OLD JAVANESE (KAWI)

A. S. Teselkin

Translated and edited with
a preface by
John M. Echols

TRANSLATION SERIES

Modern Indonesia Project
Southeast Asia Program
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
1972

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PREFACE

This is a translation of A. S. Teselkin's *Drevnejavanskii Jazyk (Kawi)* which was published in Moscow in 1963. It provides a brief survey of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Old Javanese and thus resembles a "structural sketch." It also gives a short description of the literature and of the scholarship in this field. While it is true that there are several detailed studies of Old Javanese by Dutch and Indonesian scholars in Dutch and Indonesian respectively, as well as numerous textbooks in Indonesian, the translator is not aware of any other concise overall statement of this language. It is hoped that this translation will serve as an introduction to the language for the non-specialist and will also make this work available to a wider audience. When one considers the present state of Old Javanese studies, it is not likely that scholars will agree with everything in this book. Perhaps this survey will serve to stimulate further discussion and research.

The editor has provided a glossary of all Old Javanese words cited in the text and has cross-referenced affixed forms to their bases.

In the bibliography are to be found all items cited in the text together with Prof. E. M. Uhlenbeck's indispensable *A Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura*. The latter contains all publications which appeared prior to 1964. Also listed in the brief bibliography are several significant items which have been published since the appearance of Prof. Uhlenbeck's bibliographical survey.

I wish to thank Mrs. Avgusta Jaryc for her help at numerous points in the translation. Prof. Benedict Anderson also provided editorial and professional assistance. Finally, Mr. Matthew Charles made numerous useful suggestions. To all of them I am grateful, but any errors are my responsibility.

John M. Echols

July 6, 1971
Cornell University

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INTRODUCTION

The first historical information concerning Java is contained in Chinese chronicles according to which in the middle of the seventh century A.D. Java was divided into three states (their names are established only approximately)--in the western part Taruma, in the center Kalinga, in the east a state, the capital of which was located south of the modern city of Surabaja. By that time Java, like the neighboring regions of Indonesia, had undergone the cultural influence of India. That was evident, in particular, in the fact that the rulers of the Javanese states accepted diverse religious currents of Indian origin. From information available to us, Central Java was under the hegemony of the Buddhist rulers of the Sailendra dynasty during the first half of the eighth century, but in the eastern reaches of the island adherents of the religious faith of Sivaism prevailed. In the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century the Sivaites had a firm foothold in Central Java. At the beginning of the tenth century Central Java underwent a period of decline which was probably brought on by contention among dynasties.

The period 929-1222 was a significant stage in the development of Javanese culture. The state which was located in the eastern part of the island where Indian influence was considerably weaker than in Central Java achieved the greatest flowering and sway. Study of written materials as well as historical research permit one to conclude that at that period in East Java an Indonesian, not an Indian, civilization flourished.

The economic development of this area was conducive to the growth of the state of East Java. There was an expanded area of cultivable land and trade relations were extended to other states. Evidence is available of the existence at that time of trade relations with the Moluccas, with the island of Sumatra, and with the Malay Archipelago. East Java had a close politico-economic relationship with its neighbor, the island of Bali, which is especially attested to by the fact that in the tenth century one of the rulers of Bali was married to a great granddaughter of Mpu Sindok--ruler of East Java.

The ruler Dharmawangsa Teguh (985-1006) ordered the codification of Javanese laws and encouraged the translation into Old

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Translator's note: In the text that follows the abbreviations OJ and Skt represent Old Javanese and Sanskrit.

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Javanese of Sanskrit works. From this time too begins the development of a written literature in the Old Javanese language which subsequently received the appellation *Kawi* (poetical). The language has left numerous written monuments, chiefly from the ninth to the thirteenth century. At the present time it is not in use and one can judge it only from what can be gleaned from surviving written documents (literary or other kinds of works) and from a comparative-historical study of the languages of Indonesia.

From the ninth to the thirteenth century Kawi was used in ancient Java exclusively as the written language and was significantly different from the spoken Javanese language of that time. This came about by virtue of the fact that approximately ninety percent of the Kawi lexicon was borrowed from Indic languages. One should note that in a Kawi text the frequency of occurrence of indigenous Javanese words significantly exceeds those of Sanskrit origin. In its grammatical system Kawi is a typical representative of the Indonesian family of languages and differs only slightly in this respect from modern Javanese. Thus, Kawi, being almost exclusively Indic in the origin of its lexicon, nevertheless remains a language of the Indonesian group. There is no doubt that Kawi appeared as a consequence of the strong influence of the lexicon of the Indic languages upon the ancient Indonesian language of the indigenous peoples on the island of Java.

Traces of the cultural influence of India appear not only in the languages but also in the literature, in the theater art, in sculpture and in the painting of modern Indonesia. On the islands of Java and Bali up to the present day the ruins of great numbers of Hindu and Buddhist temples remain, the majority of the Balinese even now profess religions of Indic origin and the heroes of the famous Indic works, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* are still well known even today to the inhabitants of Indonesia. The subjects of these works serve as the basis for the creation of plays for the Javanese national theater. The influence of India is also visible on Java as well as in certain other neighboring areas of Indonesia from the fact that much attention has been given to the study of Sanskrit language and literature. In connection with this many Sanskrit words are to be found in the Javanese language. Sanskrit words, idioms, and even entire phrases were widely used in the composition of official documents and the writing of literary works. Often these documents were composed wholly in Sanskrit. This ultimately brought about the emergence of a special written language, the vocabulary of which was chiefly Indic but whose grammar remained Indonesian. Quite a number of Sanskrit words also penetrated into the spoken language of Java. However, the common people undoubtedly had no opportunity to study Sanskrit to any extent, unlike those in the feudal courts and among the clergy. The

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language of official documents and literary works of that time was therefore unintelligible to the overwhelming majority of the population of Java. The role of Kawi for ancient Java was possibly comparable with the role played by Latin in medieval Europe. Apparently, the appellation Kawi (poetical) was not accidental. Hence for doing research on Kawi one must take into account first the fact that it was not a spoken but a written language. Second, the phenomena peculiar to that language as to Indonesian should differ from those phenomena which were the result of the influence of the Indic languages on it. The bulk of the extant written documents in Kawi date from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. Therefore, it is provisionally assumed that after the thirteenth century Kawi was no longer in use, although a number of manuscripts in that language were composed even in a later period. All the types of scripts used for writing down the manuscripts of old Javanese which have come down to us have an Indic origin. Today we possess no information as to whether or not some sort of written language of local origin existed on Java prior to the appearance of Kawi script.

From the ninth to the thirteenth century the Javanese possessed no paper; they wrote chiefly on palm leaves. The separate palm leaves (*lontar*) were joined together in such a way as to form a sort of book, which was called a *pustaka*. A great number of such books perished; others are so dilapidated as to be illegible. Far better preserved are the inscriptions on stone and on metal plates.

The oldest written record of Kawi dates from 809 A.D. In addition to a number of works of a religious-philosophical character, various documents and inscriptions have come down to us which are connected with historical events of that time. Some of them are of great value for the study of the history of Java and of all Southeast Asia. In Kawi a rich body of literature was also created; the majority of the literary works in Kawi render the contents of Indic works. Thus, in the first half of the ninth century there appeared on Java an abridgement of the Indic *Ramayana*. Later an abridged translation and narration of separate chapters and parts of the Indic epic *Mahabharata* as well as of other Indic works appeared. One should note that even similar works by Javanese authors bore an independent character; at times they were supplemented with facts typical only for Java. Sometimes only the general outline of the plot of the Indic works survived. On the other hand, in independent works in Kawi, one sometimes comes across insertions from Indic literary works.

In Kawi were written not only prose, but also poetic works, which were characterized by the presence of a special meter and had the name *sekar*. These verses were without rhyme and they were recited in the form of a melody. Similar poetic styles

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have continued in use on Java right up to the present day. Among the Old Javanese poetic works, Prapantja's *Nagarakrtagama* (A Prosperous Country), composed in 1365 A.D., occupies a significant place. It is a compendium of facts relating to the period of the prominent Javanese state of Madjapahit. The belles-lettres of ancient Java have exerted a strong influence upon the modern literatures of Indonesia, in the first instance, upon contemporary Javanese literature.

From the fourteenth century Kawi was used less and less, gradually giving way to the written form of Middle Javanese. Individual works, however, were written in Kawi up to the twentieth century. As late as the twentieth century Kawi was studied in the courts of Javanese feudal lords and in a number of cases chronicles and genealogies were composed in this language.

The Middle Javanese written language has been studied less fully than has Kawi. As far as can be determined from the available information, the Middle Javanese written language was related to the spoken language to a greater degree than was Kawi. The difference between Kawi and the Middle Javanese written language lies mainly in the lexical domain. The writing which is used in the Middle Javanese texts is, in many respects, different from Kawi script, although not to such a degree as Tjarakan, the Modern Javanese script.

The period of Modern Javanese begins approximately in the seventeenth century. In spite of the fact that Modern Javanese is separated from Kawi by several centuries now, no one doubts the fact that there is a close genetic relationship between the two languages. This relationship has been proven in many academic works by renowned scholars and thus is generally admitted; it is based, specifically, on the common origin of the original lexical composition and of a majority of the affixes in both languages.

The general so-called core words common to both languages as a rule denote concrete objects, actions, qualities, numbers to ten and the words for hundred and thousand.[1] Besides this, a substantial resemblance in the grammars and sound systems of these languages has been established. But at the same time the two languages differ from each other. The basic differences between Modern Javanese and Kawi amount in general terms to the following.

1. In Kawi more words are Indic in origin. It stands to reason that in Kawi as distinct from Modern Javanese very few words are of Arabic provenience and absolutely none are borrowed from European languages.

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1. Cf. the section on "Lexicon," p. 26 of the present edition.

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In Modern Javanese there are special strata levels in the lexicon which are appropriately called "forms of address" or "language levels." One or other form of address is used depending on the age or social level of the persons participating in the dialogue.[2] There is no evidence of similar stylistic gradations in the old Kawi literature.

2. Speaking of differences between the two languages in the realm of the sound system, one must remember that many words of Indic origin preserved in Kawi their original phonetic shape to a greater extent than did those in Modern Javanese. In Kawi, unlike Modern Javanese, there was no glottal stop. In the accepted norm of Modern Javanese as spoken in the city of Solo (Surakarta), a labialized sound [a] is used in a final open syllable. In Kawi this sound does not occur. At the same time it should be noted that in a number of Modern Javanese dialects this sound is also absent.

3. The Modern Javanese script Tjarakan differs significantly from Kawi script in the shape of the letters and symbols; in the former there are no letters which serve to represent aspirated consonants. Some letters have changed their meaning. However, the basic principles of the script have remained the same.

4. In the area of syntax some differences are to be observed in the order of the parts of the sentences (in the first instance, the position of the subject and predicate). The system of syntactic words is the same but in fact several words are different in both languages. Many syntactic words in Modern Javanese go back to autonomous or semi-autonomous Kawi words. The noun in Modern Javanese is frequently used in the form of a collective plurality, whereas that form is very rarely encountered in Kawi. The adjective in Modern Javanese has more forms of degree of quality than does the adjective in Kawi.

5. Several affixes found in Kawi are not used in modern Javanese. Individual affixes changed their original shape or began to differ somewhat in their meaning.

In the period of Kawi's existence on Java and neighboring islands other older written languages were also used--Old Sundanese in West Java, Old Balinese on Bali, and Old Malay in Sumatra. Although these languages possess a written literature, it is, as far as one can determine from available data, inferior to the literature in Kawi both in quality and in quantity. A comparison of the works of the older written languages of Java

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2. Cf. A. S. Teselkin, Javanskii jazyk (Moscow, 1961), pp. 20f.

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and the neighboring islands shows that these works were sometimes close to each other in content. There is reason to suppose that these languages could have had some influence upon each other. Specifically, it has been established that Kawi exerted a very considerable influence on the lexicon of Old Balinese. This is explained by the fact that Kawi was sometimes used as the official language of Bali when the latter island was a vassal of Java. On the whole, however, the question of the mutual influence of the ancient languages of Indonesia is still not sufficiently clarified.

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A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

One of the first scientific accounts of the Old Javanese and Modern Javanese languages was given by Thomas Stamford Raffles in his two-volume work crammed with factual material, more than a thousand pages in length.[3] Approximately 130 pages in the second half of the first volume are devoted to a description of Old and Modern Javanese. In all probability, until Raffles, no one had described them in such detail.

In the book a short description of the old written language of Java, Kawi, is given; the etymology and meaning of the word "kawi" ("poetical") is explained and the Kawi language is compared with the Modern Javanese language.[4] According to Raffles, Kawi is to Modern Javanese what Sanskrit is to Prakrit or Pali is to Burmese or Thai. The author notes that Kawi at that time, as is the case even now, played a much more important role on Bali than on Java. If on Java Kawi was preserved almost exclusively as the language of ancient prose and poetry, on Bali it continued to play a role also as the language of religion and law codes.[5] Worthy of note too is the enormous number of Sanskrit words in Kawi.

In Raffles' book, the main features of the grammars of Modern Javanese and Kawi are essentially lacking. There are only scattered references to the fact that in grammatical structure the Javanese language and Kawi are very similar to the Malay language, though Raffles considers Javanese grammar more complicated.

The work of Raffles contains, first of all, a detailed survey of Javanese literature, mostly older (*Pariksit*, *Manik Maya*, etc.), and an analysis of Javanese poetry. The text of the Old

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3. T. S. Raffles, The History of Java (London, 1817), 2 v.

4. The period of the Modern Javanese language begins with the seventeenth century.

5. The inhabitants of Bali use their own native Balinese language. As for Kawi, for historical reasons it was used in Bali in ancient times as the language of religion, of legal proceedings and of official documents, although it was not intelligible to a majority of the population. Even on Java, however, Kawi was also incomprehensible to most inhabitants of the island because of the large number of Sanskrit words.

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Javanese poetic work *Bratayuddha*[6] is published *in toto* in romanization, with a translation of all its 719 quatrains into English, as well as detailed commentaries on the text.

An exceptionally significant place in Javanistics is occupied by the work of the famed German linguist, Wilhelm von Humboldt, titled "On the Kawi Language of Java."[7] This work appeared in the years 1836-1839 and after the death of its author it played an important role in the development, not only of Indonesian, but also to a greater degree, of general linguistics. Its content is far from being restricted to a description of the facts of Old Javanese. As is generally known, Wilhelm von Humboldt, the greatest linguist of his time, described in detail in the aforementioned work a series of basic questions on the formation of the languages of the world, connecting these questions with the problem of the development of civilization. The book contains information on all language groups known at that time, including those in the East, and first of all the Malayo-Polynesian. Suffice it to say that already at that time von Humboldt was describing the facts of such languages as Malagasy, Tagalog, Tahitian, the language of the Sandwich Islands and others. The three volume work of von Humboldt numbers approximately 1500 pages. Of these only 200 are devoted to the Kawi language proper. The author does, however, devote more than a third of the first volume to a discussion of the influence of Indic civilization on Indonesia, in the first instance on Java.

The author expresses his appreciation for the work of the Englishmen Raffles and Crawfurd in the area of Kawi studies. According to von Humboldt, he relied in his description of Kawi chiefly on the materials which he obtained from Raffles and Crawfurd. Undoubtedly, however, the description of Kawi given by von Humboldt surpasses all previous works both in extent and in depth of content. It was the first truly scientific work on Kawi. Speaking about Kawi grammar von Humboldt points out that the latter is very similar to the grammar of Modern Javanese. In this connection he considers it possible to explain the grammatical phenomena of Kawi from the point of view of the modern language.[8] For in the analysis of the grammatical system of

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6. Raffles translated the title of this work as "The Sacred (or Great) War." Wilhelm von Humboldt, however, pointed out that the correct translation is "War of the Brata Clan" (cf. von Humboldt, see fn. 7).

7. W. von Humboldt, Über die Kawisprache auf der Insel Java, Bde 1-3 (Berlin, 1836-1839).

8. In this case Humboldt relied on the grammar of the Javanese language compiled by the Dutch linguist Gericke (see J. F. C. Gericke, Eerste gronden der javaansche taal (Batavia, 1831).

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Kawi the author was in a position to utilize only the text of the work *Bratayuddha*.[9] Since that work was poetical, its grammatical system, as von Humboldt shows, can differ somewhat from the grammar of prose texts.

Speaking about Kawi, the author writes that this language is Javanese in origin and differs from the spoken language, firstly, as a literary-written one, and secondly, in the fact that it absorbed a large number of Sanskrit words. Von Humboldt credits Crawfurd with determining precisely that Kawi is definitely of Indonesian and not of Indic origin. As a whole the book impresses by the breadth of the problems posed combined with a vast quantity of adduced facts.

Paul Favre's *Grammaire javanaise*, published in Paris in 1866, also occupies a prominent place. In addition to the above mentioned work, Favre wrote a grammar of the Malay language and compiled a French-Javanese dictionary. For the compilation of his Javanese grammar Favre was in a position to take advantage of the published works of Raffles, Crawfurd, and von Humboldt.

Investigating the question of the formation of Kawi, the author assumes that the appearance of Kawi coincided with the period of penetration on Java of the Indic religions. A similar supposition was expressed by Crawfurd according to which Kawi began to take shape in connection with the translation of religious works from Sanskrit into Old Javanese. Such too was the opinion held by the Dutch scholar Friederich.[10] Considering the question of the provenience of the written form of Kawi, Favre cites various points of view. In his opinion, however, the most acceptable hypothesis is that the Kawi script originally descended from Devanagari in a remote period, that is, even before the penetration of Sanskrit into Java.

The work of the well known Dutch scholar Hendrik Kern, "Researches into the Kawi Language,"[11] has significance not only for the practical but also for the theoretical study of this language. In many respects it resembles von Humboldt's "On the Kawi Language of Java." Just as in the case of von Humboldt, Kern's description of Kawi draws widely on comparative materials and gives general conclusions. The differences between these two works are appreciable, however. First, von Humboldt's description of Kawi is subordinated to the much greater problem--

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9. Humboldt used Raffles' History of Java where the text was published with a translation and commentaries.

10. P. Favre, Grammaire javanaise (Paris, 1866), p. IV.

11. H. Kern, Kawi-studiën ('s-Gravenhage, 1871).

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that of presenting a general picture of the Malayo-Polynesian group. Hence the author does not strive to set off the peculiar features of Kawi, but tries rather to find in it Malayo-Polynesian features. Kern, in his work, sets himself merely the goal of describing the Kawi language itself. All kinds of parallels and comparisons with other languages were needed by Kern for revealing those specific features of Kawi which distinguish it from other Malayo-Polynesian languages. In Kern's time the affiliation of Kawi to the Malayo-Polynesian languages was already an indisputable fact which it was unnecessary to prove. Second, if von Humboldt in the description of Kawi could utilize as factual material only the works of Crawfurd, Raffles, and Gericke, there was at Kern's disposal, on the other hand, a series of solid works on Kawi and on Modern Javanese, specifically, a number of manuscripts in Old and Middle Javanese which had been studied by other scholars, as well as dictionaries and descriptions of the grammatical structure of Kawi. Von Humboldt, on the other hand, had but a unique text of a poetic work, the *Bratayuddha*, only a manuscript glossary of the Modern Javanese language and only a very brief description of the grammar of Modern Javanese. For that reason Kern's "Researches" contains incomparably more factual material on Kawi than does von Humboldt. This circumstance permits Kern to analyze in detail the phonological system and grammatical structure of Kawi.

The question of Indic borrowings in Javanese is described in great detail in Gonda's *Sanskrit in Indonesia*.[12] The author analyzes Indic borrowings in a number of Indonesian languages, but chiefly in Old and Modern Javanese. Loan words are studied in semantic groups, from the standpoint of changes in their meanings, in their phonetic shapes, and from the point of view of morphology. Extensive use is made in the book of the investigations of other scholars.

Lexicography. The first dictionaries of Javanese were published in Europe in the first half of the last century. At first these were short guides to the lexicon, such as G. Bruckner's *Een klein woordenboek der Hollandsche, Engelsche en Javaansche talen*.[13] But by the end of the last century a number of dictionaries of the older as well as of the modern form of the language appeared, among which can be mentioned H. H. Juynboll's *Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche woordenlijst*.[14] And at the

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12. J. Gonda, Sanskrit in Indonesia (Nagpur, 1952).

13. G. Bruckner, Een klein woordenboek der Hollandsche, Engelsche en Javaansche talen (Batavia, 1842).

14. H. H. Juynboll, Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche woordenlijst (Leiden, 1923).

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beginning of the twentieth century were published solid, carefully compiled dictionaries, as, for example, H. N. van der Tuuk's *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek*[15] in four volumes. Quite a number have been published in the Republic of Indonesia. A substantial one is that compiled by S. Prawiroatmodjo, *Kamus Besar Djawa-Indonesia*.[16] In a dictionary of 756 pages, he includes not only the modern lexicon, but also that of Kawi. The only fault, in our opinion, is the fact that the lexicographical items are poorly worked out.

Among the modern works should be named Sutjipto Wirjosuparto's *Candakaranika Adiparwa*.[17] This dictionary is intended for the reading and translating of the Old Javanese work *Adiparwa*.

A substantial amount of work has been done in the field of research and in descriptions of various written monuments in Javanese. Javanese literature, especially the ancient, is the richest in Indonesia. The most fully described work in Kawi is the selection from the Indian epic *Mahabharata*. The best studied of all is the Old Javanese *Adiparwa*. Also studied in detail are such works as the *Ramayana* (beginning of the tenth century), the *Wirataparwa* (end of the tenth century), and others, written on topics from the Indic *Mahabharata*.

In addition, a number of Javanese works reflecting Indonesian life has also been studied. Some of these are of great importance for research into the language and in particular the history of Java: for example, the historical work *Nagarakrtagama* (A Prosperous Country). It was written in the fourteenth century in Middle Javanese by the poet Prapantja.

Another significant Javanese work, minutely described in the works of philologists, is the *Pararaton* (Book of the Kings), composed in Middle Javanese in the fourteenth century. The trustworthiness of the historical information adduced in this work is less reliable than that in the *Nagarakrtagama*. Also investigated has been a substantial collection of religious tracts, official documents, decrees, etc.

Of scientific publications in which Javanese literary monuments have been published most regularly one should mention, in

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15. H. N. van der Tuuk, Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek, d. 1-4 (Batavia, 1897-1912).

16. S. Prawiroatmodjo, Kamus Besar Djawa-Indonesia (Surabaja, 1957).

17. S. Wirjosuparto, Candakaranika Adiparwa (Djakarta, 1958).

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the first place, two Dutch periodicals which have appeared for more than one hundred years, namely *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* and *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands(ch) Indië*.

In Indonesia, too, literary monuments have been published. Thus in 1956 selected Old Javanese monuments and Old Malay inscriptions of the seventh to the ninth century were published in a special edition.[18]

Great attention to the study of the Old Javanese literary language Kawi is being given at the present time in Indonesia. A considerable number of textbooks on Kawi have been published in Indonesian. Kawi is a required subject in the humanities curriculum of the upper levels of secondary schools. It is studied in the philological and the historical faculties of the Indonesian universities.

