The Patterns of Sasak Code Choice

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Abstract

The aims of this paper are to show the patterns of code choice within the Sasak multilingual community. A simple assumption is within the Sasaks' repertoire, there must exist regularity in the way of choosing a certain code that might be different from other speech communities. The differences can be assumed as the cultural uniqueness that operates within its specific value system hold by the community and ultimately those differences form the identity of the community. It has been generally accepted that there are three general rules of code choice in multilingual society, i.e. situational, repertoire, and metaphorical rules. This metaphorical rule dominates the code choice rules in Sasak context which is realized in the form of patterns; symmetrical, asymmetrical, stratified, and pseudo-symmetrical patterns. These patterns are quite different from those previously revealed by some researchers around the world. The differences are mainly because of the differences of values operating within the culture of each community.

Keywords: Sasak, Patterns, Code-choice

1. INTRODUCTION

Society and language are so closely intertwined that society cannot be said to stand “out there” separated from a language whose task it is to reflect it as some linguists put it, “language is a reality-creating social practice”. This statement is in line with Bernstein’s hypothesis (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972:409) which says that social relationships act as intervening variables between linguistic structures and their realization in speech. Language that people produce is not a random entity, but it must be rule-governed. So far linguists have found out that there are so many sociolinguistic variables involved in realizing a stretch of expression in the form of language. Those variables or linguistic features vary in form and have social significance (McKay and Hornberger, 1997).

In any bilingual or multilingual society, what interesting is the factors that govern the choice of a particular code on a particular occasion. Why do people choose one code rather than another, what brings about shifts from one code to another, and why they occasionally prefer to use a code formed from two other codes by mixing the two? In what so-called diglossic situation the choice is governed by clear functional differences between the codes (Wardhaugh, 1987:108). A serious explanation is also needed to the other types of bilingual situation such as code choice, code switching/mixing as phenomena. Furthermore, an assumption underlying much of the research in bilingualism is that language varieties are meaningful: they are indexical of a speaker’s origin or of aspects of their social identity (for instance, their social class or ethnic group), but they also carry certain social values related to the speakers who use them and the contexts in which they habitually used (Mesthrie et. al. 2000:148).

Sasak is one of local languages used by Sasak tribe in Indonesia that has its own specialties and uniqueness. One will find it difficult to understand Sasaks without having sufficient knowledge of all social and cultural aspects. Duranti, (1997:2) emphasizes that language is also a cultural practice, or in Chomsky’ term as quoted in Radford (1981:1)“mirror of the mind”, that come together to form the pattern of speech behavior and rules of speaking. Without a deep understanding and analysis of those complexities, it will be very difficult to come up with the general view of the present situation of.
communication in Sasak.

Sasak is a speech community that seems to fulfill the typology proposed by Fishman (1967) as “Both Diglossia and Bilingualism” (see also Fasold, 1987:41 and Williams, 1992:98). Fishman (1972) claims that diglossia and bilingualism in association exist in a “fairly large and a complex speech community, that its members have available to them both a range of compartmentalized roles as well as ready access to these roles”. In Sasak diglossic situation, it is nearly impossible to say anything without indicating the social relationship between the speaker and the listener in terms of status and familiarity. Status is determined by many things; wealth, descent, education, occupation, age, kinship, and nationality (Fishman, 1972) see also Foley (1999), but the important point is that the choice of linguistic forms as well as speech style is mostly determined by caste and relative status of the conversers. The difference is not minor, a mere du and Sie in German (Fishman, 1972:252) or T and V difference, (at form, named after Latin tu, for informal, relaxed usage and a V form, from Latin vos for formal, polite context) see also Foley (1999:314). To greet a person lower than oneself one says ape arak but one greet a superior with napi pengandike, both meaning What’s up? Schiffman (1991) emphasizes the use of L where H is expected (or vice versa) constitutes a violation of communicative competence rules.

2. CODE-CHOICE

I am also in the opinion that Sociolinguistics only exists as a field of study because there are choices in using language. The very term “societal multilingualism” refers to the fact that there can be several languages in the society (Fasold, 1987:180). In this article, we will investigate what makes people in a society choose to use one language rather than another in a given instance.

