Changes in word order and noun phrase marking from Old to modern Javanese: implications for understanding developments in western Austronesian 'focus' systems

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1 Introduction

In modern Javanese SV(O), the dominant word order of English and many other European languages, is also dominant, though by no means exclusive. This causes Javanese (like modern Malay/Indonesian) to appear at first glance deceptively similar in structure to European languages. In Old Javanese, VS order was far more common than it now is and noun phrases were partially marked for 'case' or semantic role, making the language at that stage appear more like a 'focus' language, that is a language of the Philippine type.

This paper describes the basic features of the verb morphology, noun phrase marking and word order patterns of first modern Javanese and then Old Javanese. It then explores the nature of the changes which must have taken place to lead from the second to the first and looks tentatively at the degree to which it might be possible to reconstruct still earlier forms of the language and what implications might emerge from this endeavour for understanding the development (and loss) of 'focus' systems in western Austronesian languages.

Before proceeding, it should be noted that there are some problems with terminology, beginning with the word 'focus' itself, which is used in relation to Philippine languages to refer to a particular kind of grammatical system in which noun phrase initial particles indicate the semantic role of that phrase, a special particle indicates subject (or 'focussed on') status and the verb morphology indicates the semantic role of the subject. The term 'focus' is also used in linguistics to refer to an item in an utterance which is judged by the speaker to carry the newest and most salient information. This is indicated in English by making a word more prominent, that is by making its stressed syllable longer and louder and making it function as the pivot point for pitch movement. It is not entirely clear to me what the function

of the formal system of 'focus' in Philippine languages is but it almost surely is not to mark 'focus' in this second sense.

The use of the term 'focus' in the informational sense as well as the use of terms such as 'topic' or 'theme' may suggest a 'functional' as opposed to a 'formal' approach to linguistic analysis. Though it is not my purpose here to advocate a particular theory, it is my feeling that to ignore these functions, regardless of what they are called, can only obscure the reasons for changes which have taken place over the past two millennia in the morphology and syntax of the languages in the Malayo-Javanic subgroup of Austronesian. This is particularly true with regard to changes in word order which, as Cumming (1988) has pointed out in reference to Malay, came about due to gradual changes in functions of the orders, resulting in one which had previously been marked eventually becoming the most common.

In general in this article I use the term 'focus' in the Philippine sense and specify 'information focus' when the other meaning is intended.

2 Modern Javanese

2.1 Verb morphology

Though modern Javanese transitive verbs have clear active (i.e. agent/actor as subject) forms, indicated by the prefix *N-*, which are distinct from a set of passive (i.e. non-agent/actor as subject) forms, indicated by the prefixes shown in Table 1, to say that Javanese has 'voice', like European languages, rather than 'focus', like Philippine languages, is misleading.

Table 1: Passive prefixes in modern Javanese

	Prefix
First person agent	*dak-*
Second person agent	*kok-*
Third person agent	*di-*
(Unspecified agent)	*di-*

It is frequently pointed out, as Spitz has done in his contribution to this volume, that while European languages have a two-way active-passive voice distinction, Philippine languages have as many as four possible focuses for a given verb. In modern Javanese, though the European-language-like active-passive distinction exists, it is also possible to make multiple focus distinctions like those available in Philippine languages. Examples are given in sentences (1)–(4).

(1)   **Actor focus** (i.e. actor = subject):

SUBJECT/ACTOR   VERB
Mbok Marta   mau   esok   menyang pasar tuku beras.
Mrs   (name) earlier.today morning go.to   market buy   rice.(uncooked)
'Mrs Marta this morning (went) to the market (to) buy rice.'

(2)   **Patient focus** (i.e. patient = subject):

SUBJECT/PATIENT				VERB (PASSIVE)	ACTOR	
Beras sing	*neng pawon*	*kae sing*		*dituku*	*mbok*	*Marta*
rice which	at/in kitchen	that (is.that).which		be.bought	Mrs	(name)

mau   esok.
earlier.today   morning
'The (uncooked) rice which is in the kitchen is the (rice) which was bought by Mrs Marta this morning.'

(3)   **Benefactive focus** (i.e. benefactee = subject):

SUBJECT/ BENEFACTEE	VERB (PASSIVE- BENEFACTIVE)	PATIENT	ACTOR	
Ibu biasane	*ditukoke*	*kain batik*	*dening mbok*	*Marta.*
Mother usually	be.bought.for	cloth batik	by Mrs	(name)

Literally: 'Mother is usually bought batik cloth by Mrs Marta,' (i.e. *ibu* 'mother' is the subject or 'focussed' noun phrase).
Meaning: 'Mrs Marta usually buys batik cloth for mother.'

(4)   **Locative focus** (i.e. location = subject):

SUBJECT/ LOCATION				VERB (PASSIVE- LOCATIVE)	ACTOR
Mbok Marta	*kae*	*sing*	*biasane*	*ditukoni*	*ibu.*
Mrs (name)	that	which	usually	be.bought.at	mother

'Mrs Marta is the one whom mother usually buys from,'   OR:
'Mrs Marta is the one whose shop mother usually buys at.'

In theory at least,[1] it is possible to make the focus choices in sentences (2)–(4) in either the active or passive voice. The examples given above are in the passive, that is the focussed item is the grammatical subject. It is possible to make the focussed item into the grammatical object, the grammatical subject being the actor/agent, as in sentences (5)–(7).

(5)   **Actor as subject/Patient as object**:

OBJECT/PATIENT				VERB (ACTIVE)	SUBJECT/ACTOR	
Beras	*sing*	*neng pawon*	*kae, sing*	*nuku*	*Mbok*	*Marta.*
rice.(uncooked)	which	at/in kitchen	that which	buy	Mrs	(name)

'The (uncooked) rice which was in the kitchen, the one who bought it is Mrs Marta.'

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[1]   In fact active voice is far less common than passive in Javanese and tends to occur only when the patient is indefinite and the continuing topic (that which has been and is being talked about) is the actor, or, as in the first example, where an actor is being introduced as a new topic and is thus the focus of information.

(6)   **Actor as subject/Benefactee as object**:

SUBJECT/ACTOR	VERB (ACTIVE- BENEFACTIVE)	OBJECT/BENEFACTEE
Mbok Marta biasane	*nukokke*	*ibu.*
Mrs (name) usually	buy.for	mother

'Mrs Marta usually buys things for mother.'