The Indonesian linguists A. Prawirasuganda and S. Sauni have compiled a two-volume "Textbook of Old Javanese"[19] for the upper levels of secondary schools. The Dutch linguist P. J. Zoetmulder and the Indonesian scholar I. R. Poedjawijatna are co-authors of a two-volume textbook *Bahasa Parwa*.[20] The reason for the title is the fact that the Parwa is original material of parts of the Indian epic *Mahabharata* put into Kawi. One should also note the work of the Indonesian linguist S. Wojowasito, entitled *Kawiçastra*.[21] It contains three parts: a description of Kawi affixes, texts in romanization, and glossaries for each chapter. The book is intended for the upper levels of secondary schools.

For teaching purposes materials in Kawi are frequently published in mimeographed form. For example, in Jogjakarta separate volumes of parts of the Old Javanese *Adiparwa* have been issued.[22] This work is used as basic material for the elementary study of Kawi.

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18. J. G. de Casparis, Selected Inscriptions from the Seventh to the Ninth Century A.D. Prasasti Indonesia II (Bandung, 1956).

19. A. Prawirasuganda and S. Sauni, Kitab peladjaran Bahasa Djawa-Kuna, dj. I-II (Bandung, 1954).

20. P. J. Zoetmulder and I. R. Poedjawijatna, Bahasa Parwa, dj. I-II (Djakarta, 1954).

21. S. Wojowasito, Kawiçastra (Djakarta, 1956).

22. Kitab Adiparwa, dj. I-II (Jogjakarta, 1958).

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THE WRITING SYSTEM

As we have pointed out above, in Old Javanese the several kinds of script used were of Indic origin, specifically Sanskrit, Pallava and Kawi. The majority of works in Old Javanese were written in Kawi, the origin of which is not precisely determined and which, as is known, was used only within the boundaries of Indonesia, indeed almost exclusively on the islands of Java and Bali. The Kawi script used in Old Javanese was in some respects different from the script used on Bali. But, undoubtedly, one should consider them varieties of one and the same script, since the difference between them is quite insignificant. The Kawi script was also used in Old Sundanese (West Java). Going back to it are the forms of the script which are used alongside the roman script up to the present time in Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese and Madurese as well as in Sasak, which is spoken on Lombok.

That Kawi script is Indic in origin is indisputable. In particular it is similar to Devanagari script in quite a number of respects, although the forms of a majority of the basic letters are different. Thus Kawi possesses the feature of syllabic writing with the letters being written from left to right and some of them beneath the preceding letter. Like Sanskrit, Kawi has separate letters for assigning short and long vowels (including [ṛ] and [ḷ]) and also for indicating aspirated consonants. There are three letters for the sibilants (in roman transcription s, ṣ, ç),[23] by form and function corresponding approximately to the Sanskrit symbols *virama* (which removes the inherent vowel *a*), *anusvara* (which indicates syllable final [ṃ]), *anunasika* (which indicates syllable final [m̐]), and *visarga* (which indicates syllable final [h]). All this permits one to assume that Kawi script underwent a certain influence from Sanskrit script. One can surmise, specifically, that Sanskrit letters were borrowed to indicate the cacuminal or retroflex [ṭ] and [ḍ] with the inherent vowel [a] and also the symbols visarga and anusvara. Favoring this assumption is the fact that corresponding sounds and symbols do not occur in the two shapes of the script which have been used in other Indonesian languages, for example, in Tagalog, Buginese, and others. Letters which provide indications of retroflex sounds in their own form remind us of the corresponding Sanskrit letters, and the symbols anusvara and visarga completely coincide in both

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23. In the case of publications on Old Javanese texts at the present time roman transliteration has been adopted as for Sanskrit texts.

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forms of the script as to shape and place of the writing as well as to meaning.

On the other hand, in contrast to the Sanskrit script, the Kawi script has two special signs for indicating short and long [ə] and lacks letters which correspond to the Sanskrit letters (in transliteration) *tha*, *dha*, *au*.

Kawi script uses 31 letters, each of which represents a consonant with inherent vowel [a]. These letters are written from left to right on one line. The letter following can also occupy a place beneath the preceding. However, it is done only when necessary to eliminate the inherent vowel of the preceding letter. In that case, certain letters which are written beneath the preceding one undergo a certain modification. Some modified letters are written for a certain purpose (for the removal of the inherent vowel) not under the preceding letter but to the right of it.

There are also special letters and symbols for indicating vowel sounds. Some of them are used almost exclusively to indicate short vowels at the beginning of a word, others for indicating long vowels, still others as substitutes for a real vowel. Finally, as has been shown above, there are four additional symbols which in their functions correspond to the Sanskrit symbols virama, anusvara, visarga and anunasika.

When Old Javanese texts are published in Indonesia, in addition to a roman transliteration, a transliteration created on the basis of the modern national Javanese script, supplemented by a series of special letters and symbols, is also used.

The Meaning of the Letters

The Sounds

Determination of the sound system of Kawi poses a most difficult problem. The lexicon and grammar of Kawi have been described more fully than the phonological structure. Meanwhile, these problems are obviously very important, as their successful resolution would make it possible to throw light on the sound system of spoken Old Javanese. Kawi, beyond any doubt, was formed on the basis of spoken Old Javanese, but of this language we so far know almost nothing.

Research into the phonological system of Kawi is complicated by a series of circumstances. The fact that Kawi is today a dead language offers us no possibility of establishing the phonetic characteristics of the sounds. Furthermore, in the period from the ninth to the thirteenth century the same letters

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were used for the rendition of different sounds. Those who were well acquainted with Sanskrit read the same letters slightly differently than those who were less at home in Sanskrit.

The matter is complicated to an even greater degree by the fluctuation of the spelling: one and the same word is written differently, sometimes in the same manuscript, for example, alongside *mahārṣi* 'great sage' one often finds *maharṣi*. Finally, it is extremely difficult to account for any dialectal differences which undoubtedly existed in Old Javanese. However, in spite of existing obstacles, the phonological system of Kawi is yielding its approximate description. For that, in the first place, one must depend upon the coordination of the sound system and the written language of the Indic languages with the sound system and written language of the modern languages of the Indonesian family.

In investigating the sound system of Kawi, two basic problems have to be solved. Firstly, one must ascertain the phonemic significance of the letters. Here it is necessary to determine which letters and symbols are used for the transmission of the separate phonemes and which for the transmission of allophones of one and the same phoneme. Secondly, one has to determine the phonetic characteristics of the letters, i.e., one has to try to ascertain what the sounds in Kawi are from the phonetic point of view. It is clear that these two problems are, in a number of respects, closely bound together and the solution of one of them can, in a certain measure, contribute to a solution to the other.

In determining the phonemic value of the letters and symbols of the Kawi script, we are, to a considerable extent, abstracting from the true phonetic value. Here it is important to establish, not the phonetic characteristics of the sounds, but the reasons why one and the same letter enters into various combinations with other letters and symbols.

Each of the Kawi letters can represent an open syllable, consisting of a consonant with the inherent vowel [a]. Since the use of one of the letters instead of the other leads to a difference of meaning of a word, one can conclude that the difference in them is phonemic. In connection with the fact that inherent vowels can not in that case have any influence on the difference in meaning, the latter is achieved exclusively at the expense of different consonants. Hence it follows that consonantal sounds in identical positions serve to differentiate words or forms of words. Therefore, each of the consonants represents in a given position (i.e., initially) an independent phoneme.

So other letters, which are used only for the transmission of vowels initially, serve to differentiate words or word forms, and thereby represent separate vowel phonemes.

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For the transmission of certain consonants in final position two methods can equally well be used. The first method consists of writing one of the letters beneath the other. In that case, as was pointed out, the upper letter no longer represents the consonant with inherent vowel, but merely the consonant. This consonant is used at the end of a syllable. For example, if the letter *ka* is written beneath the letter *ma*, then these letters serve together to represent the combination [mka]. Another method consists of writing to the right of one of the aforementioned letters a special symbol (in Sanskrit terminology--virama, in Modern Javanese--*paten*), which serves exclusively to indicate elimination of the inherent vowel. The letter to the right of which this symbol is used represents in that case only the consonant of the final syllable. Thus, in two different combinations one and the same letter (in our example the letter *ma*) serves to transmit one and the same syllable-final consonant. The difference in position of the letter does not influence a distinction in words or word forms. In both cases one and the same letter is used to represent one and the same phoneme.

The phonetic value of the letters used for the spelling of the texts in Kawi can only be approximate. There is no doubt that Kawi possessed all or virtually all of the sounds which were used in the living spoken language on Java from the ninth to the thirteenth century. These sounds provided material for the creation of certain phonetic shapes of words of local origin. With regard to words of Indic origin, they obviously were pronounced differently by different people. Certain letters were used in Kawi exclusively for the writing of words of Indic provenience, since they represented sounds and sound combinations alien to the phonological system of the Indonesian languages. The determination of the phonetic value of these letters has presented us with great difficulties.[24]

Vowels

The sound [a] approximates the pronunciation of that of the present time in a number of Javanese dialects in which there is no labialization in a final open syllable.[25] A similar sound [a] also occurs in modern Sundanese, Indonesian, Dayak, Macassarese and other languages.

The long [a:] which is the result of the merging of two short [a]'s, was pronounced approximately like the corresponding

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24. The problem of the sounds of Kawi is expounded chiefly on the basis of the works of Kern.

25. Cf. A. S. Teselkin, Javanskii jazyk, p. 10.

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THE KAWI SCRIPT

Letters which designate vowels

Initial		Medial or Final			
	a	◌	*a*	◌	*ĕ*
	ā	◌	*i*	◌	*ŏ*
	i	◌	*ī*	◌	*e*
	u	◌	*u*	◌	*ay*
	ṛ	◌	*ū*	◌	*o*
	ḷ	◌	*ṛ*	◌	*au*
	ai				

Letters which designate consonants

	ka		*cha*		*da*		*wa*
	ca		*tha*		*ba*		*ha*
	ṭa		*pha*		*la*		*ṅa*
	ta		*ra*		*sa*		*ña*
	pa		*ṣa*		*gha*		*ṇa*
	ya		*ga*		*jha*		*na*
	ça		*ja*		*dha*		*ma*
	kha		*ḍa*		*bha*		

(’), (°) "anusvara" (;), (:) "visarga"

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long [a:] in modern Macassarese. It is interesting that in one and the same author one can find two spellings of the same word, for example, *mati* and *māti* 'death', *mātyana* and *matyana* 'let him kill'. Long [a:] in closed syllables appears in most cases at the expense of the merger of two short sounds: thus, *rāh* [ra:h] 'blood', resulting from the coalescence of [ra] and [ah]; *wāh* [wa:h] 'flow' from [wa] and [ah], etc. However, in Old Javanese manuscripts, especially in poetical works, one can meet the spellings *rah* and *wah* (i.e., with letters which represent a combination of consonant plus short [a]). Even if one makes allowance for liberties in the orthography which the poets permitted themselves, the existence of *rāh* and *wāh* alongside *rah* and *wah* can be explained only by the fact that the pronunciation of these words was at that time uncertain. The originally short [a] displayed a tendency to become long before sonorants after which a consonant followed. For example, the Skt *campaka* (name of a flower) became Kawi *cāmpaka*. One can also cite the words *mahārṣi* 'great sage', *mahārddhika* 'freedom', *anāntara* 'infinity'. In the texts which were written down by inhabitants on the island of Bali, the sound [a] most often of all became long before the sound [k], followed by another consonant. For example, [ra:kṣa] 'protection, defense' from [rakṣa], [A:kṣa] proper name, from [Akṣa]. Pronunciation of the word [rakṣa] did not correspond with the present-day pronunciation, according to which the word [rəksa] indicates the reduction of the vowel of the first syllable and not its lengthening.

The tendency according to which short [a] became long before sonorants with a consonant following was not universal. One can note that in the period of the orthography of the oldest manuscripts which have come down to us the difference in the length of vowels had disappeared. In that period the use of the long [a:] was most typical in those cases where the merger of two short [a]'s took place, e.g., in the words *rāma* [ra:ma] 'father' from [ra] + [ma], *rakarayān* [rakaraya:n] 'prince' from [rakaraya] + [an]. As regards the distinction in vowel lengths which was typical for poetic works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it scarcely corresponded to the pronunciation of that time.

Most frequently the original short [a] lengthened in an open syllable: for example, [ma:ti] 'death' (originally [mati]), [sangga:ma] 'sexual intercourse' (originally [sanggama]). Conversely, [gami] could be used instead of [ga:mi]. From here one can assume that in an open syllable [a] was pronounced long, as is the case in the present-day language. However, one would be overly bold if one asserted that [a] in an open syllable was pronounced alike in Kawi and in Modern Javanese. Obviously, some differences of a special sort did exist. Thus one can characterize the remaining vowels of Kawi.

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The sound [i] in an open syllable was in all probability pronounced as in Modern Javanese. But in a closed syllable one apparently sounded it not as in Modern Javanese, but as in modern Indonesian, Sundanese, and Madurese, i.e., more open. Supporting this assumption is the fact that in Indic words [i] --long by origin--was represented by a symbol which served as an indicator of short [i]: *tikṣṇa* 'sharp' instead of *tīkṣṇa*, *irṣyā* 'envy, jealousy' instead of *īrṣyā*.

The sound designated by the letter ū [u:], long, was pronounced as in Modern Javanese, i.e., it was very close. This is true at least with respect to those cases where [u] was used in an open syllable. In support of this view one finds the presence of an interchange of the letter *ū* and *o* in a series of words, e.g., *krora* and *krūra* 'cruel', *açūka* and *açoka* 'difficult'.

The letter *ṛ* represented a vowel sound only in Sanskrit words, but even then not always. In words of local origin this letter served to represent the sound combination [ra], i.e., a combination of consonant + vowel. Specifically, the spelling *ṛngö* 'to listen' should be transcribed as [rəŋə:]. The spelling of the derived words of the same root testifies to this: *rinĕngö* 'to be heard' and *rumĕngö* 'to listen to'. If the letter *ṛ* had served in Kawi as a vowel sound then the derived words would have been spelled *inṛngö*, *umṛngö*.

So too, the letter *ṝ*, which was used exclusively for the spelling of words of Javanese origin, served to indicate the combination of the consonant [r] with the following long vowel [ə:], e.g., *weṝ* 'drunk' was pronounced [wərə:].

The letters *ḷ* and *ḹ* were not vocalic, but the sound combinations [lə], [lə:].

The sound [ə] was pronounced, apparently, as in Modern Javanese and other Indonesian languages--approximately as in the English central vowel [ə]. The distinction in length between [ə] and [ə:] as it follows from Kawi manuscripts was uncertain; for example, one finds *ahöm* and *ahĕm* 'to deliberate'. However, a similar interchange of sounds is rarely observed in an open syllable; e.g., one always finds the spelling *ṛngö* 'to listen'.

The physical characteristics of the sound represented by the letter *e* are very difficult to establish precisely. Examination of the sound system of Kawi together with the utilization of comparative material from other languages testifies to the fact that the Old Javanese originated from a diphthong which in Kawi was signified by the letter *ay* [ai]. One and the same word is spelled sometimes with *e*, sometimes with *ay*; for example:

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raray and *rare* 'child', *gaway* and *gawe* 'affair, business, work'. In prevocalic position this sound is regularly represented by the letters *ay:* *gawayan* 'is being done', *gawayĕn* 'in order to do', *gaway ike* 'this affair'. The Sanskrit sound [e] also derives from the diphthong [ai], but this does not mean that in Kawi [e] coincides with the Sanskrit sound. Nor does a comparison with materials in Modern Javanese provide a solution to this problem. If we know that in the adoption of Surakarta speech as the norm of Modern Javanese the use of close [é] and open [è] was subordinated to definite rules no less known is the fact that in different dialects and subdialects of Modern Javanese these rules are not similar. It is natural to admit that dialectal differences also existed in the period of Old Javanese. As far as one is able to judge from the available data, from the ninth to the thirteenth century the long diphthong [ai:] did not exist in Kawi. This is evident specifically from such a spelling as *gaway* 'affair, business, work'. The diphthong [ai] later on apparently was reduced and became [e], which is evident, for example, from the parallel use of the spellings *rare* and *raray*. At the same time it is possible that this diphthong in an earlier period was longer, as can be judged by the spelling *way* 'water', used side by side with *wäy*.

Determination of the physical characteristics of the sound [o] presents substantial difficulties. One can only note that in Sanskrit words the letter *ū*, which became a vowel sound in an open syllable, sometimes alternated with the letter *o*; for example: *krūra* 'cruel' was sometimes used alongside *krora*. The letter *o* in such cases could only represent a close sound.

In the Kawi language of the ninth to the thirteenth century there was no diphthong [au]. One can, however, detect traces of its existence. For example, from *siwo* by means of doubling of the root with the addition of the prefix *ma-* there was formed the word *masiwasiwo*. As we know, in the formation of words by means of doubling of the roots with simultaneous joining of affixes, the last sound of the first part of the doubling could fall out. This was reflected too in the orthography, e.g.: *pulupuluhan* 'tens' < *puluh* 'ten'; *sirasirat* 'to spread everywhere' < *sirat* 'to spread'. In connection with this one logically assumes that in the word *masiwasiwo* the sound which is designated by the letter *o* goes back to the diphthong [au].

The diphthong [au] in a number of the modern languages of Indonesia can alternate with the sound [o]; for example, in Malay, *pulau* or *pulo* 'island', *pisau* or *piso* 'knife'.

The Consonants

In the Kawi written language there are letters which can designate aspirated consonant sounds (with inherent vowels)

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alien to the phonetic system of Indonesian languages generally and this one circumstance gives reason to surmise that they were pronounced as in the Indian languages. Favoring this is testimony to the fact that the letters which designate the aspirated consonants are used exclusively for the spelling of words of Indic provenience, if one ignores the cases of erroneous use of these for the spelling of indigenous words. After tracing the history of the use of the aforementioned letters up to the present time, one can see that the cases of their use in the spelling of words of Indic origin gradually declined. In the Modern Javanese writing system some of the letters indicate their origin from letters which in former times served to transmit aspirated consonants (with inherent vowel). However, at present these letters already fill other functions and none of them renders an aspirated consonant.

Letters which render aspirated consonants were most frequently used in Kawi for the spelling of Indic proper names. With regard to the rest of the consonants and semi-vowels in Kawi, they were, in all probability, as in Modern Javanese, similar or identical with the corresponding Sanskrit sounds.

The sound [ʔ] (glottal stop), occurring at the end of a word in Modern Javanese, was evidently absent in Kawi. The most important argument in favor of this assumption is the fact that in place of the sounds [k] and [t] in the position before [w], [g] and [d] were used. This follows from the spellings: *tak* 'I' and *wruh* 'to know' gave *tag-wruh* 'I know'; *tat* 'not' and *wruh* 'to know' gave *tad-wruh* 'not know'. Here, obviously, partial assimilation of the preceding consonant of the following semivowel took place. In this case a voiceless stop became voiced. And if this is so, then the sound [d] was a double voicing for [t], and [g] for [k] and did not stand for [ʔ].

It is quite possible that the paired stop consonant in Old Javanese differed not on the level of voicelessness-voiceness, but on other grounds, as clearly takes place in Modern Javanese. However, even in Modern Javanese the pairs of stops [t-d], [p-b], etc., correspond to the pair [k-g] and not to [ʔ-g].[26]

In Kawi script there are three letters--*s*, *ṣ*, *ś*--serving to transmit the sibilants with inherent vowel, as is the case in Sanskrit. In Javanese, however, the pronunciation of all three letters was undoubtedly the same. In favor of this is the presence in the Indonesian languages of only one sibilant [s] as well as the fact that in Kawi all three letters constantly fall together. Thus the Javanese who had not mastered Indic

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26. Cf. E. M. Uhlenbeck, De structuur van het Javaansche morpheem (Bandung, 1949), p. 52.

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speech read all three letters the same even if they strove to use these letters in the script differently. However, it is evident that there were some exceptions, especially in such words as *tuṣṭa* where retroflex [ṭ] could show the influence of the preceding sound.

For the spelling of some purely Javanese words they sometimes used the letter *ṣa*, but one can explain this only by the influence of Sanskrit phonetics, according to which the dental [s] after [u:] becomes a palatalized sibilant.

The sound [h] in an initial syllable was apparently pronounced like a weak expiration, as in Modern Javanese, and, as in Javanese, often disappeared in speech. This is reflected in the spelling; for example: alongside *hangin* 'wind' and *halang* 'prohibition' there also occur *angin* and *alang* with the same meanings. But a number of words existed for the transmission of which the use of the letter *ha* initially in the script was obligatory. At the end of a syllable [h] was heard more strongly. In initial position [h] was represented by the letters [ha] and in syllable final by the visarga. In a number of cases the letter *ha* written together with the signs which transmitted the sound [ə] or [ə:], had no phonation but served exclusively to make it possible to use the aforementioned symbols, which are not used independently. For example, in the word *hĕmas* 'gold' the [h] was not pronounced. The letter *ha* which serves for the above-mentioned purpose, is not used if another word which precedes the given word ends in a consonant. The fact is that in that case the symbols serving to represent [ə] and [ə:] can be used with a letter which becomes that final consonant, as, for example, *maṇik ĕmas* 'jewel made of gold'. For the spelling of this compound a symbol indicating [ə] is joined with the letter *k*, as a result of which the letter and symbol together give [kə].

The velar nasal [ŋ] in syllable initial is rendered by the letter *nga* and in syllable final with the anusvara. The syllable final [ŋ] is sometimes rendered by the letter *nga* in combination with the virama. In such cases, the anusvara in Kawi has a different meaning than in Sanskrit and in Old Javanese texts one should transcribe it as [ŋ] and not [m] or [m̤] as is done in Sanskrit texts.

The anunasika is used exclusively for the spelling of the word *oṁ* (it expresses a higher degree of respect for addressing the god or Brahmins).

Combinatory Changes (Morphophonemics)

Some combinatory changes in Kawi had an indigenous (Javanese) origin, but others are explained by the influence of the

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Indic languages. The confluence of vowels both within the boundaries of one word as well as on the border of two adjacent words results in various sound changes, a process which is customarily called by the Sanskrit term *sandhi* (combination).

In the case of the confluence of vowels in Kawi, the following phenomena occur:

1. Simple short homogeneous vowels are fused into a long sound:

[a] + [a] = [a:]
[i] + [i] = [i:]
[u] + [u] = [u:]

For example: [ta] - an intensifying particle + [awak] 'body' = [ta:wak].

2. The vowel [a] or [a:] and following non-homogeneous vowels are fused and changed in the following way:

[a] or [a:] + [i] = [e]
[a] or [a:] + [u] = [o]
[a] or [a:] + [ai] = [ai]
[a] or [a:] + [o] = [o]
[a[or [a:] + [e] = [e]

An example: [nira] 'he' + [ing] 'in' = [nireng] 'he is in ...'

3. The sound [ə] is merged with preceding non-homogeneous vowels:

[a] + [ə] = [a]
[i] + [ə] = [i]
[u] + [ə] = [u]

An example: [wawa] - verb stem + [ən] - suffix = [wawan] 'to bear, carry'.

