng *taòq* *kace* = ng *ie* *taòq* = ng *penòq* *óléq* *atas*  
 yes but there show = 3 place glass = 3 3 place = 3 full from top

*tóng*, *ie* *ntan* *senuqng*, *maraq* *rueng* ***permate*** *uah*, *senugaq* *tó*  
*tó* = ng *ie* *ntan* *senuq* = ng *maraq* *rue* = ng *permate* *uah* *senugaq* *tó*  
 there = 3 3 manner that = 3 like appearance = 3 diamond perf all there

*rueng* ***permate*** *dòang* *taòqng*, *éé* *araq* *ijó* *bèaq* *bireng* *putéq* *kóning*  
*rue* = ng *permate* *dòang* *taòq* = ng *éé* *araq* *ijó* *bèaq* *bireng* *putéq* *kóning*  
 appearance = 3 gem only place = 3 hey be green red black white yellow

*cukup* *tó*, *warneng* ***permate***  
*cukup* *tó* *warne* = ng *permate*  
 enough there colour = 3 gem

But there was a glass there, up there is the place it was full, that's how it was, like a gemstone, all the gemstone colours were there, hey there was green, red, black, white, yellow, all there, the colours of a gemstone [SK]

*mm*  
*mm*  
*um*  
*mm* [YM]

<sup>28</sup> Here *napi* 'what' is a high-level lexical item (cf. *apa* 'what' low level) to politely soften the request by YM.

*laguq mòdèl pegenjek tip nuqng jaring indeng, òntèngkè*  
 laguq mòdèl peN-njek tip nu-q = ng jari = ng inde = ng òntèng = ngkè  
 but model instr-press tape that-spec = 3 become = 3 suppose = 3 carry = 3 > 3

*dòang meni indeng, òntèngkè uah meni, nané jaq puaskò*  
 dòang meni inde=ng òntèng=ngkè uah meni nané jaq puas=kò  
 only like.this suppose=3 carry=3>3 perf like.this now disc satisfied=1sg

*angenkò*  
 angen=kò  
 feeling=1sg

But the kind of button was like a tape recorder button I guess, he moved<sup>29</sup> it like this I guess, this is how he moved it, now I felt satisfied. [SK]

*amung mélé becatan dengan petaèngkè indeng*  
 amu = ng mélé becat-an dengan pe-taèk = ngkè inde = ng  
 if/when = 3 want quick-compar person caus-climb = 3 > 3 suppose = 3

If they wanted [tp go] be faster then he raised it up I guess [YM]

*muq kòntèq-kòntèq cerite, beridapte pendaq indeng, muq besatu ngkah,*  
 muq kòntèq-kòntèq cerite be-idap = te pendaq inde = ng muq be-satu ngkah  
 perf redup-short story intr-feeling = 1pl be.bored suppose = 3 perf intr-serve stop

*muq sugun pramugaring niki, “keluar Pak haji” uning, “éé keluar Pak”*  
 muq sugun pramugari = ng niki keluar Pak haji uni = ng éé keluar Pak  
 perf come.out flight.attendant = 3 this get.out Mr haji say = 3 hey get.out Mr

*uning, aran jaq ndéq mante jari haji, baruqte andang bat,*  
 uni = ng aran jaq ndéq man = te jari haji baruq = te andang bat  
 say = 3 behaviour disc not yet = 1pl become haji recently = 1pl face west

*muk sugun, dateng tó indeng, becerite malik, ie aran keneng*  
 mu = k sugun dateng tó inde = ng be-cerite malik ie aran kene = ng  
 then = 1sg come.out come there suppose = 3 intr-story again 3 behaviour guess = 3

*amaq Sapri, amaq Saprikan mauqng teceritaq nie*  
 amaq Sapri amaq Sapri = kan mauq = ng te-cerite-q nie  
 father Sapri father Sapri = tag can = 3 pass-story-caus 3

To make the story short, I felt bored, then they finished serving, then this flight attendant came out, “Get out Sir” she said, “get out Hajji” she said, because we were not yet Hajj, we were facing west at that time, then I came out, came there I guess, let me tell you again, that’s what Amaq Sapri,<sup>30</sup> Amaq Sapri, you know, could have told him. [SK]

*sai aran amaq Sapri?*  
 sai aran amaq Sapri  
 who name father Sapri  
 Who is Sapri? [YM]

*tó Jerèsaq*  
 tó Jerèsaq  
 there Jeresaq  
 there [from] Jeresaq [SK]

*óó*  
 oh  
 oh  
 Oh [YM]

<sup>29</sup> The verb *òntèng* means ‘to carry in the hands moving back and forth’.

<sup>30</sup> The word *amaq* ‘father’ precedes the names of older male commoners to express respect. For nobles, *mamiq* is so used.

amaq Sapri siq laiq nuqng  
amaq Sapri siq laiq nu-q = ng  
father Sapri rel in.past that-spec = 3  
Sapri that [we talked about] in the past [SK]

óó  
oh  
oh  
Oh [YM]

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