(7)   **Actor as subject/Location as object**:

SUBJECT/ACTOR	VERB (ACTIVE- LOCATIVE)	OBJECT/LOCATION
Ibu	*biasane*	*nukoni*	*mbok Marta.*
Mother	usually	buy at	Mrs (name)

'Mother usually buys (things) from Mrs Marta.'

One might point out that with English ditransitive verbs more than one object is also possible. However, the Javanese system is far more complex than the English one in that with English there is a maximum of two possible objects (usually called 'direct' and 'indirect') for any given verb whereas in Javanese there are frequently at least three choices. Furthermore, English ditransitive verbs are quite limited in number whereas the majority of Javanese transitive verbs can have more than one potential grammatical object. The Javanese system is additionally more complex than the English one in that, whether the verb is active or passive, the semantic role of the focussed entity is indicated by verbal suffixation or its absence. The verb morphology expressing this complex voice/focus system is shown in Table 2, where the generalised *di-* prefix is used to indicate passive. It should be remembered, however, that all of the options shown in Table 1 are available for all passive forms:

Table 2: The Javanese voice/focus system

	Patient-focus	Benefactive-focus	Locative-focus
Active voice	*N-*	*N- -ake*	*N- -i*
Passive voice	*di-*	*di- -ake*	*di- -i*

In fact, the system is more complex than that shown here in that forms in Table 2 only include those which might be labelled 'indicative mood'. There are partially comparable forms for the 'imperative/subjunctive' (Table 3) and the 'desiderative' (meaning something like 'I think I'll do X'—Table 4), though the active/passive distinction is not made with these forms. Actor focus in the imperative is used with intransitives or with potentially transitive verbs in contexts where the object is not relevant. The desiderative forms are, of course, all passive with first person agent.

Table 3: The Javanese imperative/subjunctive forms

Actor-focus	Patient-focus	Benefactive-focus	Locative-focus
-a	*-en*	*-(k)na*	*-ana*

Table 4: The Javanese desiderative forms

Patient-focus	Benefactive-focus	Locative-focus
dak- -e	*dak- -(k)ne*	*dak- -ane*

Example sentences for imperative/subjunctive are given in sentences (8)–(11) and for desiderative forms in sentences (12)–(14).

Imperatives

(8)   **Actor focus**

(*Gaweane   wis   meh   rampung.*) ***Mangana*** *dhisik.*
work(definite) already almost finished   eat   first
'The work is almost done. Eat first.'

(9)   **Patient focus**

(*Peleme   wis   mateng.*) ***Panganen.***
mango(definite) already ripe   eat
'The mango(s) is(are) ripe. Eat it(them).'

(10)   **Benefactive focus**

(*Kuwi lho.   Korane   wis   teka.*) ***Jupukna.***
that   (exclamatory newspaper.(definite) already arrive get
          particle)
'There! The newspaper has come. Get it for me.'

(11)   **Locative focus**

(*Adhikmu   kuwi kudu ngerti.*) ***Kandanana.***
younger.sibling.your that must   know   tell
'Your little brother has to know (i.e. understand). Tell (him).'

Desideratives

(12)   **Patient focus**

(*Peleme   wis   mateng.*) *Dak-****pangane.***
Mango(definite) already ripe   by.me-eat
'The mango(s) is(are) ripe. (I think) I'll eat (it/them).'

(13)   **Benefactive focus**

(*Kuwi lho!   Korane   wis   teka.*) *Dak-****jupukne.***
that   (exclamatory newspaper already arrive by.me-get
          particle)   (definite)
'There! The newspaper has come. I'll get (it for you).'

(14)   **Locative focus**

(*Adhikmu   kuwi kudu ngerti.*) *Dak-****kandanane.***[2]
younger. sibling.your that must   know   by.me-tell
'Your little brother has to know (i.e. understand). I'll tell (him).'

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[2]   The locative-desiderative form tends not to be used much by the present younger generation who substitute the ordinary indicative form (*dak-kandani*) though desiderative meaning is intended.

Though the terms 'patient-focus', 'benefactive-focus' and 'locative-focus' have been used above, it is true for Javanese as it is for Philippine languages that the actual semantic role of the focussed-on entity depends on the semantic structure of the verb. In particular, forms with *-ake* often have a 'conveyed-entity-focus'. The entity conveyed may or may not be an instrument but to interpret the form as 'instrumental' is misleading because only instruments which are conveyed away from the actor towards a goal can be focussed on with this suffix.

Though the *-i* suffix is usually locational or directional in some sense, the actual nature of the 'focussed-on' item is variable. In many cases, if there is a possible interpretation, more than one 'meaning' of either suffix can occur with a given verb root. Finally, even intransitive roots can be made transitive with the addition of one or both of these suffixes. When this happens, the semantic characteristics of the suffixes which have been outlined above are usually retained. Examples of some of these possibilities are given in sentences (15)–(21). (Some examples are active, some passive, as appropriate depending on the context.)

nulis – 'write'

(15) **Patient-focus**:

SUBJECT/		VERB	ACTOR
PATIENT		(PASSIVE)	
Karangan	*iki*	*ditulis*	*Ani.*
composition	this	be.written	(name)

'This composition was written by Ani.'

(16) **Benefactive-focus**:

SUBJECT/	VERB	ACTOR	PATIENT		
BENEFACTEE	(PASSIVE-				
	BENEFACTIVE)				
Adhike	*ditulisake*	*Ani*	*layang*	*dinggo*	*bapak.*[3]
little.sibling.his/her	be.written.for	(name)	letter	for	father

Literally: 'Her little brother (or sister) was written a letter for Father by Ani.'
Meaning: 'Ani wrote a letter to Father for her little brother (or sister).'

(17) **Conveyed-entity-focus**:

SUBJECT/	VERB	ACTOR	GOAL	
CONVEYED	(PASSIVE-			
ENTITY	CONVEYANCE)			
Potlote	*ditulisake*	*Ani*	*menyang*	*kertas.*
pencil(definite)	be.applied.for.writing	(name)	to	paper

'The pencil was (applied) to the paper by Ani (in order to) write.'