4. The sounds [i], [i:], [e] and the second component of the diphthong [ai] before non-homogeneous vowels change into the semivowel [j] in the non-syllabic position and the sounds [u], [u:], [o], [o:] become [w]; for example, [lagi] 'temporarily staying' + [amrih] 'in order to' = [lagyamrih] 'temporarily staying for the purpose of ...'; [wungu] 'to rise' + suffix [a] = [wungwa] 'in order to get up'.

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The confluence of similar consonants was possible only in words of Indic origin. Even here, however, it is evident that there were exceptions and the coalescence of two similar letters in the script did not always correspond with the actual pronunciation.

In words of local origin the confluence of two identical consonants does not occur, although the spelling is far from always conforming to this. For example, there was a tradition (as is the case in Modern Javanese) of doubling in the writing of the final consonant of the root in the position before the suffixes *-an*, *-akĕn*, and some others. It is very important to note that the doubling of identical consonants for the transmission in writing of words of local origin never had any etymological basis: *anaku* 'my son' (*anak* 'son' + *ku* 'my'); *ngaranya* 'his name' (*ngaran* 'name' + *nya* 'his').

Sometimes the doubling of consonants in the writing had the purpose of indicating the special character of the pronunciation of the preceding vowel.

The confluence of different consonants in local words is possible in the following cases: 1) the first sound is a nasal, 2) the second sound is either an [r], [l] or semivowel. Words of Indic origin were not subject to the rules, for example: *kṣatriya* 'warrior'. In the case of the change of the phonetic shape of some of these words under the influence of the phonological system of Old Javanese more often the first of the two consonants fell out, forming a combination atypical for Old Javanese, or an [a] was added to the first consonant as a result of which that consonant did not open, but closed the preceding syllable: *sangṣipta* 'abandoned' instead of *sangkṣipta*, *sangtawya* 'the one who is forgiven' instead of *kṣantawya*; from the bases *astuti*, *stawa* and *kṣama*, by means of prefixes were formed respectively *mangastuti* 'to eulogize', *pangastawa* 'eulogy' and *angakṣama* 'to forgive'.

Partial assimilation of preceding stops and nasals is subject to the influence of the final consonants:

> *tak* 'I' + *wruh* 'to know' = *tag-wruh* 'I know';
>
> *tat* 'not' + *wruh* 'to know' = *tad-wruh* 'not know';
>
> *ujarĕn* 'in order to say' + *ku* 'I' = *ujarĕnku* 'that I may say'.

Metathesis is observed most clearly, for example, in words of Indic origin: *anarawata* 'everywhere'--from Skt *anavarata*, *rinangkuça*--from Skt *nirangkuça*.

The loss of sounds. A frequent loss is initial and final [h]; *hangin* 'wind' and *lumrah* 'ordinary, usual' existed alongside *angin* and *lumra*; *alungguh* 'to sit' + *ing* 'on, in' = *alunggwing*.

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In the case of the confluence of two identical consonants, one of which appears as the final of the preceding word and the other as the initial of the following word, only one of the sounds remains: *tlas* + *sinurat* = *tlasinurat* 'vestiges of the spelling'.

The alteration of nasals. Dental [n] is the only sound which changes before a palatal into [ñ] and before a retroflex sound into [ṇ], for example:

yan 'if' + *campur* '(it) intervenes, interferes' = *yañcampur* 'if (it) intervenes';

yan 'if' + *ḍatĕng* 'to come' = *yaṇḍatĕng* 'if it comes'

The sounds [ñ] and [ṇ] play the role of initials. Thus the combination of the sounds [ñts], [rñdʒ], [ṇṭ], [ṇḍ] does not close the preceding syllable; this phenomenon occurs in Modern Javanese. On the contrary, in the position before [p] the sound [n] does not change into another sound and always plays a role finally. Precisely as in Modern Javanese the sounds [n] and [p] when they come together belong to different syllables, for example: *tanpa* [tan-pa] 'without'.

Voiced consonants in Kawi, in contrast to Modern Javanese, do not become voiceless in final position.[27]

Among phonetic phenomena of Indic origin one can note the transition of the sound [n] to [ṇ] in cases where an [r] occurs in the preceding syllable (*rĕṇa*, *rĕṇĕ*), and also a transition sound of [s] into [ṣ] before all vowels except [a:]; for example: *nūṣa* 'island'.

Occasionally, the sounds *ṣ* and *c* are used in such a way that some words of Indic provenience are treated as foreign words, for example: *raṣa* 'feeling', *diwacа* 'time'. This, however, does not mean that there were three sibilants in the spoken language.

Historical alternations of sounds. In the course of historical development retroflex consonants experienced insignificant changes. In particular, the sound [ñ] merged with the dental [ṇ] in all positions, except before the retroflex [ṭ] and [ḍ].

The semivowel [w] has changed in a number of words into [b], for example: In Kawi the words *wuri* 'back, posterior', and *wagus* 'nice, beautiful' correspond to the Modern Javanese *buri* and *bagus*.

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27. Cf. Kern, Kawi-studiën.

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The semivowels [w] and [j] have alternated with each other. Thus, the Kawi words *twas* 'heart', *ça̤sya* 'student' correspond to Modern Javanese *tyas* and *siswa*. The combination [ja] became [e] and [wa] became [o]; for example, Kawi *lyang* 'hole' and *karwa* 'both' correspond to Modern Javanese *leng* and *karo*. The vowel [ə:] became [o] or [ə], for example: [malə:lə:] 'to open one's eyes wide' became [malolo:]; [gə:ng] 'great, big' became [gəng]. The vowels [ə] and [ə:] changed into [u]; for example, [pəhan] 'milk' became [puhan].

Lexicon

In spite of the fact that approximately 90% of the Kawi lexicon was borrowed from other, mostly Indic, languages, one can spot a considerable number of words of local (i.e., Indonesian) origin. Affiliation of words to the Indonesian lexicon has been established by linguists; it is proven by the fact that words of common origin are found in a series of similar languages and are absent in other language groups. The most convincing argument is presented by the regular lexical correspondences in Kawi with Malagasy and Tagalog. It is scarcely possible to explain the existence of these correspondences by borrowing, since Java is too far from the Philippines and from Madagascar. Moreover, the basic stock of words consists of necessary, everyday words. These are numerals from one to ten, the words for hundred and thousand, pronouns, words for such concepts as man, male, stone, etc.

Indonesian words are largely disyllabic. Thus the Kawi words *papat* (or *pat*) 'four', *lima* 'five', *puluh* 'ten' correspond to the Malay (Indonesian) *empat*, *lima*, *puluh*, to the Tagalog *apat*, *lima*, *pu*, and to the Malagasy *efatra*, *dimy* [dimi], *folo* [fulu]. It is not difficult to observe that in the Malagasy *efatra* and *fulu* [f] corresponds to [p] in the Kawi, Malay and Tagalog. The Kawi words *laki* 'male' and *watu* 'stone' correspond to the Malay *laki* and *batu*, to the Tagalog *lalaki*[28] and *bato*, and to the Malagasy *lahy*, *vato*. In these words too it is easy to discover the sound correspondences [w = b], [u = o], [k = h]. The number of examples of lexical correspondences in Kawi and other languages of the Indonesian family can be considerably increased.

In investigating Kawi's lexicon of non-Indonesian origin, scholars have established that the basic source is Sanskrit.[29] That fact in itself indicates that Java underwent strong influence from India. As far as one can judge from the existing

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28. The root of this word is laki.

29. Cf. Gonda, Sanskrit in Indonesia.

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information, the Sanskrit lexicon penetrated into the language of the Javanese chiefly by means of religion, culture and trade. It is very likely too that on Java there existed at that time settlements of people from India. Initially founding their separate settlements on the territory of Java, the peasants from India established relations with the local inhabitants and were gradually assimilated with them.

Also in early Old Javanese literary monuments one meets words revealing not only Sanskrit, but also Tamil, Hindi and Persian origin. For example, in the Old Javanese Ramayana, one finds the words *panay* 'a sort of earthen pitcher' from the Tamil *pānai* 'a large pitcher' and *sambrani* (name of a sorrel horse) from the Tamil *cempuṟaṉi* 'horse red in color'. The Old Javanese *joli* 'palanquin' is from the Hindi *ḍolī* 'palanquin, litter, lady's carriage', and *mahari* 'canopy', 'small building for receptions' is from the Hindi *mahāṟī* 'upper room', 'upper floor'. *Pasar* 'market' (which is now used in Javanese and Malay) was borrowed from Hindi where in all probability it entered from Persian (*bazar* 'market', 'bazaar', 'market day'). One also meets in the eleventh century Old Javanese work *Arjuna Wiwaha* (The Wedding of Ardjuna) the word *peka* (with the meanings 'foot soldier', 'soldier', 'man servant') which most likely comes from the Persian *paik* 'messenger, envoy', 'foot messenger', 'guard' and apparently was borrowed through Hindi. Clarification of the various groups of words borrowed into Old Javanese from Indic languages will assist in ascertaining the way in which the cultural influence of India on Java came. However, it will not be possible in all cases to rely entirely on the facts of borrowed words for a definitive decision as to whether a certain phenomenon is local in origin or whether it was introduced from India.

With regard to the problem of the cultural influence of India upon Indonesia one must first of all take into account the degree of development of Indonesian civilization before the penetration of Indic influence. Even before this penetration the Indonesian had for some time been familiar with navigation and carried on sea trade, knew how to cultivate rice on irrigated fields, could make different objects out of iron, bronze, copper and gold. The Indonesians at that time also possessed various forms of social organization. One further assumes that they were familiar with musical and dramatic art forms.[30]

From an examination of the numerous words which have originated from Sanskrit and other Indic languages, one can establish several basic lexical groups which were borrowed into Kawi. These are the words connected with the area of Indic religion and mythology: names of Indic divinities and the appellations

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30. Ibid., p. 129.

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of fanciful creatures, as well as (frequently fictitious) geographical place names. One finds, for example, the following borrowings from Sanskrit: *bhaṭāra* 'sir', 'sovereign' (from *bhaṭṭāra*)--it is used with the names of the principal divinities; *Wiṣṇu* 'the god' (from *Viṣṇu*); *dewa* 'god, divinity' (from *deva*); *naṟaka* 'hell' (from *naraka*); *ātma* 'soul', 'consciousness' (from *ātmā*).

A considerable number of Sanskrit loan words relate to the area of government, legislation and law, customs and ritual: *madīkṣā* 'to prepare for a religious ceremony' (from *dīkṣā* 'preparation for a religious ceremony'); *raṇḍa* 'widow' (from *raṇḍā*); *wṟddhi* 'interest on a loan' (from *vṛddhi*); *cāra* 'conduct, behavior, manners' (from *ācāra*); *ḍaṇḍa* 'punishment' (from *daṇḍa*), etc. From the sphere of architecture and construction one can list the following words: *sabhā* 'reception hall' (from *sabhā*); *kuṭa* 'wall surrounding castle' (from *kuṭa*); *witāna* 'open location' (from *vitāna*), etc.

A special place among borrowings is occupied by numerals and words which transmit the notion of quantity. It is known that Sanskrit numerals were also used in Kawi alongside the native ones.

Furthermore, among the borrowings one can distinguish groups of words which designate abstract concepts, personal names, geographical appellations, names of plants, kinds of weapons, etc.[31]

Borrowed words often underwent various kinds of phonetic changes which are observable in the spelling. Together with this is the quite obvious fact that an enormous number of these words retained their original phonological form. An analysis of the orthography of the words and the introduction of comparative material offer the possibility of determining, in those words borrowed into Kawi, the general directions in which the changes of the phonological shapes of the forms went. On the whole, these changes point to an accommodation of the phonetic structure of the loan words to the sound features of the Indonesian languages. In words of Sanskrit origin, aspirates, absent in the Indonesian languages, were as a rule replaced by simple consonants: *palamarta* 'kind, responsive' (from *paramārtha*); *palacidra* 'insult--harm to the enemy' (from *parachidra*), etc. But, in all probability, many loanwords of Sanskrit origin, which had aspirated consonants in their system, preserved them. In any case, for the spelling of similar words, it was done with letters used for the transmission of aspirates, for example: *bhūmi* 'earth'. Exceptions are the sounds [ṭh] and [ḍh] which

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31. Ibid., pp. 130-216.

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obviously did not exist in the spoken language of Kawi in general. It is characteristic that all borrowings which possessed these sounds in their system were always transcribed by letters which served for the transmission of the consonants [t], [d] or [ṭ], [ḍ]. Kawi did not have in its writing system any letters which served specially to represent the sounds [ṭh] and [ḍh].

Disyllabism of a root or of a root word in Indonesian languages was at bottom the reason for the fact that many borrowed words which were trisyllabic in their original form became disyllabic. It is characteristic that the reduction or loss occurred in the first syllable, and not in the second or third. This also, on the whole, corresponds to a feature of the Indonesian languages, where the shortening of a word usually occurs at the expense of a reduction in, or a loss of, the first syllable (cf. Malay *kau* 'thou' from *engkau*, *Mat* [proper name] from *Amat*). As has been pointed out, it is characteristic of Indonesian languages that there is a regular alternation in the stream of speech of consonants and vowels. It is for this reason that in borrowed words two adjacent consonants were frequently separated by a vowel; for example: *maleca* 'foreigner', 'one who speaks badly in the native language' (from Skt *mlecca*), *sangaskara* 'to support or reinforce by oaths' (from Skt *sangskara*), etc.

In loan words *r* frequently became *l*: *palamarta* 'kind, responsive' (from Skt *paramārtha*); *palacidra* 'insult, harm to the enemy' (from Skt *parachidra*).

The occurrence of distant assimilation in borrowings can be observed in such words as *ḍaṇḍa* 'punishment' (from Skt *daṇḍa*), etc. Frequently in words which originally had two similar phonemes, one of them fell: *garddha* 'wish' (from Skt *gṛdhra* 'one who desires').

For other foreign words it is characteristic to find spontaneous nasalization (an ad hoc term). This feature consists in the fact that between a vowel and succeeding consonant a nasal is inserted: *parintoṣa* 'satisfaction' (from Skt *paritoṣa*), *Anggastya* (proper name) (from Skt *Agastya*).

One can observe metathesis in the example of such loan words as: *triyak* "animal' (from Skt *tiryak*); *pastika* 'crystal, quartz' (from Skt *sphaṭika*); *parcaya* 'truth' (from Skt *pratyaya*). Cases of distant metathesis are also found: *anarawata* 'continuous, uninterrupted' (from Skt *anavarata*).

Observed too are changes in vowel sounds: for example, there was a tendency to use for the Sanskrit diphthong *ay* [ai] the sound *e*, e.g.: *eçānya* 'northeast' (from Skt *aiçāni*); *kewala* 'simply, only' (from Skt *kaivalya*). In place of the diphthong

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au the sound *o* was used; *orasaputra* (from Skt *aurasaputra*); *goh* 'cow' (from Skt *gauḥ*); *boddha* 'Buddhist' (from Skt *bauddha*); *potraka* 'grandson' (from Skt *pautraka*).

In loan words *e* and *i* alternated (occurred in free variation): *nalikira* 'coconut' (from Skt *nalikera*); *gandewa* 'bow (weapon)' (from Skt *gāṇḍiva* or *gāṇḍhīva*).

O frequently became *u*; *duṣa* 'guilt, sin', *gupura* 'main gate' (from Skt *doṣa* and *gopura*). In a penultimate syllable *a* often changed to [ə] *ĕ*: *alĕngkara* 'ornament' (from Skt *alamkāra*); *utpĕna* 'to rise' (from Skt *utpanna*); *mĕtta* 'one who is drunk, excited' (from Skt *matta*).

Speaking of morphological changes in loan words one must mention that a majority of words which entered Kawi began to be used like root words of native origin. In spite of that, the borrowings often lost their endings, but in a lesser number of cases retained the ending which, however, in Kawi was interpreted as a composite part of the root. The suffix *-i* was regarded as an exception, being used in Sanskrit with feminine nouns. In many words borrowed into Kawi, this suffix retained its meaning. Thus one meets words of the type *dewa* 'god, divinity' (from Skt *deva*) and *dewi* 'goddess' (from Skt *devī*) on the analogy of which Kawi began to form some new words, for example: from *tapa* 'hermit' (from Skt *tapas* 'asceticism') the word *tapi* 'female hermit' was formed.

On the whole, however, that phenomenon was limited to a specific number of words and cannot be considered characteristic for Kawi or for other Indonesian languages. A similar exception appears in the Sanskrit prefix *pra-*. Since this prefix was used in many words of Sanskrit origin, it began to be regarded as a separate morpheme and in a number of cases served as a means of word formation in Kawi. For example, it is possible to speak of the formation of such words as *pragagah* 'courageous, bold' (from *gagah* 'hard, firm, manly'); *pratingkah* 'state of affairs' (from *tingkah* 'situation'). However, the origin of the prefix *pra* in Kawi is still insufficiently clear. Some scholars considered this prefix to be of indigenous origin; in the view of others, there were two prefixes in Kawi which fell together, one of which was indigenous, the other of Sanskrit origin.[32]

Foreign words, becoming the property of Kawi, often underwent semantic changes. For example, the Sanskrit word *guṇa* 'quality', 'good quality', 'virtue' obtained in Kawi the additional meanings 'strength', 'art'.

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32. Ibid., pp. 269-300.

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GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM

In its grammatical system Kawi is close to a number of Indonesian languages. This circumstance has very important implications for the determination of the genetic relationships of Kawi, because its vocabulary, as stated above, was, in the main, borrowed from other, not genetically related, languages.

The word in Kawi possesses special features characteristic of words of Indonesian languages generally, Specifically, Kawi possesses a considerable group of root words, i.e., words not further divisible into morphemes. It is quite possible, and with respect to a number of loan words obvious, that etymologically these words were divided into morphemes. However, in the Kawi language from the ninth to the twelfth century, these words were used as roots. This shows that they functioned like root morphemes in the form of derivative words. For example, in the word *mangjanmā* 'to revive', 'to be reincarnated' the root morpheme *janmā* phonetically coincides with the root word, *janmā* 'man' 'reincarnation'.

Many root words can be traced back to different parts of speech (subject to conversion): *angĕn* 'thought', 'to think'; *karya* 'deed', 'to do'.

Root words of local (Indonesian) origin, as a rule, are disyllabic, loan words are often tri- or quadrisyllabic. Root words participate in all autonomous as well as syntactic parts of speech and, thus, represent independent grammatical units. They are the basis for word formation which comes about by joining affixes to a root word or by means of reduplication of the latter; thus the following words are formed: *prang* 'war'--*maprang* 'to wage war'; *pinta* 'to ask'--*pininta* 'that requested'; *sowe* 'long'--*sowe-sowe* 'very long'.

Affixation, primarily prefixation, bears almost exclusively the character of agglutination. Just as in other Indonesian languages, the affix in each concrete case conveys only one grammatical meaning. Very many affixes combine the function of word formation with a word-changing function (formative). For example: the prefix *ma-* forms middle voice verbs, but at the same time forms nouns with the aid of which verbs can be formed: *mawĕka* 'to have children' (from *wĕka* 'child').

Affixation as a means of inflection is used almost exclusively in the area of the verb, and as a means of word formation in the sphere of the substantive.[33] Certain affixes, in particu-

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33. For more details cf. pp. 45-48 of the present edition.

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lar the verbal prefix *a-* (or *ma* + nasal), are etymologically related to affixes in other Indonesian languages.[34]

Another way of forming words is by reduplication which is widely used in Kawi, although it is less common than affixation. Reduplication can occur by doubling the first syllable of the root word or by doubling the entire root word. In a number of cases even derivative words can be doubled *in toto*. Reduplication serves either for inflection or for word formation. In spite of this, as will be shown below, reduplication as a means of inflection is employed principally for forming the intensive verb or adjective. Affixation and reduplication can be used simultaneously.

Analytical ways of expressing grammatical meaning--morphology and syntax--are used primarily for the implementation of syntactical relationships or for the expression of modality. Analytical means play a more important role in Kawi than in other languages such as Russian or German and a much greater one than in French or English. This is explained by the fact that nouns in Kawi do not have grammatical categories of case, gender and number, and verbs do not have the categories of person and tense. Therefore, between the Kawi nouns and verbs there is no concord. Word order, in spite of the important role it plays, is not absolute. And even the most steadfast rules of word order like the postposition of attributes and the position of the predicate before the subject are sometimes violated for a number of reasons.

Among syntactic words alongside prepositions and conjunctions a greater role is played by the particles which not only give a modal coloring to a sentence, but also denote the function of a word or of a word combination in the sentence. Although the number of particles is comparatively small, they are used rather often. For Kawi on the whole, it is characteristic to use inflected words in auxiliary functions; for example, the verb is frequently used in the function of conjunction or preposition; the demonstrative pronoun can serve for the express meaning of definiteness, for emphasis, or for determination of parts of the sentence, and can also be used as a nominal.

Parts of Speech

In most grammars of Kawi the following autonomous parts of speech are distinguished: noun, adjective, verb, pronoun, and

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34. Cf. R. Brandstetter, An Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics (London, 1916); O. Dempwolff, Einführung in die Malaiische Sprache (Berlin, 1941).

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numeral. The syntactic parts of speech are preposition, conjunction, and particle. In attributing words to one or other part of speech account is taken of the following: the lexical meaning of the words, derivational and inflectional affixes and some features of syntactical usage. It should be noted that the meaning of different groups of words is used as a basis. The parts of speech in the Kawi textbook of Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna are determined somewhat differently.[35] On the basis of a consideration chiefly of meaning, the authors of that work divide all significant Kawi words into three parts of speech: appellatives, auxiliary words, and proxy words: an appellative is that word or group of words which names something independent or that which is conceived independently; an auxiliary word is that word or group of words which points to a fact that is inherent to something.[36] The proxy words are defined as words which can take the functions of some of the aforementioned two parts of speech.[37] Besides this, some groups of particles are distinguished.

It is quite probable that if one considers the basic criteria of category to be the grammatical markers of words, then for Kawi it is possible to construct some system of parts of speech like that discussed above. Up to now no such attempt has been undertaken. The apportionment of parts of speech in Kawi on the basis of a consideration of the grammatical markers of words, especially on the basis of the consideration of syntactical features, would have a more objective character. Autonomous words in Kawi, as in other languages of the Indonesian family, can, as a rule, appear in the role of any member of a sentence. Therefore to understand the general grammatical meaning of a word when it is taken outside the sentence is very difficult, and sometimes impossible. A complication also lies in the fact that in Kawi there is no inflection. The presence of root words does not permit us to have any criterion about the capacity of words to take one or other affix. In such a situation attempts to distinguish parts of speech on the basis of a consideration of the general grammatical meaning of groups of words without a thorough analysis of syntactical signs can lead to errors of a purely subjective character.

A stocktaking of the syntactical markers of a group of words possesses a more objective character and is to a far less degree connected with the features of the individual method of approach to the problems of parts of speech by different investigators. Finally, syntactical markers more easily yield to observation and description than does the meaning of words in

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35. Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna, Bahasa Parwa, d. I.

36. Ibid., p. 15.

37. Ibid., p. 29.

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terms of grammatical categories. In our opinion, the syntactic markers of words, primarily the combining with various classes of words, should be considered the basic criteria for the classification of parts of speech. In assigning derivative words to one or other form class the difference in affixes and in the shapes of words formed by means of repetition, can to a certain extent be used.

