

Working Paper on Irrealis, Imperative Mode and Complementation in Old Javanese Syntax

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Note: For abbreviations see pages 52-53.

Introduction: This working paper is aimed at providing a background for an address I am preparing for the opening of the ISLOJ conference on 4 June 2009. I expect to discuss there the more general questions of the status of Old Javanese (OJ) as a linguistic system and how OJ is related to the category of later literized languages we group under the term ‘Middle Javanese’. I will not address those topics in this paper, but will rather focus on the “nuts-and-bolts” aspect of my presentation, which largely concerns the interaction of irrealis and aspect in OJ.

My work on irrealis and aspect in OJ goes back to the second chapter of my doctoral dissertation (1988). In that chapter I developed the hypothesis that the absence of prefixes or infixes marking Undergoer Voice (UV) in irrealis forms could be related to aspectual features of the OJ voice system, in particular to the fact that UV is quintessentially perfective in nature (in OJ) and that this triggers the loss of the UV affix (-in-) in irrealis forms. It is important to note that this is not the case for Actor Voice (AV) forms in irrealis mode, which retain their voice-marking affixes in irrealis mode.¹

During an extended effort to translate a large selection of materials in kakawin form (1992-2004) I was able to examine the question of irrealis and voice marking in great detail. While my primary goal here was to arrive at a system of analysis that would support my translation efforts I found early on in my efforts that my level of success in translation was enhanced if I first analyzed verses in terms of a system of constituent analysis, and then augmented this stage of preparation with lexical and morphological information drawn from the *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (P.J. Zoetmulder with S.O. Robson: 1982). It became my habit early on in this effort to treat irrealis forms in Undergoer Voice in a derivational manner, that is by “writing under erasure” the UV affix (-in-) that I assumed to be incompatible with irrealis mode (and therefore deleted under conditions of irrealis).

It was with some surprise, therefore, that I more recently found that Oglobin (2005a, 2005b) has treated the question of irrealis mode in OJ in terms of a paradigm that does not account for what he terms “passive irrealis” in derivational terms, but simply assumes a separate set

¹ The undergoer voice prefix ka- that I describe as marking “limited agency” or “limited volitionality” is also retained in irrealis forms.

of markers for the irrealis forms of UV verb phrases. I have gained a great deal from reading Oglobin's work, including his work on irrealis, so it is not my intention here to set my findings and his in opposition. I will simply proceed along the lines of my derivational approach to the question of irrealis and draw parallels with the findings of Oglobin where that is useful.

The data set that I provide in this working paper represents a sample of a larger set of examples and comments that I have been working on by drawing materials from my translation notes. Since even in this form it is still quite lengthy I will include the data set as the final section of this working paper. Since in the past many of us have had to depend largely on the set of examples of OJ morphological and grammatical structures drawn from Zoetmulder's work (1950/1982, 1993-94) on the prose work *Ādiparwa*, I hope that by providing a fairly extensive data set with discussion and constituent analysis of selected phrasal and clausal units I will be making a contribution to future work on the linguistics of OJ.

Axioms and hypotheses In order to simplify this working paper I will list here a number of points that I take as axiomatic in my work on OJ. I developed some of these points in Chapter Two of my dissertation (1988), but have more recently revised the terminology used there to bring it more closely in line with the typology developed in Adelaar and Himmelmann (2005) and related papers.

- 1) OJ is a good example of a symmetrical voice system. The majority of OJ verb phrases are marked for either Actor Voice or Undergoes Voice with voice-marking morphemes that occur either as prefixes (AV, UV₁) or infixes (UV₂). One of the UV markers that is normally infixed (UV₂) takes the form of a prefix when the monomorphemic base is vowel-initial.
- 2) There are three affixes that can be said to refer to the Actor. For purposes of analysis I list the first of these as a stative (ST), noting that cross-linguistically this affix does not always refer to the Actor, but does so exclusively in OJ. Based on earlier studies of morphological valence in OJ (Hunter 1995) I view the three AV markers as bound up with features of transitivity, and hence list them in a ranked order as follows:²

ST	=	a-, ma + monomorphemic base (stative)
AV ₁	=	-um-, with allomorphs um- and m-. The allomorphs are most commonly found prior to vowel-initial bases, but can also be prefixed to labial consonants or semi-vowels, in which case the initial segment of the base is converted to its homorganic nasal (Actor Voice ₁)
AV ₂	=	aN-, maN-, which are either realized as ŋ- or trigger a

² By "transitivity" here I mean to refer to the set of features initially proposed in Hopper and Thompson (1980).

change of a consonant-initial base to its homorganic nasal
(Actor Voice₂)

Example (1) illustrates all three of the predicate types that take AV marking. Note that choice of an AV marking does not imply anything about a contrast of transitive vs. intransitive:

Example (1):

jaladha	a-hirěng	m-iděr	a-langlang	aN-uhuh
rainclouds	ST-black	AF ₁ -whirl	ST-wander	ang -uhuh
				AF ₂ -wail
aN-pi-rěngō-akěň		patěr		
ami -rěngw-akěň				
AF ₂ -INTSF-hear-Tr ₂		thunder		

“Black rainclouds whirled about, wandering across the sky, wailing, sounding out thunder.”³

3) There are two affixes marking Undergoer Voice (UV).⁴:

UV ₁	=	ka-, prefixed to a monomorphemic base (Undergoer Voice ₁)
UV ₂	=	-in-, with its allomorph in-, which occurs with vowel-initial bases (Undergoer Voice ₂)

Examples (2) and (3) illustrate typical contrasts between these two types of undergoer voice:

Example (2):

ka -tut	mara	wangi-nya	de	ni-ng	maruta
UV ₁ -follow	EMPH	sweet-fragrance-pro ₃	by	LK-DEF	wind

“Its sweet fragrance was carried along by the wind.”

Example (3):

(in)-tūt-nya	sa-paran	ikang	manuk	an	(m)anN-layang
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³ I have not carried forward here an analysis of the VP based on the complex prefix aN-pi- > ami-. I analyze pi- as an “intensifying” variant on the stem-forming prefix pa-. Since this form takes the AV₂ prefix in its formation it can be included among derivations marking actor voice.

⁴ Oglobin (contra Zoetmulder: 1983. 1993-94) regards the first of these (ka-) as forming words that are “a derivative of the base morpheme, thus [forming] a lexical unity which can be classed as an intransitive verb” (*sebagai derivat yang diturunkan dari morfem akar, jadi sebagai satuan leksikal yang termasuk verba intransitif*). I differ with Oglobin here in seeing enough evidence for a contrast of VPs formed with ka- and (-)in- to justify considering them as two UV markers differentiated on the basis of features of agency. I thus postulate two UV affixes for OJ. In my doctoral work on OJ (1988) I used UV₁ for undergoer voice forms taking -in- and UV₂ for those taking ka-. I have reversed those designations here based on considerations of a ranking in terms of “transitivity”.

tinūtnya pang-layang
 UV2-follow-pro3 all-destinations DIS-DEF bird COMP AV₂-fly along⁵

a. literal translation

“Be followed after by him everywhere it went, that bird as it flew along.”

b. active voice translation in English

“He followed that bird everywhere that it went, as it flew along.”

- 4) VPs formed with AV₂ and AV₂ markers can be either transitive or intransitive. *Anguhuh*, “wail” in Example 1 is an example of an intransitive formed with an AV₂ marker. I postulate that all VPs formed with UV₂ markers are transitive, in that an (erstwhile) agent is always present in the case-frame, whether overtly expressed or not.
- 5) Three suffixes can be added to voice-marked derivations. In undergoer voice these subcategorize the type of undergoer argument that is the subject of the UV verb phrase. In actor voice these suffixes subcategorize the major non-subject complements of the VP. Based on the contrast of transitive VPs taking no suffix with those that do take suffixes, I postulate a –Ø as one of the three types of verbal suffixes. Disregarding the voice-marking prefixes/infixes the three possible suffixed forms of VPs are:
- R-an Following Adelaar and Himmelmaan (2005) I use LV (Locative Voice) to analyze –an, with the caveat that in OJ it is not involved in the formation of a distinctive voice, but rather subcategorizes for certain types of undergoer complements. One use is cross-linguistically identical with the use noted by Himmelman (2005:373) for Tagalog, eg. to derive “designations for places associated with the base”. Another is to form nouns that represent the goal of the base (*gaměl*, “to play a metallaphone instrument > *gamělan*, gamelan, ensemble of metallaphone instruments). It is important to note that in OJ –an replaces –i in undergoer voice constructions (thus highlighting “locative” aspects of –i): AV *umulati* “look at” > UV *winulatan*, *kawulatan*, “to be looked at”
 - R-i/ani an applicative affix that subcategorizes complements that can be described in general terms as “locative” or “stable” (see further below)
 - R-akěn an applicative affix that subcategorizes complements that can be described in general terms as “strongly affected” or “moving” (see further below)

⁵ The conversion of the initial bilabial nasal of a prefix to its homorganic unvoiced stop is a regular sound-change occurring following the final nasal (-n) of function words including negatives (*tan*, *taman*, *tatan*, *ndatan*), the conditional morpheme *yan* and the complementizing morpheme *n/an*.

The suffixes, *-i/-ani* and *-akĕn* can be grouped together as applicative affixes. However, for purposes of analysis I mark these as Tr_1 and Tr_2 in this work, following Oglobin (2005a:618)).⁶ The applicative suffixes of OJ appear to differ little from *-i/-kan* of Malay-Indonesian, and *-i/aké* of Modern Javanese. Oglobin (2005a:618) refers to the “stable” aspects of undergoer complements of derivations in R-*i*, and the “moving” aspects of those in R-*akĕn*. Irwin’s observations (2005:252-3) for Colloquial Indonesian are also useful for understanding the OJ reflexes of these suffixes:

“The suffix *-kan* can indicated causative (*memanaskan* ‘to heat something up’ < *panas* ‘hot’), benefactive (*membelikan* ‘to buy for someone’ < *panas* ‘hot’) or controlled perception (*mendengarkan* ‘listen to’ vs. *mendengar* ‘to hear’). The suffix *-i* can indicate directional (*mendatangi* ‘come to’) [...]”⁷

I would argue that the forms Irwin calls “causatives” are better described as derived transitives (see Masica:1976 on this distinction). Oglobin (2005c: 611) also uses the term “causative” to describe MJ *-aké* in making an important distinction between the two applicative suffixes that is also useful for understanding the OJ reflexes:

“The suffixes *-i* and *-aké* are quite productive, and many form pairs from the same root contrasting applicative with causative, cf. *mara* [N-*para*] ‘approach’ (usually with a prepositional complement) > *-paran-i* ‘id.’ (with a non-prepositional complement in the active sentence) vs. *-parakaké* ‘move, direct’ (so./sth) [...]”

- 6) I follow Oglobin (2005a, 2005b) in postulating three “moods” of the OJ verb. Oglobin terms these imperative, indicative and irrealis. I prefer the terms: imperative, realis and irrealis and will use those terms in this working paper.
- 7) I postulate several forms for imperative mood VPs, in part following Oglobin (2005a) in his analysis of OJ imperative mode. These include:
 - imperatives formed with an unmarked baseword, usually (but not always) formed with addition of the applicative suffixes *-akĕn* (Oglobin’s Transitive 2).
 - imperatives formed with the 2nd person pronominal formative *t-*. In this case the VP takes the form of the unmarked base, or the aN- allomorph of the AV₂ prefix.
 - Imperatives formed with special markers like *paha-* added to the unmarked voice. As the example *paha-dĕlön* (“regard carefully”) indicates these imperatives are most often found with verbs of perception. (It is possible that these derivations would be better described as adverbials.)

⁶ In my dissertation (and notes for the *Sĕkar Inikĕt* project) I used the designations Tr_2 (Transitive₁) and Tr_1 (Transitive₂), but now follow Oglobin (2005b) in designating these affixes as Tr_1 (*-i/-ani*) and Tr_2 (*-akĕn*).

⁷ I have not included Irwin’s description of the “iterative” aspects of *-i* in this citation since to the best of my knowledge these forms do not exist in OJ. See Zoetmulder (1983:39-45) for a comprehensive treatment of the OJ applicative suffixes *-i* and *-akĕn*.

- 8) In irrealis mode AV affixes are retained and the irrealis marker is –a. This is added either to the unmarked base or a combination of the unmarked base with the LV affix (-an) or one of the two applicative suffixes (-i, -akĕn).
- 9) In irrealis mode UV affixes are lost (or in Oglobin’s terms, not present).
- 10) The irrealis mode of transitive verbs that take the -Ø suffix in realis mode is formed by addition of the suffix –ĕn directly to the unmarked base.
- 11) The irrealis mode of transitive verbs that take the LV affix (-an) or one of the two applicative suffixes (-i, -akĕn) is formed by addition of the irrealis marker –a to a combination of the unmarked base and suffix. However, there is no distinction in the irrealis mode between VPs in LV and Tr₁ form (thus highlighting what Oglobin terms the “stationary” or “locative” aspects of VPs in Tr₂ form).
- 12) There are thus three possible irrealis forms of transitive VPs:
- R-ĕn for VPs that take the –Ø suffix in realis form, where R = the unmarked monomorphemic base
 - R-ana for VPs that take either the LV suffix (-an) or the Tr₁ form of the applicative suffix i(-i/-ani) in realis mode
 - R-akĕna for VPs that take the Tr₂ form of the applicative suffix (-akĕn) in realis Mode
- 13) The irrealis marker –a can also be added to monomorphemic bases of all types.
- 14) As Oglobin (2005a) notes there is an important class of OJ derivations formed by the addition of the affixes *pa-* or *paN-* to the monomorphemic base. I will not attempt in this paper to analyze this subset of OJ derivations, but will include some notes on these forms in the data set for this paper, and hope to return to the study of these forms in the future.
- 15) There are a variety of possible word orders in OJ, but there is one form that can be considered canonical.⁸ This canonical form of the clause can be described as follows:

[Predicate *ta* Complement1 (Complement2)] Adverbial or other peripheral adjuncts

In a development that brings to mind oft-cited examples from Tagalog the initial predicate often takes the form of a voice-marked VP. In this case the first complement will normally be the subject of the voice-marked VP.⁹ It is important to note here that

⁸ I will not attempt here to enumerate the various types of word order possible in OJ. See Zoetmulder (1983: 97-102, 1992:1-9) and Uhlenbeck (1987) for earlier treatments of this subject.

⁹ One could also use here Foley and Van Valin’s (1983) term “Pivot” since in either case we are talking about an argument that has a privileged position in controlling a number of syntactic functions.

(again reminiscent of the Tagalog case) if the subject of the voice-marked VP is in pronominal form it must take the independent form of the 3rd person pronoun (*sira*) and not the dependent form (*-nira*).¹⁰

Example (4):

um-ahas	ta	sira	ri-ng	tapowana
AV ₁ -wander	D.PTCL	pro3HON	DAT-DEF	penance grove

“He entered into the penance grove.”