Code choice, the term code is more neutral(Wardaugh, 1987:86) which is also known as language choice in certain literatures (McKay and Hornberger, 1997:51) see also Fasold (1987:180), is a linguistic phenomenon commonly found in any multilingual society. Sasak speech community is no exception since people of Sasak speak more than one language or language variety.

McKay and Hornberger (1997:51) assumes that in heterogeneous speech community, with varying degrees of linguistic diversity and linguistic complexity, speakers interact using different speech varieties drawn from a repertoire of choices which for the most part are not random. On the contrary, the distribution of usage of these choices is determined by several factors in the social communicative system of the community.

For a multilingual individual, there are some different languages or codes in his/her repertoire but the question is how and when are the codes used? To find the appropriate answer, the notion of domains is very important. Fishman (1972) proposes that there were certain institutional contexts, called domains, in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another. Domains are taken to be constellations of factors such as location, topic, and participants. Further he explains that, domains explore “who speaks what language to whom and when” in those speech community that are characterized by widespread and relatively stable multilingualism.

Barber (1952) has formulated domains at the socio psychological level. He groups of the domains as intimate (family), formal (religious ceremonial) informal (neighborhood), and intergroup (economic and recreational activities as well as interactions with governmental-legal authority. In his research Fishman (1972) discusses language in terms of the following domains: the family, the play ground and street, the school, the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and governmental administration. A similar pattern is also presented by Parasher (1980) in his study of code choice in two cities in India. He used self-reported questionnaire data and attempted to determine people’s language use in domains, in Fishman’s sense. He asked about language use in seven domains; (1) family; (2) friendship; (3) neighborhood; (4) transactions; (5) education; (6) government; and (7) employment. Gal’s work as also quoted in Fasold (1987) on code choice in Oberwart, Austria used implicational scale focusing on various interlocutors such as; 1. God; 2.grandparents and their generation; 3. black market clients; 4. parents and their generation; 5. age-mate pals, neighbor; 6. brothers and sisters; 7. salespeople; 8. spouse; 9. children and that generation; 10. government. This last model mentioned will be adopted in this article with some modification and adaptation. In investigating multilingual societies, subsequent researchers have either added to or reduced the numbers of domains.

An analysis of how languages of a multilingual community are used reveals a highly sophisticated
3. KINDS OF CHOICE

Moyer as quoted in Auer (1998:222) found out that bilingual conversation in Gibraltar typically involve language choice at three distinct levels of conversational structuring. At the highest level a main language can be selected for the entire conversation. At the intermediate level within the same conversation participants may momentarily select or negotiate the use of different language for limited number of turns. At the lowest level, a speaker may choose to switch different types of structures within a turn or turn constructional unit.

However, it is generally accepted that there are three kinds of code choice:

- Code-switching.
- Code-mixing, where pieces of one language are used while a speaker is basically using another language. The language “pieces” taken from another language are words, but they can also be phrases or larger units.
- Finally, there is variation within the same language.

These three kinds of choice cannot be clearly separated from each other. The three kinds of choice are best viewed as points on a continuum from relatively large-scale to relatively small-scale choices. The middle category, code-mixing, is very difficult to distinguish from the other two. Hill and Hill (1980) in their study of language choice between Spanish and Nahua at in a Mexican Indian group, found it hopeless to try to distinguish between code-mixing and code switching.

On the other hand, code-mixing or switching is often hard to distinguish from intra-language variation. One criterion that is sometimes offered to distinguish switching from mixing is that grammar of the clause determines the language. By this criterion, if a person uses a word or a phrase from another language, he has mixed. But if one clause has the grammatical structure of one language and the next is constructed according to the grammar of another, a switch has occurred. (Fasold,1987:182). In this article, the term code switching will be used and encompass code mixing and intra language variation.