Words traditionally assigned to nouns can be used with prepositions, in particular with the preposition *i*, which, preceding a word, serves for the expression of the objective case, the adverbial, or the attributive relation. This preposition can also appear in the forms *ing*, *ni* or *ning*, for example: *ing hawan* 'on the way', *brata ning kawitan ira* 'anchoritic way of life of his father'.

Many words assigned traditionally to substantives possess in their structure certain inflectional affixes (cf. pp. 35-36).

Words traditionally assigned to pronouns and numerals can also combine with prepositions which precede them; they are distinguished from substantives only by the absence of affixes and by their own general lexical meanings. Thus, one can assume that Kawi has groups of nouns. Nouns, on the whole, are distinguished from words assigned traditionally to adjectives and verbs. The latter, with rare exceptions, do not appear in combination with a preceding preposition, have a series of specific affixes, and can also appear in the shape of intensives (cf. pp. 45 and 48), which are formed by means of reduplication of the root or of the whole. The verb and the adjective can also be regarded as one general class.[38] The basis for unification of these groups of words into one category is the availability of a series of general grammatical markers. To the category of adjectives it is acceptable to assign only those words which possess the value of a qualitative marker. Relative pronouns and adjectives are absent in Kawi as a purely lexical group of words, but relative markers of objects are expressed in the sentence with the assistance of the nouns.

Adverbs as a separate part of speech do not exist in Kawi. Nouns (often in combination with prepositions), transitive or intransitive verbs, and adjectives appear in the role of different adverbs.

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38. Obviously, approximately the same picture is to be observed in Chinese where, according to A. A. Dragunov, the verb and adjective form a class of so-called predicates. Cf. A. A. Dragunov, Issledovanniya po grammatike sovremennogo kitaiskogo jazyka (Moscow/Leningrad, 1952).

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Substantives

Substantives do not possess grammatical categories of gender, number or case. A distinction in animals and people on the basis of sex is expressed in the language with the aid of words which give the notions of 'man', 'male', 'female'. In a number of cases this distinction is in the meaning of the word itself, e.g.: *ibu* 'mother', *kanyā* 'girl'. Since Kawi substantives do not possess the grammatical category of number, the same word, depending upon the context, can correlate in meaning with one or several subjects. In that case, if the semantic context requires precision, words can be used which express lexical concepts of plurality: *satunggal* 'one', *tĕlu* 'three', *akweh* 'much, many', *sing* 'each', etc. Thus, while the word *wwang* can render the idea of 'man' or 'people', *satunggal wwang* can only mean 'one man', *akweh wwang* 'many people'.

Sometimes in order to render the idea of several similar objects the substantive is doubled, e.g., *alas-alas* 'woods, forest', while *alas* can render the idea 'wood', or 'woods'. It is known that the method of doubling substantives serves in many modern Indonesian languages for forming collective plurals which correlate in meaning with several objects. For example, in Modern Javanese *wong-wong* means 'people'. In Kawi, however, these forms are used very rarely, and for that reason there is no basis for speaking of the presence here of the grammatical category of plurality or number.

Word-formation of substantives. Substantives in Kawi can be formed from different parts of speech with the aid of one or several affixes by means of full or partial doubling of bases or simultaneously by means of doubling and affixation, and also by means of compounding. Affixation is the most productive method for the formation of substantives in Kawi. When affixes are joined to the root or the base of a word different phonetic changes frequently occur, which submit to general rules of sandhi in Kawi.

The prefix *pa-* forms nouns from verbal bases and more rarely from nouns and other parts of speech. In meaning, derivatives with the prefix *pa-* fall into two basic groups. To the first group belong words designating action or process. This action can be transitive or intransitive:

> *minta* 'to request'--*paminta* 'request'; *naḍah* 'to eat'--*panaḍah* 'food'; *kārya* 'work, deed'--*pakārya* 'work'; *mitra* 'friend'--*pamitra* 'friendship'.

In a number of cases the derivative with the prefix *pa-* can also designate the result of an action: *tinggal* 'remain'--*patinggal* 'separation, parting'.

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To the second group of derivatives with the prefix *pa-* belong words which designate the means or instrument for accomplishing an action:

> *rĕmuk* 'to destroy'--*pangrĕmuk* 'means of destruction'; *maḍĕm* 'to extinguish a fire'--*pamaḍĕm* 'means or instrument for extinguishing a fire'.

The prefix *pi-* forms a substantive from various parts of speech. These substantives are in meaning close to derivatives with the prefix *pa-:*

> *sor* 'bottom'--*pingsor* 'a fall downward'; *ruhur* 'top'--*pingruhur* 'movement upwards'.

The suffix *-an* forms substantives from verbs as well as from other parts of speech. The majority of derivatives with the suffix *-an* form the object or the result of an action:

> *larang* 'to forbid'--*larangan* 'that which is forbidden'; *dum* 'to divide'--*duman* 'part'.

With the aid of the prefix *pa-* and the suffix *-an* substantives are formed from various parts of speech. In meaning these substantives can be broken down into three basic groups. Words of the first group designate the location or place of accomplishment of the action, e.g.:

> *buru* 'to hunt'--*paburwan* 'hunting spot'; *prang* 'war'--*paprangan* 'field of battle'.

Words of the second group have a collective meaning:

> *sangkĕp* 'weapon'--*pasangkĕpan* 'all sorts of weapons'; *kadang* 'friend'--*pakadangan* 'family relationship'.

Words of the third group designate the object of the action:

> *tiru* 'to imitate'--*panirwan* 'model, pattern', 'that which serves as an example'.

The prefix *ka-* forms substantives from various parts of speech. More often the prefix *ka-* is used simultaneously with the suffixes *-an* and *-ĕn*. The substantives are broken down according to meaning into three main groups. To the first group belong words which designate the result of an action:

> *wĕdi* 'to fear'--*kawĕdi* 'fear'; *pĕjah* 'to die'--*kapĕjah* 'death'; *alap* 'to take'--*kālapan* 'theft'.

To the second group belong words which designate a property:

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ɕakti 'magical'--*kaɕaktin* 'magical power'; *uttama* 'devout, pious'--*kottaman* 'piety'.

Words of the third group designate the location of the subject:

ratu 'ruler'--*karatun* 'palace'; *doh* 'far'--*kadohan* 'distant place'.

With the aid of the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-an* one forms words from various parts of speech with a dual meaning: 1) they designate the state or result of an action, presented as a subject and, in this case, near in meaning and in syntactical usage to a substantive; and 2) a state in which the subject is found. In meaning and in syntactical usage they do not differ from a verb in the passive form. Of the same kind with dual meaning are, in particular, the words *kacaritan* 'what is being or has been recounted' (< *carita* 'story, tale'); *kapanasan* 'heat', 'to be warmed' (< *panas* 'hot'). Here we in all probability have to do with categories of words which occupy a transitional position between substantives and verbs. These words partly resemble passive participles which in a number of Indonesian languages are capable of becoming substantives.

As was pointed out above, doubling is also employed as a means of forming substantives. For this the root word is doubled wholly, sometimes with the disappearance of the final consonant of the first part of the reduplication. Substantives are formed by means of the reduplication of the largest part of the root nouns. Reduplication in this case serves, as a rule, to transmit the meaning of resemblance, such as:

angin 'wind'--*angin-angin* 'movement of the air'; *tali* 'rope, string'--*tali-tali* 'ropelike object'.

It is interesting that in the nature of its meaning the word *anak-anak* 'pupil (of the eye)' is derived from the word *anak* 'child'. It is very probable that the development in the meaning of the word *anak-anak* came about in this fashion: child--small man--diminishing reflection of objects in the eyes --that which reflects the diminished objects. In modern Indonesian there is the word *orang²an* 'pupil (of the eye)' from *orang* 'man'. The development of the meaning of this derivative word occurred, obviously, like the word *anak-anak*.

Affixation and reduplication can be used simultaneously to form substantives as, for example, the word *kayukaywan* 'various trees' formed by doubling the base *kayu* 'tree(s)' and adding the suffix *-an*.

Compound words also exist in Kawi. Between the components of a compound word no special joining morphemes of any sort are used.

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The compound frequently is difficult to distinguish from word combinations. With regard to the various sound changes which arise with the joining of components of the compound with each other, these phenomena are observed within the limits of word combination and, consequently, they cannot serve as a criterion to distinguish a compound from a word combination. Many compounds in Kawi are formed in accordance with the grammatical rules of Sanskrit. Among these, first of all, one can note words, the components of which are found in an attributive correlation. Since in Sanskrit, as distinct from Kawi, the attribute precedes the word modified, the order of arrangement of the components in these compounds is as follows: attribute--modified: *rājaputra* 'prince', 'son of the raja' (*rāja* 'raja', *putra* 'son'); *mānuṣaloka* 'human world' (*mānuṣa* 'man', *loka* 'world'); *uttamajanmā* 'devout person' (*uttama* 'head, principal, pious', *janmā* 'man'). In words of Javanese origin the order of the components is found in an attributive correlation in reverse, i.e., modified--attributive: *lituhayu* 'handsome appearance' (*litu* 'appearance', *hayu* 'handsome'); *janmottama* 'pious person' (*janmā* 'person', *uttama* 'pious').

The components of Kawi compound words both native and of Sanskrit origin can also be found in a copulative correlation:

wanādri 'woods and mountains' (*wana* 'wood', *adri* 'mountain')

lakibini 'male and female, husband and wife' (*laki* 'man, male', *bini* 'woman, female').

Pronouns

In Kawi one can distinguish the following groups of pronouns: personal, interrogative, demonstrative and indefinite.

Personal pronouns. Each Kawi personal pronoun in meaning correlates both with one person and with several. Any first person pronoun can convey the notion of 'I' or 'we', the second person 'thou' or 'you', the third person 'he', 'she', 'it' or 'they'. Hence, Kawi personal pronouns do not have the grammatical category of number.

1st person--*aku*, *dak*, *tak*, *kami*, *kita*, *sun*;

2nd person--*ko*, *kamu*, *kanyu*, *sira*, *kita*;

3rd person--*ya*, *sira*.

In modern Indonesian the pronoun *kita* is used to form the first person, but at the same time can partly designate the second person and mean 'we with you' (i.e., is used inclusively). The OJ *sira* was used not only with respect to the second but

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also to the third person. For the second person *twa(ng)*, a pronoun of Sanskrit origin, was also sometimes used. In the oldest texts written in Kawi one comes across personal pronouns *k* or *g* for the first person, *t* or *d* for the second person and *n* or *r* for the third person. In all probability, they represent shortened forms of personal pronouns. Thus *k* and *g* certainly come from *aku*.

Used for the expression of attributes or objective relationships, personal pronouns often alter their own form: *aku* became *ku* or *ngku*; *kita* became *ta*, *nta*; *kamu* became *mu*; *kanyu* became *nyu*; *ya* became *nya*; *sira* became *nira* or *ira*.

Many substantives which convey such concepts as 'prince', 'master', 'servant', 'slave', 'father', 'mother', 'brother', are used in the role of personal pronouns. In the function of personal pronouns of the first person, etc., the words and combinations of words: *nghulun*, *sanghulun*, *pinakanghulun*, *ngwang*, *patik haji*, *putu maharṣi*, etc., are most often used; in the function of personal pronouns of the second person *rahadyan sanghulun*, *mpu*, *mpungku*, *rakryan*, *mahārāja*, etc.; and in the function of personal pronouns of the third person *pwangkulun*, *mahārāja*, *haji*, and so forth, and also the demonstrative pronouns *rasikā*, *sariki*, etc.

Interrogative pronouns. The most used interrogative pronouns are *syapa* 'who?', *apa* 'what?', 'why?', *aparan* 'what?', 'who?', *pira* 'how much?'.

The pronoun *apa* is used as the means of expressing a general question (equivalent to the Russian *li*).

Demonstrative pronouns. Most used are:

iki and *ike* 'this', 'these'. Indicates the object nearest in space or time;

iku and *iko* 'that', 'those'. Indicates the object distant in space or in time;

ika and *ikā* 'that', 'those'. Indicates the object quite a distance away in space or in time.

All these pronouns can also be used in the function of attribute and as an introduction to the verb or of an adjective in the case of substantival use. For example, parallel with *iku ujarta* 'those are your words' one finds the word combination *ulahta iko* 'that is your conduct' and *ikang anibākĕn* 'the one who has thrown'.

The pronoun *ikang* (*ika + ng*) was used in a relative function and served to emphasize a part of the sentence or to make

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substantives of words which were not substantives. In time it lost its lexical meaning and in Modern Javanese (in the form *ingkang* or *kang*) appears purely as a linking word which expresses the sense of relationship, playing no role as a part of the sentence.

Besides those enumerated above the following are also demonstrative pronouns:

sarikā, *rasikā* 'that', 'those';

nihan 'that', 'those'. Indicates objects which are mentioned for the first time;

nahan 'that', 'those'. Indicates objects which have already been mentioned;

mangkana, *samangkana*, *samangkā*, *kumwa*. Each of these can mean: 'that', 'those', 'such a', 'also', 'thus'.

Among the demonstrative pronouns should apparently also be added the words *mangke* and *mangko* 'now' (sometimes they mean 'such', 'thus'); *mangkā* 'thus, such'; *ngke* 'here' (sometimes 'now'); *ngkāna*, *ngkā* 'there', 'such'.

To the indefinite pronouns belong:

anu 'somebody'; *bari-bari* 'any', 'any kind', 'anything'; *angkĕn* (or *nangkĕn*) 'each'; *sing* (or *asing*) 'each'; *waneh* 'other, another (person)'; *lyan* 'other', etc.

Numerals

Cardinal numbers. In Kawi the decimal system of calculation is used:

tunggal 'one'	*nĕm* 'six'
rwa 'two'	*pitu* 'seven'
tĕlu, *tiga* 'three'	*wwalu* 'eight'
pat, *papat* 'four'	*sanga* 'nine'
lima 'five'	*sapuluh* 'ten'

The numerals from 'two' to 'nine' used in the function of attributes take the particle *-ng* (or *-ang*); for example: *rwang wĕngi* 'two nights'. The numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' are formed with the aid of the bound form *wĕlas* (sometimes *bĕlas*) '-teen':

sawĕlas '11'	*nĕm bĕlas* '16'
rwa wĕlas '12'	*pitu wĕlas* '17'
tiga wĕlas '13'	*wwalu wĕlas* '18'
padbĕlas '14'	*sanga wĕlas* '19'
lima wĕlas '15'	

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In the numerals designating '10', '11', '12' and in some others, the meaning 'one' is rendered by the prefix *sa-*.

The numerals from '21' to '29' are formed with the word *likur* 'twenty': *salikur* '21', *rwalikur* '22', etc.

The numerals designating '-ty' are formed with *puluh* 'ten': *sapuluh* '10', *rwangpuluh* '20', *telungpuluh* '30', etc. This same word is often used to form numerals from '21' to '29': *rwangpuluh rwa* '22'.

The numerals designating hundreds, thousands, ten thousands, hundred thousands and millions are formed with the aid of the words: *atus* 'hundred', *iwu* 'thousand', *laksa* 'ten thousand', *yuta* or *ayuta* 'million': *sātus* 'one hundred', *rwang atus* 'two hundred', *sewu* 'one thousand', etc. Kawi also uses cardinal numerals borrowed from Sanskrit.

Numerals with the prefix *ka-* are used with the function of collectives and in the function of ordinal numerals: *sang Pāṇḍawa kalima* 'all five Pandawas'; *diwasa kapitung* 'the seventh day'. If the number is expressed by several words, the prefix is joined to the first word, e.g.: *katigawĕlas* 'thirteenth'.

Numerals expressing the idea of 'so much, so many, thus' are formed by the use of the prefix *ping-*, for example: *pingtiga* 'three times'. Numerals with the prefix *ping-* can also take the prefix *ka-*. In this case they are used primarily in the function of ordinal numbers, e.g.: *kaping rwa ning strī* 'the second wife'.

Fractions are formed by the use of the morpheme *-para-* (*-pra-* or *-par-*), which occupies a place between words indicating the numerator and the denominator. With this can also be joined the suffix *-an*, e.g.: *saparpatan* 'one fourth'.

The Verb

In their morphemic structure, Kawi verbs are divided into roots, either derivative or non-derivative. The latter are formed from verbal roots or from other parts of speech (derivative or non-derivative) by means of affixation or reduplication.

The Kawi verb does not possess the grammatical categories of time or person. Therefore any kind of verb dependent upon the presence in the sentence of other lexical indices or upon the context can be correlated in meaning with another person and tense. Particular grammatical categories of voice, aspect and mood peculiar to the Kawi verb differ greatly in method of expression and in grammatical meaning from corresponding categories in Indo-European languages.

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Categories of voice. In the formation of voice, affixes are used. It should be noted that almost all verbal affixes express one or other aspectual relationship, pointing to the nature of the connection of the action with its subject or object. At the same time any of these affixes can be used not only for formatives, but also for word derivation. These features of verbal affixation are characteristic not only of Kawi, but also of a number of other Indonesian languages.

Transitive verbs in Kawi possess two forms of active and two forms of passive voice. One of the forms of active voice is formed by the prefix *a-* (or *ma-*) + nasal. This prefix exists in different variants depending upon what sound begins the verbal base. In a number of cases the prefix merges with the base. The morphophonemics of this prefix can be presented in tabular form.

Initial sounds of the base	Prefixes which join the base	Base	Examples
d, ḍ, g, y, h, l, r, j [dʒ]	*(m)ang-* [aŋ]	*aṇḍĕh* *rĕngö*	*anganḍĕh* 'to press' *mangrĕngö* 'to listen'
k	*ang-*	*kujiwat*	*angujiwat* 'to look, observe'
t, ṭ, n, s, ṣ, c	*man-* (*an-*)	*temu* *sungsung*	*manemu* 'to find, receive' *manungsung* 'to take, meet, come across'
p, b, m, w	*am-*	*panas* *wujuk*	*amanasi* 'to heat' *amujuk* 'to persuade' 'to decline (nouns)'
c	*many-* [mañ]	*cangking*	*manyangking* 'to carry in the hand'

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There are a number of exceptions. Thus, if the base begins with *c* and the second syllable of the base also begins with *c*, the prefix *-man* is used: *cacar--manacar* 'to partake, eat'. The active voice is also formed with the aid of the morpheme *-um-*, which is used as an infix should the base of the word begin in any consonant except *p*, *m*, *b*, or *w*.

The infix is inserted between the consonantal and vowel sounds of the first syllable of the base:

> *santwa* 'respect'--*sumantwa* 'to treat with respect';
> *sahut* 'gnaw, nibble'--*sumahut* 'to gnaw, nibble'.

um- appears as a prefix if the base of the word begins with a vowel or with *p*, *m*, *b*, or *w*. Initial *p*, *m*, *b*, or *w* are merged with the prefix (which falls): *banycana* 'slander'--*umanycana* 'to slander'.

In meaning and in the use of these two forms there is no significant difference. Some of the forms with *-um-* express an accessory meaning of change or unintentional fulfillment of activity and in that way differ from *a-* (*ma-*) + nasal, formed from these same bases, for example: *rumĕnycĕm* 'to break accidentally' (from *rĕnycĕm*)--*angrĕnycĕm* 'to break intentionally'. However, this additional meaning of unpremeditated, accidental fulfillment of the action occurs in only an insignificant number of forms with *-um-*.

One meets active voice forms which are created as a result of changes of the initial sound of the base *p*, *b*, or *m*, for example: there are three words having exactly the same meaning: 'to meet, find': *amanggih*, *umanggih* and *manggih*. It is considered that words of the type *amanggih* come from words of the type *umanggih*, which has lost its initial *u*. Such a supposition is only partly admissible. Since words of the type *manggih* have also been formed as a result of the reduction of the prefix *a-(ma-)* + *m*, they can also originate from verbs with this prefix.

There are facts which give reason to affirm that the affixes *a-* (*ma-*) + nasal and *-um-* are not used in Kawi exclusively for forming the active voice. Many words with these affixes have the meaning of an intransitive verb and convey different aspects of motion:

> *pituhu* 'a bow, nod of the head'--*mituhu* 'to stoop, to bend, to bow'; *laku* 'road'--*lumaku* 'to go'; *adĕg* 'to stand, to get up'--*umadĕg* 'to stand, get up'.

Pituhu, *laku*, and *adĕg* do not have a passive form. Therefore such types of words stand outside the categories of active

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and passive voice. In all probability, the affixes *a-* (*ma-*) + nasal and *-um-* have a broad voice meaning. With regard to the role of the active voice, it is used only as a special case in the general structure. Verbs with one of the aforementioned affixes express, as a rule, the active voice which semantically has to do primarily with the subject of the action. In this connection one should consider that these affixes generate forms of a particular voice which conditionally one can call active.

The category of passive voice also appears in two forms: The first form is produced by the morpheme *-in-* which is used more frequently as an infix if the verb base begins with a consonant. Thus *-in-* is inserted between the consonant and the vowel of the first syllable of the base.

> *ton--tinon* 'to be visible', 'that which has been seen'; *tĕka--tinĕkan* 'to be visited'; *pangan--pinangan* 'to be eaten, consumed'.

In- can appear as a prefix if the verb base begins with a vowel:

> *usi--inusi* 'to be pursued, sought after'; *ujar* 'to tell'--*inujar* 'to be told'.

The second form of the passive voice is produced by the prefix *ka-*, for example: *katon* 'has been seen' (from *ton* 'to see'). If the verb in the form of the active voice has in its structure the suffix *-i* (with the aid of which the sense of transitiveness is conveyed), then in the passive voice the suffix *-an* is used in place of *-i*.

> *amĕjahi* 'to kill'--*pinĕjahan* 'to be killed'; *anghaliwati* 'to pass'--*kahaliwatan* 'passed'.

The difference in the meaning of the two forms of the passive voice leads to the following: when the form *-in-* is used then greater attention is given to the doer and to the process of the action, whereas with the use of the form *ka-* the state or condition in which the object of the action is found dominates. The form *ka-* frequently conveys the meaning of the result of the action, i.e., the state in which the object finds itself as a result of the action which was produced upon it. The form *ka-* often expresses the completion of the action.

In works on the Kawi language the prefix *a-* (*ma-*) is considered to belong to word formation. Yet, it seems to us, there are also reasons for attributing it to the formation of affixes. At least one should not consider this prefix as word-formative only. Thus, if one observes its use, one can note that words with this prefix, in the overwhelming majority of cases, designate action or state, irrespective of object, or, in other

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words, intransitive action. For example: *tuha* 'old'--*atuha* 'to be old'; *wĕka* 'son'--*mawĕka* 'to have children'; *layū* 'to run'--*malayū* 'to run'; *tanghi* 'to get up'--*matanghi* 'to get up'.

From the examples it is clear that the prefix *a-* (*ma-*) can join both verb and noun qualitative bases (in this case the base coincides in form with the root word). Therefore one can often speak of word formation (e.g., *mawĕka* is formed from a substantive). But one cannot speak of word formation if the prefix *a-* (*ma-*) joins a verb since in this way the word does not become another part of speech and does not change its lexical meaning. At the same time all words with the prefix *a-* (*ma-*) designate, as if they were formed from nominal or verbal bases, action or state, irrespective of object. Action (or state) is inherent in the given case to the doer himself or is performed by him in his own interest and does not pass to another object. Sometimes the impression can arise that a verb with the prefix *a-* (*ma-*) appears as a transitive and takes a direct object, for example: *magawe yajnya* 'to perform' (lit. 'to do') a sacrifice'; *mānak rākṣasa* 'to have a demon as a son'. But in this case the prefix refers to the entire word combination, i.e., its meaning affects both words. In favor of this bespeaks the fact too that in the language the word combinations *gawe yajnya* 'to make an offering' and *anak rākṣasa* 'son of a demon' actually exist.