While similar constructions can be found based on initial VPs in undergoer voice form, it is more common to find the format given in example (4) below::

Example (5):

t-in-amuy	de	-nira	sang	mahamuni
UV ₂ -guest	by	-pro3HON	(title)	great sage(s)

“Great sages were treated as guests by him.”

Provisonal findings and a revision of aims When I first began to analyze the data I had collected on irrealis forms in OJ I had in mind a second aim, which I have touched upon in the Abstract of my paper for the 2009 run of ISLOJ. This is the question of the morpheme *n/an* that I have provisionally identified as a complementizing morpheme, and so marked as COMP in my analyses of data. This morpheme is among three “function words” ending with the dental-alveolar nasal *-b* that trigger the conversion of a following AV or stative prefix beginning with the bilabial nasal to its corresponding unvoiced, bilabial stop. These morphemes and the changes they trigger to AV prefixes can be summarized as follows:

- The negating morphemes *tan*, *tatan*, *taman* and *ndatan* trigger a change of subsequent AV prefixes *ma-* or *maN-* to *pa-* or *paN-*. The sequence *tan ma-warna*, “not ST-colour” thus becomes *tan pa-warna*. (This incidentally appears to the historical source of the Mal-Ind morpheme *tanpa*, “without”.) The conditional morpheme *yan* and the morpheme that I have provisionally identified as COMP (*n/an*) have the same effect on a following VP formed with *ma-* or *maN-*.
- While this consequence of the morpheme I regard as a complementizer is quite regular (and need not concern us further in this work), there are times when COMP appears to trigger the loss of a voice-marking prefix or infix in a subsequent VP. This results in the appearance of an unmarked monomorphemic base following COMP,

¹⁰ Example (5) follows example (4) in the narrative section of the *Adiparwa* cited here. It can be seen in these examples that the independent pronoun marking the subject of the first clause (*sira*) takes its corresponding dependent (enclitic) form in the second clause, where it has become the erstwhile actor/agent in an undergoer voice construction. This is a very common discourse strategy in OJ

plus (optionally) one of the three possible derivational suffixes (-an, -i/-ani or -akĕn) and an irrealis marker.

Uhlenbeck (1986:337) has analyzed the morpheme that I describe here as a complementizer. He describes it as used where a pronoun or NP with pronominal clitic is “syntactically connected with the verb or verbal group which follows it” and notes that “[t]his verb or verbal group has either as agent or as patient the person to whom the pronoun of pronominal suffix refers”. He also notes the obligatory denasalization of a succeeding segment beginning with a nasal consonant.

I have noted thus far in my analysis of data that phrases or clauses formed with COMP *n/an* can have a simple interpretation. However, at other times there appear to be cases where COMP is used under conditions that imply equi-noun-phrase-deletion, or other changes symptomatic of embedding of dependent clauses. At this point in my analyses I am not prepared to make a definitive statement on the role of the morpheme *n/an* in complementation. However, considering the fact that COMP does at times trigger a change to a VP that would normally be found with a voice-marking affix I have broadened my search on the corpus of materials available to me, and rephrased my goal in terms of the following question:

- Given that in realis conditions the great majority of VPs appear with a voice-marking prefix or infix, what are the conditions under which a VP appears in the form of the unmarked monomorphemic base +/- a derivational suffix?

Based on analysis of the data to follow (and a larger set not included in this working paper), two strong conclusions can be stated with some certainty:

- VPs that take the UV₂ affix in realis mode in irrealis mode take the form of the unmarked base +/- a derivational suffix and an irrealis marker (-a or ĕn)
- One form of the imperative, which I will refer to hereafter as the “direct imperative” takes the form of the unmarked base +/- a derivational suffix. It is often found in combination with the Tr₂ suffix -akĕn.

A third conclusion is better presented as a working hypothesis at this stage of analysis:

- The morpheme *n/an* can trigger loss of a voice-marking marker in a following VP under conditions where *n/an* is involved in complex syntactic operations involving equi-deletion, raising or similar processes involving recursiveness, or the embedding of dependent clauses in a matrix clause.¹¹

¹¹ As I have noted previously I will not attempt here to analyze the verbal stems formed with *pa-*, *paN-*. Since these bases can occur in this form, or can be converted to what Oglobin terms an “active” form, presumably through addition of the *m-* allomorph of the AV₁ prefix, it may be that there are constraints on the choice of *pa-/paN-* vs. *ma-/maN-* that are similar to those that affect choice of a VP with or without voice-marking affix in realis, irrealis and imperative modes of the verb. However, the question of a possible parallelism in this case

The Data The data set for this working paper is based on a collection of whole verses of kakawin works, or self-contained clausal sections of prose works. In each of these short excerpts from kakawin or prose works I have underlined both the OJ text and translation for irrealis or imperative derivations, or cases where the complementizing or conditional morpheme is used in clausal construction. Following this I provide short constituent analysis of the underlined forms, a gloss that attempts to capture the syntactic form of the OJ original (and to provide minimal narrative context for the example). Where this has seemed useful I have then discussed theoretical considerations arising from analysis of the data.

I have included a great many examples in the data set following, and have reduced that set from a still larger set of examples that are in various stage of completion. There remain some points in the data set that are still in need of completion, or are discussed in terms of hypotheses that need to be checked against a larger corpus of materials. I hope in due time to enter a corpus of OJ textual materials to a linguist's database like Shoebox, and thus to be able to provide more examples supporting (or not) the hypotheses developed in this working paper.

Readers with limited time may want to only briefly peruse the data set. Due to its length I had originally decided to present immediately some of the observations and conclusions that arise from (my) consideration of the data, even though this would mean presenting those conclusions prior to the work that preceded them in terms of the chronology of my analytical work. However, at this writing (27 May 09) I have decided to shift my observations and conclusions to the second section of my keynote address for the ISLOJ conference.

Observations and conclusions See Part II of my keynote address for the ISLOJ conference of 4-5 June 2009. References cited in this working paper are also given in the text for that address.

Data, Part I: Discussion of complementation in example (3) from the "Axioms and Hypotheses" section of this Working Paper (point 3)

(in)-tūt-nya	sa-paran	ikang	manuk	an	(m)anN-layang
<u>tinūtnya</u>					<u>pang-layang</u>
UV2-follow-pro3	all-destinations	DIS-DEF	bird	COMP	AV ₂ -fly along ¹²

cannot be taken further at this stage of analysis. Similarly, I will not attempt in this paper to address the question of compound affixes like *maka-/paka-/pinaka-* or *kuma-*. I will, however, advance a hypothesis that attempts to deal with the apparent homophony of the irrealis marker *-ĕn* and the *-ĕn* of one type of "adjectival form" by claiming a single morpheme whose interpretation depends on semantic aspects of the base and use of the derived form in context.

¹² The conversion of the initial bilabial nasal of a prefix to its homorganic unvoiced stop is a regular sound-change occurring following the final nasal (-n) of function works including negatives (*tan, taman, tatan, ndatan*), the conditional morpheme *yan* and the complementizing morpheme *n/an*.

an (m)anN-layang
 COMP AV₂-fly

COMP is used here to launch a subordinate clause describing an action that is carried out by the undergoer complement of the main clause in a simultaneous time frame. Note that this means that the AV form in the embedded clause has a progressive interpretation (*an manglayan*, “as it flew along”).

Data, Part II: irrealis, imperative, conditional and complementizing forms from a selection of kakawin excerpts

1. Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (OJR) ¹³

1) OJR 5.12d

Ya tika dumeh kitāmriha mabuddhya ya landēpana
 wiśaya ya tāryakēn maran agōng ta hayunta lanā
 atīśaya cañcalekanang inak kṣaṇamātra hilang
 ya ta kēmitēn prihēn-ta gawaya-nta ng upāya huwus

That should make you strive to sharpen your wits,
Let go of sense-objects, so that the good you embody becomes firm and enduring,
 Pleasure is completely fickle, vanishing in but a moment,
 You should be on guard, giving the matter full attention and formulate a suitable scheme.

Discussion:

- aN-prih-a AV₂-strive-IRR “(you) should strive”
- ma-buddhya-a ST-wit, consciousness-IRR “(you) should have good consciousness, wit”
- l-~~in~~-aṇḍēp-an-a UV₂-sharp-LV-IRR “(your wit) should be sharpened”¹⁴
- ary-akēn cease-Tr₂ “cease!” (imperative)

Oglobin does not list R-Tr₂ as a type of imperative. However, the only other choice is to regard *aryakēn* as an irrealis form with imperative interpretation, thus derived via ~~in~~-ary-

¹³ All translations in this data set are my own except the following: (1) translations of verses from the *Bhāratayuddha* are those of S. Supomo (1993); (2) translations of verses from the 10th century Balinese kakawin *Abhimanyuwīwāha* are those of Helen Creese (for Supomo and Hunter: in preparation).

¹⁴ Note that support for this interpretation is provided by OJED [975], whose authors list *laṇḍēpana* of this verse (OJR 5.12) under the voice-marked forms *lumaṇḍēpi*, *linaṇḍēpan*. In many cases my hypothetical derivational pathways for irrealis forms can be checked against the OJED. It is quite often the cases that the choice of listing of an irrealis form in the OJED reflects an intuitive or undelying assumption about the semantics of the form so listed. Since the AV₁ form *lumaṇḍēpi* must appear in irrealis mode as *lumaṇḍēpana*, it is clear that the authors of the OJED assume that the irrealis form *laṇḍēpana* of OJR 5.12 relates back to the realis mode UV₂ form *linaṇḍēpan*. Thus, in derivational terms, it appears justified to assume that the underlying form (or derivational pathway) of the irrealis form can be written *l-~~in~~-aṇḍēp-an-a*.

akĕn-a with the meaning “(x) should be abandoned”, but this cannot explain the lack of the irrealis marker *-a* in *aryakĕn*. I therefore propose that *ary-akĕn* represents a strategy for forming what I term the “direct imperative” form, which is realized as *R-akĕn*, where *R* stands for a monomorphemic base word.

On Oglobin’s formulation of the imperative mode see Oglobin (2005a:3):

Verba berbentuk indikatif dan irealis sama-sama mempunyai imbuhan yang membedakannya dgn verba bentuk imperatif. Yaitu, dalam bentuk modus imperatif imbuhan *-um-* tidak terpakai sama sekali, dan prefiks *ma-*, *maN-* juga diganti dengan prefiks *pa-*, *paN-*, sedangkan bentuk imperatif yang lain dengan partikal *t* menghendaki awalan *a-*, *aN-*, bukan *ma-*, *maN-*: *t agawe* ‘kerjakanlah!’ *t anganti* ‘tinggal(lah)!’

Dengan demikian imbuhan *-um-*, *ma-*, *maN-* boleh dianggap “non-imperatif”. Irealis punya dua sufiks tersendiri *-a* dan *-ĕn*, sedangkan indikatif tidak punya penanda khusus. Seluruhnya kategori modus verba JK mencakup tiga bentuk kategorial [indikatif, irrealis, imperatif].

- *k-~~in~~-emit-ĕn* UV₂-guard, watch over-IRR, “(it/the binding power of sense objects) should be guarded, kept watch over”
- *p-~~in~~-rih-ĕn* UV₂-effort, exertion-IRR “(this exertion to keep watch over the sense objects) should be given every effort”
- *g-~~in~~away-a-nta* UV₂-do, make-IRR-pro2HON “(a suitable scheme/ng *upāya*) should be made/formulated (by) you”.

2) OJR 8.123

Pitahun pwa târi sawuwusku yukti ya
apa tan waneh kita siwinku kâsiha
kalawan huripta saphala n parery aku
Raghuputra kingkingĕn apang *guṇā nikā*

Pay heed, little sister, for all that I say is fitting,
For there are none beside you whom I will love and respect,
While your life will be rewarded if you come over to me,
What is the point of longing for Rama, scion of Raghu?

Discussion:

- *s-~~in~~-iwi-ĕn-(ku)* UV₂ “honor, respect-IRR-pro1 “(only you) will be respected (by) me”¹⁵

¹⁵ Note that the doubled irrealis marker with pro1 does not occur here. It is probable that the duplicated form does not appear with *-ĕn* irrealis forms. See further examples to follow.

As in the case of *temun-ta* of OJR 5.63 (not included in this data set) an analysis based on the reduction of the irrealis marker -*ěn* to an allomorph -*n* following vowel-final basis is possible. Here I read the -*n* of *siwin* as an allomorph of the irrealis marker -*ěn*. I think it is clear that the phonologically weak schwa (-*ě*) of the irrealis marker -*ěn* has fused with the final vowel of *siwi* with the result that only -*n* remains as irrealis marker. This supports the analysis of *temu-n* in OJR 5.163 as an irrealis form of *temu*.

Oglobin (2005a:7) corroborates -*n* as an allomorph of -*ěn* used with vowel-final bases, and varying with -*něn*, where ligature-*n* is inserted to disambiguate base and suffix.¹⁶ Oglobin says the following:

Bila akar kata berakhir vokal, sufiks *ěn* vokalnya hilang atau berupa varian -*něn*: *tiru* ‘tiru’ > *tiru-n*, *tiru-něn*... Sufiks ini terutama dipakai pada verba akar, terutama yang transitif.

- ka-(a)sih-a UV₁.affection-IRR “(you alone) will be loved”
- k-in-ingking-*ěn* [See data set 8 following, OJR 24.45]

3) OJR 8.134

Parameśwarâtiśaya śakti ring jagat
tuwi dadya sang Raghutusomapag sira
kimuta ng surâsura manuśya rākṣasa
panahěn pisan niyata yan pějah kabeh"

Lord Siwa is the most Powerful being in the world,
But it is possible for Rama to face him in battle,
How much more so gods, anti-gods, humans and demons,
Surely they will die when shot with a single one of his arrows.

Discussion:

- dady-a happen, become-IRR “(It) will/can happen” This is a good example of in irrealis form based on a simple, monomorphemic base.
- p-~~in~~-anah-*ěn* UV₂-arrow-IRR

A form like *panah-ěn* gives us a good example of a case where a derivational (rather than paradigmatic) explanation is preferable. If we ignore the derivational pathway via a deleted UV marker (-*in*-) we would simply have an irrealis form “should be/will be-an-arrow”. Since derivations of nominal *panah* as voice-marked VPs are attested in both AV (*amanah*, *umanah*, *pinanah*; cf. OJED [1249]), meaning “shoot with arrow” (for AV forms) and “be

¹⁶ The existence of the two allomorphs may respond to the metrical needs of the kakawin, but this should be checked against material from the Parwa literature.

shot with arrow” (for UV forms) then the only reasonable choice here is to view the UV₂ derivation *pinanah* as the underlying form, and *panah-ĕn* as the form it takes in irrealis mode.

4) RY8.149

nya tikā samenaka rĕngönku lālanan
maluyākw apangguha bhaṭāra māsiha
mahurip karih sira kunĕng paḍāng unĕng
Yadiyan pĕjah nṛpati āh ndya mājara.