Up to the present, there are so many researches that have been conducted to answer the question “why is it that speakers engage in code-switching (CS)? and largely received the answer that CS is a strategy to influence interpersonal relations, Scotton (2000). Lately, the answer has been refined. For example, first Gumperz (1982) and then Auer (1984) began to speak of CS as a “contextualization cue” which is used in signaling and interpreting speaker intentions. Most researchers studied the social functions of CS on a micro-level, but argued that interpersonal usage patterns in CS reflect group values and norms. In various publications, Myers-Scotton (1993) developed the theme of CS as a tool
for the speaker and an index for the addressee of the negotiation of the interpersonal relationships. Earlier Scotton introduced the notion of CS as a strategy of neutrality in interpersonal relation, (Coulmas,2000).

To sum up, there are some major motivations of code-switching also distinguish it from other language contact as stated by Scotton (2000:218) as follows;

to add a dimension to the socio-pragmatic force of one’s discourse persona.

a. To function as a discourse marker.

b. To lexicalize semantic/pragmatic feature bundles from the EL (embedded language) which better convey the speaker’s intentions than related lexemes from the ML (matrix language).

c. To lexicalize semantic/pragmatic feature bundles found only in EL.

d. The last motivation which is also mentioned and has significance to this research is language attrition.

4. SASAK CODE OF CHOICE PATTERNS

An adequate description of language used in Lombok must specify the conditions patterning language choice. Johnson in Tollerson (1978) has outlined three types of rules accounting for language choice by participants in speech events in Larteh, Ghana: repertoire rules, situational rules, and metaphorical rules. A repertoire rule predicts language use by reference to the language proficiency of speakers. A situational rule predicts language use by reference to the speech event situation, namely setting, topic, etc. The situational rules for Larteh refer to special language choices in the schools and in Christian churches.

A Metaphorical rule refers to the social meaning conveyed by language choice. Patterns of solidarity, intimacy, and status, for instance, are often established, conveyed, and altered by language choices outside those predicted by repertoire and situational rules. In Larteh, switching to Twi or English from the Larteh language can “stress education or affiliation with wider reference groups.”

Situational rules are those which have received greatest attention from linguists. Diglossia may be viewed as language situation in which situational rules dominate, constituting the major operating factor patterning. In the context of code choice by Sasaks in Lombok, there are different rules seem to apply. A situational rule is that the use of L or H depends very much on the situation where the code (language) is used. For example L is used in the church or government offices whereas L is used in family or neighbor. It is also different to what Johnson in Tollerson (1978) has found out in his research that repertoire rule dominates the choice of a code. Related researches in Indonesia do not specifically focus on the patterns of code choice but rather on the other aspects even though they employ the implicational scale as used in this research.

Sasaks speak some language varieties such as; High Sasak (Sasak alus) or SA for short, Plain Sasak (Sasak jamak) or SJ for short, Rude Sasak (Sasak Kasar/Base Terminal) or BT for short, Jejawen language (bahasa Jejawen /KawiMadya) or K for short, and also Vernacular Sasakized Indonesian (Indonesia alus) or IA for short. From the perspective of language domain , it has been found out that in Sasak interaction context there is a tendency of each domain has its own characteristics as follows:

a. BT is the most commonly used in intimate domain but mainly by young people where there is no social constrain that debar the interaction.

b. In a purely casual domain, there is a tendency of SJ to be intensively used in the sense of its matrix language (ML).

c. In consultative domain, there is a shift toward higher level of code such as SA but in its low level of SA.

d. BI itself seems to be dominantly used in the formal domain whereas the other codes are also used but only to certain degree.

e. In frozen domain, the codes like IA and SA play dominant roles but in a very limited context like the ritual in a wedding ceremony, K is the only language variety for the purpose.

It must be acknowledged though, to certain extent, the situational and repertoire rules operate but on the very limited contexts as follows:
Repertoire rules,

a. Most of the older generation of Sasaks use Sasak because the only language they speak.

b. Some children tend to speak Indonesian (BI) in most domains because they are more convenient with their Indonesian.

c. Older generation speak Sasak to the non-Sasak government officials/staff because they are not confident with their BI, for example a witness speaks Sasak in a court because he feels his Sasak is better than BI.