A similar type of phenomenon is found in Indonesian where the prefix *ber-*, which in meaning is close to the Kawi prefix *a-* (*ma-*), can also relate to word combinations as a whole, for example: *berdjual kain* 'to sell cloth' (*djual* 'to sell', *kain* 'cloth').

Thus, one can conclude that the prefix *a-* (*ma-*) serves to produce forms reminiscent in meaning of the middle voice, being used simultaneously also as a means of word derivation. In the structure of the word, in addition to the base (which coincides phonetically with the root word) and the prefix *a-* (*ma-*), there is also the suffix *-an*, for example:

> *guling* 'to go for a drive'--*agulingan* 'to go for a drive'; *huwus* 'already, finished'--*mahuwusan* 'to end, complete'.

Root verbs and also a number of verbs formed by means of affixes have no forms with voice.

The category of aspect in Kawi is more weakly developed than the category of voice; the grammatical meanings of aspect frequently become intertwined with grammatical and lexical meanings of another kind. As has already been pointed out, the prefix *ka-* can often serve to express not only a voice meaning, but also the meaning of completed action or of perfective aspect.

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In order to express the meaning of intensity of action the method of reduplication of the root morpheme can be used. This form can be used to convey the senses of activity, repeated action, etc. Therefore, the term "intensity" itself can be applied here only conditionally to designate a series of shades of grammatical meaning of aspect, for example:

> *tukup* 'to close'--*matukup-tukup* 'to try to close'; *mingĕr* 'to turn, swing'--*mingĕr-mingĕr* 'to turn constantly'.

Doubling of the root part of the verb does not always serve to express the meaning of the aspect. It is often used for a different purpose.

Thus there is every reason to assert that the Kawi verb has a form of perfective aspect (formed by means of the prefix *ka-*) and of intensive aspect (formed by means of doubling the root part of the verb). In the verb system there are no formants expressing grammatical meaning of the aspect, for example: *matukup* 'to close'. In this case the verb should be considered in the form of a general aspect. The aspectual features of the verb, appearing in this form, can be expressed in the sentence structure by some sort of word (for example, by the word 'continuously') or by the context of the sentence.

Mood. Verbs which play the role of a predicate in imperative and hortatory sentences, as a rule have another form than in other cases. Thus, transitive verbs appear outside the forms of the active or passive voices. Hence verbs which form the active voice with the aid of the affixes *-um-* or *a-* (*ma-*) + nasal lose the affixes and phonetically coalesce with the word base, for example: *rĕngö* 'listen' (form of the active voice of *mangrĕngö*), *ton* 'look' (active voice form *tumon*). Verbs with the prefixes *paha-* and *paka-* in this case also coalesce with the word base: *pakāḍipati* 'be an adipati (a feudal title!'; *pahenak* 'make pleasant!'. The forms of the active voice of these verbs are *makāḍipati* and *mahenak*. With intransitive verbs having the form of the middle voice in imperative and hortatory sentences the prefix *a-* (*ma-*) is replaced by the prefix *pa-*; *paturu* 'sleep!' (the form of the middle voice *maturu*), etc. Whenever the verb appears in a subjunctive-hortatory clause, the suffix *-i* is replaced by the suffix *-ana*, and *-akna* replaces the suffix *-akĕn*, for example:

> *amĕjahi* 'to kill'--*amĕjahana*; *wehi* 'to give'--*wehana*; *huripi* 'to bring to life'--*huripana*; *gumawayakĕn* 'to make, do'--*gumawayakna*; *tinggalakĕn* 'to leave'--*tinggalakna*.

If the verb (in the form of the passive voice) is used with the affix *-in-*, the *-in-* disappears, and the verb takes the suffix *-ĕn* (*-n*), e.g.:

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inalaṗ 'to be taken'--*alapĕn*; *linamar* 'to be asked'--*lamarĕn*; *winawa* 'to be brought'--*wawan* (*wawa* + *ĕn*); *rinĕngö* 'to be heard'--*rĕngön*.

Thus, one can say that the Kawi verb has an imperative-hortatory mood. Therefore, if the verb appears in another form it ought to be considered that it is used in the form of a general or indefinite mood. This is particularly the case with the verb in the active, passive or middle voice.

The word formation of verbs. Kawi affixes are used almost exclusively for the formation of verbs. Verbs can be formed both from root words and from derivative words with the aid of one or more affixes, the most important of which are the following:

The prefix *a-* (*ma-*): *wĕka* 'son, child'--*mawĕka* 'to have children'.

The prefix *a-* (*ma-*) + nasal can also serve not only for the formation of different forms, but also for word formation, for example: *mangjala* 'to catch with a net' presents the word in the active voice. But at the same time the process of word derivation is present since *mangjala* is formed from the word *jala* 'net'. Compare also:

tumbak 'spear'--*manumbak* 'to strike with a spear'; *ḍaṇḍa* 'punishment--*angḍaṇḍa* 'to punish'; *doh* 'distant' --*angdoh* 'to move off'; *tĕpi* 'shore, edge'--*manĕpi* 'to move towards the edge/shore'; *janmā* 'embodiment, reincarnation'--*mangjanmā* 'to embody, reincarnate'.

Possibly there are other interpretations of this phenomenon. In Kawi, as in Modern Javanese, some simple (non-affixed) words refer simultaneously to two parts of speech.[39]

The morpheme *-um-* can, in the same way as the prefix *a-* (*ma-*) + nasal, serve simultaneously for the purpose of morphological combinations and word combinations:

banyċana 'slander, calumny'--*umanyċana* 'to slander, calumniate'; *mitra* 'friend'--*umitra* 'to be friends'.

The prefix *paha-* forms transitive verbs (in the active or passive voice) from words which designate a quality, property, or intransitive action.

In forming the active voice, *p* in the prefix *paha-* becomes *m*, for example: *mahalĕbā* 'to make pleasant' (*lĕbā* 'pleasant,

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39. Cf. Teselkin, Javanskii jazyk, p. 29.

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agreeable'). It is quite possible that the *m* here goes back etymologically to the active voice prefix *a-* (*ma-*) + nasal, or to *-um-*. Eventually the prefixes could have been reduced to the nasal *m*. The possibility of such a change of the prefixes is corroborated by the fact that in the majority of cases a prefix which is expressed in the Modern Javanese active voice is formed only by the nasals *-ng*, *ñ*, *m*, *n*, and *ṇ*.

Undoubtedly, this Modern Javanese prefix (in all its aforementioned variants) goes back to the Kawi affix *a-* (*ma-*) + nasal or *-um-*. The passive voice of verbs with *paha-* is formed exclusively from the infix *-in-* which is inserted between the consonant and the vowel of the first syllable of the prefix *paha-*, for example: *pinahatĕguh* 'to be strengthened, to be fortified' (from *tĕguh* 'firm, strong'). Besides the forms of the active and passive voices, verbs with *paha-*, like other transitive verbs, can be used as a rule only in imperative sentences, for example: *pahalĕbā* 'be pleasant!'.

The prefix *paka-* serves to form verbs principally from substantives. The majority of these verbs are transitive and have forms of the active and passive voice verbs which are formed precisely like verbs with *paha-*, for example: *makawāhana* 'to go, ride in/on something', 'to use as a vehicle or chariot' (from *wāhana* 'vehicle, chariot'), *pinakawāhana* 'to be used as a vehicle or chariot'. Apart from the aforementioned, other verbal prefixes also exist, for example, *kapa-* (possibly the prefix *ka-* + the prefix *pa-*) and *kapi-* (*ka-* + *pi-*).

The most widely used verb suffixes are *-i* and *-akĕn*. Both suffixes form transitive verbs, both active and passive, from different parts of speech. When they are joined to transitive verbs they do not perform a word formation function, but only concretize the relationship between action and object. In the meaning of the above-mentioned suffixes there are the following basic differences. The word which plays the role of an object to the verb with *-i* designates the location of the completed action; the object designated by this word is in a state of rest. The suffix *-i*, in all probability, has its general origin in the preposition *i* indicating the location of the subject. On the other hand, the word which plays the role of an object to the verb with *-akĕn* designates the subject which would be found in a state of motion or change. It is not rare for it to convey the meaning of movement. The difference in the meaning of the suffixes *-i* and *-akĕn* is particularly evident from the following examples: *tunggangi kuda* 'mount a horse!'; *tumūti prang* 'participate in the war!'; *angkatakĕn sang Dwijakangka* 'raise the Dwijakangka!'.

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Adjectives

Kawi adjectives do not possess grammatical categories of gender, number, and case. They are represented exclusively by non-derivative words and reduplications. The latter are formed by doubling of non-derivative words; thus reduplication serves to intensify the meaning of the quality or attribute or, otherwise, to create forms irrespective of the superlative quality or attributive, for example: *rāmya* 'beautiful', *rāmya-rāmya* 'very beautiful'. A special feature of Kawi adjectives lies in the fact that they can designate the quality and attributes not only of the subject, but also of the object. Kawi adjectives are translated into Russian more often with qualitative adjectives and adverbs, for example: *inggal* 'swift, swiftly'. There are no relative adjectives in Kawi, but relative attributives are expressed by substantives. Used in the role of attribute, the adjective, as a rule, follows the substantive: *kuda putih* 'white horse'.

The Kawi adjective on the basis of its grammatical attributes differs considerably from nominals (nouns, numerals and pronouns) and on the other hand is drawn to the verbs, principally to the intransitive. The grammatical boundaries of adjectives and intransitive verbs have the following in common. Both the first and second in the sentence usually appear in the role of attribute, adverb of manner, or of predicate. In addition, both those and others can be used substantively, i.e., in the role of subject or object, generally combined with special particles or with other groups of words. Adjectives, as also verbs, are very seldom joined with prepositions. In a series of grammatical attributes adjectives are differentiated from verbs; in particular they have no category of mood. However, the adjective sometimes plays the role of predicate in the imperative-hortatory sentence, for example: *Yan maty ekung rākṣasa si Hidimba ... haywa sowe-sowe* 'If the giant Hidimba is to die ... let there be no delay!'

One must admit that the adjective and verb in Kawi form one general class of words which grammatically is differentiated from the class of nouns.

Linking-Words

To the linking-words in Kawi belong the prepositions, conjunctions, and also several groups of words of another kind which we may call particles.

Prepositions. The most widely used preposition in Kawi is *i*, which also appears in the forms *ing*, *ni*, *ning*, *ri*, and *ring*. The forms *ing*, *ning*, and *ring* should be differentiated from the joining of the preposition with the particle *ng* (cf. below).

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The functions of this preposition are very diverse. The principal ones are the following: adverbial, objective, and attributive. In the adverbial function the preposition *i* is most frequently used with substantives, playing the role of an adverb of place or time, e.g.: *ing hawan* 'on the road'; *i sĕḍĕng* 'in the period', 'at the time when'. In a number of cases the preposition appears with a substantive in so close a relationship that the two function as an entity, fulfilling the role of a preposition or adverbial. The most characteristic combinations of such a type are: *i sor* 'below, beneath'; *ingruhur* 'upwards, to the top'; *ingjĕro* 'in(side)', etc. Appearing in an attributive function, this preposition most often unites two substantives which stand in a relationship to each other as dependent attribute, for example: *kahyun i nghulun* 'my wish'; *warṇa ning kuda* 'color of a horse'. Used in the objective function, the preposition *i* unites the verb with the substantive or pronoun (more often personal) which correlates as predicate--object. The object introduced by this preposition can designate as object, not only the subject (doer) of the action, but also the instrument or means of perfective action, for example: *cinukat nira ri tungtung ing laras* 'he pierced with the point of the bow'; *pinangan ing apuy* 'to be consumed by fire'; *mawehanugraha ri kami* 'give us the reward'.

The preposition *saka* was in origin apparently connected with the noun *sangka* 'fatherland', 'place of origin'. This preposition serves as an expression of adverbials, less frequently of attributives between words. In Russian it is usually rendered by *'iz, ot, iz-za'*. Used in an adverbial function, it serves as the introduction of an adverbial function of place or cause. In this function *saka* is often combined with the preposition *i*: *mantuk sakeng (saka + ing) panangkilan* 'to return from a reception hall', *saka ri karsa* 'because of a desire'. *Saka* can also be used with cardinal numbers thus forming a combination meaning 'so many, at one time', for example: *saka sātus* 'by hundreds', *saka rwang atus* 'by two hundreds'.

The preposition *de* is used, as a rule, with nouns or pronouns which play the role of subject of action (doer). Similar to the preposition *saka* it is often used in conjunction with the preposition *i*: *kapangguh denta* 'received by thee'; *pinakawāhana de bhaṭāra Wiṣṇu* 'Lord Vishnu used it as a chariot' (lit. 'it was used as a chariot by Lord Vishnu'); *panganĕn dening nāga* 'in order that he be eaten by a dragon'.

Frequently a word introduced by the preposition *de* designates not so much the doer as the source of the action or the cause which provoked the action: *Kapūhan dahat wih pinakanghulun de ni kottaman ing pwangkulun* 'I was much surprised by his piety'. In addition, the preposition *de* is also used for clarification of the meaning of possession: *wadwa de mahārāja*

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'servant of the emperor'; *guru de ning ari* 'teacher of the younger brother'.

The Modern Javanese preposition *dening* undoubtedly does back etymologically to the combination of *de + ning*.

Conjunctions in Kawi, as in other languages, are coordinating and subordinating.

To the coordinating conjunctions belong: connective--*saha* and *mwang* 'and', 'with', 'together with'; disjunctive--*athawa* 'or', *yapwan ... yadiyan* 'either ... or'; adversative--*tathāpi* 'but, however', *anghing* 'however, but'.

To the subordinating conjunctions belong:

yan--used most often for the expression of real or unreal condition (is translated in this case by 'if' or 'had it'); it can also serve to unite a subordinate object clause (translated by 'that').

yadyapin 'although, but nevertheless', *yadyapin ... tuwi* 'although ... yet, but nevertheless'--introduce an object concessive clause; *kadi* 'as, like'--comparative conjunction, etc.

Particles and interjections. Among the particles can be singled out three basic groups.

The particle *ng* (or *ang*) belongs to words of the first group and is used as a means of expressing the sense of definiteness. For example: *kathā* 'story, stories' can designate as definite, i.e., a known or previously mentioned story or stories as well as the story which is mentioned for the first time to the author or to his unknown interlocutor. A similar word can mean both any kind of subjects and the aggregate of the subjects of a given class. In many Indonesian languages a word is used in similar cases with the indefinite article. If that word appears with the particle *ng*, the subject designated by it is considered definite, known, mentioned earlier: *ang kathā* 'this story, these stories', or 'story/stories already known to us'. Thus, the particle *ng* plays the role of a definite article here.

From all that has been said, it does not follow that the use of *ng* is as compulsory and regular as the use of the definite article in a number of Indo-European languages. This particle can always be omitted if the meaning of definiteness is clear from the context. In expressing the sense of definiteness the particle *ng* often serves at the same time to emphasize a word. This is done for the purpose of a logical emphasis on

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one or other word in the clause, for example: *ang kathā* can mean 'the story (or the stories)' or 'the same story'. The sense of definiteness should be regarded as basic.

The particles *si*, *pun*, *sang*, etc., are also used in the same functions as *ng*. The use of these particles in contrast to *ng* is limited to the designation of proper names or of animate objects (most often of people, gods, demons); for example: *si Siwi* 'Siwi' (name of a person); *sang mahārṣi* 'the great sage'. In a number of cases *ang*, *si*, *sang*, and other particles are used with verbs. Thus the verb appears in the function of a noun: *sang mati* 'the dead, the departed'.

To the second group of particles belong words which convey the sense of affirmation or of negation, thus not implementing the function of a member of a clause. To this belong, especially, the negative *tan* 'not, no' which also occurs in the forms *tatan*, *taman*, *tamatan*, and *tatar*.

The words which constitute the third group consist of particles which serve as logical emphasis of a member of a clause. These particles occupy a place after the word to which they refer. Among these one can name *ta*, *pwa*, *atah*, *ndah* 'but, as regards, even', etc., and *samangkana ta* 'at that very time, just at that time'.

Besides those enumerated above there are in Kawi still other particles, among which the particle *a* is worthy of special attention. It has a broad range of meaning and shows that the fact or event spoken about in a sentence still has not taken place, will or will not have taken place, that it is possible or not possible, desirable or undesirable, etc. In a number of Kawi grammars it is asserted that this particle serves to form the subjunctive mood of the verb.[40] However, this is incorrect since the particle *a* is used not only with verbs but also with nominal clauses.[41] It always adjoins phonetically some word directly following it. Thus the final sound of this word can undergo different sound changes, subject to Kawi sandhi. The particle *a* can adjoin any important word, and also a conjunction. The word to which this particle joins would be the bearer of the modal characteristic of the sentence. Examples: *sugyan tan wruha kita ri kami* 'If, perchance, you don't know me ...'; *yatikā paweha ra mpu ri nghulun* 'Let this be your favor in relation to me'; *'yadyapin mānaka sātus ngwang* 'Had I a hundred

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40. S. Wojowasito, Kawiçastra, p. 23.

41. In Kawi there is no verb copula which corresponds with the verb copula of the Indo-European languages. The nominal sentences of Kawi, as a rule, are used without copulative verbs.

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children ...'; *ngke kiṭār walĕsa sih nira* 'Now you can return his love'; *hana kari kĕnoha ni pwangkulun?* 'Can I be helpful?' (lit. 'Remains from me help?').

Kawi also has interjections, i.e., words which serve to convey various nuances of feelings and emotions, thus not entering into a syntactical relationship with members of a sentence. In the category of interjections fall also words such as *oṁ*, which represents the highest degree of respect and is used for addressing divinities or Brahmins; *ai!* 'look here! hello!'--used for addressing a certain person for the purpose of attracting his attention; *uḍū* 'oh!'--expressing a strong degree of enthusiasm or grief, etc.

Syntax

The analytical modes of the relationship of words in the sentences in Kawi predominate over the synthetic. This circumstance undoubtedly has a close connection with the grammatical nature of the word. We know that the words which form a sentence have a syntactical bond with each other. This connection can be expressed by a specific morpheme in the structure of the word itself. For example, in the phrase *sdal knigu* 'return the book' *-u* indicates the character of the relationship between the words. Thanks to the presence of this suffix we know that the word *knigu* has the meaning of the direct object and that the two words are in a verb-object relationship. In a similar type of word combination--*mahārāja maburuburu* 'The maharaja was hunting', what indicates the nature of the connection between the words is the prefix *ma-* in the word *maburuburu* (the order and the semantic content of the sentence). In the root word there are no morphemes which would indicate the nature of the syntactical bond of this word. The majority of derived words, if they are not verbs, also do not possess similar morphemes in their structure. The only exceptions are the verbs, which have a number of affixes designating certain syntactical bonds. Therefore, the syntactical relationship of the words is often expressed by means which are beyond the limits of these words, i.e., analytical. For the purpose indicated, the following analytical methods are used in Kawi: word-order, linking words, and autonomous words in linkage functions. There is reason to assume that intonation plays a not inconsiderable role here. Verbal affixes sometimes serve as a synthetic means of expressing relationships between words in a sentence. In the study of grammatical ways of combining words in sentences one should also take into account the role of the semantic content of speech.

In Kawi word order plays a considerably more significant role than, for example, in Russian. Let us compare the Kawi sentence *kawulā ngapitakĕn sira* with its Russian equivalent

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rab soprovoẑhdal ego ('the slave accompanied him'). The Kawi sentence will have another meaning if we change the places of *kawulā* 'slave' and *sira* 'he'. Therefore *sira ngapitakĕn kawulā* will mean 'he escorted the slave'. In the Russian sentence, however, one can change the word order but the sense remains the same.

The basic grammatical functions of word order are the following:

1. The difference in the attributive and the determiner. In Kawi, as a rule, the attributive precedes the determiner. The exceptions are the cardinal numbers and the words *pira* 'how much, how many?', *akweh* 'several', and some others. All these words, playing the role of the attribute, precede the word which appears in the function of attributive, for example: *patang tahun* 'four years'; *pirang kaḍatwan* 'several palaces'. The attributive relationship can be expressed exclusively by word order. Hence, from the substantives which follow in succession the first will be the attributive, the second the determiner: *panghilang wiṣa* 'means for the destruction of poison', but *wiṣa panghilang* 'poison as a means of destruction'.

2. The distinction between subject and object (cf. the previous example *kawulā ngapitakĕn sira*) and between subject and predicate. In a simple narrative sentence the predicate more often precedes the subject. However, word order in this case is not used as the principal means of distinguishing the subject and the predicate. A much more important role is played here by the particles and by the semantic content of the sentence.

The prepositions can be used as a means of joining the components of attributes or of predicate with object word combinations, and also for the introduction of various adverbs.

Most widely used is the preposition *i*. If we realize the relationship between the components of the aforementioned types of word combination, the preposition *i* only indicates that the component immediately following it occurs in a subordinate relationship to the other component of the word combination. The concrete content of the relationship between the components of the word combination is inferred exclusively from the meaning. Thus, in the word combination *tumanyākĕn ing lara* 'to ask about sorrow' the preposition *ing* only indicates that the component *tumanyākĕn* is explained by the component *lara*. The concrete content of the relationship between components is recognized only from the sense of the content of this word combination from which we infer that this relationship is a verb-object one, and not an attributive one. And the more so as the preposition *i* does not reveal the content of the relationship between the

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components of the different types, verbal-objective or attributive word combinations. If in the word combination *tumanyākĕn ing lara* the word *lara* plays the role of object of the action, then in the word combination *pinangan ing apuy* 'to be consumed by fire' the preposition *ing* introduces a word which appears in the function of a doer or subject of the action.

This same preposition can introduce a word which plays the role of an indirect object of the action, for example: *Sang Ambikā tinarimakĕn i Citrānggada* 'Ambika was given away to Citranggada'.

The preposition *i* is used in attributive word combinations: *ngaran i nghulun* 'my name'; *wwe ning samudra* 'water of the sea'; *kaçaktin ing Bhīmārjuna* 'the magic force of Bhima and Ardjuna'; *indra ning manuk* 'king of the birds'.

The preposition *i* often also serves to introduce adverbs of place or time, for example: *binunyçang ing lwah* 'to be hurled into the river'; *tibeng (tibā + ing) lĕmah* 'to fall on the ground'; *i wĕkasan* 'at last, ultimately'; *ri sĕḍĕng* 'while'.

A curious use of the preposition *ing* is in the combination with the verb *hana* 'this is': *haneng* (*hana* + *ing*). Frequently, in the aforementioned combination, the verb *hana* loses its original meaning, and then all combinations appear as prepositions: *manĕhĕrakĕna sira haneng wukir* 'he wants to live on the mountain'. This use was preserved and is often found in Modern Javanese (in the form *aneng* or *ana ing*). Other prepositions, as we have already discussed in the section on parts of speech, are also polysemantic.