“I would listen to such a tale to my heart’s content, and so be cheered,
If I were to return home and find the gods had been kind,
That he still lived, then would we both fulfill our longing,
But if the king were dead, ah what indeed might I say?”

Discussion:

- rĕngönku analyzed as r-~~in~~-ĕngö-(ĕ)n-ku; UV₂.hear-IRR-pro1(HON) “(I) would listen”.
- lālanan analyzed as l-~~in~~-alana-(ĕ)n; UV₂-sport, play, amusement; to sport, amuse oneself” “(I) would be cheered”

Both these examples give us good examples of the –n allomorph of the irrealis marker –ĕn.

ndy-a where, which-IRR “where/when might it be”

Ndy-a gives us a good example of an interrogative morpheme used in irrealis mode

ma-(a)jar-a ST-speak-IRR “what) should (I) say?”

5) Ikana dangū dewata tuwi matwang
kimuta ikang mānuṣa paḍa bhakti
tatan ujarĕn wre adhama ya tiryak
kimapi mĕne wānara ya tan atwang

In the past even the gods were respectful,
How much more so human beings, all of them devoted and humble,
Not to mention lowly animals like monkeys that walk on all fours,
Still further a monkey like this one who has no respect

Discussion:

- ~~in~~-ujar-ĕn UV₂-speak-IRR “(not) to speak of (lowly animals like monkeys)”

6) RY10.29

Ko pwa mujĭ śaktinya di Rāma / swang puji tan wruh ring sapuji-mwa

tar papaḍeng pāpeka si Rāma / bwat pējah ing tan yogya ya hingsan"

(Rawana to Hanuman)

"You boast about the Power of this Rāma,

But your bragging was off the mark—you don't really know who you praise,

There is no sin equal to that of Rama,

Without thinking twice he killed those who did not deserve to be treated with violence.

Discussion:

hingsan analyzed as h-~~in~~-ingsa-~~ən~~, UV₂-violent treatment-IRR

The OJED [633] cites a UV₂ form *hinangsa* "to be killed" which is attested in RY 6.187 and NS (*Nṛtiśāstra*) 4.12. This suggests that the underlying form here is *h-in-ingsa-(ē)n*, with loss of *-in-* under conditions of irrealis and the usual reduction of the irrealis marker *-ən* to *-n* following a vowel-final base.

7) OJR 11. 32 Sāsing sājña narendra yeka pituhun sojarta tak langghanā

"nāhan prārthana ni nghulun taya waneh sangkā ri göng ning rēṇa

"yapwan tan wulat i nghulunn apa kunēng līngangkwa tag wruh huwus

"nā ketunya tēka narendra huwusēn sangkā ry unēng ni nghulun"

Each and every command you give, my lord, I will obey, never transgressing against your word,

Thus is my resolution, none other, because of my great debt to you,

For if you do not come to look again upon me, what shall become of me—truly I know not,

That is the reason you should come here, my lord, to put an end to the source of my longing."

Discussion:

- ta-k langghana-a neg-pro2 (formant) transgress-IRR

The negative plus pronominal formant (found in 1st and 2nd person forms as *tak* and *tat*) is (as far as I am aware) found only in the OJR. The simple solution here would thus be to read a clause with negative connotation: not-I transgress, e.g. "I do not transgress". However, *langghanā* has a "heavy" (*guru*, geminate) final syllable. By the rules of formation of the Indian quantitative meters used in the kakwin there is no need for marking a "heavy" syllable as the last segment of a hemistich, since all such syllables are regarded by convention as "heavy". I therefore propose that must read here coalescence of the irrealis marker *-a* with the final *-a* of *langghana*, which in its base form does not have a "heavy" syllable in final position. This would give us the realization of this clause as "not-I will/would transgress", that is "I will not transgress".

- * ~~lī-in~~-ng-a-ngkw-a UV₂-say/mean-IRR-lig-Pro1-IRR "(what) will be my meaning (to anyone, to myself)"

See OJED [1033-4] for the great number and variety of derivations on *ling*, whose basic meanings are “what one says, words, command, suggestion... thought, opinion”. The doubled irrealis marking in this derivation, which in a sense “frames” the 1st person pro (*ngku*) appears to occur most often with monomorphemic bases, where the pronominal form can be understood as in the possessive relationship with the base.¹⁷

- h-~~in~~-uwus-ěň UV₂-“finish”-IRR “May (the source of my pain) be put an end to (by your coming here).”

8) OJR 24.45

atita rasikā tamat kingkingěň / apan mati mahāprawīreng raṇa
kunang kita ike gumantya prabhu / prabhāwa ni guṇanta śuddhānulus.

He is gone, not to be mourned o’erlong,
For he died a great hero on the battlefield,
And now you shall succeed him as king,
The might of your abilities, most pure, has reached perfection.

Discussion:

- k-~~in~~-ingking-ěň UV₂-long for-IRR “(Rāvaṇa) should not be longed for [future]”

We should note here that the final *-t* of *tamat* is a 2nd person formative that replaces the usual final *-n* of a negative morpheme, in this case *taman*. See also the discussion of *tak langghanā* under OJR 11.32 above. The interpretation of *tamat kingkingěň* should then be: “not-you should-(for him) pine”, and an appropriate translation might be: “you should not pine (overlong) for him.”

- g-um-anty-a AV₁-replace, succeed-IRR “(you) shall succeed (as king)”

For comparative purposes I include a Balinese *mabasan* gloss for this verse. Balinese appears never to have had a marked realis-irrealis distinction in its syntactic repertoire. In any case, this distinction is not present in modern Balinese, although it is present in modern Javanese. Even so, Balinese participants in *mabasan* translation sessions consistently demonstrate their awareness of the realis-irrealis distinction in OJ and hence use modals, adverbials and similar lexical strategies to convey the distinctions signalled in OJ through irrealis marking. There

¹⁷ Note that Oglobin’s (2005: 8) takes the doubled irrealis forms of the 1st and 2nd person derivations as one proof (contra Teselkin: 1963) that the irrealis marker is a suffix, and not an independent morpheme:

Oleh A.S. Teselkin morfem *-a* ini dianggap sebuah kata tugas, bukan sufiks (1963:60). Kita bersyarat (menerima konvensi) bahwa *-a* adalah sebuah sufiks, beralasan kemungkinannya ia menempati posisi di antara kata penuh dan enklitika pronominal: *ulah₁-a₂-nta₃*, *kelakuan₁-mu₃-yang seharusnya₂*, juga berdasarkan adanya sandhi vokal antara *-a* irealis dengan vokal yang mendahuluinya: *aku + -a > akwa* ...

the land, that is the usufruct that is due to the king, known in the OJ inscriptions as *dr̥wya-haji*. “possession(s) of the king”.

- gēlis-a quickly-IRR

This gives us an example of the use of irrealis with an adjectival or adverbial base.

II. Arjunawiwāha

10) AW 4.3 Wwantēn mañumbana puḍak ginuritnya Pārtha
ndān suswa–suswani kinolnya hana n liningling
"rakryan wēdinta tan akun lēwu panghawis ta
heman kitābapa nirāgraha māsku" lingnya

One of them kissed and fondled a pandan blossom that on which she had inscribed Arjuna’s name,

Then offered it her breasts, cradling it like a baby, at times gazing at it fondly,
“My prince, put aside your fear that your father will not acknowledge you,
What a pity that you have should have such an indifferent father,” she said.

Discussion:

- an s-~~in~~-uswa-suswani COMP UV₂- breast/milk-Tr₁-REDUP

In terms of Uhlenbeck’s analysis this example does not follow Uhlenbeck’s pattern [pro or NP+pro—n/an—“verbal group”]. Instead a discourse deictic (*nda*, “look! there!) followed by COMP sets up a series of UV predicates with 0-anaphora to the undergoer complement, the “*pandan* blossom inscribed with the name of Arjuna (Pārtha) that is the patient complement of an AV clause in the 1st hemistich. We can thus speak of equi-NP-deletion of the subject (undergoer) argument of a series of UV clauses in the 2nd hemistich.

The reasons for this equi-NP-deletion may have to do with raising. While there is no raising-verb in sight in this verb, the second hemistich begins with an “expletive” (which I have termed a “discourse deictic”) and in that sense is reminiscent of English-language constructions based on an expletive (“there”) and a control-verb like “seems”. Comments on the syntactic process around COMP in this construction would be most welcome.

- hana n liningling EXIST COMP UV₂-gaze at fondly

In this case the combination of existential *hana*, “there is/there are” combines with COMP to introduce an embedded UV clause, again with 0-anaphora to (or equi-NP-deletion of) the subject/ undergoer introduced in the 1st hemistich.

11) AW 5.8 Apan yan waswāsēn n idan-idan iking rāt putusana
amet bhoga swargādi katēmu yayātah kasakitan

angel de ning pañcendriya sadigawe moga wulangun
mungěng tan wruh ry āwaknya wuta tĕkaping rāgawiṣaya

For if we examine the matter closely, it is the mad distractions of the world we should put an end to.

Seeking the pleasures of heaven and the like will only bring pain when we achieve them,
Wearied by the five senses, pleasures will be turned round and become mere confusion,
We will be numb, not realizing that we have been blinded by the objects of the passions.

Discussion:

w-~~in~~-waswas-ĕn UV₂-examine closely-IRR “if (the matter) will be examined closely”
The use of *waswasĕg* with yan gives us a good example of an irrealis form in a conditional clause.

p-~~in~~-utus-an-a UV₂-put and end to-LV-IRR “(worldly distractions) should be put an end to”

Note that OJED [1467] lists this phrase from AW 5.8 under the voice-marked derivations *amutusi*, *mutusi*, *pinutusan* “to bring to an end, conclude”, thus strengthening the claim for a derivation based on a UV₂ form *pinutusan*.

12) AW 6.8 (Indra to Arjuna)

Kita mara laki manggĕh de ning mānadhana tĕpĕt
tulusakĕna tikung prih meh sang hyang hayu datĕnga
muliha ta kami mangke ling hyang Śakra tan asuwe
ri huwus ira sinambah antarĭna namu-namu

“You, my boy, have been unwavering indeed in accomplishing your exact purpose,
Carry on with your efforts, for the divine auspicious state of the good is on the point of coming to you,
Now I would take my leave,” said Lord Indra speaking briefly,
After making a respectful bow he vanished as if into thin air.

Discussion:

- t-~~in~~-ulus-akĕn-a UV₂-carry through to end-Tr₂-IRR “(You) should carry through to its proper conclusion...”

Note that this irrealis clause is a good example of the “mild imperatives” or hortative forms that take irrealis form in OJ, cf. Oglobin (2005a:11)

- datĕng-a arrive-IRR
- m-ulih-IRR AV₁-return home-IRR. “(I) will (now) return home.”

The particle *ta* following *mulih-a* in the clauses *muliha ta kami mangke* shows us that this clause is in the canonical form < VP *ta* subject > where the subject can be either an actor or undergoer (in this case it is an actor).

13) AW 12 7 Syapa kari tan tēmu ng hayu masādhana sarwa hayu
niyata katēmwan ing hala masādhana sarwa hala
tēwas alisuh manangśaya purākṛta tâpa tinūt
sakaharēpēn kasiddha makaśaraṇa Pāṇḍusuta

Who indeed would not meet with the good if they make a practice of all that is good,
And clearly one meets with evil if one makes evil one's practice,
One gains only weariness from worrying about whether one's past actions will be have this or
that consequence,
While everything that one hopes for can be attained by taking the son of Pandu as one's
shelter and model.

Discussion:

- *sa-*k-~~in~~-a-harēp-ēn TOT-UV₁-UV₂-hope for-IRR, where TOT = “totality”
“all that can be desired”,

I analyze this form as based first on a combination of a prefix *sa-* that can either mean “single” or mark a form modified with *sa-* as indicating a “totality” (see Zoetmulder 1983: 86-95). Functions with the UV₁ affix to form a secondary affix whose general meaning is “the entirety [of x]”, so a hypothetical form **saka-harēp* might be glossed “all that one hopes”.¹⁸ While the combination of *ka-* with *-in-* to form a secondary prefix *kina-* is by no means uncommon, the OJED [594] does not give a voice-marked form *k-in-aharēp* corresponding to a hypothetical irrealis form *k-in-a-harēp-ēn*. However, the presence of the irrealis marker *-ēn* is (in my reading) an indubitable sign of a UV₂ marker ‘under erasure’. This suggests a complex derivational pathway from *ka-harēp* “wish, desire; that which is wished for” through **sakaharēp* “all that one desires”, and finally arriving at the irrealis form *sakaharēpēn*, where *-ēn* tells us that the UV₂ marker has been deleted under conditions of irrealis, and the interpretation is: “all that can be desired”.

14) AW12.12 Muwah awuwus tikā sang inutus: "bapa kāsihana
anēlanga śakti kīrti nira sang suranātha laki
pahayun ikang surālaya layanya magōng biśama
kadi saphalanta tâśraya nika n saphala n tulungēn"

The envoys then spoke again: “have pity, good sir,
And take over for a time, lad, the Power and glory of the king of the gods,

¹⁸ At times *sa-* of OJ is used like *sa-* of Sanskrit, which is presumed to be prefixed form of *saha*, “with”, but in OJ it is more commonly found as a prefix with “singular” or “collective” interpretation (eg. indicating a “totality” of st.).

Bring back the beauty and prosperity of heaven, for its ravished state is terrible indeed, It seems it would be only right to give your protection to that which deserves to be assisted.”¹⁹

Discussion:

- ka-asih-an-a

One can read this either as an irrealis form of *kāsih-an* [cf. OJED 140, “affected by love or compassion”], or an irrealis form of the UV form *kināsihan* [cf. OJED 139, “be kind or benevolent towards”]. .s noted by Oglobin (2005b) irrealis forms often serve as polite imperatives or hortatives, and the present instance appears to give us an example of that usage. I thus prefer to interpret *kasihana* as a UV₂ form in irrealis mode, thus perhaps to be glossed as: “may you have pity, show compassion (on me)”.

- aN-sělang-a AV₂-interval-IRR “may (you) take over for an interval (the power and glory of the king of the gods)”
- pa-hayu-n IMP-state of goodness and beauty-IRR

Note that it is possible to read this imperative form in derivational terms as p-~~in~~a-hayu-(ě)n, “may (heaven) be made to be good and beautiful”. This possibility calls into question the notion that *pa-* is an imperative marking morpheme, and suggests instead that we may have here a UV₂ derivation of a stem formed with *pa-*.²⁰

- n tulung-en COMP *t-~~in~~ulung-ěn = COMP UV₂-help-IRR

Neither example in the 4th hemistich (*āsraya nika n saphala n tulungěn*) follows Uhlenbeck’s pattern. But what IS happening here? It might be very useful to examine the intonational patterns of *mabasan* reciter around uses of COMP, as intonational patterns may be linked to grammatical patterning. Given the phonological brevity of these important function morphemes, and their phonological joining with a preceding or following vowel, we might expect some kind of intonational prominence given to n/an. We can reinterpret this line in a way that pays more attention to COMP:

It (will be) as if your giving protection will be fruitful when (those who) are deserving (that) will be given assistance.”