Situational rule,

a. In informal situation like the interactions that happen in intimate, casual and consultative situations, BT and SJ are more intensively used than other codes.

b. Indonesian Language is used in more formal situation like education specifically in the classroom context or in the government offices such as Court, Police Office, etc.

c. K is the only variety used for ritual language such as in the sorong serah ajikerame, that is in the traditional wedding party procession.

From the data gathered through observation, questionnaire, and interview, it has been found out that the metaphorical rules dominates the code choice, mainly in more traditional context, that is one chooses a certain code because s/he wants to convey social meaning such as solidarity, distance, intimacy and status. This general rule is realized by the following specific rules:

In dialog context, that is the pattern of code choice as used in a dialog, the code-choice patterns consist of:

A. Symmetrical Pattern, this pattern is used when two interactants feel or want to make themselves equal. This pattern has two form as follows:

1. Low symmetric, the symmetrical interaction using L code(s) such as:
   a. BT is used symmetrically by a Sasak to his intimate friend to show intimacy.
   b. SJ is used symmetrically to show solidarity in general friendship relation or in any casual interaction.

2. High symmetric, the symmetrical interaction using H code(s) such as:
   a. SA is used symmetrically by a noble man to a noble man, like an interaction between a village chief, who besides being rich he is also noble, and a government official at the Lombok Tengah regency office.
   b. SA is used symmetrically by a teacher or religious leader to a common man.
   c. SA is used symmetrically by a rich man to a rich man.
   d. IA or SA is used symmetrically by a government official to a government official.
   e. An outsider speaks SA symmetrically to a Sasak to show his affiliation with the reference group.

B. Asymmetrical Pattern, this pattern is realized when the interactants agree on their differences such as social status, age and education.

a. SA is used asymmetrically by a subordinate to his boss or by a poor man to a rich man
b. SA is commonly used asymmetrically by a common people or a poor man to a very rich man
c. SA is widely used asymmetrically by a slave/worker to a noble man/master (usually landlord)
d. SA is definitely used asymmetrically by students to his teacher in non-classroom context.
e. SA is used asymmetrically by a wife to her husband.
f. SA is used asymmetrically by a child to his parents.
g. SA is generally used asymmetrically by a younger man to an older one.

C. Pseudo-symmetrical Pattern, this patterns is used when a speaker wants to emphasize a certain intention to his interlocutor like sarcasm, anger, etc., or he just wants to educate his interlocutor.

a. SA is used symmetrically by parents or older family members to their little children to educate them.
b. BI is used symmetrically by parents or older family members to little children to teach them the variety.

D. Stratified pattern, this pattern is used in Low Symmetrical interaction but involving a third high-status person that force them to switch to H code.
a. SA is also used when interactants involve a third person who deserves to be addressed in the variety whereas the interactants address each other in SJ.

In Monolog Context, the code choice pattern as used in a monolog like preaching, campaign, or a speech in general.

b. In a monolog context such as in a political activity, SA and IA are more favorable than any other language variety within the Sasaks’ repertoire.

c. SA or IA is used for commercial purpose.

d. SA or IA is used by traditional Islamic preachers

e. BI is used by more modern Islamic preacher.

The question is why the metaphorical rule applies within the Sasak communication context? The answer might be because Sasak has different values, beliefs, and norms underlying its organization of interaction. To communicate in the Sasak context does not merely depend on the repertoire of what languages or codes you speak well but also what code to use, what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately in any given situation. That is the notion of communication competence, introduced by Hymes (1971), which may be broadly defined as what a speaker needs to know to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community.

Up to this point, the Sasak code choice situation has proved the Hymes’ argument to be true. In order to communicate appropriately one does not only need to know the grammar of a given language (repertoire), or just the situation where the language is used, but one needs to go beyond, that is to the culture, the belief, values, and norms of the community.