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[3] The current younger generation especially, who use Javanese less and less for functions other than colloquial interpersonal social communication, tend not to construct sentences with more than two full noun phrases. They would thus, in order to convey the meaning of this sentence, collapse two of the noun phrases into a genitive construction: *Layange adhik sing dinggo bapak ditulis(a)ke Ani,* 'Little brother's letter for Father was written by Ani.' The example in the text of this paper (*Adhike ditulisake Ani layang dinggo Bapak*), which comes from data collected in the early 1970's from an informant who was at that time in his late 30's, is, according to a young informant currently in his 20's, interpretable; however, this young informant confessed that he would never say such a thing.

(18) **Locative-focus (human goal)**:

SUBJECT/	VERB	OBJECT/	ACTOR	
HUMAN GOAL	(PASSIVE-LOCATIVE)	PATIENT		
Tono	*ditulisi*	*layang*	*dening*	*Ani.*
(name)	be.written.to	letter	by	(name)

Literally: 'Tono was written a letter by Ani.'

Meaning: 'Ani wrote a letter to Tono.'

(19) **Locative-focus (inanimate goal)**:

SUBJECT/	VERB		ACTOR
INANIMATE GOAL	(PASSIVE- LOCATIVE)		
Kertas	*kuwi*	*ditulisi*	*Ani.*
paper	that	be.written.on	(name)

'That paper was written on by Ani.'

turu – 'sleep'

(20) **Conveyed-entity-focus**:

SUBJECT/ACTOR	VERB (ACTIVE-	OBJECT/CONVEYED
	CONVEYANCE)	ENTITY
Mbok Marta	*nurokake*	*anake.*
Mrs (name)	put.to.sleep	child.her

'Mrs Marta put her child to sleep.'

(21) **Locative-focus (inanimate goal)**:

SUBJECT/LOCATION			VERB (PASSIVE-	ACTOR
			LOCATIVE)	
Kasur *sing*	*anyar*	*kuwi*	*dituroni*	*Ani.*
mattress which	new	that	be.slept.on	(name)

'The new mattress was slept on by Ani.'

2.2 Noun phrase marking

While Philippine languages indicate the focussed-on item with a special particle (*ang* in Tagalog), Javanese indicates focussed-on status of an item, whether that item is the grammatical subject or object, by lack of any prepositional marking. In the examples above the grammatical subject occupies initial position. The position of the subject is in fact variable, as will be explained in the following section. However, initial position for subject is the unmarked order in modern Javanese. The grammatical object, which is perhaps not a very appropriate term, as we will see shortly, usually follows the verb immediately and is also unmarked. In fact, the verb plus grammatical object normally form a unit, the elements of which cannot be moved in relation to each other. The only exceptions to this rule are found in sentences which have undergone 'double topicalisation', such as sentence (5). In this sentence the object is fronted to form a primary topic and the verb is nominalised to form a secondary topic, the subject of an equational sentence. The underlying subject becomes the predicate of the equational sentence.

Lack of marking on grammatical subject and object, with prepositions indicating the semantic role of other noun phrases, again, sounds deceptively like English and other

European languages. Javanese, however, differs from English and other European languages in that, whether a sentence is active or passive, it can have both a grammatical subject and a (not very appropriately named) grammatical object. That is, an entity which is unmarked prepositionally, usually follows the verb and, when in that position, together with the verb forms a unit. Since this latter entity can have almost any semantic role, perhaps a better term for it is 'verbal complement'. In passive sentences the verbal complement is frequently the agent but not necessarily. An example of a passive sentence cited above which contains such a verbal complement, which is not the agent, is sentence (18); where *Tono*, the goal of the action, is the grammatical subject and *layang* 'letter', the patient of the action, is the verbal complement.

The semantic role of any noun phrase other than the grammatical subject and verbal complement is marked by a preposition, except in the case of a patient or conveyed entity (which is not an instrument). This semantic role (patient or non-instrumental conveyed entity) is unmarked whether or not the phrase is focussed on as subject or verbal complement. The prepositions indicating the major non-focussed roles include the following:

menyang	– destination (inanimate)
marang	– destination (animate, usually human)
neng	– location
dening	– agent
dinggo/kanggo –	benefactee
nganggo	– instrument

2.3 Word Order

SV(O), as mentioned above, is the neutral or unmarked order in modern Javanese. The position of subject, however, as is true of any phrase having a non-focussed role, is variable. Most frequently, if the subject does not precede the verb, it occurs in clause-final position. As has been described elsewhere (Poedjosoedarmo 1977, 1986a, 1986b), the sequencing of phrases combines with placement of particular intonation contours to indicate the information status of each item in the sequence. Briefly, grammatical phrases in Javanese each constitute at least potentially distinct information units. Each information unit is marked by a particular intonation contour. There are three possible contours in modern Javanese: rising, falling (or falling-rising) and flat.[4] If all types occur, they must be sequenced in this order. There may be more than one rising tone unit or none at all and more than one flat tone unit or none at all but every utterance must have one and only one falling tone unit.

As mentioned, these are information units. Each intonational contour signals a particular status of the phrase as an item of information. There are in fact four levels of importance of information. The newest and most important information is signalled by a falling tone. The second most important level is indicated by a rising tone. Relatively unimportant information

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[4]   The actual contours are variable depending on many factors, such as whether the utterance is a statement or a question and other aspects of speaker intent or attitude. In Poedjosoedarmo (1977, 1986b), I use the terms *anticipatory* for the 'rising' tone unit, *focal* for the 'falling' (or falling-rising) tone unit, and *supplementary* for the 'flat' tone unit. The 'rising' one is nearly always actually rising and the 'flat' one is nearly always actually flat, though it can be at various relative pitches, depending largely on the actual contour of the focal unit.

is signalled by a flat tone. Completely recoverable information is normally indicated by ellipsis. Information structure and other elements of discourse are beyond the main topic of this article. I mention this analysis here because ranking of each phrase in terms of its importance as an information unit affects word order. It is also important because in modern colloquial Javanese (A)VS order (where A is an adverbial phrase) can have two quite different structures in terms of the information status of each phrase. Example (22) might occur in an orally told story.

(22)   *Dumadaan keprungu suarane macan.*
       'Suddenly (there) was heard the voice of a tiger.'

The phrase *suarane macan* 'the voice of a tiger', which is subject and occurs in final position, would be uttered with a falling tone, marking it as the most important bit of information in the utterance. *Dumadaan* 'suddenly' and *keprungu* 'was heard', an adverbial phrase and the verb, would each be uttered with a rising tone, marking them as important but not the focus of information.