¹⁹ For some examples in this Working Paper I have changed translations that read more naturally in English to a somewhat clumsy form in order to bring out particular aspects of syntactic or morphological structure.

²⁰ As per the introduction to this working paper I will not attempt to further analyze here the verbal stems formed with *pa-* and *paN*. It may be noted, however, that the logical complement of *pahayun* is *ikang surālaya*, “heaven” (in a phrase that also includes the deictic form *ikang* that can be analyzed as combining distal (*ika*) and definitizing (*ng*) formatives), and that the semantic role of this complement is clearly that of *patient*. I believe we should at this point in the analysis thus refrain from proposing a separate imperative prefix *pa-*, but view *pahayun* in derivational terms, based on an intermediate step **pina-hayu*, “be made good and auspicious” The surface form *pinahaun* can thus be read as another illustration of the strong preference for UV₂ forms in irrealis constructions that have a hortative or imperative aspect.

It seems clear that some form of embedding is involved here, but I am at a loss as to how to carry the analysis further, and invite comments and suggestions.

15) AW 14.15

Laki kumwa pōh ni naya sang Wiwudhapati lawan watĕk rĕṣi
alĕmĕh tĕkāna niyata ng Surapada ya wiśīrṇa kāmbaha
anĕkāna ta pwa kita śatru parĕpĕkana tan tahĕn twasĕn
warawīrya śakti ni bapangku juga lagi hiner pakāśrayan

Young man, this then is the essence of the policy that the King of the Gods has fashioned with the company of divine sages,

We are certainly averse to being attacked here in the land of the gods, for it will be destroyed if they set foot on it,

Rather you should carry the battle to them, attacking them fearlessly at close quarters, Your courage as a fighter and your Power, good sir, are what we continually await as the source of our protection.

Discussion:

- t-~~in~~-ĕka-an-a UV₂-take battle to-LV-IRR “to being attacked”
- aN-(t)ĕkān-a AV₂-take battle to-IRR “to attack”

The initial derivation of both *tĕkana* and *anĕkāna* (from *tĕka*, arrive”) is by way of the voice-marked derivations *anĕkan* (AV₂-R-LV) and *tinekan* (UV₂-R-LV), which the OJED [1977] tells us can be glossed (in meaning 2) as: “to attack, march against”.

- ka-āmbah*-a UV₁-to set foot on, attack-IRR “if (heaven) is set foot upon”
- p-~~in~~-arĕpĕk UV₂-press down upon, attack at close quarters-LV-IRR

Note that in the clause *anĕkāna ta pwa kita śatru parĕpĕkana*, “you should rather attack the enemy, coming down fiercely upon them” there is a shift of AV and UV predicates. The first, AV predicate, takes “you-HON” (*kita*, *Arjuna*) as its subject. The second, a UV predicate (*pinarĕpĕk*,) takes as its subject “the enemy” (*śatru*), which was originally the non-subject complement of the AV predicate *anĕkāna*.²¹

16) AW 14.17

Hana tâpsarī pinalakunya malawas i Surendra tan kaweh
kinirim waneh juga ya lāgi salahasa titir harĕp–harĕp
rinasan katuhwan atiki n tan ika wĕnanga marwani Ratih
ya tikā mangungghana jātya nika gĕrĕmĕ tan panangśaya

²¹ I will not include here an analysis of *tan tahĕn twasĕn*, glossed in the OJED as “fearless”.

There is an Apsara whom he has long requested from Lord Indra, but never been granted, Though others were sent he was always disappointed and continued to go on hoping, He felt that in truth it was she alone, not some other, who was able to equal the goddess Ratih, She is willing to offer herself to him as his wife; surely he will be overjoyed and suspect nothing.

Discussion:

- wěňang-a capable, empowered-IRR “who should be capable”
- marwani ST-two-LV “serve as a second; equal”

I have included this example to illustrate the –ani allophone of the applicative affix –ani (transitive₁ in Oglobin 2005a, transitive₂ in Hunter 1988)

maN-unggah*-an-a maN-unggah-an-a AV₂-go up, rise, climb-LV > AV₂-offer oneself as wife-IRR. Cf. OJED 2125: mangunggahi, inunggahan “(she) will offer herself as (his) wife”

jāty-a jāti-IRR See OJED [732] 1. birth, state by birth, nature, caste 2. jātinya) in reality, the true condition of it is 3. natural, naturally, really, actually 4. honest, truthful. Probably meaning 3 is closest here: “that (she) would naturally, truthfully”

17) AW 14. 18 Palarěn ta yâjara hěľēm sigi-siginěn ikāng anugraha makahīngana ngka gaměľâtiki sang inaranan-ta Suprabhā usěňâta yâwaraha yan pawaraha ng surādhiperiya atěhěr ta yānghirasa lampah i kita t adulur harânaku

We should set our hopes that he will speak of it, seeking intently the secret of his divine favor,

To the point that he will have taken hold of that Apsara whom you call Suprabha,

May it be that he is quick to tell her, when that king of demons has told her

Then make short work of it and take flight together with her—be careful, my child!

Discussion:

- p-~~in~~-alar-ěň UV₂-hope for, set hopes on-IRR “(your) hopes should be set on”
- a-(a)jar-a ST-speak-IRR “(that he) will speak (of it)”
- s-~~in~~-igi-sigi-n-ěň UV₂-search for, try to find-LK-IRR, where LK = linker and -něň an allomorph of –ěň that varies with –n, likely in many cases metri causa. See OJED [1761] s.v. *anigi-nigi, sinigi-sigi* to try to find out. “(the secret of his power) should be sought intently (by you)”
- m-(p)aka-hīngan-a [AV₁-StaNom-UV₁-]-border, limit-IRR “up to the point that (future)”

I analyze *maka-* as an AV₁ derivation of a verbal stem in *pa-*, which joins with *ka-* to produce a compound prefix with the general meaning “have as x, take as x”. This stem has both AV₁ and UV₂ derivations, respectively *maka-* and *pinaka-*. The latter form is statistically the most common, being found for example, in the (figural) 1st person pronoun *pinaka-nghulun*.²²

- gamēl-a hold, grasp, seize-IRR “(that he) will hold”

This is a good example of a monomorphemic base in irrealis mode.

- usēn-a do-it-quickly-IRR “may it be done quickly”

See OJED [2147] and note the sandhi coalescence with ‘emphatic’ *ata* following.

- a-warah-a ST-inform-IRR “(that) he might inform (her of his secret)”
- ma-warah-a ST-inform-IRR (where the final –n of conditional preceding *yan* has triggered the change of stative *ma-* to *pa-*). “(when she) has been informed (about it)”
- ang-hiras-a AV₂-make short work of, finish off-IRR “(you) should make short work of it” See OJED [698] for *iras*, *hiras*.

18) AW 14.19 Anu bhāra donā ri bapangku wulatana sabhā nikang musuh bhaya durga ning kuṭa lawan pagēlarana dēlāha kawruhi t akalambi kambala t apāduka t acēlēk adrrśya-sādhana kami parcaयānaku kapāna kita bapa kasambya de nikā

It is very important, my lad, that your goal should be to observe carefully the enemy capital, The dangerous and difficult points in its fortifications, along with the way they are laid out— we will need to know those things,

Now take this jacket and cape, these sandals and this eye-paint that will give you the power of invisibility,

We have faith in you, my child, how could it be that you would let him ambush you.

Discussion:

- don-a aim, intention-IRR “(your) aim/intention should be”
- w-in-ulat-an-a UV₂-see, look at-LV-IRR “(his capital) should be observed very closely (by you)”
- pa-gēlar-an-a STnom-array, arrangement-LV-IRR “the way things will be seen to be laid out there”

²² I concur with A.L Becker (p.c. 1983) that *pinaka-nghulun* is a metonymous extension of the act of placing one’s head (*hulun*) at the feet of someone of higher status and respect, so that this pronominal form can be read “I, who am to be taken as the head (in a gesture of respect where my head is placed lower than your feet)”. I would further claim that this same metonymy is at work in the base *hulun*, “servant, bondsperson”.

kapān-a	when (interrogative)-IRR “when/how could it be”
ka-samby-a	UV ₁ -do something at the same time, have as secondary aim-IRR “that (you) would be taken offguard”

19) AW 15. 3

Sampun adan sirâpaduluran turida pialin ing Manobhawa
ardha kamerangěn tĕkap i lampah ira hana dudū nikāng ulah
de ni pakon Surādhipa lawan kadi sumariha mangkanā hĕlĕm
hetu nira n hĕnĕng pinaguñĕp-guñĕpakĕn ikangapsarâpsarī.

After they had readied themselves, accompanied by pangs of longing, a gift from the god of love,

Deeply embarrassed, their steps frequently strayed from the course they intended,
Because of the orders of the King of the Gods, and as if wishing to postpone what was to be
until a future moment,

They went in silence, but were the subject of the whispering and gossip of the Apsara men
and women as they passed by.

Discussion:

- ka-ma-irang-ĕn [UV₁-ST]-feel shame-ĕn > ka-merangěn “overcome by shame or embarrassment”

See the discussion of *girahyasĕn* of GK 4.8 following. In this case an ‘adjectival’ derivation based on ST-“feel shame” takes the form ka—R—ĕn that produces a type of verbal substantive perhaps comparable to the “adversitives” of Mal-Ind (*kamalaman*, “overtaken by night”, *kahujanan*, “drenched from being caught out in the rain”), and perhaps comparable to “dative of subject” in languages like Hindi. While the –ĕn marker is clearly fused with the base in words like *girahyasĕn* (which can take the irrealis marker –a), in *kamerangěn* it appears we can still see a derivational process at work that takes the surface form of the confix ka—R—ĕn. Since the subjects of these ‘adjectival’ (or in this case “adversitive”) forms are always in the role of experiencer I postulate a relationship between these forms and the UV₂ derivations taking –ĕn in irrealis mode. On the principle of Okham’s razor I am thus arguing against homophony and for a semantic link between the adjectival/adversitive forms and the UV₂ forms in irrealis mode. Note that all of the adjectival/adversitive forms analyzed in this paper are based on lexemes that refer to affective or physiological states experienced by the ‘subject’ (experiencer).

20) AW 35.8 akweh cañdi rĕbah katona tĕkap ing waringin athawa bodhi hambulu
lit ny ālāya nikāna yan pipilaneke dawutana kapāna yan hanā
hĕnganya n watunĕn tikang mada wimoha tumuwuh i manahta sapwani
yan tamtāmana wiṣṭi yan pangawaśanya basama mamubura ng parākrama

Many are the *candi* that crumble, you may see, from the action of *banyan*, *bodhi* and *ambulu*
trees,

When the tendrils are still small they should be uprooted carefully, plucked out one by one whenever they appear,

To that point too you should uproot the intoxication and sensual confusion that grow in the heart, sweeping them away.

If you yield to their dangers, they will have irresistible force and their power will crush your fortitude and valour.”

Discussion:

- ka-ton-a UV₁-visible, seen, see-IRR “(that) may be seen”
- *p-~~in~~-ipil-an-a UV₂-to take (pick up) one by one-LV-IRR “(when the tendrils are still small they) should be taken up one by one”
- ḍ-~~in~~-awut-an-a UV₂-pull up, uproot-LV-IRR “(they) should be weeded out”
- kapān-a when-IRR “whenever (future)”
- *w-~~in~~-atu- -ĕn UV₂-weed out-IRR “(they) should be weeded out”
- sapw-ani broom, sweep-Tr₁ “sweep (them) away!”

I regard this as a direct imperative based on a monomorphemic base word plus applicative affix (Tr₁).

- t-~~in~~-amtām-an-a UV₂-devoted to, absorbed in, indulgent-LV-IRR “(if you) will allow (yourself) to be absorbed (in intoxication and the confusion of the senses)
- maN-(b)ubur-a AV₂-c rush, destroy completely-IRR, cf. OJED [263-4] “(intoxication and the confusion of the senses) will completely destroy you”²³

III. Bhāratayuddha Kakawin

21) BY1. 7 Byaktācāmana pādapangkaja bhaṭāra Śiwa mara ng umastawā sira yogya n manggala ring mikēt prang ira Pāṇḍawa makalaga Korawēśawara ndan dūran kawaśāhalib kadi sērĕh pamahugi mahapū susah gĕsĕng manggih tan sĕḍĕnganya ring waja tuhun palārĕn amanguna ngrĕs ing hati

To offer praise to him is like kissing the lotus-feet of Lord Siwa,

It is fitting, therefore, that he becomes my auspicious patron in composing this poem, which concerns the war between the Pandawa and the Korawa king,

But how can I hope for success? It will be as bland as a betel quid offered with burnt shell of lime,

It will certainly be tasteless between the teeth, but nevertheless it is hoped that it will move the heart.

²³ For *basama* see OJED [221] *basama* = *bişama* (3 and 4), [246] (Skt *vişama*, uneven) 1. uneven 2. out of the ordinary 3. undesirable, risky, in danger’ terrifying, dangerous 4. it would be inconvenient. The meanings of type 3 are closest here,

Discussion:

- ng um-a-stawa-IRR DEF AV₁-sta-“hymn of praise”-IRR “the (future) offering of a hymn of praise”

As in a number of other cases I believe that the “heavy-ā” of a form like um-a-stawā may represent the coalescence of the final –a vowel of a stem/base with the irrealis marker.

- n manggala COMP auspicious beginning of a kakawin

Once again the pattern here does not follow that proposed by Uhlenbeck. The context demands that *manggala* refers to *sira*, pro3-HON of the first hemistich, so in order to capture the full meaning we need to rephrase as “it is fitting that He should serve as the auspicious beginning (of my composing a kakawin)”. This suggests embedding of the COMP clause, with equi-NP-deletion of *sira*, “he (HON)”, thus reading an intermediate step: **yogya n sira manggala*, “it is fitting that He serve as the auspicious initiation of a poetic project”.

Note that *sira* always refers to the subject of an AV or UV verb, regardless of whether the semantic role of the subject is in the Actor or Undergoer category. *Sira* is contrastive with –*nira/-ira*, which is always enclitic, either to an NP (in which case it indicates the possessor) or to a VP (in which case it indicates the “demoted” or “erstwhile” agent of a UV verb phrase). There appear to be correspondences between the OJ 3pro forms *sira/-nira* and Tagalog *siya/niya* (singular) and *sila/nila* (plural). See, for example, Himmelmann (2005:357-9).

- p-in-alar-ěn UV₂-hope for-IRR “(it) is to be hoped
- aN-(w)angun-a AV₂-raise up-IRR “(my poetic work) will arouse (deep feelings in the heart)”

22) BY 13.34 Ndi n tan syūha ng arūpa Manmatha turung grēmūsēn ing arējāngrēs ing jinēm yadyan prāngēn i tungtung ing halis iwōn tēñuha ni hati ning smarātura kāhinya n paḍa sūra matta sang angēmbuli ri sang Abhimanyu ring raṇa nāhan marma nira n hane liḍah ing adyah angēsah alarāngajap tawang

How could he survive —he, who was as handsome as the God of Love, he, who had never been scratched by a lovely lady in the bedchamber.