5. THE VALUE BEHIND THE NORMS.

For Sasaks custom constitutes a system of norm that must be highly upheld. It is also considered as a contrasting device between a man and an animal. Breaking the custom consequently means the level of human dignity has seriously decreased which is in Sasak term susut. Anyone who experienced this susut deserved to be ousted and ostracized and never come back to the community.

All norms manifested in the custom are motivated and guided by a value system that is tulahmanuh, maliq, merang. Accordingly, doing whatever against the value system will automatically incur a disaster to the doer which is believed to be more serious and dangerous than a sin in Islamic concept. A big or small disaster as the consequence depends very much on the wrongdoing he makes. The custom organizes all aspects of human life in their socialization including how to appropriately communicate to one another. The value system of tulahmanuh that controls and guides how human beings interact one another. I still remember when I was watching the traditional puppet of Lombok, wayangkulit, any time a common man or a slave comes to meet the king he would say, Ye jaladri, kawule nunasurugehemoge-mogehambe tan kenebaye sang tulahmanuh dawek suntarimanan dawek, meaning “Oh Lord, I beg your pardon and wishes never get any tulahmanuh (curse), I beg your pardon my Lord.”

The concept of tulahmanuh is considered to have a direct link with and motivate the code choice patterns. In order that one can be avoided from the negative impact of tulahmanuh, one has to implements some basic principles in his social life, i.e., wiraga, wirama, wibusana, wirasa.

- **Wiraga** deals with non-verbal language (kinesic) or human behavior in the society.
- **Wirama** regulates how one interacts using language in his society or how to convey his idea appropriately.
- **Wirusa** deals with the way of understanding one’s feeling.
- **Wibusana** regulates the acceptable way of dressing.

Those four principles are aimed to humanize a human. If they behave not the way they should behave, the logical consequence is their degree of honorable human being will go down to the animal’s level. When a noble man behaves improperly, he is no longer a noble.

Above all, the basic principles are implicitly elaborated in the seven commandments of Kotaragama book like how a common man should behave before his king (DEPDIKBUD NTB, 1996:41). In one dictum, it is stated that one must be kwanten, meaning he has to speak respectfully to his master and he is not allowed to speak improperly or using a bad language let alone to swear the king. The Sasaks are still very loyal to their custom, Lukman (2005). Besides, the traditional Sasak
community is fully aware that speaking inappropriately will bring a very serious consequence in the form of social ostracism or being labeled as a man who do not know and understand custom (ndek taok adat/ botek) but also because there is a belief that it will bring a tulahmanuh disaster that is similar to the sin in Islamic concept but far more serious than a merely sin. The punishment from the unseen force in tulahmanuh is more direct. They also believe that a certain people can cause tulahmanuh. So, if one makes any wrong doing against this kind of man through inappropriate words or action, a disaster will be unavoidable.

As a researcher and also as a Sasak, after leaving the Lombok Island for thirty years, what I observe today is sometimes different from what I understood in the past. Today, there are three big forces that come to struggle one another: tradition, Islam and modern world. Those of the three forces are the sources of the values and norms of the present Sasak. Those three forces intermingle to form a new system of belief, values and norms. But it must be admitted that the quality and degree of the new system differs significantly from a city to villages and the areas where the existence of teachers dominates any other influence.

One interesting example of the intermingling process of the three forces is the wedding ceremony. In this kind of ceremony, people today make three kinds of activities in a one ceremony representing the three forces. The first group of guest, usually those representing the Islamic force, comes normally in the evening. They come to pray and recite berzanji. The second group is the guest from the traditional community who comes usually from morning until afternoon in the second day of the ceremony. The last group to come is those who represent the more modern guests. However, the majority of the Sasaks fall between the two poles, the traditional and orthodox Islam.