Another example, sentence (23), with the constituent sequence (A)VS, might have a quite different structure in terms of the status of each element as an information unit:

(23)   *Banjur lunga wonge.*
       Literally: 'Then left, the man.'
       Meaning: 'Then, the man left.'

In this utterance, with the same sequence of constituent types as the first, the subject noun phrase *wonge* 'the man' is an established topic and relatively unimportant in terms of its information status. It would be uttered with a flat tone. The adverbial *Banjur* 'Then' would be uttered with a rising tone and, the most important information in the utterance, *lunga* 'left', would be uttered with a falling tone.

Except for the restrictions on the positioning of the 'verbal complement', the order of phrases other than the grammatical subject is also quite free. An example of a sentence in which the placement of every noun phrase is non-neutral or 'marked' occurs in sentence (24).

(24)   *Dening pak Kerta kuwi, nganggo watu gedhe, dibalang asune.*
       Literally: 'By Mr Kerta, using a large stone, was hit/thrown at the dog.'
       Meaning: 'The dog was hit with a large stone which Mr Kerta threw at it.'

3   Old Javanese

3.1   The language

The earliest inscription in the Javanese language is the Sukabumi Charter, which is dated 25 March 804 AD. There are earlier inscriptions which have been found on the island of Java but these are in Sanskrit. It is probable that Sanskrit was the principal language of literature on the island before the ninth century. A sixth century Chinese work, the Kao Seng Chuan, mentions a prince from Kashmir who came to Java and propagated Buddhist doctrine at the beginning of the fifth century (Zoetmulder 1974:6–11). This suggests that Sanskrit was the language of religion and literature on the island for nearly four centuries. It is thus not surprising that the Old Javanese language which has been preserved in both texts and inscriptions contains a large proportion of Sanskrit vocabulary. Juynboll's *Woordenlijst*, cited

by Gonda (1952), lists 6790 Sanskrit words and 6925 indigenous lexical items occurring in Old Javanese. In other words, by this count, nearly half the vocabulary of Old Javanese was of Sanskrit origin. Gonda himself more conservatively estimates that in Old Javanese poetry in Indian metres (*kakawin*) 25–30% of the words are Sanskrit.

According to Zoetmulder, though the number of Sanskrit borrowings in Old Javanese was great, the words borrowed were mostly nouns and adjectives and they were borrowed, almost without exception, in their undeclined form. Zoetmulder (1974:11) feels that the grammar of Old Javanese was not affected by the massive importation of Sanskrit vocabulary. This is not to say that the Old Javanese language preserved in inscriptions and manuscripts is a close reflection of the spoken language in Java in the ninth century. Sanskrit, the only Indian language to have influenced Javanese, was spoken colloquially nowhere in Indian during the first millennium AD. It was, however, the language of science, literature and religion in most of India at that time. Similarly, classical Old Javanese, called Kawi, became the language of science, literature and religion in Java and the language of the Sukabumi Charter remained little changed as a literary language throughout a period which extends from the ninth to the fifteenth century (Zoetmulder 1974:7). It is the features of this literary language which are described here. The description is based on Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna's description in *Bahasa Parwa* (1954, reprinted 1993).

3.2 Verb morphology

Though the Javanese language in its colloquial form has surely changed over the past millennium and though we have evidence that many features of the literary language have changed, it is quite amazing that the basic semantic categories represented by the verb morphology appear to have remained quite stable. Old Javanese, like modern Javanese, had both a 2-way voice distinction between active and passive and a three-way focus distinction cutting across it, for which the basic semantic categories which could be focussed on were (in addition to actor in all the active forms) patient, conveyed object and location or goal. With the addition of a prefix, to be described below, the form indicating conveyed object could also take on benefactive meaning. The forms are not exactly identical to those of modern Javanese. In some cases suppletion appears to have occurred. In others, one of two competing forms has been lost or fossilised or a form has undergone phonological change. The forms of Old Javanese are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: The Old Javanese voice/focus system

	Patient-focus	Conveyed-object-focus	Locative-focus
Active voice	*-um-, (m)aN-*	*-um- -aken,* *(m)aN- -aken*	*-um- -i,* *(m)aN- -i*
Passive voice	*-in-*	*-in- -aken*	*-in- -an*

The infixes *-um-* and *-in-* only occur in fossilised forms in modern Javanese. *(m)aN-* has been reduced to prenasalisation. *-aken* still occurs in the Krama or polite speech level form but in Ngoko, the unmarked level, it has been reduced to *-ake*. The differentiation in form between the locative suffix for active (*-i*) and passive (*-an*) has been neutralised, *-i* now being used for both.

Examples of some Old Javanese sentences illustrating the various verb forms (taken from Zoetmulder & Poedjawijatna 1954) are given in (25)–(30).

(25) **Actor as subject/patient as object**

	SUBJECT/ ACTOR	VERB ACTIVE/ PATIENT-FOCUS	OBJECT/ PATIENT		
Tan dadi ri	*śiṣya*	*mangan*	*drawya*	*ning*	*guru.*
not fitting to	student	eat	that.owned	by	teacher

'It is not fitting for a student to eat that which belongs to a/his teacher.'

(26) **Patient as subject**

SUBJECT/PATIENT	VERB PASSIVE/ PATIENT-FOCUS		
Ikang nāga	*pinangan*	*ing*	*apuy. . .*
that dragon	eaten	in	fire

'The/that dragon (which was) eaten by fire . . .'

(27) **Actor as subject/conveyed-entity as object**

VERB ACTIVE/ CONVEYED-ENTITY-FOCUS		SUBJECT/ACTOR		OBJECT/ CONVEYED- ENTITY
Umarpanakĕn	*ta*	*mahārāja*	*Janamejaya*	*lĕmbu*
give	post-verbal particle	king	(name)	cow

LOCATIVE/ HUMAN GOAL		
satus	*ri sang*	*Brahmana.*
one.hundred	o particle.of.respect	Brahman(s)

'King Janamejaya gave one hundred cows to the Brahman(s).'

(28) **Conveyed-entity as subject**

VERB PASSIVE/ CONVEYED ENTITY-FOCUS		SUBJECT/ CONVEYED ENTITY		LOCATIVE/HUMAN GOAL	
Inarpanakĕn	*ta*	*lĕmbu*	*satus*	*ri sang*	*Brahmana.*
be.given	post-verbal particle	cow	one.hundred	to particle.of.respect	Brahmans

'One hundred cows were given to the Brahman(s).'