Indeed, he had not even been slashed by her sharp-pointed eyebrows, or been treated with the care and affection that would melt the heart of the lovesick,

Those who overwhelmed Abhimanyu in battle, moreover, were equally valiant,

This was why the maidens always invoked his name, as they gazed with longing to the sky, moaning in sorrow.

Discussion:

- syuh-a demolished, destroyed-IRR “(how could it be that he) would (not) be demolished”
- *g-~~in~~-rēm̄us*-~~ən~~ UV₂-scratch (with the nails)-IRR “(never yet) to have been scratched (by a lovely lady in the bedchamber)”
- p-~~in~~-rang-~~ən~~ UV₂-war, battle-IRR “(if he) will never have been attacked in battle (by the sharp eyebrows of a paramour)”
- in-iwō*-n UV₂-have as an object of care-IRR See OJED [708-9] where this verse is listed under angiwō, umiwō, iniwō, kewō, pangiwō (avs), kewwan (pvs) “(or) been treated with affection and care”
- tēñuh-a melting, dissolving; heartbroken-IRR “(that) would melt the heart (of someone sick with love)”

23) BY 15.6 nghing sīhanta yan agēsēng hawungku bhasma
 ndan carw ing karas arēnik lawan tanah sör
 tan len donya sungakēneng mangō wiśeṣa
konēn tângikēta gatingku len kakanta

“I beg your favour, however, that after my cremation, my ashes
 be offered as a sacrifice on a delicate writing board inscribed with a piece of slate-pencil,
 My intention is solely that they be offered to eminent poets, the seekers of beauty,
 And that they be asked to compose a poem about our husband and myself.

Discussion:

sīh-a-nta	affection, favour-IRR-pro3 HON “may you show favour”, or more literally: may there be favour (of) you”
s- in -ung-akēn-a	UV ₂ -give-Tr ₂ -IRR ²⁴ “may (my written composition) be offered (future)”
k- in -on-IRR	UV ₂ -give order-IRR “(that future poets) will be given the order”
aN-ikēt-a	AV ₂ -bind together, compose-IRR “(that) they should compose”

IV. Hariwangśa

46) HW 1.2 (one of the *mangala* verses used to provide an auspicious beginning to a kakawin by invoking the “personal deity” (*iṣṭa-dewata*) of the poet)

Ndātan lena tikang kathâjarakēna nghing kastawan hyangHari
rumrūmēn gēlarēn wilapa kakawin munggweng lēpit ning karas
 ndan dūra n kawaśāmalar nghulun apan sinwī kinon de haji
 śrī Dharmeśwara digjaya n Jayabhayâpañ jāti Wiṣṇwātmaka.

The story to be told is none other than the praise of the god Hari (Wisnu),

²⁴ There is a sandhi coalescence of *sungakēna* and the following prepositional phrase (*i-ng mangō*, “to those who wander in search of beauty (eg. poets)”.

It should be beautifully expressed, laid out in the form of a kakawin that will take its place in the grooves of the writing board,

But it is improbable that I will capable; I only set my hopes on success from being pressed into service by the king,

Śrī Dharmeswara, who has made a victorious circuit of the world, that is Jayabhaya, for he is indeed the very should of the god Wisnu.

Discussion:

- ~~in~~-ajar-akēn-a UV₂-speak, say-Tr₂-IRR “(the tale) to be told”
- r-~~in~~-umrūm-ēn UV₂-arrange gracefully-IRR “(the story) is to be arranged gracefully (future)”
- g-~~in~~-ēlar-ēn UV₂-laid out-IRR “(the tale) is to be laid out (in the form of a kakawin)”
- m-unggw-a AV₁-be situated, dwell” (the kakawi) will take its place”

24) HW 4.4

Tadanantara (n) dēlē-dēlōn mara sira ng utusēn lumampaha
bhaya ning hawan ya katahā palagan alas atīadurgama
ya matangnya bhrtya nira kāsih ira hinaranan Priyambada
Yatikā kinon ira sēdēng winisikan irikang prayojana

Next he thought carefully indeed about who should be sent to go as an envoy,
He was concerned about the dangers along the way - battlefields and impenetrable forests,
So it was he chose his beloved servant, Priyambada by name,
Giving him his orders while whispering to him his plans.

Discussion:

- (n) d-~~in~~-ēlē-dēlō-n COMP UV₂-regard intently-IRR “(in the meantime) when (the Matter) had been closely considered (by him)”

In this case COMP follows a temporal adverbial does not follow Uhlenbeck’s pattern. The pro₃ *sira* here refers to the patient, the person who “is being considered intently” to be sent as an envoy, while the erstwhile agent of the UV₂ clause (Abhimanyu) is carried over from the previous verse by means of the 0-anaphora supported by COMP.

Note that DEF *ng* forms a type of relative clause in this example: *sira ng utusēn lumampaha*, “he (hon) who was to be sent to go out as an envoy”.

- ng ~~in~~-utus-ēn DEF-UV₂-send as envoy-IRR “the one (who) was to be sent as an envoy”

I am not entirely satisfied with using DEF (definite) as a designation for *ng*, for I would prefer to follow Irwin (2005:237-9) in using DEF for 3rd person pronouns in the form *-nya*

(found inter alia in OJ, Old Malay, Malay, Standard Indonesian and Colloquial Indonesian with the same, or very similar, functions). For purposes of this Working Paper I will use provisionally use DEF for *ng* and pro-3 for *-nya*. While *-nya* is contrastive in OJ in sociolinguistic terms with *-nira*, I will mark only the latter as HON (honorific) and assume that it is understood that *-nya* is non-honorific.

It is also not yet certain that *ng* always implies definiteness of a following NP or gerund, and more work needs to be done on this point. One thing that is very clear here, however, is that one form of relative clause can be formed with *ng*. In this example, as in many others (and also as an element in *sang*) the morpheme *ng* forms a simple relative clause with the general meaning “the one who x”. Here it is quite clear that *ng utusěn* means “the one who was to be sent as an envoy”.

- l-um-ampah-a AV₂-go out, walk along-IRR “(who) should go out (as an envoy)”

25) HW 4.6

Yan alūnga sinwam ing aśoka winisikan i gēntěr ing patěr
datēnge hulēm haku hanisa sumilib iri tambwang ing wulan
yan inge lwir elika sēkar ning asana kinirim-kirim riris
kayuhēnkwa ta pwa uruhēn sakahanan ika tan tahēn langō"

“If the tendrils of the *asoka*
send forth fresh shoots
when whispered to
by the soft rumble of thunder,
I will come by night
slipping in stealthily
at the fullness of the moon,
But if the blossoms of the *asana*
seem to turn aside as if averse,
even when sent the gift of rain
in the dry season,
I will seize them with both hands,
throwing them all into wild confusion,
unable to bear their beauty.

Discussion:

- yan a-lung-a COND ST-shoots-IRR “if (the blossoms of the *asoka*) will send forth fresh shoots”
- datēng-a (i) come-arrive-IRR (+ locative prep *i*) “I will come (by night)”
- a-(i)lik-a ST-turn aside in disdain or disgust-IRR “(but if the *asana* blossoms) will (seem) to turn aside in aversion”

- k-~~in~~-ayuh-ĕn-kwa UV₂-embrace-try to seize-IRR-pro1-IRR “(those *asana* blossoms) will be seized by me (with both hands)”

See OJED [832-3] for *kayuh* and its voice-marked derivations *angayuh*, *kumayuh*, *kinayuh*. While I have been tempted to switch the reference of the translation of the fourth hemistich to “her” (referring to princess Kṣītisundarī) in fact the entire verse is phrased in terms of the blossoms of the *asoka* (which might accept the advances of prince Abhimanyu) and of *asana* (which might turn aside in aversion). This appears to represent a case of the figure known as *aprustutaprasāmsa* in Sanskrit, in which the object of comparison (the *upameya*, Lakoff’s “target”) is unexpressed (*aprustuta*), but conveyed through a thorough-going description of the attributes of the means of comparison (*upamāna*, Lakoff’s “source”).

This verse, and several others that lay out on the page in a form closer to that of modern, lyrical verse than the four-line form that is conventional for translation of kakawin, represent (in my analysis) cases of the independent lyrics (comparable to the *muktaka* of Sanskrit) that are known in the kakawin variously as *bhāṣa*, *bhāṣa kakawin*, *bhāṣa wilāpa* and (perhaps) *pralambang*. I believe that these lyrical verses can rightly be considered a sub-genre within the kakawin. They are developed within the kakawin whenever there is an amorous communication between lovers, usually in written form, quite often on the ephemeral writing surface of a blossom of fragrant *pandan*.

The poetic diction of these lyric verses very often calls for conditional clauses or similar expressions that take irrealis form, and are one context that helps to account for the relatively great frequency of irrealis forms in the kakawin. As demonstrated in the analysis of HW 4.4 in the preceding example, the planning of a strategy is another context that often calls in the kakawin for frequent use of the irrealis mode. (See also the discussion of plans made between Arjuna and the god Indra to find out the secret of the power of the demon Niwāṭkawaca in AW 12.12, 14.14, 14.15, 14.18-19 above.)

- r-~~in~~-urah-ĕn UV₂-throw into confusion-IRR “(those blossoms of the *asana*) will be thrown into wild confusion”
- tan t-in-ahĕn NEG-UV₂-restrain os. with respect to-IRR “not (future) able to bear (the beauty of the *asana* blossoms)”

26) HW 16. 1. Irikā ta ratnaduhitāngĕsah akusikan epu ring gatī
ri hatur nira n winidhi rakwa sisihana ri tan kakūng nira
yatikāmangun lara nirānangis amĕkulakĕn ri Keśarī
awarah ri dukkha nira parwatasama tumibā sakeng tawang.

At that time the Princess was sighing plaintively, unsettled, not knowing what to do,
From the fact that she had been ordered to become the wife of one for whom she had no affection,

It was that which had roused her grief as tearfully she embraced Kesari,

Telling her of her sorrow, descending like a mountain that has fallen from the sky.

Discussion:

- n w-in-idhi

Here we have a case that does fit the model of Uhlenbeck. Here COMP appears to form a complex relative clause, with “her (+ resp) situation” as the head, and “that (she) be ordered, so it is said, to become the wife of someone not her (+resp) beloved.”

ri	hatur	-nira	n	winidhi	rakwa
DAT	appearance, situation	-pro3 (HON)	COMP	UV ₂ -ordain	RPRT
in regard to	situation	of-her	that	be ordered	it is said

sisihana	ri	an	kakūng	-nira
UV ₂ -spouse-LV-IRR	DAT	Neg	UV ₁ (nom)-desire	-pro 3 (HON)

“in regard to her situation that (she) be ordered to become the bride of someone not her beloved”

- sisih-an-a side-LV > other half, spouse-IRR “(that) she would be taken as spouse (by someone not her beloved)”

27) HW 20.5

Yadiyan hulunâku denta dewī
 rahineng rātri kunang ndatan sahâkung
pakĕnangkwa lanâmahaywa kenken
 gĕlung awrā yatikâjumĕn lukarnyā

If you will accept me, Princess, as your servant,
 Day and night you will be my beloved, inseparable,
 Over and over my task will be to rearrange your skirts,
 And when your chignon comes undone to set the loosened strands again in order.”

Discussion:

- hulun-a servant, bondsman-IRR “(I) may/might be (your) bondsman”²⁵
- sah-a separate, break off-IRR “will (not) will break off”
- pakĕna-ngkw-a (intended) task-pro1-IRR “my task will be” See OJED [1236] for pakĕna (intended) use, task

²⁵ See footnote 11 for a discussion of *hulun* and *pinakanghulun*.

Note that in this case a possessive use of the pro1 in irrealis mode does not require doubling. As in several other cases this could be a result of coalescence (without sandhi marking) with the –a final of the baseword.

- ~~in~~-ajum-ěň UV₂-set in order-IRR “will be set in order (the loosened strands of your chignon)”

V. Ghatotkacāśraya

28) GK 2.2

Byātītan sira ring wanāśrama rěngön / pang ning kathā warnaněň
 wwantěň putra Dhanañjaya pwa saphalâ/-nwan śakti śureng raṇa
 prajñānindya warābhimanyu pangaran / khyātī prajāmaṇḍala
 sāksāt Manmatha māwak āpti tuladěň / ring rūpa tan popama

Passing over their stay in forest hermitages let us listen now to a branch tale, here to be described.

There was a son of Arjuna, accomplished and youthful, powerful, a hero in battle,
 Wise, unblemished, the excellent Abhimanyu by name, renowned throughout the land,
 Clearly he was the Love God incarnate, incomparable, fitting to be taken as an example of
 beauty in manifest form.

Discussion:

- r-in-ěngö-n UV₃-hear-IRR
- w-~~in~~-arṇa-něň UV₃-colour, description-IRR

These two cases give us good examples of uses of UV₂ irrealis forms in the framing of discourse that are found with great frequency in the kakawin. The first (*rěngön*) can be glossed as “may you/we listen (to story x)”, while the second (*warnaněň*) can be glossed as “(story x) will now be described (to follow)”. As per the discussion of HW 50.4 above the great frequency of uses of *rěngön* as a device to move forward narratives may help account for its being understood as a separate baseword in derivations like rěngě-rěngöna.

- t-~~in~~-ulad-ěň UV₂-model, example to be followed-IRR “(he) is fitting to be taken as an example (future)”

29) GK 3.2 2 Tuwin hana manah narendra pakamantwa ri sira winunī dalēm hati
 ikang kawēdi lokikāgama ya karāṇa nira tan atön amidhyani
 kunang yadin atēmwa tan pawarahâpuputa wěliněň ing parakrama
 ikā karika ng enake hiděp ira n wruh i raras ing ulah walātsmara

Now the king wanted to make Abhimanyu his son-in-law, but kept the thought hidden in his heart,

Not wanting to arrange a marriage with his daughter for fear of worldly conventions, If they were to come together it should be without any announcement and they should complete things in such a way that they pay the price in heroism, That would be best, he thought, for he too had once experienced the joys of love won through force of arms.

Discussion:

- p-~~in~~-aka-mantw-a [StaNom-UV₂-UV₂]-son-in-law-IRR “will/would be taken as son-in-law”

The derived stem in paka- (with the general meaning “use as, have as”) is found with great frequency in UV₂ form (*pinaka-*) as well as in AV₁ form (*maka-*).