Conjunctions in Kawi are few. Those most commonly used have already been discussed. Their functioning was illustrated in the discussion of the different types of complex sentences.

In auxiliary functions, autonomous words related to the substantives, pronouns, or verbs are widely used. Let us enumerate some of them.

The substantive *kāraṇa* 'reason, cause' can also be used in the function of a causal conjunction and in this case it means 'as, because'.

The substantive *dudū* 'difference' can be used as a negation with nouns: *dudū wwang* 'not a person'.

The demonstrative pronoun *ika* 'that' can serve as a means of emphasizing a member of a sentence or as an expression of definiteness, for example: *dumilah ikang mata* 'those eyes shone'. This same pronoun is employed for the substantive use

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of a verb which can be extended to other words, for example: *ikang anibākĕn ing sumur iki ta Çarmiṣṭhā ngaranya* 'the one who threw me into the well is called Carmiṣṭha'.

The verb *kari* 'to stay, remain' can appear in the function of the coordinating conjunction 'and', and the verb *amrih* 'to strive', 'to seek' in the function of the subordinating conjunction 'in order that'. It is interesting that in Modern Javanese certain of the abovementioned words are used only as auxiliaries. This can be said in particular of the words *dudū*--a negation used only with nouns; and *ingkang* (*ikang*)--a relative pronoun which also combines with non-nouns to form nouns.

As a means of syntactical relationship the particles serve principally as a logical emphasis of parts of a sentence. Some of these particles, used as a means of logical isolation, at the same time indicate the function of the word in the sentence or, more precisely, designate the boundary between two members of a sentence. For example, the particle *ta* is most often used immediately after the predicate: *mulih ta sireng kaḍatwan* 'he returned to the palace'; *ḍatĕng ta bhagawān Uttangka* 'and Bagawan Uttangka arrived'.

The particle *ta* is regularly used in hortatory sentences, immediately following the verb: *pahalĕbā ta manahta* 'calm down your heart!'. If the verb is used with the negative *haywa*, the particle immediately follows the negative: *haywa ta kita manahakĕn ing mānuṣa hīnaçakti* 'do not shoot an arrow at a person who does not possess magical power'.

Furthermore, the particle *ta* can place in relief the subject expressed by a pronoun, also directly following it: *ya ta pājara hyang mami* 'about this our Gods must tell'.

For emphasis of the subject, expressed not by a pronoun, the particle *ta* is used extremely rarely, for example: *Sang Uttangka ta sira kinon an atunggwa patapan* 'Uttangka was ordered to stand guard at the abode of the anchorite'.

This same particle is often used together with an interrogative: *aparan ta kahyun rahadyan sanghulun?* 'What is your wish?' The particle *pwa* is used like *ta*, but far less frequently: *mengĕt pwa sira* ... 'And he recalled ...'; *karĕngö pwa tangis sang Jaratkaru denya* 'And he heard the sobbing of Jaratkaru'.

Ta and *pwa* are used together with other particles, especially often with *ya*: *pinanah nira ta yeng (ya + ing) astra tikṣṇa* 'He shot a sharp arrow'; ... *pĕjah pwa ya tang gagak mwang tang sarpa* '... and the crow and snake perished'.

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The Sentence

In research into the grammatical nature of the Kawi sentence one encounters significant obstacles. One of the difficulties stems from the fact that written records in Kawi were composed in different regions of Java and were often separated from each other by great periods of time. The syntax of certain records was often different from the syntax of others. Other difficulties are bound up with the grammatical characteristics of Kawi, in particular with the fact that nouns in this language are not declined and verbs do not change according to person and tense, and that in this language, also, the paucity of prepositions and conjunctions accounts for the fact that autonomous words are often used in auxiliary functions. The role of semantic context in Kawi is so important that this language, being a written language, resembles a spoken language in its syntactical features.

Later on in the description of the sentence we shall confine ourselves only to its most striking features.

Members of a sentence. Any autonomous word, most frequently nouns and pronouns, can appear in the role of subject, for example: *tinanggap sang Uttangka ikang kuṇḍala* 'These earrings were taken by Uttangka'; *tan warĕg kami dé ni caritanta* 'I still wasn't satisfied with your story'.

The subject in the simple narrative sentence generally follows the predicate. The reverse order of the words occurs in the following cases:

a) if the sentence begins with an adverb or with introductory words (parenthetical words) of the type *kunang, yapwan*: *mangke tĕmbe yan ibungku māri huluna denta* 'Henceforth my mother is not your slave'; *kunang çrī mahārāja yogya magawaya ḍaṇḍa* 'It is necessary that the maharadja judge'.

b) if a pronoun appears in the role of subject followed by the particle *ta*: *kami ta kawĕkas ngke ring alas* 'We remain in this forest'; *aku ta tunggal-tunggal* ... 'I am quite alone ...'

Verbs rarely occur in the role of subject. But they sometimes take pre-substantive particles, particularly the particle *sang*, which in this case indicates the substantive use of the verb: *aparan ta sang makaputrī ri kita?* 'Who was the one who gave you birth?'

Instead of pre-substantival particles demonstrative pronouns are often used: *syapa tānuṇg makaprabhāwa ikā?* 'Who is the one who possesses strength?'

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Nouns and adjectives occur no less frequently than verbs in the role of predicates. Thus, a nominal predicate, as a rule, is used without a copula. The predicate generally precedes the subject and is frequently accompanied by the emphatic particles *ta*, *pwa*, *ya*, etc.: *hana ta ṛṣi bhagawān Parāçara ngaranya* 'One sage was Bagawan Paraçara by name'; *anon ta sira patapan* 'And he saw the abode of the hermit'; *kaki sanghulun sakeng ibu rahadyan sanghulun* 'You are my grandfather on the maternal side'; *brāhmaṇa daridra kami* 'I'm a poor Brahman'; *nāhan ling ning ākāçawākya* 'Such were the words of the voice from heaven'; *tan yogya ikang rāh yan tarpaṇākĕna* 'It isn't proper (lit. 'not good') to pay for a petition with blood'; *tan yukti ulahta iko* 'Your conduct is unbecoming'; *syapa ngkana wĕgilĕngku?* 'Who will be my protector there?' (lit. 'who is my protector there?').

Root verbs of the type *wĕnang* 'be able, can', *ilu* 'to participate in, to partake with', and *dadi* 'to become, to transfer into s.t.', are used as copulative verbs, for example: *tatar wĕnang manghabĕtakĕn pratoda mwang tar wĕnang mangdhāraṇa panah* 'I can't use a whip, and I can't carry a bow ...'; *kunang çrī Kṛṣṇa tan ilu sira mulih* 'But Krishna did not go back with the others'; *ndatan hana wwang mangko lwirnya dadya huluna* 'A man with such an appearance cannot become a slave'.

As a rule, nouns and pronouns occur in the role of an object (it is not a characteristic function of verbs and adjectives to serve as objects). Occurring in the role of object, they are often introduced by pre-substantival particles or demonstrative pronouns (cf. p. 55). In connection with the fact that nouns in Kawi are not declined, formal markers of different types of object are employed, combined with nouns in the role of objects with verbs and prepositions. One can distinguish two basic types of object--non-prepositional and prepositional.

For the complete characteristics of the formal markers of the object it is necessary also to take into account the morphological structure of the verb to which the object refers in a relationship. The non-prepositional object can only have transitive verbs. One and the same type of verb can have a non-prepositional as well as a prepositional object. For example, side by side with *umalap ikā* 'to take that' and *mangdhāraṇa panah* 'to carry a bow' one meets a word combination of the type *amanaha ri twas* 'to strike (or to shoot) the heart' and *sumahut ing wwang* 'to bite a person'; alongside *mangaliwati Yamuna* 'to cross the Yamuna' one can find *mangaliwati sireng (sira + ing) Kṣīrārṇawa* 'They crossed the Ksira Sea'; alongside *macaritākĕn mahārāja* 'to relate s.t. to the maharadja' one can meet *manahakĕn ing mānuṣa* 'to shoot at a person'.

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Especially should one analyze the types of object to the verb with the suffixes *-i* or *-akĕn*. As has been stated already, these suffixes connect the verb with the object. The direct object to the verb in the form of the active voice with the suffix *-i* can designate either the location of completion of the action or the object which undergoes some sort of change or is in a state of motion; for example: *wwang mangaliwati Yamuna* 'people who are swimming across the Yamuna'; *prayatna tikang Susarmā manglĕpasi çula* 'Susarma was adroitly throwing the spear'.

The direct object of a verb with the active suffix *-akĕn* usually designates an object or person undergoing some sort of change or in a state of motion, in whose interest the action is performed: *irikā ta yan manurun sang Topatī umintonakĕn rūpa nira ri haji* 'Then Topati left in order to show himself to the ruler' (lit. 'to show his appearance'); *ya tanuwuhakĕn krodha sang gurupatnī* 'This provokes the anger of the wife of the teacher'; *lakwakĕn ikang ratha mara ngkā* 'Drive the chariot there!'; *mangkana ling bhagawān Waiçampāyana, macaritākĕn mahārāja Janamejaya* 'These were the words of the Bagawan Waiçampayana who had related the story of Maharadja Jayamejaya'.

The object to the verb in the form of the passive can be introduced without a preposition; in this case, it, as a rule, follows immediately after the verb and designates an object or a person which is the course or cause of the action, or an object which is the means of the completion of the action: *tang sinangguh patik haji Kurukula* 'I have Kurukula in mind' (lit. 'he is in mind by me'); *pinanah nira ta yeng astra tikṣṇa* 'He shot a sharp arrow' (lit. 'by him was shot a sharp arrow'); ... *pinahayu tinutupan papan* 'It was neatly covered by planks'.

If the object is introduced by a preposition, it is not required to follow the verb. In introducing the object the preposition *i* (with variants) and *de* (or *de* in combination with the preposition *i*) are often used. Since these prepositions possess very broad meanings, the objects introduced by them express very different ideas: *muwah ta Dewayānī mājar i sang bapa* ... 'And again Dewayānī said to her father ...'; *atyanta dibyanta wĕnang tumanyākĕn ing lara mami* 'How kind is your heart, if you inquire about my sorrow'; *kewalāmengĕti rahadyan sanghulun ri pamūjānta* 'I only remind (you) about the object of your worship'; *wangçakrama nira ya ta warahakĕna mpungku ri kami* 'Tell me about your genealogy'; *ya ta cinakrākĕn de bhaṭāra Wiṣṇu ring daitya* 'Lord Vishnu hit the giant with the discus'; *awĕdi kawruhana de ning wandhuwarga makādi sang bapebu* 'He was afraid that his relatives would find out (lit. 'he feared he would be found out by his relatives'), particularly by his parents'.

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The object, related to the root verb, is always introduced by a preposition; it can designate the subject as well as the object of the action: *sugyan tan wruha kita ri kami* ... 'If, perchance, you do not know me ...'; *salikur kweh ning ratu pějah de nira* 'twenty-one rulers fell by his hand'; *kenakanya donĕnku ngkāneng Pānycalanagara, pöngakĕna tapwan wĕdi ning pwangkulun* 'It's best we attack the country of Panchala, while they do not fear us'; *suka ta sira bapa ri ḍatĕng sang Gandhawatī* 'and the father was happy at the coming of Gandhawati'; *ndatan suka sang hyang pitara de nira* 'His ancestors were not content with him'; *tan lupa de nira rumakṣa ikang rāt* 'he did not forget to protect the world' (lit. 'the world was not forgotten by him to protect').

A special aspect of the object is presented by the verb *katĕkan* 'to be affected, to have experience'. The object in this case immediately adjoins the verb and designates usually the topic which is the source, cause, or instrument of accomplishment of the action; the feature of this consists in the fact that it is not used in the capacity of subject, since the word *katĕkan*, being in its origin a form of the passive voice, became part of the lexicon and the active voice of this same root (*tĕka* 'to come, arrive') does not occur: *yan hana katĕkan ḍanḍa de sang prabhu* 'if one is to be punished by a ruler' (lit. 'if it is to be subjected to punishment by a ruler'); *yan kita huwus katĕkāna swāmi* ... 'if you were married' (lit. 'had a husband'); *mogha ta mahārāja katĕkan rāga* 'and here the maharadja seethed with passion'.

Any kind of autonomous word can occur in the function of an attribute. As a rule, the attribute follows the attributive. A word which plays the role of attribute can be introduced by prepositions: *pahalĕbā ta manahta* 'calm your heart'; *kawidagdhan mami nita caturangga* 'my talent--it's a game of chess'; *bhagawān Bhīṣma wwang sang Arkasuta pinakapārṣw angapit ri ratha nira* 'Bagawan Bhisma and Arkasuta followed closely behind his chariot'; *sang hyang Kāma ... amanaha ri twas sang tapa ...* 'The goddess Kama will strike (with an arrow) the heart of the hermit ...'; *tan hana wwang tumahĕnakĕn prabhāwanya* 'there was no one who withstood his might'; *ikang wwang awĕrö de ning sajöng* 'a person intoxicated from strong drinks'; *mangrĕngö nghulun kuda putih kewala* 'I heard only about a white horse'; *ari ni nghulun ... pametakĕna mami kanyā tiga* 'I will find three girls for my younger brothers'; *ya ta hetu ning anangis* 'Here's the reason for the wailing'; *nghulun prasiddha kawulā de sang Dewayānī* 'in reality I'm a servant of Dewayani'; *kaki sanghulun sakeng ibu* 'You are my maternal grandfather'; *kunang kahyun i nghulun* 'This is my wish'.

Substantives, introduced by prepositions, are more often used in the role of adverb of place. The adverb of place usually follows the head members of the sentence or precedes them:

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manĕhĕrakĕna sira haneng wukir 'he wants to live on a mountain'; *wangke nira binunycangakĕn ing sukĕt* 'his body was thrown on the grass.'

Furthermore, in the function of adverb of place can appear words of the type *ngke* 'hither, here', *ngka* or *ngkana* 'there, thither': *laku ta wawa ngke ryaku* 'go and bring her to me'; *sakwehta tamolah ngke* ... 'All of you who have assembled here ...'; *pira ta lawas nirān hana ngka* ... 'He was there for sometime ...'.

Sometimes these words are considered adverbs. However, it is more correct, apparently, to regard them as substantives, more precisely, as demonstrative pronouns. In particular, the fact that they can be combined like nouns and pronouns with prepositions testifies in favor of this: *lakwakĕn ikang ratha mara ngkā!* 'Drive the chariot there!'; *kaparṇah wetan tan madoh dahat saka ngke* 'It is in the east, not very far from here'.

The adverb of time in its formal grammatical markers differs little from the adverb of place. Like the latter, it is represented in a sentence by a noun, often with a preposition. The usual location of the adverb of time is before or after the main members of a sentence: ... *i wĕkasan tinambakakĕn tāwak nireng wwe* 'his body was finally used as a dam in the water'; *ri kāla ning wiwaha* ... 'during the wedding ...'.

The words *ngke* and *ngkana* can appear in the role of adverbs of time as well: *ngke ka kita ndak warah i kacaritan sang Dropadi* 'Now I'll tell you a story about Dropadi'.

Derivatives of these words can also play the role of adverbs of time: *amwīt ta kami mangke ri kita* 'Now I bid you farewell'; *samangkana ta mahārāja Janamejaya mulih mareng kaḍatwan ira* 'At that time Maharadja Janamejaya was returning to his palace'.

Words of the type *huwus* 'already' and *sĕḍĕng* 'time, when' are also used as adverbs of time. They can be joined with prepositions and they should, in all probability, be considered adverbial nouns: *huwus ibĕk de ning kṣatriya ikang maṇḍala ning maṇḍapa* 'the front veranda was already filled with warriors'; *ri huwus ning kṣatriya pĕjah de bhagawān Rāma Paraçu, niṣkṣatriya ikang bhūmi samangka* 'after the warriors perished at the hand of Bagawan Rama Paraçu, there were no more warriors on earth'; *sĕḍĕng tĕngah wĕngi wāhu sumurup sang hyang wulan* 'It was midnight when the moon had just disappeared'; *i sĕḍĕng sang ṛṣi amangan* ... 'when the seer ate ...'.

The types of adverbs: action, cause, purpose, consequence, etc., are not sufficiently clearly differentiated in their own

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formal grammatical markers. Usually they are distinguished by meaning. If the context is not clear, the word or word combination in the role of an adverbial permits several interpretations since it has to do with its function in the sentence; for example: *lumĕkas tikang Kānana mangguhā* 'Quickly Kanana began to dig a cave' or 'Kanana was quick at digging a cave'; *pinahalit nira tekāwak nira, sakawēnanga masuk* 'and he reduced the size of his body, so that he could crawl through' (or 'in order that he could crawl through'); *wulangun ta sira tan wruh ing lor kidul* 'he is so confused, he doesn't know where north or south is'; *tumurun ta sira manāntwa ri bhagawān Çakrīputra* 'and they went out to welcome Bagawan Çakriputra' or 'and they went out, welcoming Bagawan Çakriputra'.

Certainly, there are a number of cases where the sentence permits only one basic interpretation, for example: *saka ri gyā nira* 'since he was in a great hurry'. However, in a majority of cases the indication of a type of adverbial is distinguished solely by the context.

Simple sentences in Kawi can be classified according to structure and modality.

Mononuclear sentences in Kawi are not typical. There are no impersonal sentences in this language.

The Kawi sentence should, according to the modality, first of all be divided into indicative and subjunctive-hortatory.

To the indicative mood belong sentences the content of which is presented by the author as expressing something real. In Indo-European languages, in sentences of a similar kind the verbal predicate appears in the indicative. In Kawi, as has already been pointed out, the predicate can be expressed not only by a verb but also by a noun or an adjective without a copula. Indicative Kawi sentences can be formed from verbal as well as nominal sentences. Indicative sentences are noteworthy for the fact that they do not have a special indicator of their general modal characteristics.

Indicative sentences can be narrative, negative, interrogative and exclamatory: *anon ta sira patapan* 'and he saw the dwelling of a hermit'; *apa pwa yan alapāringku?* 'Did he really steal my sister?'; *ikang nāga Takṣaka tan hana yeking Khāndhawawana* 'The dragon Taksaka is not in the Khandhawa forest'; *aku dinalih ta swāminyu!* 'and you still consider me your husband!'

Subjunctive-hortatory sentences report a fact or phenomenon which is presented by the author as expressing something unreal or contrary to fact. Formally, these sentences are characterized either by the presence of the modal particle *a* which can

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be joined to almost any word in the sentence, or, if the predicate is verbal, by the use of a verb in the imperative-hortatory mood. If the particle *a* is already used in the sentence, the verb can appear in the general or infinitive form, for example: *yatikā paweha ra mpu ri nghulun* 'let this be a favor of yours to me'; *bapa! matanghya ta rahadyan sanghulun!* Father! Wake up!'; *samangkana lwir wĕnanga ning kaḍi patik narārya* 'this is what a ruler like me can do'; *kinonakĕn ta sang Pāṇḍawa pagawayakĕna tilĕm* 'and the burial rite was ordered arranged for the Pandawas'; *aparan ta kahyun rahadyan sanghulun, anung hanākĕna pinakanghulun* 'whatever you wish, I'll fulfill it'.

The subjective-hortatory sentence expresses the following meanings:

1) future tense: ... *tasmād duḥka panggihĕnyu, panganĕn ing apuy ta ko* 'A great grief shall befall you, you will be devoured by fire'; *aku sumaputana kita lĕbū* 'I'll cover you with dust'; *awĕdi kawruhana de ning wandhuwarga* 'he was afraid that the relatives would find out';

2) a wish, request, supplication, appeal, obligation, etc.: *kṣamakĕna ċabda ni nghulun* 'Pardon my words!'; ... *anaknya sumiliha karatun haji ring dlāha* '... and may his son obtain a principality in the future!';

3) command: *talap, t ulihakĕn i kaḍatwan* 'catch and bring him to the palace'; *tamalaku ta kitānugrahery aku!* 'ask me for the reward!'; *parwan jugeki kaḍatwanta* 'Divide your own principality into two halves!'. Often in these cases constructions with the word *kon* 'to command, to order' are used: *kinon ta sira muliha* 'they ordered him to leave'; ... *akon aku mājare sang prabhu* '... I order (you) to inform the prince'.

4) purpose: *lumāmpah ta sirāmeta strī sanāma nira* 'he set out to search for a wife with the same name';

5) possibility, condition: *mātya pwa sira, syapa tuminghalana nghulun?* 'If he were to die, who will look out for us?'; *ndatan sapira lara ni nghulun yan huwusa kita paḍa maputra* 'I would not be so grieved if you had two children'; *tan hana rakwa suka lĕwiha sangkerika* 'but there is no greater happiness, you know' (lit. 'happiness is that which would have been great').

The subjunctive-hortatory sentence (i.e., the sentence with the particle *a* or with a verb in the imperative-hortatory mood) is not obligatorily used in all cases where it is necessary to render one of the above-mentioned modal senses. Sometimes the modal sense is expressed lexically only, especially in hortatory sentences containing the negative *haywa* 'it's not necessary', 'one shouldn't'; for example: *haywa ta kita sandeha* 'don't

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worry'; *haywa ta kita manahakĕn ing mānuṣa hīnaçakti* 'don't shoot at a man who does not possess magic power'.

Indicative and subjunctive-hortatory sentences are, in the main, not distinguished by word order. Some features of the structure are to be found only in interrogative sentences which often begin with an interrogative, for example: *aparan ta kahyun rahadyan sanghulun?* 'What is your wish?'

Before going on to the complex sentence, it is necessary to mention one phenomenon which occupies an intermediate position between the simple and the complex sentence. It has to do with attributive phrases which are joined with a noun by means of simple contiguity.

Since the linking words in a given case are absent, the attributive phrase occupies, as it were, a special place; this can be considered a definite subordinate clause. Attributive phrases of such a type consist most often only of verbs with an object or an adverb; sometimes, however, they are represented by a noun with other words syntactically subordinate to it: *tan hana wwang tumahĕnakĕn prabhāwanya* 'there was no one who withstood his might'; *mangkana ling bhagawān Waiçampāyana macaritākĕn mahārāja Janamejaya* 'Such were the words of Bagawan Waiçampayana who told it to Maharadja Janamejaya'; *hana ta wangke ning ulā ... kinalungakĕn ing gulū bhagawān Samiti* 'There was the carcass of a snake which was hanging like a necklace around the neck of Bagawan Samiti'; *hana ta sang Daçabala ngaranya, parṇah wadwa de mahārāja Basuparicāra* 'There was a man by the name of Daçabala who was formerly a servant of Maharadja Basuparicara'.

Complex sentences by their structure and by the semantic link of their components do not differ in principle from complex sentences of Indo-European languages. The components of complex sentences can be united by means of conjunctions and of conjunctive words, or without them; the subordinate clause can occupy a place after, before, or in the middle of the main clause.

The components of complex sentences can be united by the conjunctions: *mwang, lāwan, saha* 'and', *muwah* 'and', 'and also', etc.: *hana ta nadī Çuktimatī ngaranya, lwah ning Kolagiri, lāwan ta wwainya umilī tĕkeng kaḍatwan* 'there was a river bearing the name Çuktimati, flowing from Mt. Kola, and its waters flowed right up to the palace'; *tinanyān ira pwa ri kāraṇanyān panangis muwah yan syapa sang makastrī ya* 'he asked why she was crying and who was her husband'.