(29) **Actor as subject/locative (human goal) as object**

	SUBJECT/ACTOR			VERB ACTIVE/ LOCATIVE FOCUS	OBJECT/ LOCATIVE (HUMAN GOAL)	
Mahyun	*ta*	*mahārāja*	*Janamejaya*	*umarpane*	*sang*	*Brahmana*
want	post-verbal particle	king	(name)	give	particle of respect	Brahman(s)

CONVEYED ENTITY
lĕmbu   satus.
cow   one.hundred
'King Janamejaya wants to give the Brahman(s) one hundred cows.'

(30) **Locative (human goal) as subject**

VERB PASSIVE/LOCATIVE FOCUS		SUBJECT/LOCATIVE (HUMAN GOAL)		CONVEYED ENTITY	
Inarpanan	*ta*	*sang*	*Brahmana*	*lĕmbu*	*satus*
given	post-verbal particle	particle.of. respect	Brahman(s)	cow	one.hundred

ACTOR
de   mahārāja   Janamejaya.
by   king   (name)
'The Brahman(s) was/were given one hundred cows by King Janamejaya.'

In addition to differences in form evident from Table 5, the formation of the passive in Old Javanese also differed from modern Javanese in that the proclitic pronoun forms indicating person of the agent shown in Table 1 did not exist in the *Parwa* literature which is the basis of Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna's description. While modern Javanese has three sets of pronouns — independent forms, the proclitic forms used to indicate person of the agent of passive verbs shown in Table 1, and enclitic forms used in genitive constructions and following prepositions, Old Javanese had only two sets. Like Philippine languages, enclitic forms were used both in genitive constructions and to indicate person of the agent of passive verbs. These Old Javanese enclitic pronouns are shown in Table 6. Note that the two rows of third person pronouns, though cognate with forms indicating singular and plural respectively in other Austronesian languages, did not indicate number differences in Old Javanese. Similarly, the first person *-mami* has the independent form *kami*, which is first person plural exclusive in other Austronesian languages. Both first and second person have the forms *-ta* and *-nta*, which have the independent form *kita*. This a first person plural inclusive pronoun in other Austronesian languages. However, in Old Javanese, none of these forms had explicitly plural meaning. The forms *-mami, -ta, -nta, -ira, -nira* were used to refer to persons of status while *-ku, -ngku, -mu, -nyu, -ya, -nya* were unmarked for status. Unlike in modern Javanese, the third person enclitic forms were only used when no nominal reference to the agent occurred.

Table 6: Old Javanese post-cliticised pronouns indicating
person of agent of passive verb

	Enclitic pronouns
First person	*-ku, -ngku;* *-mami; -ta, -nta*
Second person	*-mu, -nyu;* *-ta, -nta*
Third person	*-ya, -nya;* *-ira, -nira*

There are no examples from the data I analysed of the enclitics occurring immediately following a passive verb but -*nira* occurs as enclitic to a preposition in sentence (31).

(31)   *Salikur   kweh   ning ratu   pějah   de   nira.*
      twenty-one quantity of   king(s)   die   by   him
      'Twenty-one kings died by his (hand).'

As mentioned above, the suffix -*aken* alone did not have benefactive meaning in Old Javanese but in combination with a prefix *pa*- it did have this meaning. The active form of the prefix *pa*- was prenasalised, producing *ma*-; the passive form contained the infix -*in*-, producing a prefix *pina*-. Examples of these forms are given in sentences (32)–(33).

(32)   **Actor as subject/benefactee as object**

	SUBJECT/ACTOR		VERB
			ACTIVE/BENEFACTIVE FOCUS
Mangkana	*ling*	*bhagawān Waiśampāyana,*	*macaritākĕn*
thus	said	(title) (name)	tell a story

OBJECT/BENEFACTEE
mahārāja   Janamejaya.
king   (name)
'Thus said Bhagawan Waisampayana, (who then) told a story to/for King Janamejaya.'

(33)   **Benefactee as subject**

	VERB			SUBJECT
	PASSIVE/			BENEFACTEE
	BENEFACTIVE			
Mamalaku	*pinājarakĕn*	*i sang*	*Kuntī*	*sira.*
be.asked.to.do.sth	be.spoken.for	to title.of.	name	he
	(on.one's.behalf)	respect		

'He asked that he be spoken for concerning that matter to Kunti.'

Also, in addition to the passive forms with -*in*-, Old Javanese had a second set of passive forms with the prefix *ka*-. Where locational meaning was involved, a suffix -*an* also often occurred. These forms often had an accidental connotation, or described the result of an event without reference to the agent, or described ability to do something. Examples are *katon* 'able to be seen'; *katakan* 'be hit by something, have something befall one'. A probably historically related form *maka*- also described ability. This latter form also had a passive counterpart *pinaka*-. Examples of these affixes occur in *makawāhana* 'have as one's vehicle' and *pinakaśĭṣya* 'happen to be the student of (someone)'.

The prefix *ka*-/*ke*-, with or without an accompanying suffix -*an*, still occurs in Modern Javanese but is probably not as productive as it was in Old Javanese. The prefix *maka*- occurs only in fossilised forms and *pinaka*- no longer occurs outside of preserved literature.

3.3 Noun phrase marking

Though Old Javanese did not have obligatory noun phrase marking as Philippine languages do, there was a much more highly developed system of marking noun phrase functions than what remains in modern Javanese. A particle occurring variously as *ng, ang, ing* often marked a subject, as in examples (34) and (35).

(34)   VERB   SUBJECT
        ACTIVE
        Mangrēngö   ta   ng   dānawa.
        hear   post-verbal subject-marking giant
                      particle   particle
        'The giant heard (it).'

(35)   VERB   SUBJECT
        (ACCIDENTAL
        FORM)
        Kalingan   ing   śabda . . .
        say   subject-marking word(s)
                      particle
        'The words said . . .'

According to Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna, the function of this particle is to indicate definiteness of the following noun phrase. However, in their examples, all instances are subjects. The particle *ni* or *ning* is used in genitive constructions as in example (36).

(36)   *Warṇa ning kuda . . .*
        colour   of   horse
        'The colour of the horse . . .'

According to Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna, in a series of genitives, only the last instance has the form *ning*; the preceding ones are marked with *ni*. The example they give is reproduced here as sentence (37).