- a-tēm̄w-a ST-meet, find-IRR “(if they) are to meet, come together”
- (m)a-warah-a ST-inform-IRR “(I/we) should (not) inform (the public)”
- a-puput-a ST-end, finished-IRR “(they) should complete (the matter)”
- w-~~in~~-ēli-n UV₂-buy, purchase-IRR “(it, the union of Abhimanyu and Kṣītisundarī) should be purchased (through bravery)”

30) GK 4.8 8 Nāhan ling nṛpapatrikānggyang i manah / ning iña kaka wawang girahyasēn dūh atyanta dahat wuwusta tuhan ang- / -lēngēnga mahasa ring wanāntara singgih yadyapi sök angantya sukha bhuk- / -tinēn ing angēpēpe dalēm purī mogāwarsih alēh ya tan sinēlangan / lalēha ning awilāsa lālana²⁶

Thus were her words, urging on her duenna and maidservant, who were immediately excited, “Oh, how excellent are your words, good lady—to think we might go on a quest for beauty, wandering among mountain forests, How long will seem the hours, awaiting the enjoyments to come while shut up here in the palace, One grows quickly sated, weary at heart, when there is no interval for amusement, just taking it easy.”

Discussion:

- girahyas-ēn feeling excited

For a discussion of the semantic link that I see between UV₂ predicates taking –ēn in irrealis mode, the “affective” class of adjectives taking –ēn and a smaller class of “adversitives”

²⁶ I have used slashes to indicate the internal yati breaks of the meter (Śārdūlawikrīḍita) after the 12th syllable. In my article on *yati* in OJ (Hunter: 2009, in the *Indo-Iranian Journal*) I have noted that Mpu Panuluh observed the *yati* breaks in meters like *Śārdūla-* with greater care in his later career than at the beginning (by comparing his work in the HW and GK. These examples, however, suggest a relative disregard for the rule that the fault of “one-syllableness” should not result from a construction that results in a lexeme’s crossing the yati break, and points toward the conclusion that Mpu Panuluh’s work falls in with that of several other poets of the Kaḍiri period (including Mpu Monagūṇa, but not Mpu Dharmaja) who disregarded rules on yati with relatively great frequency.

taking –*ən* See also the discussion of *kamerangěn* under AW 15.3, and further discussion of these “affective” and “adversitive” forms to follow.

- aN-lěngěng-a AV₂-enchanted by beauty-IRR “(that we) might go on a search for the enchantment of beauty”
- m-*ahas-a AV₁-wander about-IRR “(that we) might wander about”
- aN-anty-a AV₂-await-IRR “(that we) must await”
- bh-~~in~~-uktin-*ěn* UV₂-enjoy-IRR “(that) will be enjoyed”
- aN-**ěpěp*-a (+ LOC prep *i*) AV₂-conceal oneself, hide-IRR “(that we) will be concealed/shut up (here in the palace)”
- lalěh-a charming, pleasantly satisfied-IRR “feeling of being satisfied (to come, once we are wandering among the beauties of nature)”

31) GK 5.8 8 Ndan syapa *wānya* rakwa *mulate* sira n waśa manamba wāny atulaha tēkwān ajěng nira n lagi rinakśa pahyas ira towi tan sah apingit *toněn* ikang wirāga milēt ing gělung saha tajug matěnggran asana lāwan ikang susup-susup atingkah asrang angěmit patah rinacana

8 Now whoever could find the courage to gaze at her must have power to heal those brave enough to suffer the curse from breaking a taboo.
For her beauty is ever guarded, her artistry in makeup ever sequestered,
One should only look at the *wiraga* flowers twined in her coiffure and her coronet that carries *asana* blossoms as its battle standard,
Along with the flowers of her hairpiece, arranged in battle order, vying to keep faithful watch over the hair-band that holds in place her coiffure.

Discussion:

- wany-a brave-IRR “should/will be brave (enough)”
- m-ulat-a AV₁-look, see-IRR “to gaze (future)”
- a-tulah-a ST-suffer curse from breaking a taboo-IRR “(who) will suffer the curse of breaking a taboo”
- t-~~in~~-on-*ěn* UV₂-look, see-IRR “(the *wiraga* blossoms twined in her hair) should be looked at/observed closely”

32) GK 23.1 Abhimanyu says:

Sākśāt śrī ni kalangwan ing pasir amānuśa mara kita ngūni n anglěngěng nāhan kāraṇa ni ngwang anghyang asamādhi turida ri sihanta sanmata mangke pwa n inanugrahanta *wěnangangkwa lumawana* ri śakti ning smara ndī rāgī ta kunang *dumělwa* kakawinku nagata kawi digjayeng langō

1 “Back then, as you sought enchantment
you were the goddess incarnate of coastal beauties,

So it was I made supplication to the gods,
 practicing the *samadhi* of amorous longing,
 that you might consent to love,
 Now that you have granted your favor,
I will have strength to stand against the Power of the Love God,
 So that wherever there are poets consumed by passion,
studying closely my kakawin
 they may go on to world-mastery in beauty.”

Discussion:

- wěnan-a-ngkw-a empowered, capable-IRR-pro1-IRR “(I) will be capable”

This is another example that suggests that the doubled irrealis marker found with 1st and 2nd pro forms is used when the monomorphemic base is not further derived. The 1st or 2nd pro “actor” thus stands in the possessive relationship with the baseword.

- l-um-awan-a AV₁-oppose-IRR “(I) will (be able) to oppose/stand against”
- *d-um-ělö-a AV₁-observe carefully-IRR “(that they) will study carefully”

33) GK 23.2 2 "Ndan pintangkwa harebu haywa maluy ing madhu manis i wuwusta ring puḍak
 tolih ringranga ning rimang kěnakěnan alara turida ri dwa ning guyu
 yadyastun ngwang iki n dudul-dudulěn ing hyun idan-idaněn ing karāsikan
 nyāmāku n pějahāsilinglunga karaskw iki n awiji tangis linangwakěn"

“And my request to you, listen well good lady,
 let not the sweet words
 you inscribed on a pandan blossom
 turn again into honey,
Look back on the confusion of love sickness,
 that duplicitous laughter has brought
 to one sick with love,
 Even if I were roused to passion,
driven to distraction
 in the consummation of desire,
 Surely I would die,
taking as provisions for the journey beyond,
 my writing board with its content of figured tears

Discussion:

- pinta-ngkw-a request-pro1-IRR “(my) request (future)”

The fact that the irrealis marker is not doubled here (as is usual for “possessive” uses of irrealis in 1st and 2nd person forms) may be related to the fact that *pinta* has the vowel –a as its final segment.

- tolih “look back!”

This is a good example of a “direct imperative” based on the monomorphemic baseword, without any further derivation. This shows that, while R-akĕn forms are very common as direct imperatives, the baseword alone can also be used in imperative mode.

- ringrang-a confusion, bewilderment-IRR “(my) confusion and bewilderment (to come)”
- k-in-ĕna-(a)kĕn-â UV₂-apply, put on, use-Tr₂-IRR “(the bewilderment of longing) that has been brought to bear”
- *d-~~in~~-udul-dudul-ĕn UV₂-arouse the inclination”-IRR “(that I) be roused to the Inclination”
- ~~in~~-*idan-idan-ĕn UV₂-madness-REDUP-IRR “(that I) will be driven mad”
- pĕjahâ die-IRR “(that) I should die”
- â-silunglung-a ST-provisions for a journey-IRR “(that I) will take along as provisions for the journey ahead”

VI. Smaradahana

34) SD22.15a The goddess Ratih lamenting the death of the love-god:

Ndĭking deša pametanangkwa ri huripta tan pagamĕlan?
 anghöt ring šaširašmi wāhu sumināngungang jalanidhi?
 ring nyū danta lumĕnghay ing jurang angukul-ungkuli tawang?
 ring paᅇdan ta kunĕng kita n lihatana-ngkwa karwa lĕpihan?

“Where now is the place where I should seek your life, no longer tangible?

Is it to be found in the narrowness of moonbeams that have just begun to shine, looking down over the ocean?

In the ivory coconut palm that leans over a chasm, stretching above the empty sky?

Or should I look for you on a writing surface of a *pandan* blossom, or again in the folds of the writing material?

Discussion:

paN-(p)et-an-a-ngkw-a AV₂NOM-seek-LV-IRR-pro1-IRR “the place that I should seek you”

The confix *paN—an* forms nominal forms that in many cases indicate the place of an action. Once again the doubled irrealis form appears to be used in cases where the actor can be considered in a possessive relationship to the baseword. This suggests that *pametangkwa* can be considered a nominalization of the clause: *aku ametana (x)*, “I will seek (x)”.

- n l-~~ih~~-ihat-an-a-ngkw-a COMP-UV₂-look-LV-IRR-pro1-IRR

This example follows Uhlenbeck's model. It appears that *kita n lihatana-ngkwa* forms a relative clause with *kita*, "you (HON)" as the Head, COMP as the relative clause marker and an embedded UV₂ clause in irrealis mode as the modifier. But the fact that the first undergoer complement of the embedded UV predicate (*lihatanangkwa*) is sentence initial (and hence topical) suggests that what we have here is an OJ cleft-construction, a fact that is reflected in the translation given above.

VII. Kṛṣṇāyana

35) KY33.16 Ri saṅḍing ken putrī hana kili sēḍēng pantēs atulis
 hañar wahw ātangkil gēlungan inapus tapwan agugus
 kakādyah mūlānganti ri sira n asih bhakti matuhan
 pějah ning swāmī mantuka muwah i jōng rājaduhitā

At the princess' side sat an accomplished ascetic, a model of her type,
 She had just started serving her, so her chignon was still tied up neatly,
 In her youth she had been the princess' maid-servant, attending her with deep affection and devotion,
 She had promised that at the death of her husband, she would return to serve at the feet of the princes.

Discussion:

- m-antuk-a AV₁-return-IRR

This example provides us with an important perspective on the use of irrealis forms in the kakawin. It seems clear from all earlier examples that irrealis mode is never used without there being some element of intent, hypothesis, futurity, conditionality or other feature that falls within the scope of non-realis expressions. In the case of the clause *pějah ning swāmī mantuka muwah i jōng rājaduhitā* my first attempt at a translation read:

After he husband died, she had returned to serve at the feet of the princess.

However, it is clear that this gloss does not account for the irrealis from *mantuka*, "she would return".

In his comments on my translation of this verse S. Supomo has rightly observed that there is, in fact, an irrealis element at play in the fourth hemistich of KY 33.16. The implication is that the favorite maid-servant of the princess, who had served her lovingly in her youth, had subsequently gotten married and left royal service, but with the promise that she would return upon the death of her husband. I have thus retranslated *pějah ning swāmī mantuka muwah i jōng rājaduhitā* as:

She had promised that at the death of her husband, she would return to serve at the feet of the princes.

The need to add “she had promised” for clarification of this line brings out the fact that there are times when we need to have a deeper knowledge of the cultural norms of the time of composition of a kakawin in order to understand the motivation for choice of a particular syntactic form, in this case irrealis.

36) KY35.3 Eñjing māsa karaśmin ing karahināna warurutěna manggagap tapih sah manglěsw i paranti ning suku karanghulu lěngěñ unusěñ sakeng gulu wahw āwungwa kasingsalan kusuma sāri sumawur i lukar nikang gělung mādeg ta ngwang adan masiñjang irikā n mijil akěmul adarya-daryana

In the morning I found pleasure
in being overtaken by daylight,
as drowsily I groped for my loosened Kain,
Crumpled where it had bound my legs,
while drawing out my arms
which had been his headrest,
When just arising I shook free
flower petals and pollen
that scattered as I loosened my chignon,
Then I stood up and arranged my Kain,
only then emerging from the bedchamber
wearing a cloth wrap,
stumbling along and resting by turns.

Discussion:

- ka-rahina-(a)n-a UV₂-day, daytime-LV-IRR “(that) I would be overtaken by daylight”
- warurutěn-a drowsy with sleep-IRR “(that) I would be drowsy with sleep”

If, as I have claimed earlier, there is a semantic relationship between derivations taking the irrealis marker –ěñ and –ěñ when it is found as a marker of a class of ‘adjectives’ that have to do with emotional, affective or physiological states, this example suggests the need for a refinement of that hypothesis. If it is true (which I still claim is likely) then the –ěñ cannot be regarded as a suffix, but as a morpheme that has fused with the basewords of this particular class of ‘adjectives’ (which perhaps, following Irwin for Colloquial Indonesian—2005:230 should be understood as stative verbs). Note that the authors of the OJED [2212] list *warurutěn* as derived from a hypothetical base *warurut.

All throughout this verse, and several of the following verses, irrealis forms are not used in the sense of hypothetical, conditional or future actions but to provide the kind of distancing

proper to reminiscence that is found in the diction of English narratives of the form: “then we would be overtaken by daylight, and we would drowsily prepare to arise from our slumbers”.

- ~~in~~-unus-ən UV₂-draw away (as sword from scabbard)-IRR “(I) would draw out (my arm from under his head)”, or more literally: “(my arm) would be drawn out (from under his head)”
- ā-*wungw-a ST-arise-IRR “(we) would arise”
- a-darya-daryan-a ? = a-rarya-raryan-a ST-rest, take a rest-REDUP-IRR “(we) would take a rest (in our moving about upon awakening) from time to time”

A derivation of *darya II is attested only once in OJ, cf. OJED [375]. The authors of the OJED suggest that adarya-daryan may be the same as (or a mistake for) ararya-raryan, cf. OJED [1514].

VIII. Pārthayajña

81) PYN15.10 Kadi hana tang wwang utama wēnang winastu lēpasa
wiku sira sēnggahēn lēpasa mangkin ewēh atika
ratu sira wastunēn lēpasa mangkin ewēh atika
yadin i patinta tan wēnang akun lēpasnya tuduhēn

It is like the case of a superior person, who we can say is fit to attain spiritual release,
When he is said to be a Wiku, on the point of being liberated, exactly there is where the
difficulty arises,
Or when he is described as a sovereign, on the point of being liberated, exactly there is where
the difficulty arises,
If at the moment of your death you are unable make your own the liberation that has been
assigned to you.”

Discussion:

- lēpas-a free, liberated (from worldly attachments)-IRR

Used three times in this verse, the interpretation of *lēpasa* must be altered slightly to fit the context in each case. In the first hemistich a general statement is made about those who are fit “to be liberated”. In the second and third hemistichs (*lēpasa*) the implication appears to be “about to be liberated” or “on the point of achieving liberation”.