Sasaks consider a language is a very sensitive issue. Making a blunder in choosing a language or code often brings a serious consequence on the speaker. If someone does not know the norms of speaking or choosing the appropriate code in a given situation he will be considered as the one that does not know the Sasak custom consequently his status will considered as no more than a botek (a monkey). They argue that only an animal that cannot use language appropriately (endektao base). Choosing an appropriate code or language depends very much on the constellation of many aspects. There is a time when SA (H) is more appropriate. Though the level of SA itself must be in accordance with an interlocutor and other aspects. There is a time when an older people use SA, which is in normal interaction it is considered inappropriate, to a younger or a child. This does not mean because he respects the child but only to teach the variety to the child. When SA is used not in the appropriate situation and to the wrong interlocutor, it will turn to be an insult or the interlocutor will feel inconvenient where in such situation he only expects to be addressed in SJ. There is also a variety of Sasak that most people recognized as BT (a variety of Sasak language which is commonly used by people at a Bus station ). This variety is actually used when one gets angry. But in the station context, drivers of public transportation use it for intimacy among themselves. An outsider would think it is very rude to speak that variety, but for them it is normal. On the other hand, the use of Indonesian in an intimate relation will be considered arrogant. That is why one will rarely hear people talk in Indonesian in Lombok popularly called base orang (they language) in a very intimate relation.

For a Sasak, intimate friends is everything. He always opens himself for them in whatever form they come in. The use of BT indexes that their relationship is very close or kalah besemeton (more than sibling like relationship). In this kind of relationship, the meaning of words cannot be interpreted through what one says but who says it to whom. The intimate friends in Sasak term are like aik dait empak den tao tebelat (fish and water that cannot be separated).

Some families who live out side Lombok but originally from Lombok, in any occasion they will bring their children to come to Lombok to learn their original language, culture and custom. The family bring their children to study and “learn” language (brajah base). The use of brajah base or learning language does not really mean to learn the language per se, but to study the norms of a wide interaction in the context of Sasak custom and culture which cannot be learned in, let say, Mamuju where there is a Sasak community but the cultural atmosphere is different. Every parents really care with knowledge skill of their children because they do not want their children to be said endek tao bebase (do not know language). The expression endek tao bebase virtually means one does not know adat because Sasaks do not distinguish between custyom and language. For them language and custom are intricately intertwined.

The other important point to note in connection with the cultural value behind the code choice is the assymetrical interaction between a husband and his wife. It is almost certain that the husband
speaks SJ to his wife conversely his wife speak SA in return. This all happens not because of the difference in sex but merely because of the cultural reason that is a wife is always culturally considered younger than her husband no matter the fact he is older. The vocative arik which is used to refer to a wife which literally means “younger sister” clearly explain the matter.

Sasak language with all its varieties; SA, SJ, BT, K and also IA constitutes the identity of Sasak community that distinguishes them from other tribes. Though some argue that culturally and linguistically, Sasak is similar to Balinese and Javanese, but it remains different or in other words similar but different. Any similarity with the two tribes was because historically both tribes had come to Lombok and conquered it for a period of time. Majapahit under the commodore Nala and Karang Asem King came to Lombok and they both left some traces, but the important thing is that Sasak is the living artifact that can tell us about the past history or how Sasak had been influenced by other tribes. The existence of religion, culture and language syncreticisms are the answer of any doubt. This kind of syncretism also happened at other communities in other parts of the world, see Makihara (2004).

By observing the Sasak code choice patters above, it is very clear that there is a real opposition or struggle (congah in Sasak) in progress in Sasak society that is the existence of local language opposition against Indonesian language. The culmination of the opposition is the formation of a new variety or code which is called IA. Besides, there is a tendency of cultural resources exploitation for political and commercial interests. In the political world, politicians consistently use local or mixed languages to show their affiliation with local people, whereas in the world of commerce the slogan in local code is also often used.

One important reason of the opposition is because there is a strong propelling force of nobility revitalization where the acknowledgement of status is not only the monopoly of the ascribed menaq but the gained high social status also deserves the same acknowledgement. Such acknowledgement seems very clear through the use of linguistic symbol that can only be optimally expressed through the local language with its SJ, SA, and IA varieties.