Subordinate conjunctions in Kawi are few and almost all of them are polysemantic. Thus, the conjunction *yan* can introduce a subordinate clause of real or unreal condition, subordinates

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of time, object, or also causal: *yan tuhu çiṣya mami, t agawe ta kita gurudakṣina* 'if (you) really are my pupil, pay me the earnings of a teacher'; *yan kita huwus katĕkāna swāmi ...* 'Had you already been married ...'; *yan tĕka sewu tahun, maluya kita yowana* 'when a thousand years pass, you will become young anew'; *amratyakṣākĕn pwa sang prabhu, yan tuhu mahārāja dewatā māti pinangan ing ulā* 'The ruler ascertained whether the maharadja really was dead from the bite of a snake'; *yan huwus kadalurung çabda nirebungku kumonakĕn yan kabehana, sira tan dadi mithyā* 'since mother ordered (it) to be divided among every one, I won't object'.

If a subordinate clause, introduced by the conjunction *yan*, is conditional or temporal, then the words *samangkā, ngkana* 'then' often precede the main clause: *yan tibeng lĕmah ikang rāh ni tĕṇḍas mami, samangkā ngwang kadi haji bhraṣṭa* 'if the blood of my head falls to the ground, then you will perish'; *yan nghulun mangjanmā irikang dlāha, ngkāna tāku malĕsāmatyani kita* 'if I am resurrected in the future, then I shall take revenge by killing you'.

One and the same type (in semantic content) of subordinate clause can be introduced by various conjunctions and conjunctive words. In particular, the subordinate attributive can be introduced by the conjunctive words *sang*, *ikang*, and *anung*, translated in a given case as 'who, which, etc.': *amuta-mutani hyang ātma ngaranya, sang tamolah ri hatinta* 'he pretended that he didn't see the soul which is hidden in your heart'; *mangaliwati sireng Kṣīrārṇawa, ikang pinutĕr de ning dewāsura* 'they crossed the Ksira Sea which the gods and asuras made a stormy one'; *ndi tekang deça kahyunta anung yogya panghĕthötanta?* 'Where is the settlement in which you wished to hide?'

Subordinates of time are most often introduced by the words *sĕḍĕng* 'when', 'while', *huwus* (or *ri huwus*) 'after', *kāla* 'when', *tĕlas* 'after', *kamĕnā* 'before', etc.: *ri huwus ning kṣatriya pĕjah de bhagawān Rāma Paraçu niṣkṣatriya ikang bhūmi samangkā* 'After the warriors fell by the hand of Bagawan Rama Paraçu, no more warriors remained on earth'; *kāla sang Arjuna mwang mahārāja Duryodhana uminangi mahārāja Kṛṣna ...* 'when Ardjuna and Maharadja Duryodhana begged help of Maharadja Krishna ...'.

Subordinates of cause can be introduced with the conjunctive words and conjunctions *apan*, *sangka yan*, *sangka ri*, *sangke*, *saka ri*, *de*, etc.: *ndatan panĕmu dṛwya, apan hĕnti pinunyakĕn de sang bapa* '[he] did not obtain any riches, because his father gave everything away'.

Subordinates of purpose are most often introduced with the conjunction *yatanyan* 'in order that': *warangĕn ta juga mwang sang Subhadrā, yatanyan apagĕha pamitranta lāwan sang Pāṇḍawa*

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'Marry him to Subhadra so that your friendship with the Pandawas will be consolidated'.

Subordinates of consequence are most often introduced by the conjunctions *maran* or *marapwan* 'so that': *kewalākon maluyakĕn lĕmbu juga sira, maran tan pagawe kopadrawan sang Korawa* 'he ordered the return only of the cows so that it wouldn't bring misfortune to the Korawas'.

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APPENDIX

Sample of Text (in transcription)

Mangrĕngö tang dānawa, anak sang Wipracitti, matĕmu-tangan lāwan sang Singhikā. Yatikā dewatārūpa, milw anginum amṛta. Wruh pwa ya sang hyang Candrāditya yan dānawa, mājar ta sirė bhaṭāra Wiṣṇu. Sĕdĕngning amrta haneng gulūnya, cinakra ta ya, pĕgat gulūnya. Ṭibā ta lawayanya ring lĕmah, kadi tibā ning parwata-çikara, liṇḍū tang pṛthiwī, molah de ni bwat ni kawandhanya, ndan çirahnya mĕsat ring ākāça de ni kapawitran ikan amṛta, anghing çarīranya juga pĕjah, apan tan katĕkan amṛta. Sangka yan lara ny ambĕknya, an winarahakĕn de hyang Candrāditya ri bhaṭāra Wiṣṇu ..., ya ta matang yan ta ya krodha ri sang hyang Candrāditya, umangan sirāngkĕn parwakāla.[42]

(from H. H. Juynboll, *Ādiparwa. Oudjavaansch prozageschrift* ['s-Gravenhage, 1906], 34^{23}-35^{10}).

A Translation

A demon, son of Wipracitti, who was married to Singhika, heard about it. After having taken the form of a deity, he also drank the elixir of life. The goddess Candraditya saw that this was the demon and spoke of it to God Vishnu. Yet at that very moment, when the elixir of life was in the throat of the demon a discus was thrown at him which chopped off his neck. The fall of the demon's body to the earth resembled the collapse of a mountain summit; the earth trembled under the weight of the demon's body. Under the miraculous influence of the elixir of life his head sped to heaven, but the body expired, as the elixir of life did not touch it. The demon thought for a while in his misfortune that the goddess Candraditya who informed the God Vishnu about him, was the guilty one. He blazed with hatred towards the goddess Candraditya and therefore he always devours her during the lunar eclipse.

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42. Prawirasuganda and Sauni, Kitab peladjaran, II, p. 61.

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GLOSSARY

The alphabetical order is English. *d* and *ḍ* are not distinguished; *ç* and *s* are not distinguished.

adĕg 'to stand, get up', umadĕg 'to stand, get up'

adi 'highest, first, primary; beginning'; makādi 'primarily, especially'

aḍipati 'chief, governor', makāḍipati, pakāḍipati 'to be an aḍipati'

adri 'mountain'

agawe *see* gawe

agulingan *see* guling

ahem, ahöm 'to deliberate, to confer'

ai 'look here, hello'

ajar 'to tell, relate, inform'; mājar 'to say'; mājara 'will say'; pājara 'must tell'

ākāça 'heaven(s), outer space, sky'

ākāçawākya 'voice from heaven'

akon *see* kon

aku 'I'; -ku, -ngku 'I'

akweh *see* kweh

alang 'prohibition; sacred'

alap 'to take, seize'; alapa 'will seize'; alapĕn 'that it be taken, seized'; inalap 'to be taken'; kālapan 'theft'; umalap 'to take'

alapĕn *see* alap

alapāringku = alapa + ari + ngku

alas(-alas) 'woods, forest'

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alĕngkāra 'ornament'

alungguh *see* lungguh

alunggw + ing = alungguh + ing *see* lungguh

amalaku 'to ask, request'

amanaha *see* panah

amanasi *see* panas

amangan *see* pangan

amanggih *see* panggih

amātyani *see* pāti

ambĕk 'thought, mind'; ambĕknya 'his thought'

amĕjahana *see* pĕjah

amĕjahi *see* pĕjah

amengĕti *see* ingĕt

ameta *see* pet

amratyakṣākĕn *see* pratyakṣa

amrih 'in order to' to strive, to seek'

amṛta 'holy water'

amujuk *see* wujuk

amuta-mutani *see* wuta

amwît 'to bid farewell; to take o's leave'

an 'if; that; because'

anak 'child, son'; anak-anak 'pupil of the eye'; anaknya 'his son'; anaku 'my son'; mānak 'to have a child'; mānaka 'will have a child, if one had a child'

anaku *see* anak

anangis *see* tangis

anāntara 'infinity; without interference'

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anarawata 'continuous, uninterrupted; everywhere'

aṇḍĕh 'to press'; anganḍĕh 'to press'

ang *see* ng

angakṣama *see* kṣama

anganḍĕh *see* aṇḍĕh

angapit *see* apit

angḍaṇḍa *see* ḍaṇḍa

angdoh *see* doh

angĕn 'thought; to think'

anghaliwati *see* haliwati

anghing 'but'

angin 'wind'; angin-angin 'movement of the air'

anginum *see* inum

angkat 'to leave, depart'; angkatakĕn 'to raise, lift'

angkatakĕn *see* angkat

angkĕn 'each'

angrĕnycĕm *see* rĕnycĕm

angujiwat *see* kujiwat

anibākĕn *see* tibā

anon *see* ton

antuk 'to return home'; mantuk 'to return'

anu 'somebody'

anung 'who, which'; tānung 'the one who'

anuwuhakĕn *see* tuwuh

apa 'what? why?'

apagĕha *see* pagĕh

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apan 'because'

aparan 'what? who?'

apit 'to hem in'; angapit 'to follow closely'; ngapitakĕn 'to escort'

apuy 'fire'

ar 'he, they'

ari 'younger sibling; to stop'; māri 'to stop'

arṇawa 'sea, ocean'; Kṣīrārṇawa 'the Ksira Sea'

asing *see* sing

açoka 'difficult'

astawa 'praise'; pangastawa 'eulogy'

astra 'arrow; weapon'

astuti 'praise'; mangastuti 'to eulogize, respect'

açuka *see* açoka

asura 'giant, demon'

atah 'but, as regards, even'

athawa 'or'

ātma 'soul, consciousness'

atuha *see* tuha

atunggwa *see* tunggu

atus '100'; sātus '100'

atyanta 'very; how'

awak 'body'; tāwak 'the body'

awĕdi *see* wĕdi

awĕrŏ *see* wĕrŏ

ayuta 'million'

banycana 'slander'; umanycana 'to slander'

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bapa 'father'

bapebu = bapa + ibu

bari-bari 'any'

bhagawān 'sir, holy master'

bhaṭāra 'sir, sovereign'

bhraṣṭa 'to perish, collapse'

bhūmi 'earth'

bini 'woman, female'

binunycang(akĕn) *see* bunycang

boddha 'Buddhist'

brata 'anchoritic way of life; religious observance'

bunycang 'to throw, hurl'; binunycang(akĕn) 'to be hurled'

buru 'to hunt'; maburuburu 'to hunt'; paburwan 'hunting spot'

bwat 'heavy; weight'

cacar 'to partake of, eat'; manacar 'to partake of, to eat'

cakra 'discus; wheel'; cinakra 'to be struck with a discus'; cinakrākĕn 'to be struck with a discus

cāmpaka 'k.o. flower (frangipani ?)'

campur 'to interfere, intervene'

cangking 'to carry in the hand'; manyangking 'to carry in the hand'

cāra 'conduct, behavior; manners'

carita 'story, tale'; caritanta 'your story'; kacaritan 'what is being or has been recounted'; macaritākĕn 'to relate, tell'

caturangga 'chess'

cinakra *see* cakra

cinakrākĕn *see* cakra

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cinukat *see* cukat

cukat 'to pierce'; cinukat 'to be pierced'

dadi 'to become'; dadya 'will become'

dadya *see* dadi

dahat 'very'

daitya 'giant'

dak 'I'

dakṣina 'pay, earnings'

dalih 'to consider, to think, suppose'; dinalih 'to be considered'

dalurung 'excessive'; kadalurung 'excessive'

dānawa 'demon'

ḍaṇḍa 'punishment'; angḍaṇḍa 'to punish'

daridra 'poor, indigent; beggar'

ḍatĕng 'to come'

ḍatu 'prince'; kaḍatwan 'palace, principality'; kaḍatwanta 'your principality'

de 'by, in relation, caused by'; dening = de + ning; denta = de + nta' denya = de + nya

dening *see* de

denta *see* de

denya *see* de

deça 'settlement; region, area'

dewa 'god, divinity'

dewāsura = dewa + asura

dewatā 'the gods'

dewatārūpa 'form of a deity'

dewi 'goddess'

dhāraṇa 'to carry'; mangdhāraṇa 'to carry'

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dibya 'sublime'; sibyanta 'your goodness'

dibyanta *see* dibya

dīkṣā 'ceremony for receiving pupils'; madīkṣā 'to prepare for a religious ceremony'

dilah 'lamp; to shine'; dumilah 'to shine'

dinalih *see* dalih

diwaça, diwasa 'time; day'

dlāha 'future'

doh 'far'; angdoh 'to move off'; kadohan 'distant place'; madoh 'to be far'

don 'goal, aim'; doněn 'will be attacked'; doněnku 'I will attack'

dṛwya 'property; riches'

dudū 'difference; no'

duḥka 'trouble, grief'

dum 'to divide'; duman 'part'

dumilah *see* dilah

duṣa 'guilt, sin'

ekung = -a + ikung

ěmas 'gold'

eçānya 'northeast'

gagah 'hard, firm, manly'

gagak 'crow'

gandewa 'bow (weapon)'

garddha 'wish'

gaway 'to make; work'; gawayan 'is being done'; gawayěn 'in order to do'; gumawayakěn 'to make, do'' gumawayakna 'that one may do'; magawaya 'that one do'; pagawayakěna 'will be done'; *see* gawe

gawe 'to make; work, affair, business'; agawe 'to do, make'; magawe 'to do, perform'; pagawe 'to make, do'; *see* gaway

giri 'hill, mount, mountain'; Kolagiri 'Mt. Giri'

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goh 'cow'

göng 'great, big'

guhā 'cave'; mangguhā 'to dig a cave'

guling 'to go for a drive'; agulingan 'to go for a drive'

gulū 'neck'; gulūnya 'his neck'

gumawayakĕn *see* gaway

gumawayakna *see* gaway

guṇa 'virtue, good quality; strength; art, skill'

gupura 'main gate'

guru 'master, teacher'

gurudakṣina 'earnings of a teacher'

gurupatnī 'wife of a teacher'

gyā 'hurry'

habĕt 'to strike, hit'; manghabĕtakĕn 'to hit, strike'

haji 'ruler; my lord/lady'

halang *see* alang

halit 'small'; pinahalit 'to be reduced'

haliwat 'to pass by'; anghaliwati 'to pass'; kahaliwatan 'passed'; mangaliwati 'to cross'

hana 'there is/are'; hanākĕn 'to arrange, organize, hold'; hanākĕna 'will fulfill'

hanākĕn(a) *see* hana

haneng = hana + ing

hangin *see* angin

hati 'heart'; hatinta 'your heart'

hawan 'way, road, course'

hayu 'handsome'; pinahayu 'to be beautifully worked'

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haywa 'don't!'

hĕmas *see* ĕmas

hĕnti 'entirely'

hĕthŏt 'to hide'; panghĕthŏtanta 'your hiding place'

hetu 'reason, cause'

hilang 'to vanish'; panghilang 'means for the destruction of'

hīnaçakti 'without magical power'

hulun 'slave, servant'; huluna 'will be a slave, servant'

hurip 'life'; huripana 'that one may live'; huripi 'to bring to life, to revive'

huripana *see* hurip

huripi *see* hurip

huwus 'already, finished'; huwusa 'will end, will finish'; mahuwusan 'to end, to complete'

huwusa *see* huwus

hyang 'god, divinity; sacred, divine'

hyun 'wish, desire'; kahyun 'a wish'; kahyunta 'your wish'

i 'in, on, at' *also:* ing, ni, ning

ibĕk 'full'

ibu 'mother'; ibungku 'my mother'

ibungku *see* ibu

ika(ng), ikā 'that, those'

ike 'this, these'

iki(ng) 'this, these'

iko 'that, those'

iku(ng) 'that, those'

ilī 'to flow'; umilī 'to flow'

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ilu 'to participate in, to partake with'; milu 'to join in'

inak 'pleasant, gratifying'; kenakanya 'it's best'; mahenak 'to make pleasant'; pahenak 'be pleasant!'

inalap *see* alap

indra 'monarch'

ing 'in, on' *see* i

ingĕt 'to remember'; mengĕt 'to recall'; amengĕti 'to remind'

inggal 'swift(ly); soon'

ingjĕro *see* jĕro

ingkang 'which'

ingruhur *see* ruhur

inujar *see* ujar

inum 'to drink'; anginum 'to drink'

inusi *see* usi

ira 'his, her, them'

irikā(ng) 'then; there'

irṣyā, īrṣyā 'envy, jealousy'

iwu 'thousand'; sewu '1000'

jala 'net'; mangjala 'to catch with a net'

janmā 'man; birth, reincarnation, embodiment'; janmottama 'pious person'; mangjanmā 'to revive; to reincarnate'

janmottama = janmā + uttama

jĕro 'interior'; ingjĕro 'in(side)'

joli 'palanquin'

juga 'only'

jugeki = juga + iki

kabeh 'all'; kabehana 'to be divided among all people'

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kabehana *see* kabeh

kacaritan *see* carita

kadalurung *see* dalurung

kadang 'friend' relative'; pakadangan 'family relationship'

kaḍatwan *see* ḍatu

kaḍatwanta *see* ḍatu

kadi 'as, like'

kadohan *see* doh

kahaliwatan *see* haliwat

kahyun *see* hyun

kahyunta = kahyun + ta

kaki 'grandfather'

kāla 'period of time; when'

kālapan *see* alap

kalima *see* lima

kalung 'necklace'; kinalungakĕn 'to be hung like a necklace'

kamĕnā 'before; in order to'

kami 'we, us; I'

kamu 'you'; -mu 'your'

kanyā 'girl, virgin'

kanyu 'you'; -nyu 'your'

kapanasan *see* panas

kapangguh *see* pangguh

kaparṇah *see* parṇah

kapawitran *see* pawitra

kapĕjah *see* pĕjah

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kaping '-th'

kapitung *see* pitu

kapūhan *see* pūh

kāraṇa 'reason, cause; as, because'; kāraṇanyān = kāraṇa + nya + an 'why'

kāraṇanyān *see* kāraṇa

karatun *see* ratu

karĕngŏ *see* rĕngŏ

kari 'and; to stay, to remain'

karsa 'desire, will'

karwa 'both'

karya, kārya 'deed; to do; ceremony'; pakārya 'work'

kaçaktin *see* çakti

katĕkan *see* tĕka

katĕkāna *see* tĕka

kathā 'story, tale'

katigawĕlas *see* tiga

katon *see* ton

kawandha 'body'; kawandhanya 'his body'

kawĕdi *see* wĕdi

kawĕkas *see* wĕkas

kawidagdhan *see* widagdha

kawitan 'father; forefathers'

kawruhana *see* wruh

kawula, kawulā 'slave, bondman'

kayu 'tree(s)'; kayukaywan 'various trees'

kenakanya *see* inak

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kĕnoh 'just, precise; fitting'; kĕnoha 'will be fitting'

kĕṭi '100,000'

kewala 'simply, only'

kewalākon = kewala + akon

kewalāmengĕti = kewala + amengĕti

kidul 'south'

kinalungakĕn *see* kalung

kinon(akĕn) *see* kon

kita 'you'; -(n)ta 'your'

kitānugraheri = kita + anugraha + i + ri

kitār = kita + ar

ko 'you'

kolagiri *see* giri

kon 'to order, command'; akon 'to order, command'; kinon(akĕn) 'to be ordered'; kumonakĕn 'to order, command'

kopadrawan *see* upadrawa

koṭi *see* kĕṭi

kottaman *see* uttama

krodha 'anger, wrath'

krora 'cruel'

krūra *see* krora

kṣama 'to forgive'; angakṣama 'to forgive'; kṣamakĕna 'pardon!'

kṣamakĕna *see* kṣama

kṣatriya 'warrior, nobleman'

Kṣīrārṇawa *see* arṇawa

-ku *see* aku

kuda 'horse'

kujiwat 'to give a sign with the eye'; angujiwat 'to observe, look'

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kumonakĕn *see* kon

kumwa 'that, those; such a; also, thus'

kunang 'but; thus'

kuṇḍala 'earring'

kuṭa 'wall surrounding castle'

kweh 'multitude'; akweh 'many, much, several'; sakweh 'all'; sakwehta 'all of you'

lagi 'temporarily staying; occupied with'

lagyamrih = lagi + amrih

laki 'man, male'; lakibini 'male and female, husband and wife'

lakibini *see* laki

lakṣa '10,000'

laku 'to go; road'; lakwakĕn 'to drive'; lumaku 'to go'

lakwakĕn *see* laku

lamar 'to ask'; lamarĕn 'must be asked'; linamar 'to be asked'

lamarĕn *see* lamar

lāmpah 'to go'; lumāmpah 'to go'

lara 'sorrow; pain'

larang 'forbidden'; larangan 'that which is forbidden'

laras 'bow (weapon)'

lāwan 'and'

lawas 'long (of time)'

lawayan 'body'; lawayanya 'his body'

layū 'to run'; malayū 'to run'

lĕbā 'pleasant, likeable'; mahalĕbā 'to make pleasant'; pahalĕbā 'be pleasant! calm down!'

lĕbū 'dust'

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lĕkas 'to begin; conduct, activities'; lumĕkas 'to begin to'

lĕmah 'ground'

lĕmbu 'cow'

lĕpas 'released, free; to start'; manglĕpasi 'to release; to throw'

lĕwih 'excellent, above'; lewiha 'will exceed'

lĕwiha *see* lĕwih

likur '20'; rwalikur '22'; salikur '21'

lima 'five'; lima wĕlas 'fifteen'; kalima 'all five'

linamar *see* lamar

lin̤dū 'earthquake'

ling 'words; to say'

litu 'appearance'

litahayu 'handsome'

loka 'world'

lor 'north'

lumaku *see* laku

lumāmpah *see* lāmpah

lumĕkas *see* lĕkas

lumra(h) 'ordinary, usual'

lungguh 'to sit'; alungguh 'to sit'; alunggw ing 'to sit in/on'

lupa 'to forget'

lwah 'river'

lwir 'appearance, aspect'

lyan 'other'

lyang 'hole'

maburuburu *see* buru

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macaritākĕn *see* carita

maḍĕm 'to extinguish a fire'; pamaḍĕm 'means or instrument for extinguishing a fire'

madīkṣā *see* dīkṣā

madoh *see* doh

magawaya *see* gaway

magawe *see* gawe

mahalĕbā *see* lĕbā

mahārāja 'emperor, great king'

mahārdhikka 'freedom'

mahari 'canopy; small building for receptions'

maharṣi, mahārṣi 'great sage; prior'

mahenak *see* inak

mahuwusan *see* huwus

mājar *see* ajar

mājare = mājara + i

makādi *see* adi

makāḍipati *see* aḍipati

makaprabhāwa *see* prabhāwa

makaputrī *see* putrī

makastrī *see* strī

makawāhana *see* wāhana

malayū *see* layū

maleca 'foreigner, one who speaks badly in the native language, barbarian'

malĕsa *see* walĕs

malĕsāmatyani = malĕsa + amatyani

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malolo 'to open one's eyes wide'

maluya *see* waluy

mami 'my, our'

manacar *see* cacar

manah 'heart'; manahta 'your heart'

manahakĕn *see* panah

manahta *see* manah

mānak *see* anak

mānaka *see* anak

manāntwa *see* sāntwa

maṇḍala 'area, region, circle'

maṇḍapa 'small hall'

manĕhĕrakĕna *see* tĕhĕr

manĕmu *see* tĕmu

manĕpi *see* tĕpi

mangaliwati *see* haliwat

mangastuti *see* astuti

mangdhāraṇa *see* dhāraṇa

manggih *see* panggih

mangguhā *see* guhā

manghabĕtakĕn *see* habĕt

mangjala *see* jala

mangjanmā *see* janmā

mangkā 'thus, such'

mangkana 'that, those; such a; also, thus'

mangke 'now; such, thus; henceforth'