- s-~~in~~-ēnggah-ən UV₂-be regarded, considered as-IRR “if/when one is regarded as (an accomplished ascetic)”
- w-in-astun-ən UV₂-define, describe the real nature of something-IRR “if/one is described (as a sovereign)”
- ~~in~~-aku-n UV₂-I/me > UV₂-claim as one’s own-IRR “(you) will be able to claim (as your own)”
- t-~~in~~-uduh-ən UV₂-point out, designate-IRR “(that) will be pointed out (to you)”, or reading as a hypothetical past event: “(that) has been pointed out/assigned (to you)”

IX. Abhimanyuwīwāha (Balinese kakawin, ca. 19th century)

37) AbhiW 58.6 "Matangnya bapa hundangēn ta sira sang taruṇa warahēn ing samāgama śramākēna usēn tikang madanakārya widhi nira mēne n paṇigraha watēk ratu wiśeṣa yeka pininang hinariwuwu samanta pūjanēn"

"Therefore, my lord, summon the young man at once and tell him of this union, We will attend swiftly to the preparations for the ceremonies of marriage now, All the most eminent vassal kings will be invited to take part in the ceremonial rituals,"

Discussion:

- h-~~in~~-undang-ēn UV₂-invite-IRR "(they, all the young men) should be invited"
- w-~~in~~-arah-ēn UV₂-inform-IRR "(they) should be informed (about the marriage to come)"
- ś-~~in~~-rama-(a)kēn-a UV₂-put all one's efforts into something-Tr₂-IRR "every effort should be made"

It is interesting that while śrama, "effort, exertion" is attested fairly frequently in the East Javanese kakawin (ca. 1035-1478 CE), the derived UV₂n from with the Tr₂ suffix –akēn is attested only in two Balinese kakawin of the nineteenth century, e.g. *Subhadrawiwāha* and *Abhimanyuwīwāha*. This attests to the continuing productivity of the OJ derivational system well into the nineteenth century, especially in Bali, where composition in kakawin form continued to represent the highest level of achievement in the literary arts in court and priestly circles. On the political catastrophes that led in Java to a falling off of literacy in OJ in seventeenth century Kartasura see Ricklefs (1998).

- p-~~in~~-ūjan-ēn UV₂-praise-IRR "(who) should be praised and shown honour" (referring to the vassal kings who should be invited to the wedding ceremonies)

38) AbhiW 68.1 Arj "Katuhan atidibyamanta sanideśa haji perama-dharmamūrtika sasambhawa pangōban i ngwang amarāśraya mamala–malar pramodana hana swatanayābhumanyu ya sumambahakēna wara–rājakanyakā kṣamākēna tatan ya hetu ning amandhyakēna basama sang nareswara

Certainly all your commands, O king, are excellent and virtuous in the highest degree, It is proper that you are my refuge, from whom I seek help and from whom I expect delight, However, I have a son, Abhimanyu, whom I would present in homage to the most excellent royal princess, Please forgive me I seem not willing to allow what you suggest to go ahead without good reason."

Discussion:

- s-um-ambah-akēn-a AV₁-to present something (by metonymy with "to pay homage with the sēmbah gesture")-Tr₂-IRR "(whom I) will/would present with respect (to the princess)"

- kṣamā-(a)kēn-a in-a-kṣamā-(a)kēn-a UV₂-PROS-forgiveness-Tr₂-IRR “may (I) please be forgiven”, where PROS = prosthetic

This *tatsama* derivation of Skt kṣamā has a long history in the kakawin, where it alternates with a *tadbhava* form *samakēna*. The authors of the OJED [902] explain that a prosthetic vowel a- is added to kṣamā to form basewords in verbal derivations, and list *kṣamākēna* under the heading of the UV₂ from *inakṣamākēn*. This is a case where an irrealis form serves as a “polite” or “indirect” imperative form.

- aN-(w)andhya-(a)kēn-a AV₂-not going ahead, ceasing-Tr₂-IRR “(if I) seem to be unwilling to go ahead (with the marriage)”

39) AbhiW 69.1 Tistis māsa sirēm hyang arka masa ning mahawu–hawu narendraputrikā
 ngkā prāpteña nirāngutus ri sira n ahyasa tēhēr asalin nṛpātmaja
 lēnglēngnyāngadēg ing natar yaya n amāryakēna kalangēn ing niśākara
 sāksāt dūta nikang Ratih ri sira manghyasi pamēwēh i rūm suputrikā

In the cool of the setting sun at dusk, it was the time for the princess to be made up and adorned,

Her nurse came to her with a message to put on her festival attire, for then the prince would change into his,

How entrancing she was standing there in the courtyard, certainly she would surpass the beauty of the moon,

That seemed to be an emissary of the Goddess of Love, Ratih coming there to adorn and enhance the beauty of the princess.

Discussion:

- n a-hyas-a COMP ST-ornaments, attire-IRR

The first of these two examples DOES follow Uhlenbeck’s pattern, but it does not (as in example 8) form a relative clause. Instead it introduces an embedded clause that is the sentential complement of a control verb (*angutus*, convey a message): *iña-nira āngutus ri sira n ahyasa*, “her duenna conveyed the message that she should put on her makeup and festive clothing”.

- n a-m-āry-akēn-a COMP PROS-AV₁-cease-Tr₂-IRR

COMP n/an here forms a relative clause, with a complex NP as its Head (*lēnglēngnyāngadēg ing natar yaya*, “her enchanting beauty as she stood in the houseyard”) and an AV₂ predicate as the relative clause (*amāryakēna kalangēn ing niśākara*, “put to an end (surpass) the beauty of the moon”). However, the introduction of *yaya*, “indeed” between the subject NP and what I have described here as a relative clause suggests that this is a second case that we should

understand as a cleft construction: “(it was) indeed her enchanting beauty as she stood in the houseyard that might put to an end (surpass) the beauty of the moon”.²⁷

Data, Part III: irrealis, imperative, conditional and complementizing forms from a selection of excerpts in the prose, OJ Parwa literature²⁸

a. Āsramawāsaparwa (prose work composed ca. 900-1050)

40)(SS, page 136), Kunang samaya ni nghulun ri kita kabeh: haywa ta kita maweh wuwus tan menak majarakĕn pūrwawaira kumatuturana ri saprawrtti sang Duryodhana, sugyan ta n waluyana lara nira. Yapwan hana kita gumawayakĕna wuwus tan menak i sira, tan wwang sānak ni nghulun ikā yan mangkana, prasiddha pratikūla tan tūtakĕn i śāsana ni nghulun."

Discussion:

- kuma-tutur-an-a [UV₁+AV₁]-recollect, remember-LV-IRR “bringing up (in the future) memories (of all that Duryodhana had done)”
- n w-~~in~~-aluy-an-a COMP UV₂-return, come back-LV-IRR “(it may be) that (his pain and sorrow) will be brought back (to him)”

This example from the Parwa literature appears not to follow Uhlenbeck’s pattern since the word preceding COMP is a lexeme that appears to be either an adverbial or a raising-verb that never appears in derived form (*sugyan*, “it may be, it seems that”).²⁹ However, the COMP-UV₂ combination is followed by an NP+pronominal enclitic (*lara-nira*, his [HON] pain], which appears to have been topicalized through “right-displacement” and is hence no longer in its ‘usual’ position (according to Uhlenbeck) prior to COMP.

But how to characterize the COMP construction in this case? First, a more complete constituent analysis is called for:

haywa	ta	kita	ma-weh	wuwus	tan	menak
NegIMP	PRTCL	pro2 (HON)	ST-give	words	Neg	sta-pleasant

m-ajar-akĕn	pūrwawaira	kumatuturana	ri	saprawrtti
AV ₁ -say-Tr	prior-enmity	[UV ₁ -AV ₁]-recall-LV-IRR	DAT	TOT-actions

²⁷ The use of a prosthetic a- in the derived AV₁ verb phrase preceding what was originally a derivation in (u)m- (*m-ary-akĕn*) appears to be a feature of the later kakawin. However, this claim needs further research.

²⁸ The excerpts in the first section of examples from the Parwa literature have been culled from Zoetmulder (1963), *Sĕkar Sumawur* (volume II) using text-digitalization technology made available with the kind assistance of the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin/Institute for Advanced Study.

²⁹ For *sugya*, *sugyan* see OJED [1834]. All of the examples given there suggest that *sugyan* may in fact be a raising-verb that is never found in anything but its base form. Note, for example, *Udyogaparwa* 47.13: *sugyan akĕḍik hyun ira ring samarakrama*, “it-appears-that be-little his-desire for the affairs-of-the-battlefield”.

sang Duryodhana
 title (HON) Duryodhana

sugyan ta n waluyana lara -nira
 it may be that PRTCL COMP UV₂.return-LV-IRR pain -pro3 (HON)

If we understand *sugyan*, “it may be” as related to verbs like “seem” in English, then it is clear here that COMP is involved in a case of raising to subject. This process might be described as follows:

a. stage 1

[lara -nira w-~~in~~-aluy-an-a] sugyan
 [pain -pro3 (HON) ST-return-LV-IRR] it may be that

*[His pain will be-retuned] seems/may be.

b. stage 2

n [lara -nira w-~~in~~-aluy-an-a] sugyan
 COMP [pain -pro3 (HON) ST-return-IRR] it may be that

*That [his pain will be-retuned] seems/may be.

c. stage 3

sugyan ta n waluyana lara -nira
 it may be that PRTCL COMP UV₂.return-LV-IRR pain -pro3 (HON)

“It seems/may be (*ta*) that his pain might come back.”

In this analysis when *sugyan* takes the subject position in canonical form COMP is required, and the clause that is raised follows the [subject *ta* COMP] configuration.

While I have presented the material here in terms of “three stages” I do not mean to imply a transformational approach, but simply to bring out similarities with raising-verb constructions of languages like English. Since it is presupposed that raising-verbs do not affect the semantic structure of embedded clauses I have not suggested an underlying sentential component in AV form. Note that when *sugyan* takes the canonical clause-initial position and is followed by the particle *ta* (as is obligatory in canonical form) the construction that results is strongly reminiscent of English dummy-subject constructions with raising-verbs like *seems*. Given that many instances of the use of *sugyan* given in the OJED do not involve COMP, it may be that I should refer to *sugyan* not as a “raising-verb”, but as an adverbial that under some conditions functions as a “raising-predicate”. See Arka and Wechsler (1998) for a consistent treatment of raising-verbs and raising-predicates based on the methodology of

Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG).

- g-um-away-akĕn-a AV₂-do, make-Tr₂-IRR “(if there are among you those who) m might make conversation (that is) not pleasant to him (then you will no longer be relatives of mine)”

41)(SS, page 138) Wruh ta nghulun ri yukti bhagawān Bhisma kumon mehakĕna kārddharājya ri sang Pāndawa

Discussion:

- m-(w)eh-akĕn-a AV₁-give-Tr₂-IRR “(that he) should give (half of the kingdom to the Pandawa)”

42)(SS, page 139) "Ahāh mahātāja Dhṛtarāstra, atyanta nisthuranta ri nghulun. Atisāya bhāra pūjopakāra ni nghulun sangke kasewakan mahārāja Duryodhana iri kita. apa matang nyan rahadyan sanghulun mahyun tuminggalakĕna nghulun?"

Discussion:

- t-um-inggal-akĕn-a AV₁-leave behind-Tr₂-IRR “(why do you wish) to abandon (me)?”

43)(SS, page142) [Dhṛtarāstra to Kuntī] "Antĕn i nghulun bhatāri Kuntī, rĕngwakĕna wuwus ni nghulun mwang kakanta dewi Gāndhāri. Yogya juga kita humuningā tangis ny anakta sang Pāndawa iking tamolaha ring kadatwan, tuhaganā gumawayakĕna ng dānapunya-yajñaprakāra hawanantāmggihakĕna swarga ny ari ni nghulun mahārāja Pāndu.

Discussion:

- r-~~in~~-ĕngw-akĕn-a UV₂-hear-Tr₂-IRR “please listen to my words”
- h-um-uninga-a AV₁-pay heed to-IRR “(that) you should pay heed to (the tears of your sons the Pandawa)”
- tamolah-a unceasingly-IRR “(who) should be continuously (in their kingdom)”
- g-um-away-akĕn-a AV₂-make, do-Tr₂-IRR “(seduously) to carry out (the giving of charitable gifts and performance of rituals)”
- hawan-a-ntā way, road-IRR-pro2 (HON) “(that) must be your way”
- aN-(p)anggih-akĕn-a AV₂-obtain-Tr₂-IRR “(that you) will attain (heaven, for my younger brother Pandu)”

44)(SS, page 153) [Byāsa to Yudiṣṭhira about Dhṛtarāṣṭra’s death] Tan yogya kita kumalarākĕna pati nira

Discussion:

- kuma-lara-(a)kĕn-a [UV₁+AV₁]-pain-Tr₂-IRR “(that) we should suffer pain (at his death)”

a. Wirātaparwa³⁰

45) (SS, page 33): Bhīma, making a vow to destroy Kīcaka, to Dropadi, Yudhiṣṭira and others]

Hana ta kumwa manah ni nghulun waneh, sumyuha sabha Matsyadeśa, bhrastākēna tēke dalēm rājya. Kunang tapan rāka rakryan mahārāja Yudhisthira, sira tākon dhairyya ng upaśama, lari ni tinghal nira mārḡga ni nghulun mari sahasā. Nghulun ibu tan sanggahēn guragada mām̄bēk-āmbēk, yaya juga pējaha nikang Kīcaka deni nghulun, tan tinghale wwang s̄anak ni nghulun kabeh, mwang tan pangguha ng swargga sang pūrwwa guru hēlēm yan paratra nghulun, yan apa tikā ya tan kesyana sojar ni nghulun.

Discussion:

- s-um-yuh-a AV₁-smashed, demolished-IRR “(I) will demolish (the palace of Matsyadeśa)”
- bhrastākēna Ø-destroyed-Tr₂-IRR “(I) will destroy it (even unto the royal quarters)”

This appears to represent the unusual case of an unmarked base being used with AV meaning. Bhima is speaking angrily of his vow to destroy the kingdom of Kīcaka, so perhaps this is a case where no voice-marking affix is chosen due to the heat of the moment. No –in- form of bhrasta is given in the OJED, and indeed it would be phonologically awkward. Parallel occurrences of the unmarked base with AV reference are not common, but can be found in the conversations of animals in the animal stories of the *Tantri Kāmandaka*.

- s-~~in~~-angguhēn UV₂-consider as-IRR “may (I) not be considered (to be speaking insolently)”
- pējah-a die-IRR “(it is certain that Kīcaka) will die (by my hand)”

Note the phrasing: *pējaha* *nikang* *Kīcaka* *de ni nghulun*
die-IRR LK-DIS Kīcaka by LK pro1

“That Kīcaka will die by me” (ef. “I will kill Kīcaka”).

The use of an agentive phrase with pronoun or agent NP as the actor complement of a predicate based on a monomorphemic base or simple voice-marked derivation appears to be a feature of “ordinary speech” that is also found in the animal stories of the *Tantri Kāmandaka*. My sense is that this type of “by-phrase” construction (in non-passive settings) is not uncommon in the Parwa literature, but this point needs further checking.

- t-~~in~~-inghal-a UV₂-see, look at-IRR “(not) will be seen (any longer my

³⁰ This set of excerpts from Zoetmulder (1963), *Sēkar Sumawur* (volume II) originates from the edition of Juynboll (1912). Digitalization of a selection of pages from this text was also made possible through the use of text-digitalizing technology made available by the library of the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin.