A quite large number of Sasaks is still illiterate mainly from the older generation, but their illiterateness is in terms of Latin. Virtually, literacy tradition of Sasaks had developed for long time since Majapahit occupied the land of Lombok. This all can be seen from the literary works that were written in Jejawen alphabet and in Kawi language or in Sasak. There are still many people from the older generation that are still able to write well in the alphabet. Young generation also has high motivation and interest to learn the language because when they master the language, there is a social advantage. They are also respected by the Sasak community. They even often get invitation to read the old manuscripts and consequently they get paid for that. Besides, there seems to be a new collective awareness among the Sasaks and also the local government to develop and maintain the Sasak tradition, custom and culture not to mention the Sasak language. Above all, in its effort to make Lombok to be a main tourism destination, the local government works all out to improve any cultural related resource. The central government also supports any effort to develop the local culture including preventing a language death. Up to present, National Museum of NTB has translated and transliterated many ancient manuscripts found in Lombok, such as Joarsah.

Even though the Kawi language is considered a dead language, but it is still used, not for social interaction, in some occasion as the ritual language only, such as in the wedding procession sorong serah ajikerame. In this ritual, both the spokesperson of the bride and groom families talked. But this interaction is only a social and cultural symbol rather than communication transaction. Kawi is also still widely used in the puppet show mixed with other languages like Sasak and Indonesian language.

The Sasak community who is still loyal to the custom can be seen from his belief which is amalgamation or syncreticism of various beliefs such as the ancestor’s belief, the influence of Hindu, Budha (Boda in Sasak) and Islam. Those beliefs are crystallized in the concept of tulahmanuh, menaq, merang and duse. Tulahmanuh is a kind of the belief that if you do any wrong doing to a man, mainly to old people, parents, religious leaders and so on, then you will get the punishment from the unseen power in whatever form it may take simply because those people bring tulahmanuh power. Menaq is a concept that similar to the tulahmanuh except on the punishment comes because one misbehaves toward nature. Merang itself deals with human dignity (one’s inner life) which must always be protected with the strong wall both by oneself and other people. A man who has lost his merang is no more than an animal and a man who like this will be ostracized by his community. The last mentioned teaching is similar to the Islam concept because to be a Sasak is to be Moslem at various degree of
faith. To this point, the theological concept of Sasak community has been proved to be dynamism, animism, pantheism, and anthropomorphism.

The above belief is still clearly seen mainly at the traditional community. In their interaction, they tend to be more careful and for any first encounter they will dig in as much as possible about personal information of their interlocutor. A complete information of the interlocutor status, social status like education, religion, and primarily his nobility is very important for them to enable to tune their code choice appropriately. Communication at any first encounter is always more difficult than any communication particularly on the determination of a normal matrix language or variety. For example, at first one speaks SA with his interlocutor of the new encounter. But having examined about social background and any personal information, he will soon switch into another code for his interlocutor does not expect to be addressed with the code or the addressee feels his interlocutor does not have any right to be addressed with the code.

In connection with the above situation, there is a story I quoted from my informant as follows:

“One day there was a big wedding party at a sub-village. Many guests were coming and welcomed warmly by the host. They were all sitting under a tetaring (a tent), a large tent with thatched roof or coconut leaf roof. Some government officials were invited including the head of the district, Camat. Finally, Camat came over with his driver. He wore a national dress but his driver wore a traditionally formal dress. What happened then, because Camat was new at the district and nobody at the party recognized him, the people hurriedly welcomed and shook hand with the driver and nobody was care with the real Camat.”

That is what happens when one does not understand the culture of a community. In Sasak context at least, if one wishes to be respected, she or he must know and apply the four principles in socializing; wiraga, wirama, wibusana, and wirasa.

6. CONCLUSION

There are many aspects that can be traced through the study of code choice patterns. Some researchers were more concerned with the shift and maintenance of a given language and some on the phenomenon of a diglossia per se. Some other focused on the belief, value, and norm behind the code choice phenomena. But in this paper, the vocal point is on the norms of code choice in the Sasak multilingual context of interaction.

From the perspective of the code choice patterns, it is found out that of the three general rules of code choice in multilingual society, i.e. situational, repertoire, and metaphorical, this metaphorical dominates the code choice rules or patterns in the Sasak multilingual context. This finding is different from the common assumption and the previous research finding claiming that in any diglossic community the choice of certain code is tightly regulated by the situation where it is used. Take the diglossic situation in Paraguay for example, Guarani is normally used in informal situation.