(37)   *Warṇa ni kuda ning ripu. . .*
        colour of horse of   enemy
        'The colour of the horse of the enemy . . .'

The particle *de* marks a non-subject actor or inanimate cause. This particle may or may not be followed by *ni* or *ning*. An example in which the particle marks an actual agent of a passive verb was given in example (30). A further example in which the verb is not a transitive passive with *-in-*, is given in (38) below. Another such example occurred in sentence (31).

(38)   *Yan hana katĕkan ḍaṇḍa   de   sang prabhu . . .*
        if   exist be.befallen.by judgment by particle (His) Highness
                                               of.respect
        'If anyone is sentenced by His Highness . . .'

An example in which the noun following *de* is inanimate is given in (39).

(39)   *Tan warĕg   kami de ni   caritanta.*
        not   satisfied I   by of story-your
        'I'm not satisfied by your story.'

Finally, what might be termed the 'oblique' particle, often marking a locative, but sometimes a patient which is not the grammatical object, *ri* or *ring*, are exemplified in sentences (40) and (41).

(40)   *Inarpanakĕn ta   lĕmbu satus   ri   sang Brahmana.*
        be given   post-verbal cow   one.hundred to   particle Brahmans
                      particle   of.respect
        'One hundred cows were given to the Brahman(s).'

(41) *Ikang wwang yan manapak   sabhântara ndātan hana*
     that   man   if   attend.meeting although   not   exist

     umaritrāṇa ya, kewala těka   ri   kāwakanya, . . .
     escort   him   but   come   by=at   himself

     yeku tan wruh ring lokasthiti.
     that   not   know   to   custom/manners
     'If a man attends a meeting and no one has brought him there but he comes
     of his own accord, that man does not know good manners.'

In addition to noun phrase marking particles which indicated the role of the following phrase, Old Javanese had a rather large number of particles which marked references to humans, regardless of the grammatical role of the phrase. These particles indicated something about social rank. Ordered here from lowest to highest, they were *si, pun, sang, sang hyang* and *ḍang hyang*.

3.4 Word order

Word order in Old Javanese in independent clauses was almost without exception VS(O). Of the examples given above having SV order, the verb phrase following the noun constitutes a dependent clause in all cases. A main verb, that is a verb in an independent clause, was usually followed by the particle *ta*. Some examples given above containing dependent clauses with a subject preceding the verb are found in sentences (25), (26), (29) and (32). A possible exception occurs in sentence (31). However, the actual meaning of this is 'Twenty-one is the number of kings who died by his hand'. The verb which follows its subject is thus also in a dependent clause.

Though already mentioned, it should probably be stressed that pronominal agents of passives were enclitics in the *parwa* literature rather than proclitics as in modern Javanese. Also, though not many verbal particles appear in the data presented here, adverbial particles such as *ta* also followed the verb in Old Javanese rather than preceding it as many adverbial elements do in modern Javanese.

4 Discussion, hypotheses and implications

As seen from the preceding presentation, the Javanese language has over the past millennium maintained almost unchanged the basic characteristics of its verb morphology: that is, the form of any transitive verb simultaneously indicates a two-way voice distinction between active and passive and a (maximally) three-way focus distinction between (neutral) patient, conveyed entity/benefactive, and locative. What has changed over this long period of time is (1) noun phrase marking and (2) word order. These have changed from a system which very much resembled Philippine languages to the modern Javanese one which, at least superficially, is reminiscent of European languages.

If we assume, as most linguists working in this field who have speculated on the topic do (e.g. Wolff 1973, 1980, 1996), that the Philippine languages are the most conservative western Austronesian languages and most closely reflect the morphological and syntactic systems of Proto Malayo-Polynesian, then what changes led from this Philippine-like system

to the Old Javanese one? And an even more frustrating question since, having at our disposal nearly 1500 years worth of records, we feel that we should know the answer to it: how did the Old Javanese system evolve into the modern Javanese one? As explained in the introduction to the description of Old Javanese here, since the literary language remained essentially unchanged for nearly a millennium, what we have in the records are samples of the beginning and end of a path with little evidence of what happened to the language in between.

In the remainder of this paper I will speculate and hypothesise — for we can do nothing more — concerning possible sequences of changes and causes of those changes which might have led (1) from a Philippine-type system to that of Old Javanese and (2) from Old Javanese to modern Javanese.

4.1 A possible path from a Philippine-type system to Old Javanese

The major difference between a Philippine-type system and that of Old Javanese is the presence in the latter of an active vs. passive voice distinction in addition to the focus system. Another perhaps less significant difference is the non-ubiquitousness of noun phrase marking in Old Javanese, including the fact that human referents are marked with particles indicating social status rather than grammatical or semantic role.

In attempting to discover a possible cause for the changes which took place, we must not underestimate the importance of the fact that Sanskrit was the language of literature, science and religion in Java for probably at least four hundred years before Old Javanese began to be used for these purposes. Zoetmulder marvelled that, despite the enormous influx of Sanskrit vocabulary, Old Javanese remained essentially 'Indonesian' (i.e. Austronesian) in character. This is true, but we know from studies of contemporary and better-documented historical contact situations that transfer tends to occur more frequently on the discourse level than on the clause or sentence level (Odlin 1989; Gass & Selinker 1983). We know also that contact between colloquial languages can differ in its effects from the influence of one literary language on another evolving one. In colloquial contact situations from which pidgins and creoles tend to evolve, users of the emerging contact language extract vocabulary from the foreign source but give it structure and meaning inherent in their own first language. Where a foreign literary language has been used for a long time and a local language then begins to be used for literary purposes, almost the opposite can happen: that is, speakers of the local language redefine forms in their own language to express concepts inherent in the foreign language which has become familiar to them for literary purposes (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). This is particularly likely to happen if massive translation occurs. Baker (1992) refers to forms of a language which evolved due to massive translation as 'translatese'. That the *parwa* literature, if not translated in its entirety, at least followed closely the Sanskrit originals, is, according a Zoetmulder (1974:68), a matter about which there can be no doubt. To quote him, "The *parwas* are adaptations in prose of parts of the Sanskrit epics and show their immediate dependence by Sanskrit quotations throughout the text.".