- p-~~in~~-angguh-a family and relatives)” eg. Bhima will not see his relatives ever again if he does not carry out his vow to kill Kīcaka. UV₂-obtain, reach-IRR “(and) may (the heaven of the ancient teachers) not be attained (by me)”
- k(a)-(i)sy-an-a UV₁-fill, fulfilled, carried out-LV-IRR “(if) my vow will not be fulfilled”

Data, Part IV: irrealis, imperative, conditional and complementizing forms from a selection of excerpts from the *tutur* literature³¹

a. Ganapatitattwa³²

46) GPT 10.4 Akweh yan wuwusēn ikang śāstra wangsit nahan mantrakēna //

Discussion:

- w-in-uwus-ēn UV₂-words, speech-IRR “(there would be many if all the mystic syllables) were to be spoken of”
- m-in-antra-(a)kēn-a UV₂-mantra-Tr₂-IFF “(now to follow they) will be uttered as mantras”

b. Wrhaspatitattwa (Verse 52)³³

47) [OJ exegesis of a Skt verse, line 5 of 13]

ndya tekang jñāna masimpēn anung gēgōnta

yan kwa linganta wih ikang cetana wehēn prakāśa ring jñāna

And what is that secret knowledge that you should make effort (to master)?

It is thus that you should regard it: consciousness is given illumination by knowledge.

Discussion:

- ndy-a where, when, what-IRR “what might it be”
- g-~~in~~-ēgō-n-ta UV₂-grasp-IRR-pro2 “(that) should be grasped (by) you”
- ling-a-nta meaning, words-IRR-pro2 “(it is thus that) should (indeed) be
- your understanding”
- w-~~in~~-eh-ēn UV₂-give-IRR “(consciousness) will be given (illumination through gnosis/spiritual knowledge)”

Data, Part V: irrealis, imperative, conditional and complementizing forms from a selection

³¹ The *tutur* texts are OJ and Balinese texts on metaphysics and the yogic practice of seeking liberation at the moment of physical death. Didactic in nature, the Sanskrit passages from these works can often be located in texts of the Indian textual tradition of the Śaivāgama . See Aciri (2006) for a recent study of the Javano-Balinese *tutur* literature and its relationship to the Indian sources.

³² For a published edition of the *Ganapatitattwa* see Singhal (1958).

³³ For a published edition of the *Wrhaspatitattwa* see Singhal (1957).

of excerpts from the OJ inscriptions

a. copperplates of Kañcana, dated 782 Śaka or 820 CE³⁴

47) Ya ta susukēn dharma-sīma lēpas de nira pāduka mpungku ing Boddhimimba sīma kalilirana ni w(ē)ka-nira Dyah Imbangi Dyah Anārgha

These (rice-lands) then should be marked out as a free dharma-freehold by the reverend gentleman of Boddhimimba. The freehold is to be inherited by his children Dyah Imbangi and Dyah Anārgha

Discussion:

- s-~~in~~-usuk-ēn 𑀓𑀲₂-mark out, demarcate-IRR “(these rice lands) should be marked (out as a dharma-freehold)”
- *kalilir-an-a inheritance-LV-IRR “(and) should be the inheritance (of his children)”

b. copperplates of Waringin Pitu, dated 1447 CE³⁵

48) Ājnā pāduka Śri Mahārāja kumonakēn sang hyang dharma ring Waringin Pitu. Pagawayakēna sang hyang haji praśāsti

It was the command of his majesty [Dyah Kṛtawijaya] to order (the marking out of) a religious sanctuary at Waringin Pitu (“the place of Seven Banyan Trees”),
A royal eulogy was to be created [for]

Discussion:

pa-gaway-akēn-a STnom-make, do-Tr₂-IRR “(a sacred, reverend inscription) is to be created”

The derived stem in *pa-R-akēn* appears to be used here as a causative, indicating that the donor of the lands ordered that the working of the inscription be carried out by those entrusted with the inscribing of copper plates.

Data, Part VI irrealis, imperative, conditional and complementizing forms in animal stores of the *Tantri Kāmandaka*, a later prose work, perhaps to be dated to the 14th or early 15th century CE³⁶

a. Story of the evil heron, fish and crab

³⁴ For a published transliteration of this inscription see Sarcar (1971).

³⁵ For a published transliteration of this inscription see Boechari (1985-6).

³⁶ For published versions of the *Tantri Kāmandaka* see Hooyas (1931) and Mardiwarsito (1983).

Background: the crab has discovered that the heron, who had been masquerading as a holy man, has been killing and eating the fish he had pledged to carry to a lake high in the Himalaya mountain where (he claims) they would be safe from fishermen.

49) Mojar ikang yuyu, lingnya “e sang baka, aywa tâku de-nta salahakĕn iri ngke. Waluyakĕn ngwang ring talaga muwah. Yan iki mangke kita tan umaluyakĕn irikang talaga muwah mati ko mĕne de-ningulun.

Arĕp supit tĕnggĕknya si baka de-nikang yuyu lingnya “mati kari tâku!”

“Mati ngko yan tan kitāmawa muwah ring kami, umareng talaga Mâlinī” mangkana lingnya ikang yuyu.

Mangsul kiang bakâmĕr muwah. Saĕatangnyeng talaga kunang ling si baka “lah wus mangko tĕkeng talaga uwakĕn-a gulu mami de-nta.”

Angling ikang yuyu “lah tĕkakĕna ring tĕlĕng ing talaga kapisan.”

Wus pwa ya ĕatang ring tĕlĕngnya ya ta sinupit tĕnggĕknya si baka de-nikang yuyu, pĕjah tĕmahanya.

Discussion:

50)

aywa	tâku	de-nta	<u>salahakĕn</u>	iri	ngke
NegImp	PRT-pro-1	by-you	Ø-do wrong to-Tr ₂	LOC-DAT	DEF_PRX

“Don’t you do wrong to me here at this time.”

While the verb phrase appears to be in “direct imperative” form (Ø-R-Tr₂) note that the 2nd person agent is expressed, and moreover, is in an agentive phrase (*de-nta*, by you). The clause is in the canonical form, that is predicate-initial followed by SPEC *ta* and a major argument. In this case, since a negative imperative morpheme (*aywa*, “don’t”) is in the predicate-initial position and the subject (*aku*, I) follows immediately after the marker *ta*. Since the crab must be the patient complement of *salahakĕn* we can propose a UV₂ derivational pathway for the derivation of *salahakĕn*, that is: s-~~in~~-alahakĕn. (See further in the discussion of 52 below.)

As noted in comments on the language of the Parwa constructions with reduced morphology and overt expression of agents in by-phrases (whether the clause can be construed in terms of actor or undergoer voice) appears to be symptomatic of “ordinary speech”, as opposed to the more formalized morphology and cliticization of agent arguments otherwise typical of OJ. This, in turn, suggests that much of the textual evidence we have for OJ records an “elaborated” or “articulated” code that may have begun to develop very early in the recorded history of OJ, and acted to obscure syntactic patterns more typical of everyday non-formal language.

51)

arĕp	<u>supit</u>	tĕnggĕknya	si baka	de-nikang	yuyu
on the point of	Ø-pinch	neck-pro3	Br’er heron	by-OBL-DIS-DEF	crab

“On the point of being pinched the neck of the heron by the crab...”

Here we find an unmarked monomorphemic base (*supit*, pinch) whose complement (*těnggěknya si baka*, the neck of the heron) is a patient, while the agent is expressed in a by-phrase (*de-nikang yuyu*, “by the crab”). Once again we appear to see here a feature of non-formal languages, where the semantic role of the major complement of a VP can be in unmarked form without any loss of meaning. This contrast of a linkage of morphological cross-referencing with formal language, and a relative lack of morphological marking with non-formal speech has been the subject of numerous articles on Malay by Geoffrey Benjamin. In his paper of (1993) he speaks of a contrast between a “condensed” mode of language that is also “event-focussed” and to be associated with the pragmatic concerns of everyday life. He contrasts this with an “articulated” mode that is “participant-focussed”, typical of high status or “standard” varieties of language usually associated with the political center, and (for Malay) marked by a reliance on voice-marking and related morphology that plays a much stronger role in the “articulated” mode than in ‘everyday speech’.

52)

lah	wus	mangko	těkeng	talaga	<u>in</u> -uwa(a)akěn-a
EMPH	PERF	now-MED	arrive-LOC-DEF	lake	UV ₂ -release-Tr ₂ -IRR

gulu	mami	de-nta
neck	pro1-poss	by-pro2

“Now then, (we have) already arrived now at the lake, let my neck be released by you.”

In (49) we saw a case where what appears to be a (negative) direct imperative (*aywa salah-akěn*, don’t do wrong) takes a patient argument as its main complement, but is devoid of (primary) voice-marking morphology. In this example the complement of the irrealis form *uwakěna* is a patient (*gulu mami*, my neck) and the erstwhile agent is (again) expressed in a by-phrase (*de-nta*, by you). In this case we can read *uwakěna* as an irrealis form with “mild imperative” force, and can thus make a more “traditional” analysis based on deletion of the UV₂ marker under conditions of irrealis. However, the prevalence of unmarked monomorphemic bases in samples that appear to reflect the patterns of “ordinary speech” means that we may be over-interpreting here, and that the *uwakěna* should be analyzed as Ø-uwa-Tr₂-IRR.

The problem that arises here brings to mind Kroeger’s (1998:5) objections to some parts of Foley’s (1998) argument for a “cross-linguistic correlation between [...] two properties, i.e. pre-categorial roots and symmetric voice systems”:

“It is tempting to assume that the stem prefixes themselves are a kind of derivational affix which determine the alignment between thematic roles and macro-roles, specifically the choice of Undergoer. However, this assumption would make it very difficult to account for the forms which have no stem prefix, e.g. *itaak* (ex. 6),

especially since these forms are subject to the same semantic constraints as forms which do bear the relevant stem prefix, e.g. *pa-taak*, *pa-taak-an*. The only way around this problem would be to assume that the stem prefixes are first added, then deleted just in case the Undergoer is selected as Pivot. This proposal is so dubious that almost any other analysis would be preferable. Thus we are driven to the conclusion that the configuration of the argument structure is not derived by affixation. Rather, both of the possible argument structures, i.e. both possible alignments of thematic roles to macro-roles, are present in the lexicon before any affixation takes place.”

Given that the overwhelming majority of OJ irrealis and imperative forms taking the unmarked base appear to represent derivational processes that involve the loss of UV affixes under conditions of irrealis, one might be tempted to see the unmarked forms occurring in these examples from the *Tantri Kāmandaka* in those terms as well. However, it is also possible that in these glimpses of a “condensed” or “event-focussed” mode of linguistic organization we encounter something closer to what Kroeger implies here, eg. that argument structure grows out of the lexicon “before any affixation takes place”. If this is the case then the greater majority of OJ examples obscure this possibility precisely because they represent an “articulated” mode of linguistic organization that has acted to support morphological complexity over a long historical time span, and thus obscured patterns of linguistic organization that may have been more suited to the pragmatic concerns of ‘everyday speech’.

53)

lah	<u>t-in-ěka-(a)kěn-a</u>	ring	tělěng
	těkakěna		
EMPH	UV ₂ -arrive-Tr ₂ -IRR	DAT-DEF	deepest point
ing	talaga	ka-pisan	
LOC-DEF	lake-	UV ₁ -once	

“Now then, take (me) to the deepest part of the lake at once!”

As in the case of *uwakěna* in (52) we can make an analysis of *těkakěna* based on deletion of the UV₂ affix under conditions of irrealis (and thus yielding an irrealis imperative with mild imperative force), but it is also possible for *těkakěna* to be analyzed in parallel to unmarked monomorphemic bases like *supit* in (114), or *salahakěn* in (51), where the semantic role of a major complement is not marked on the VP with voice-marking morphology.

Data, Part VII irrealis, imperative, conditional and complementizing forms in the kidung literature

I have not included examples of irrealis use in the kidung literature in this study. See Oglobin (2005a) for some comments on irrealis use in the kidung. He notes that the irrealis suffix –a no longer coalesces with the final –a of a base, so that the irrealis form of a base like *těka*, “come, arrive” will appear either as *těkaa* or *těkaha*, where the effect of hiatus that is disallowed in the kakawin (after the OJR) is avoided through use of an epenthetic consonant.³⁷ I have noted in a brief perusal of kidung materials that the irrealis forms with –ən appear largely as hortative forms in quoted speech.

See Zoetmulder (1983:150-163 for an extensive early treatment of irrealis in OJ, for which he coined the term *arealis*.

³⁷ Oglobin (2005a:8) has noted this particularity of the use of irrealis in ‘Middle Javanese’.

Abbreviations

a. general

AbhW	<i>Abhimanyuwīwāha</i> (kakawin)
AN	Austronesian family of languages
AW	<i>Arjunawīwāha</i> of Mpu Kaṅwa (kakawin)
BY	<i>Bhāratayuddha</i> Mpu Sēḍan and Mpu Panuluh (kakawin)
GK	<i>Ghaṭotkacāśraya</i> of Mpu Panuluh (kakawin)
HW	<i>Hariwangśa</i> of Mpu Panuluh (kakawin)
KY	<i>Kṛṣṇāyana</i> of Mpu Triguna (kakawin)
OB	Old Balinese Language
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan languages
OJ	Old Javanese, or Kawi, language
OJR	Old Javanese <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> or <i>Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa</i>
OM	Old Malay language
OJED	<i>Old Javanese-English Dictionary</i> (Zoetmulder and Robson, 1982)
PYn	<i>Pārthayajña</i> (kakawin, anonymous authorship)
SD	<i>Smaradahana</i> of Mpu Dharmaja (kakawin)
SS	<i>Sēkar Sumawur</i> (Zoetmulder 1958, 1963)

b. glossing conventions

ACT	Actor
AV	Actor-voice
AV ₁	Actor voice marking (1): lower volitionality
AV ₂	Actor voice marking (2): higher volitionality
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
D.PTCL	discourse particle
DAT	dative (preposition in OJ; also carries meaning “with reference to”)
DEF	definite
DIST	distal (marked as DIST ₁ for the basic distal deictic of the tripartite deictic system of OJ (ika), DIST ₁₊₁ for the first derived form (<i>ikana</i>))
EMPH	emphatic
EXIST	existential
FUT	future
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
INTSF	intensifying morpheme (in OJ)
IRR	irrealis
LK	linker, ligature
LOC	locative (preposition in OJ)
LV	locative voice (a subcategory of undergoer in OJ)

MED	medial
NEG	negation
Nom	nominalizing prefix or verb-stem marker
NP	noun phrase
OBL	oblique (preposition in OJ)
pp	prepositional phrase
pro	pronoun
PRX	proximate
REL	relative marker
RDP	reduplication
ST	stative
SUB	subject (or: Pivot)
Tr ₁	Transitivizing suffix (1): applicative indicating “locative roles” Wechsler and Arka (1998), or “stationary” goals (Oglobin 2005b)
Tr ₂	Transitivizing suffix (2): applicative indicating goals that are moved (themes) or strongly affected (Oglobin 2995b)
UV	undergoer voice
UV ₁	Undergoer voice marking (1): weakening volitional or agentive
UV ₂	Undergoer voice marking (2): strongly volitional; obligatorially agentive
VP	verb phrase

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