In the context of code choice by Sasa k in Lombok, there are different rules apply. A situational rules that both Fishman(1972) found out that the use of L or H depends very much on the situation where the code (language) is used. For example, L is used in the church or government offices whereas L is used in family or neighbor. It is also different to what Johnson and Tollerson in Tollerson (1978) have found out in their research that is repertoire rule dominates the choice of a code. Related researches in Indonesia do not specifically focus on the patterns of code choice but rather on the other aspects even though they employ the implicational scale. By this research, it has been found out that the metaphorical rules dominates the code choice that is one choose a certain code because s/he wants to convey social meaning such as solidarity, distance, intimacy and status. This general rule is realized by the following specific rules that can be seen from two main angles as follows:

I. Dialog context that is the pattern of code choice as used in a dialog consisting of:
   a. Symmetrical Pattern, this pattern is used when two interactants feel or want to make themselves equal. This pattern has two form as follows: Low symmetric, the symmetrical interaction using L code(s); High symmetric, the symmetrical interaction using H code(s). 
   b. Asymmetrical Pattern, this pattern is realized when the interact ants agree on their differences such as social status, age and education.
   c. Pseudo-symmetrical Pattern, this pattens is used when a speaker wants to emphasize a certain intention to his interlocutor like sarcasm, anger, etc., or he just wants to educate his interlocutor.

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d. Stratified Pattern, this pattern is used in Low Symmetrical interaction but involving a third high-status person that force them to switch to H code.

II. Monolog Context, the code choice pattern as used in a monolog like preaching, campaign, or a speech in general.
   a. In a monolog context such as in a political activity, Sasak alus and Indonesia alus are more favorable than any other language within the Sasaks’ repertoire.
   b. SA or IA is used for commercial purpose.
   c. SA or IA is used by traditional Islamic preachers
   d. Indonesian Language is used by more modern Islamic preacher.

From the way Sasaks communicate each other it can be concluded that one is considered a noble man is the one who: Is rich, has important position in the government, has high education, and has excellent knowledge and practice of Islam.

The underlying concept behind those above norms of Sasak communication is a value system. All norms manifested in the custom are motivated and guided by the value system that is tulahmanuh. Doing whatever against the value system will automatically incur a disaster to the doer which is believed to be more serious and dangerous than a sin in Islamic concept. A big or small disaster as the consequence depends very much on the wrongdoing he makes. The custom organizes all aspects of human life in their socialization including how to appropriately communicate to one another.

One of the most important features of diglossia within the nine parameters of Ferguson's original concept is the function of H and L, i.e. where, when, and with whom they are spoken. H is used for all formal occasions, on the job, and in most literature, while L is used in informal settings, such as conversations with friends, or within the family circle. Whereas Sasak diglossia itself is weak at this point though there is a tendency L is used in informal occasion and H is often used in formal one but still often there is no clear cut boundary of their domains. The tendency can be presented as follows;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intimate</th>
<th>BT and SJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>SJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultative</td>
<td>SA, BI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>BI, SA, and IA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frozen</td>
<td>BI, SA, IA and K</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The weakening of diglossia can be interpreted as the existence of local language opposition against BI. The opposition often causes diglossic leakages which ultimately can strengthen the language maintenance of local language against BI. The culmination of the opposition is the formation of a new variety or code which is called IA. Besides, there is a tendency of cultural resource exploitation for political and commercial interests. In the political world, politicians consistently use local or mixed languages to show their affiliation with local people, whereas in the world of commerce, the slogan in local code is also often used.

One important reason of the opposition is because there is a strong propelling force of nobility revitalization where the acknowledgement of status is not only the monopoly of the ascribed menaq but the gained high social status also deserves the same acknowledgement. Such acknowledgement seems very clear through the use of linguistic symbol that can only be optimally expressed through the local language with its SJ, SA, and IA varieties.

REFERENCES


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