When Javanese began to be used for the purpose of writing literature which had previously existed only in Sanskrit, it is quite possible that an attempt was made to express grammatical concepts felt to be important in the Indian language, including the distinction between active and passive and the concept of definiteness. In the existing Austronesian focus system, the form for agent focus differed from the forms for the other focuses in having a prefix ending

in a nasal or the infix -*um*- instead of an infix -*in*-. Sanskrit scholars, whether or not they were first language Javanese speakers, might have interpreted this chance formal distinction as a means of conveying the active vs. passive concept and applied the newly identified active marker to all verb bases, including ones containing suffixation to indicate non-patient focus.

An attempt to express definiteness vs. indefiniteness might similarly have resulted in reinterpreting the role-marking particles as markers of definiteness, resulting in their deletion when indefiniteness was intended.[5] Finally, personal noun phrase markers which had formerly carried role information, such as *si*, were reinterpreted in the construction of a system for indicating social rank, an important concept in Indian culture.

All of this is, of course, pure speculation. However, some such sequence of innovations on the part of Javanese scholars attempting to use their native language to convey the content of Sanskrit literature could have occurred.

4.2 From Old Javanese to Modern Javanese: what lies in between?

Reconstructing the changes which led from Old Javanese to modern Javanese is, in a way, more difficult than guessing at the pre-history of the language, and the difficulties inherent in the task are far more frustrating since we appear to have a continuous record of written evidence. However, since Old Javanese as a literary language, like the Sanskrit language that its literary works must originally have been translated from, was preserved in its original literary form nearly unchanged for many centuries, we have no record of the language that was actually spoken. Our written records therefore jump from this form which is more than a millennium old through a few phases with minimal innovations to a modern literary language which, in grammar, differs little from the contemporary spoken variety.

Becker (1979) has hypothesised that word order changes in the Malayo-Javanic group of Austronesian were due to influence from European languages, beginning with Sanskrit and other Indian languages spoken colloquially in the archipelago during the first millenium AD and later including Portuguese, Dutch and English. However, another explanation for the word order changes seems to me more plausible. Lehmann (1973) and others have pointed out that one syntactic change in a language often triggers another and that certain constellations of patterns tend to cooccur. Simplifying and generalising the essence of these claims, it appears that there may be a tendency in language for elements which have strong syntactic links to the verb to be located next to the verb. The focus systems of Philippine languages and, presumably of pre-Javanese, allowed for only one noun phrase with strong syntactic links to the verb: the focussed element. However, with the rise of literary Old Javanese and the concomitant superimposition of a voice system on top of the native focus system, there arose the possibility of having two noun phrases (which we are calling for lack of better terms 'subject' and 'object') with close syntactic links to the verb. As long as these were marked with identifying particles there was no problem in interpretation but as the use

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5   As mentioned above, *ng, ang, ing* often marked the grammatical subject, but even at this stage of Javanese language history, the exact role-related meaning of many of the particles was beginning to deteriorate. This tendency to collapse meanings of particles has continued into the present. In modern colloquial Javanese, the particle *karo* can have at least the following meanings:

'with'	*Aku neng pasar karo ibu.*	'I (went) to the market with mother.'
'to'	*Aku kanda karo bapak.*	'I told (it) to father.'
'by'	*Kuwi digarap karo adhikmu.*	'That was done by your little brother (or sister).'

of the role marking particles declined, problems in interpretation may have arisen. The solution was to use a syntactic pattern found in dependent clauses, SVO order. This additionally by chance made sense because the affixation indicating the underlying role of the subject (actor or other) was located at or near the front of the verb while the morphology indicating the underlying role of the object of active verbs came at the end of the verb.

This, again, is pure speculation but evidence that the hypothesis might be correct comes from Classical Malay. Malay is, of course, a different language from Javanese but a closely related one and one which, during the past two millennia, has gone through a series of syntactic changes similar, though not identical, to those affecting Javanese. Based on our knowledge of the history of the archipelago and of the many lexical borrowings which occurred between Javanese and Malay over the centuries, we can postulate that there had always been a sizable number of bilinguals in these two languages and that the two languages continuously influenced each other, both in their spoken and literary forms.

Classical Malay dates from a period beginning just before the last of our Old Javanese manuscripts and continuing for several centuries. Like Old Javanese, the literary form of the language changed little during these years: the language of *hikayat* composed in the nineteenth century shows little difference from ones written in the fifteenth century. We might thus regard Classical Malay as a language containing grammatical features which might also have been part of an intermediate stage of spoken Javanese. In Classical Malay, though word order was variable, the most common word order for intransitive and passive sentences was VS. For active transitive sentences, however, the most common pattern was SVO. This agrees with the hypothesis presented above about the syntactic changes which took place in Javanese. It was the necessity of showing a close link between the verb and two noun phrases associated with it which initially prompted the word order change.

In Javanese, the adoption of the new order for passive sentences was probably related to loss of obligatory marking of the agent and associated with the option of having a non-agent (such as patient of a passive benefactive verb) follow the verb. It was also probably in association with these developments that the modern set of proclitic agent markers on the passive verb developed. The end result was an order which was the mirror image of Old Javanese and Philippine languages: from Passive-Verb + Enclitic-Agent + Subject-of-Passive, the eventual pattern to emerge was Subject-of-Passive + Proclitic-Agent + Passive-Verb.

The dominance of these gradually evolving patterns in Malay, as Cumming (1988) has suggested, resulted from a gradual shift in function of the possible word orders and, in the colloquial language, the development of a complex interplay between intonation and order to mark these functions. A parallel development almost certainly occurred in Javanese.

One final note to the hypothesis has to do with the proclitic agent pronouns in Javanese.[6] The second person form *kok-* is the most transparent, probably deriving from the first syllable of *kowe* which is probably cognate with Malay *kau*. The epenthesised final glottal stop in the proclitic is a frequent sporadic innovation in Javanese phonology. The third person proclitic agent pronoun *di-* is more problematic. It has been suggested in the case of Malay that the *di-*

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6   As noted, there are no proclitic pronouns in the *parwa* literature (tenth century). I am grateful to Erik Zobel for pointing out to me that proclitic pronouns did occur in the Ramayana *kakawin*. The word order pattern was thus introduced fairly early (though not before the development of voice as distinct from focus. However, the forms of the proclitic pronouns found in the Ramayana are not those of modern Javanese. They are: *k-, m-, n-, t-, kam-, r-*. It is also not clear if the verbs with which these forms occurred were passive. Kern (1898) refers to them as *de kortste vorm* or 'the short form' of the pronouns.

prefix came from *dia*, but in Javanese by the Old Javanese period, before proclitic agents had evolved, sequences of two vowels had merged into single intermediate vowels. Thus /i/ + /a/ ⟹ /e/ and *dia*, if it had occurred, would have become **de*. If the verbal prefix *di-* cannot be derived from a Javanese pronoun, another possible source is borrowing from Malay. As mentioned earlier, the two languages were in more or less constant contact and there was a great deal of translation and borrowing between them during all literary periods. It should be noted that the *kidungs,* literature of the late Majapahit period, contain the passive prefix *depun,* composed of *de* (genitive marker) + *pun* (honorific), both being elements found in the *parwa* language. The modern Javanese Krama of *di-* is *dipun-*. A suggested explanation might be that *di-* as a passive marker was a borrowing from Malay and that *depun*, 'contaminated' by *di-* became *dipun-*.