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mangko 'how; such; thus'

manglĕpasi *see* lĕpas

mangrĕngö *see* rĕngö

maṇik 'jewel'

mantuk *see* antuk

manuk 'bird'

manumbak *see* tumbak

manungsung *see* sungsung

manurun *see* turun

mānuṣa 'man, human being'

mānuṣaloka 'human world'

manyangking *see* cangking

maprang *see* prang

maputra *see* putra

mara 'to, hither'

maran 'so, that'

marapwan 'so that'

mareng = mara + ing

māri *see* ari

masiwasiwo *see* siwo

masuk 'to enter'

mata 'eye'

matang 'reason, cause'

matanghi *see* tanghi

matanghya *see* tanghi

matĕmu-tangan *see* tĕmu

mati, māti 'death'

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mātya(na) *see* pāti

matukup-(tukup) *see* tukup

maturu *see* turu

maty ekung = matya + ikung

mawehanugraha *see* weh

mawĕka *see* wĕka

mengĕt *see* ingĕt

mĕsat *see* pĕsat

mĕtta 'one who is drunk, excited'

milu *see* ilu

milw = milu

mingĕr 'to turn, swing'; mingĕr-mingĕr 'to turn constantly'

minta *see* pinta

mithyā 'lie; defiance; false'

mitra 'friend'; pamitra 'friendship'; pamitranta 'your friendship'; umitra 'to be friends'

mituhu *see* tuhu

mogha 'quickly; but; thereafter'

molah *see* ulah

mpu 'sir'; mpungku 'my lord'

mpungku *see* mpu

-mu *see* kamu

mulih(a) *see* pulih

muwah 'and; again'

mwang 'and, with, together with'

naḍah 'to eat'; panaḍah 'food'

nadī 'river'

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nāga 'dragon'

nagara 'country; town'; Pānycalanagara 'the country of Panychala'

nahan 'that, those'

nāhan 'thus, so'

nalikira 'coconut'

nāma 'name'; sanāma 'with the same name'

nangkĕn *see* angkĕn

naraka 'hell'

narārya 'ruler'

ndah 'but; as regards; even'

ndak (for emphasis)

ndan 'now, then' (intensifying particle)

ndatan 'no, not'

ndi 'where?'

nĕm 'six'; nĕm bĕlas '16'

ng 'the'

ngapitakĕn *see* apit

ngaran 'name'; ngaranya 'his name'

nghulun 'my'; pinakanghulun 'I, slave, servant'

ngka, ngkā 'there; such'

ngkana, ngkāna 'there; such'

ngkāneng = ngkāna + ing

ngke 'here; now'

-ngku *see* aku

ngwang 'I; one'

ni 'in, on, at' *see* i

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nihan 'that, those'

ning 'in, on, at' *see* i

nira 'his, him'

nirān = nira + an

nirebungku = nira + ibu + ngku

nireng = nira + ing

niṣkṣatriya 'without warriors'

nita 'game, contest; gambling'

nta *see* kita

nūṣa 'island'

ny *see* ni

-nya 'his, her, its'

-nyu *see* kanyu

oṁ holy syllable

orasaputra 'one's own flesh and blood'

paburwan *see* buru

paḍa 'same, all; equally'

padbĕlas *see* pat

pagawayakĕna *see* gaway

pagawe *see* gawe

pagĕh 'strong, firm; loyal'; apagĕha 'will consolidate'

pahalĕbā *see* lĕbā

pahenak *see* inak

pājara *see* ajar

pakadangan *see* kadang

pakāḍipati *see* aḍipati

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pakārya *see* karya

palacidra 'insult, harm to the enemy'

palamarta 'kind, responsive'

pamaḍĕm *see* maḍĕm

pametakĕna *see* pet

paminta *see* pinta

pamitra *see* mitra

pamitranta *see* mitra

pamūjānta *see* pūjā

panaḍah *see* naḍah

panah 'arrow'; amanaha 'to strike, to shoot'; (a)manahakĕn 'to shoot, loose (an arrow)'; pinanah 'to be shot at'

panangis *see* tangis

panangkilan *see* tangkil

panas 'hot'; amanasi 'to heat'; kapanasan 'heat; to be warmed'

panay 'sort of earthen pitcher'

panĕmu *see* tĕmu

pangan 'food'; amangan 'to eat'; panganĕn 'that he be devoured'; pinangan 'to be consumed'; umangan 'to eat; to devour'

panganĕn *see* pangan

pangastawa *see* astawa

panggih 'to meet'; (a)manggih, umanggih 'to meet'; panggihĕnyu 'to be met by you'

panggihĕnyu *see* panggih

pangguh 'to meet, receive'; kapangguh 'met, received'

panghĕthötanta = panghĕthöt + anta; *see* hĕthöt

panghilang *see* hilang

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pangrĕmuk *see* rĕmuk

panirwan *see* tiru

Pānycalanagara *see* nagara

papan 'board'

papat *see* pat

paprangan *see* prang

parcaya 'truth'

parintoṣa 'satisfaction'

parṇah 'according to position; direction; formerly'; kaparṇah 'located'

parwa 'part, half; to divide into two parts'; parwan 'divide into two parts!'

pārçwa '(mountain) side'; pinakapārçw 'to be flanked'

parwakāla 'eclipse'

parwata 'mountain'

parwataçikara 'mountain peak, summit'

pasangkĕpan *see* sangkĕp

pasar 'market'

pastika 'crystal, quartz'

pat 'four'; padbĕlas 'fourteen'; patang tahun '4 years'; saparpatan '1/4'

patang *see* pat

patapan *see* tapa

pāti 'death'; amātyani 'to kill'; mātya 'will kill'; mātyana 'let him kill'

patik 'servant, slave'; patik haji 'I'

patinggal *see* tinggal

patnī 'wife'

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paturu *see* turu

paweha *see* weh

pawitra 'holy, sacred; pure'; kapawitran 'sacredness'

pĕgat 'broken; to cut'

pĕjah 'to die, perish'; amĕjahana 'that one kill'; amĕjahi 'to kill'; kapĕjah 'death'; pinĕjahan 'to be killed'

peka 'servant, follower; foot-soldier'

pĕsat 'to go quickly'; mĕsat 'to speed; to jump, to leap'

pet 'to find, seek'; ameta 'will search for'; pametakĕna 'that one seek'

pinahalit *see* halit

pinahatĕguh *see* tĕguh

pinahayu *see* hayu

pinakanghulun *see* nghulun

pinakapārçw *see* pārçwa

pinakawāhana *see* wāhana

pinanah *see* panah

pinang 'to request'; uminangi 'to request'

pinangan *see* pangan

pinĕjahan *see* pĕjah

pingruhur *see* ruhur

pingsor *see* sor

pingtiga *see* tiga

pinta 'to ask'; minta 'to request'; paminta 'request'; pininta 'that requested, was requested'

pinton 'to show'; umintonakĕn 'to show'

pinunyakĕn *see* punya

pinutĕr *see* putĕr

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pira 'how much/many?'; pirang kaḍatwan 'several palaces'; sapira 'how much/many?'

pirang *see* pira

pitara 'ancestor(s)'

pitu 'seven'; kapitung 'seventh'; pitu wĕlas 'seventeen'

pituhu *see* tuhu

pŏng 'to expect, await'; pŏngakĕna 'will expect'

pŏngakĕna *see* pŏng

potraka 'grandson'

prabhāwa 'strength, might'; makaprabhāwa 'to possess strength'

prabhu 'ruler, king'

pragagah 'courageous, bold'

prang 'war'; maprang 'to wage war'; paprangan 'field of battle; war'

prasiddha 'really, truly; celebrant'

pratingkah 'state of affairs'

pratoda 'a whip'

pratyakṣa 'clear, obvious'; amratyakṣākĕn 'to explain, to ascertain, to learn'

prayatna 'careful, adroit; to guard against'

pṛthiwī 'earth'

pūh 'smashed; exhausted'; kapūhan 'surprised, sad, startled'

puhan 'milk'

pūjā 'divine worship'; pamūjā 'worship'; pamūjānta 'your worship'

pulih 'to return'; mulih 'to leave, return'; muliha 'will return'

pulu(h) 'ten'; sapuluh 'ten'; pulupuluhan 'tens'

pulupuluhan *see* pulu(h)

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pun 'honorific'

punya 'gift, donation'; pinunyakĕn 'to be given away'

putĕr 'to turn around'; pinutĕr 'is turned'

putih 'white'

putra 'son'; maputra 'to have a son'

putrī 'daughter'; makaputrī 'to give birth'

putu 'grandchild'

pwa 'but, as regards; even'

pwangkulun 'he; I, we'

ra honorific prefix

rāga 'passion'

rāh, rah 'blood'

rahadyan sanghulun 'sir'

rāja 'ruler'

rājaputra 'son of the radja, prince'

rakarayān 'prince'

rakryan 'right honorable'

rakṣa 'protection, defense'; rumakṣa 'to protect'

rākṣasa 'demon, giant'

rakwa 'they say, you know'

rāma 'father'

rāmya 'beautiful'; rāmya-rāmya 'very beautiful'

raṇḍa 'widow'

raray 'child'

rare *see* raray

raṣa 'feeling'

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rasikā 'that'

rāt 'world'

ratha 'chariot'

ratu 'ruler'; karatun 'palace'

rĕmuk 'to destroy, to smash'; pangrĕmuk 'means of destruction'

rĕṇa, rĕṇĕ 'happy'

rĕngö 'to hear, to listen'; karĕngö 'heard'; mangrĕngö 'to hear, listen'; rĕngön 'that it may be heard'; rinĕngö 'to be heard'; rumĕngö 'to hear, to listen to'

rĕngön *see* rĕngö

rĕnycĕm 'to break'; angrĕnycĕm 'to break intentionally'; rumĕnycĕm 'to break accidentally'

ri 'in, on, at'

rinangkuça ?

rinĕngö *see* rĕngö

ring 'in, on, at'

ṛngö *see* rĕngö

ṛṣi 'seer, sage; friar'

ruhur 'top'; ingruhur 'upwards, to the top'; pingruhur 'movement upwards'

rumakṣa *see* rakṣa

rumĕngö *see* rĕngö

rumĕnycĕm *see* rĕnycĕm

rūpa 'form, appearance'

rwa 'two'; rwang atus '200'; rwalikur 'twenty-two'; rwangpuluh '20'; rwangpuluh rwa 'twenty-two'; rwa wĕlas 'twelve'

rwa wĕlas *see* rwa

rwang *see* rwa

rwangpuluh (rwa) *see* rwa

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ryaku = ri + aku

çabda 'word(s)'

sabhā 'reception hall'

saha 'and, with, together with'

sahut 'to gnaw, to nibble'; sumahut 'to gnaw, to nibble'

sajŏng 'strong drink'

saka 'from; because'

sakawĕnanga *see* wĕnang

sakeng = saka + ing

çakti 'magical, powerful'; kaçaktin 'magical power'

sakwehta *see* kweh

salikur *see* likur

samangkā 'thus'

samangkana 'thus'

sambrani 'sorrel horse'

samudra 'sea, ocean'

sanāma *see* nāma

sandeha '(in) doubt'

sang 'honored'

sanga 'nine'; sanga wĕlas '19'

sanga wĕlas *see* sanga

sangaskara 'to support or reinforce by oaths; consecration ceremony'

sanggama 'sexual intercourse/union'

sangguh 'to think about/of, to call, to name'; sinangguh 'to be thought about'

sanghulun 'I (very respectful); you'

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sangka 'from; fatherland'

sangke 'from'

sangkĕp 'weapon'; pasangkĕpan 'all sorts of weapons'

sangkerika = sangka + irika

sangṣipta 'abandoned; with quick understanding; short, brief'

sangtawya 'the one who is forgiven; with your leave'

sāntwa 'respect'; manāntwa 'to welcome'; sumāntwa 'to treat with respect'

saparpatan *see* pat

sapira *see* pira

sapuluh *see* puluh

saput 'to cover'; sumaputana 'will cover'

sarika 'he'

sariki 'he'

çarīra 'body'; çarīranya 'his body'

sarpa 'serpent'

satunggal *see* tunggal

sātus *see* atus

sawĕlas 'eleven'

sĕḍĕng 'period (of time)'; (r)i sĕḍĕng 'in the period, when'; sĕḍĕngning 'when'

sĕḍĕngning *see* sĕḍĕng

sewu *see* iwu

si predicate for persons of average status

sih 'love'

çikara 'summit, top'

silih 'to replace, succeed'; sumiliha 'will replace'

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sinangguh *see* sangguh

sing 'each'

sinurat *see* surat

sira 'he, she, they; you'

çirah 'head'; çirahnya 'his head'

sirāmeta = sira + ameta

sirāngkĕn = sira + angkĕn

sirasirat *see* sirat

sirat 'to spread'; sirasirat 'to spread everywhere'

sire = sira + i

sireng = sira + ing

çiṣya 'pupil, student'

siwo 'feast; game'; masiwasiwo 'to romp'

sor 'bottom; below'; i sor 'below, beneath'; pingsor 'a fall downward'

sowe 'long'; sowe-sowe 'very long'

çrī 'illustrious'

strī 'wife; woman'; makastrī 'to have a wife'

sugyan 'perhaps; it's best to; fearful lest'

suka 'happy, happiness'

sukĕt 'grass, weed; thick, dense'

çula 'spear'

sumahut *see* sahut

sumāntwa *see* sāntwa

sumaputana *see* saput

sumiliha *see* silih

sumur 'well'

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sumurup *see* surup

sun 'I'

sungsung 'to meet, come across'; manungsung 'to take; to meet, come across'

surat 'writing'; sinurat 'to be written'

surup 'to enter, to go down'; sumurup 'to go down (of the moon/sun)'

swāmi 'husband'; swāminyu 'your husband'

syapa 'who?'

t 'the'

ta 'but, as regards; even'

-ta *see* kita

tahĕn 'to withstand'; tumahĕnaken 'to withstand'

tahun 'year'

tak 'I'

tāku = ta + aku

tālap = ta + alap

tali 'rope, string'; tali-tali 'ropelike object'

tāmalaku = t + amalaku

taman 'no, not'

tamatan 'no, not'

tambak 'dam'; tinambakakĕn 'to be used as a dam'

tamolah 'to live, dwell; to assemble'

tan 'no, not'

tang 'the'

tanggap 'to take, to hold; to accept'; tinanggap 'to be taken'

tanghi 'to get up'; matanghi 'to get up'; matanghya 'get up!'

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tangis 'weeping, sobbing'; anangis 'to wail, cry'; panangis 'weeping, crying'

tangkil 'to call on, wait upon'; panangkilan 'reception hall'

tanpa 'without'

tānung = ta + anung

tanuwuhakĕn = t + anuwuhakĕn

tanya 'to ask'; tinanyān 'is asked'; tumanyākĕn 'to ask'

tapa 'hermit'; patapan 'hermitage'

tapi 'female hermit'

tapwan 'not (yet)'

tar 'not'

tarima 'to receive'; tinarimakĕn 'to be given'

tarpaṇa 'offering'; tarpaṇākĕna 'will pay for'

tasmād 'then, for that reason'

tat 'not'

tatan 'no, not'

tatar 'no, not'

tathāpi 'but, however'

tāwak = ta + awak

tĕguh 'firm, strong'; pinahatĕguh 'to be strengthened/fortified'

tĕhĕr 'at once, next'; manĕhĕrakĕna 'to drive back; to want to live'

tĕka 'to come, to visit, to arrive'; katĕkan 'to have experienced, to be affected by'; katĕkāna 'will experience'; tinĕkan 'to be visited'

tekang = ta + ikang

tekāwak = ta + ika + awak

tĕkeng = tĕka + ing

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tĕlas 'after'; tlasinurat = tlas + sinurat

tĕlu 'three'; tĕlungpuluh '30'

tĕlungpuluh *see* tĕlu

tĕmbe 'beginning; first'

tĕmu 'to meet'; manĕmu 'to find, to receive'; matĕmu-tangan, 'to marry'; panĕmu 'to find, to obtain'

tĕṇḍas 'head'

tĕngah 'half'

tĕpi 'shore, edge'; manĕpi 'to move towards the shore'

tibā 'to fall; the fall'; anibākĕn 'to throw down'

tibeng = tibā + ing

tiga 'three'; katigawĕlas 'thirteenth'; pingtiga '3 times'; tiga wĕlas 'thirteen'

tikang = t + ikang

tīkṣṇa, tikṣṇa 'sharp'

tilĕm 'burial ceremony'

tinambakakĕn *see* tambak

tinanggap *see* tanggap

tinanyān *see* tanya

tinarimakĕn *see* tarima

tinĕkan *see* tĕka

tinggal 'to remain'; patinggal 'separation, parting'; tinggalakĕn 'to leave'; tinggalakna 'will leave'

tinggalakĕn *see* tinggal

tinggalakna *see* tinggal

tinghal 'to look'; tuminghalana 'will look after, will care for'

tingkah 'situation; behavior'

tinon *see* ton

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tinutupan *see* tutup

tiru 'to imitate'; panirwan 'model, pattern'

tlas *see* tĕlas

ton 'to see'; anon 'to see (s.t.)'; katon 'seen'; tinon 'to be visible' tumon 'to see'

triyak 'animal'

tuha 'old'; atuha 'to be old'

tuhu 'really, truly'; mituhu 'to bow, to bend to, 'to obey'; pituhu 'bow, nod of the head; obedient'

tukup 'to close'; matukup-tukup 'to try to close'

tulihakĕn = t + ulihakĕn

tumahĕnakĕn *see* tahĕn

tumanyākĕn *see* tanya

tumbak 'spear, lance'; manumbak 'to strike with a spear'

tuminghalana *see* tinghal

tumon *see* ton

tumurun *see* turun

tumūti *see* tūt

tunggal 'one', satunggal 'one'; tunggal-tunggal 'quite alone'

tunggang 'to ride'; tunggangi 'to mount'

tunggu 'to stand guard' to dwell'; atunggwa 'that one stand guard'

tungtung 'point, summit'

turu 'to sleep'; maturu 'to sleep'; paturu 'sleep!'

turun 'to descend'; manurun 'to leave, to descend'; tumurun 'to go out'

tuṣṭa 'content, satisfied'

tutup 'to cover'; tinutupan 'to be covered'

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tūt 'to follow, to accompany'; tumūti 'to participate in'

tuwi *see* yadyapin

tuwuh 'to grow; vegetation'; anuwuhakĕn 'to provoke, arouse, cause to break out'

twa(ng) 'you'

twas 'heart'

uḍū 'oh!, well!'

ujar 'to speak'; inujar 'to be told'; ujarĕn 'in order to say'; ujarĕngku 'that I may say'; ujarta 'your words'

ujarĕn *see* ujar

ujarta *see* ujar

ulā 'snake'

ulah 'deed, work, activity; conduct'; molah 'to move'; ulahta 'your conduct'

ulih 'to return'; ulihakĕn 'will return (s.t. or s.o.)'

umadĕg *see* adĕg

umalap *see* alap

umangan *see* pangan

umanggih *see* panggih

umanycana *see* banycana

umilī *see* ilī

uminangi *see* pinang

umintonakĕn *see* pinton

umitra *see* mitra

upadrawa 'accident; calamity'; kopadrawan 'misfortune'

usi 'to pursue, to strive, to aspire'; inusi 'to be pursued, to be sought after'

utpĕna 'to rise'

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uttama 'devout, pious; head, principal; excellent'; kottaman 'piety'; uttamajanmā 'devout person'

wadwa 'servant; subordinate, soldier'

wagus 'nice, beautiful'

wāh, wah 'flow, flood'

wāhana 'vehicle, chariot'; makawāhana 'to ride in a vehicle'; pinakawāhana 'to be used as a vehicle or chariot'

wāhu 'just, only then'

walĕs 'to return, to repay, to requite'; walĕsa 'will return'

waluy 'to return'; maluyakĕn 'will return'

wana 'woods, forest'; wanādri 'woods and mountains'

wanādri = wana + adri

wandhuwarga 'relatives'

waneh 'other, another (person)'

wangke 'body, carcass'

wangçakrama 'genealogy'

warah 'word; to say'; warahakĕna 'tell!'; winarahakĕn 'to be said'

warang 'married'; warangĕn 'marry!'

warĕg 'satisfied, content'

warṇa 'color; appearance'

watu 'rock, stone'

wawa 'to carry, to bear'; wawan 'bring!'; winawa 'to be brought'

wawan *see* wawa

way, wäy 'water'

wĕdi 'to fear'; awĕdi 'to be afraid'; kawĕdi 'fear'

wĕgil 'protection'; wĕgilĕngku 'my protector'

wĕgilĕngku *see* wĕgil

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weh 'to give'; paweha 'will form/constitute'; wehana 'may give'; wehi 'to give'

wehana *see* weh

wehanugraha = weh + anugraha

wehi *see* weh

wĕka 'child'; mawĕka 'to have children'

wĕkas 'end'; (i) wĕkasan 'finally'; kawĕkas 'to remain, to stay'

wĕnang 'to be able, can, possible'; sakawĕnanga 'in order to be able to'; wenanga 'will be able'

wĕngi 'night'

wĕṛ 'drunk'

wĕrö 'drunk'; awĕrö 'drunk, intoxicated'

wetan 'east'

widagdha 'clever, talented'; kawidagdhan 'talent'

wih ?

winarahakĕn *see* warah

winawa *see* wawa

wiṣa 'poison'

witāna 'open location, great hall'

wiwaha 'wedding'

wṛddhi 'interest on a loan; increase'

wruh 'to know'; wruha 'will know'; kawruhana 'one will be found out'

wujuk 'flattery'; amujuk 'to persuade, to flatter; to decline (a noun)'

wukir 'mountain'

wulan 'moon'

wulangun 'confused'

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wungu 'to rise'; wungwa 'in order to get up'

wuri 'back, posterior'

wuta 'blind'; amuta-mutani 'to pretend, to deceive'

wwai 'water' *see* wwe; wwainya 'its water'

wwalu 'eight'; wwalu wĕlas '18'

wwang 'man, person'

wwe 'water' *see* wwai

ya 'he, she, they'

yadiyan *see* yapwan

yadyapin 'although, but nevertheless'; yadyapin ... tuwi 'although ... yet, but nevertheless'

yajnya 'sacrifice, offering'

yan 'if; that'

yañcampur = yan + campur

yaṇḍatĕng = yan + ḍatĕng

yapwan 'either'; yapwan ... yadiyan 'either ... or'

yatanyan 'so, thus, for that reason'

yatikā 'this'

yeking = ya + iki(ng)

yeng = ya + ing

yogya 'fitting, best'

yowana 'young; youth'

yukti 'fitting, proper, best'

yuta 'million'

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