Finally, the most perplexing form of all the proclitic agent forms is the first person *dak-*. The following hypothesis is pure conjecture but, to my knowledge, no more plausible one has been proposed. The hypothesis is that *dak-* may be cognate with Malay *hendak* 'wish, will' and that it came to be used as a proclitic form first in the desiderative. Though its original meaning was not pronominal, as the agent of the desiderative is always first person, it took on first person meaning and was later generalised and used with the indicative passive forms.

5 Final words

Wolff has suggested a rather different sequence of changes from those proposed here as the ones leading to proclitic agent of the passive in other western Austronesian languages. Specifically, he suggests that in some of these languages the fronting of the cliticised agent pronoun occurred first before the development of the dual voice/focus system in the verb morphology (my terminology). This clearly was not the case in Javanese but I do not mean to imply that changes couldn't have happened in that order in other languages. In language change as in other processes, there are often multiple paths to a final destination. What is more important than the order of the changes is perhaps that if one of the changes discussed here occurred, the others were very likely to follow. Either a Philippine-like system or a Malayo-Javanic-like system appears to be relatively stable; intermediate systems may be more likely to change. If this is so, it would explain the fact that similar sets of changes appear to have taken place independently in different locations, not necessarily for the same reasons or in the same order.

A sequence of changes similar to those outlined in this paper may have led from a Philippine language-like focus system to the voice/focus system of Old Javanese, and a sequence of changes leading from Old to modern Javanese may have been motivated by factors similar to those suggested here. However, if we are really to understand each of the systems we are describing, whether they form historical chains as in the case of Old and modern Javanese, or contemporary variants (such as the many existing varieties of modern Malay/Indonesian), it is not enough to simply describe the forms. We must understand what it means for a given noun phrase to be focussed on or, in a voice/focus system, to be selected as subject or object. Under what circumstances is each form likely to occur? In addition, in all of these languages, though a single word order pattern usually dominates, there always appear to be alternative possibilities. What does it mean to select one pattern rather than another? Under what circumstances is each pattern most likely to occur?

It is only when these questions have been answered that we will truly understand how the languages we are describing actually work and why they change when they do.

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— PART IV —

Languages outside Indonesia and Malaysia
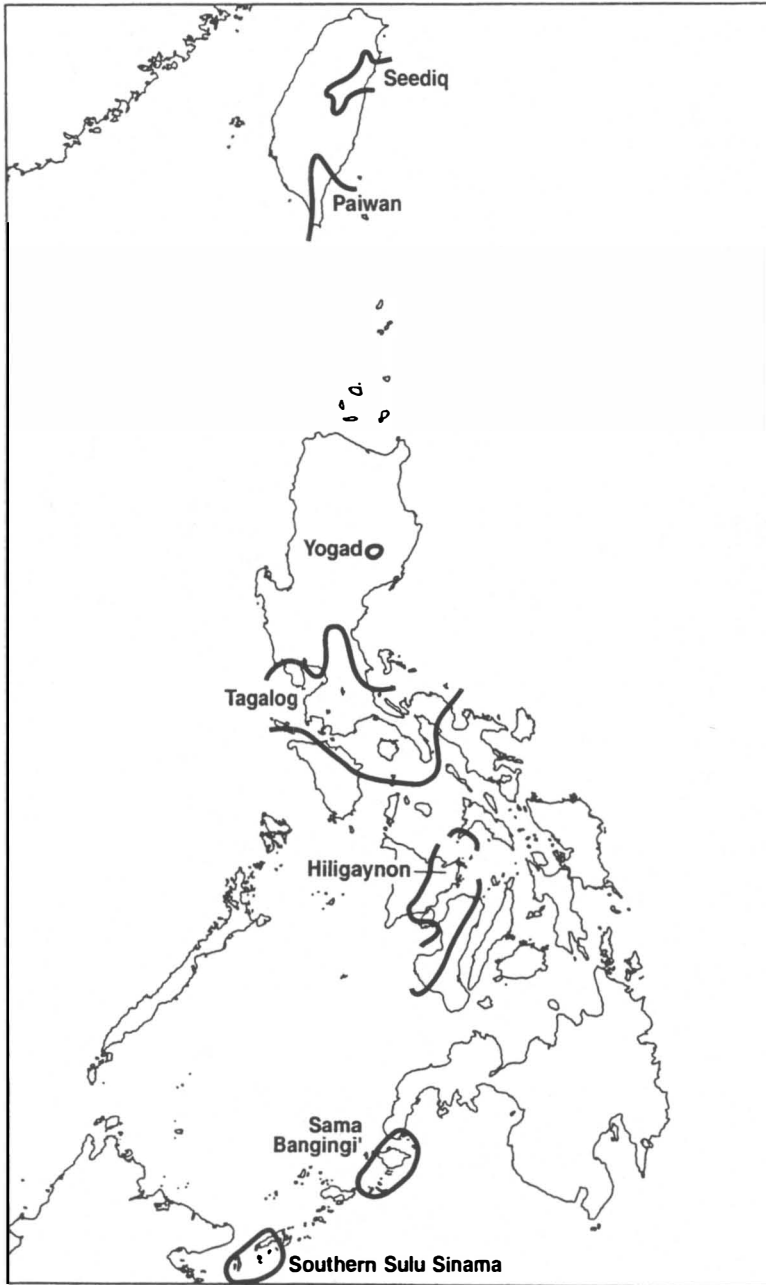
Map 4: Languages discussed in Part IV