# Understanding Javanese Hybridity: A Study on Sanskrit and Arabic Influence in the Javanese Language

#### Anugrah Nur Ikhsan and Dwi Puspitorini

Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia

E-mail:dwi.puspitorini@ui.ac.id

#### ABSTRACT

This study aims to examine the hybridity of Javanese culture as reflected in its linguistic hybridity, in order to prove the harmony between Javanese and foreign cultures. To this end, lexical and grammatical analysis was performed on Javanese linguistic units borrowed from Sanskrit and Arabic languages. This study is a qualitative study that uses data from two sources. To analyze the influence of Sanskrit in Javanese, the data was taken from a corpus of Old Javanese texts stored on http://sealang.net/ojed/, which then were processed using the corpus and collocates features available on the web page. Meanwhile, to observe Arabic influence in Javanese, the data was collected from a quite popular Javanese suluk (poetry), titled Suluk Wujil, which then were processed using the concordance feature in antcont app. The analysis reveals that a difference exists between the hybridity that occurred during the Old Javanese and Middle Javanese eras. Despite this difference, the hybridity in Javanese, which have been taking place for centuries, still shows a harmony between the Javanese culture and foreign cultures.

**Keywords:** Linguitic Hibridity; Javanese Language; Old javanese Language; Sanskrit influence, Arabic Influence

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In cultural studies, the notion of hybridity is often discussed in terms of its relation with issues of globalization, diasporic culture, and postcolonialism. In fact, the word *hybrid* has even declared as the word of the year in 2007 [1, p. 27]. In linguistics, the term hybrid refers to a complex word whose components are originated from different languages [1]. Javanese, for example, has the word *ngepit* 'to ride a bike' and *bal-balan* 'to play with a ball' of which the roots come from Dutch words *fiets* 'bike' and *bal* 'ball'. Both words are borrowed and undergo an affixation and reduplication, respectively.

Linguistic hybridity has virtually been taking place throughout the lifetime of human civilization. Likewise, linguistic hybridity in Javanese has also been occurring for as long as the age of the language itself. Throughout the long history of the Javanese language, at least two foreign languages have marked their influences, namely Sanskrit (during the Old Javanese era, approximately in the 9th–15th century) and Arabic (during the Middle Javanese era, roughly in the 14th–17th century). Language contact between each of both languages and Javanese occurred, among others, in attempt to a spread certain religion to Java. The influence of Hindi culture in Old Javanese literature has resulted in the strong influence of Sanskrit in the Old Javanese language. As evidence, Gonda estimates that at least 25%–30% linguistic units in *kakawin* (a form of Old Javanese poetry composed in Indian poetic meter) are originated from Sanskrit [2, p. 8]. Meanwhile, of 13,715 words listed in Juynboll's Old Javanese words list, 6,790 are Sanskrit words (49.5%) [2].

Despite the strong influence of Sanskrit, Gonda claims that the contact between Old Javanese and Sanskrit results in enrichment rather than assimilation[3]. This claim, however, is only based on a calculation of the number of words. In opposition of this, this paper will show that hybridity or assimilations has indeed occurred in Old Javanese.

Both trading and Islamic preaching are the major factors that cause language contact between Arabic and Javanese during the Middle Javanese era. Various aspects of Islamic teachings, especially *tasawuf*, are among others contained in a type of Middle Javanese literature called *suluk*. *Suluk* is a form of Islamic poetry that is composed in the form of traditional Javanese song, *macapat*, that uses the Javanese language. It is fair, then, to say that *suluk* is a manifestation of cultural hybrid. In this regard, this paper will demonstrate whether or not the language contact between Arabic and Javanese occurred in the same manner as that between Sanskrit and Javanese.

On the above account, this study tries to examine the hybridity of Javanese culture as reflected in its linguistic hybridity in order to prove the harmony between Javanese and foreign cultures. To this end, lexical and grammatical analysis was performed on Javanese linguistic units borrowed from Sanskrit and Arabic languages.

### 2. METHOD

This study is a qualitative study, because it explores an object that is assumed to be rooted from society or humanity [4, p. 4]. A qualitative study focuses more on the process rather than the product. It involves several steps, including collecting specific data, analyzing the data inductively, and interpreting the meaning of the data [4]. As a qualitative study, this study uses information that comes from a natural setting that, in this case, is gathered from documentations (written texts) of the Old Javanese and the Javanese language. The influence of Sanskrit in Javanese was revealed by examining data taken from an Old Javanese corpus stored on http://sealang.net/ojed/. This web page stores linguistic data of Old Javanese gathered from the Old Javanese English Dictionary [5], that has 25,500 entries; 8,500 of which are original Sanskrit words. The corpus itself contains 105,000 citations from 120 texts. Meanwhile, the influence of Arabic in Javanese was investigated by analyzing the quite popular *Suluk Wujil* that has been edited by Widyastuti [6].

To facilitate the analysis, the data taken from http://sealang.net/ojed/ was first processed using the corpus and collocates features made available on the web page.

Old Javanese-English Dictionary	Court	Abbrev	Source	Raference	Sot	Туре	Deto	
	2506	AbaW	Abhinonyuwieths		2.21	Kawawin		1
sémbah Dict Corpus Collocates holp? Reload table of sources	130	Adg	Adhigama		5.01	Inscriptional		
	3079	Ad	Adiporwa	Juynball, 1906	1.01	GJ prose		
Dictionary entries show: long Short form	1061	Agp	Agastyaparwa	Gonda, 1933-1936	1.11	G7 prose		
	10	ADh	Ajl Darea	Decwas_1975	4.22	Kidung/MJ prose		
Known issues Overview / HyphenNation / Transcripson	1	AmbS	Ambéineye		2.36	Kawawin		
		AS	Aniáraya					
Front matter Preface Arrangement Sources Abbreviations Bibliography	125	APr	Arjuna Prolobda		4.11	Kidung/MJ prose		
	2780	AWj	Arjunawijaya	Supome 1977	2.10	Kawawin	0	
	16	ASP	Åśranawāsoporwa	Juynball, 1893	1.06	GJ prost.		
elā (2108) b bh (1344) c ch (739)	1 : :::	mbah, BhP 8.1	14: namaskāra sambah ni nhulun i s		alutation (in ad	ldressing, offe	ring to or	
bjbb (1344)   c(ch) (739)   d]dhhjdjth (1283)   eje (155)   ejai (121)   gjgh (1080)   h (626)   i[i] (264)   i]b, (544)   i]b, (2069)   i (2069)	1 : ::	mbah, BhP 8 1 Utt 17 Utt 17 GK 18 0 Sut 53 Sut 53 Sut 53 Sut 8 Sut 1 KHWJ RL 1.22	sambah 1734:2 worship, venerati 14: namaskāra sambah ni nhulun i s 23: hunian sambah na puyut hyas 27: 28: malayu, a unaktavan ni hi na unaktavan ni hi na 5: wavys cilna sženabah ina rins vili 1: os buddhastuti sismbah in ahulur 39: 2: Brahmadi Wisus Tumurun sai 39: 2: Brahmadi Wisus Tumurun sai 4:32b: asahur sšenbah tvan mantri : rēp sama atra sēmbah;	ira: mami: jê hira, tumiagalakên sambah nira: pa siruwên: i jês bhaara Sugata: i jês bhaara Sugata: i gêmbah agya: i				
b bh (2344)   c ch (739)   d shc d b() (223)   d shc d b() (223)   d shc d b() (253)   e si (154)   e si (154)   s si (1058)   h (626)   i[i] (642)   j jh (544)   k sh (2069)   i (766)	1: 58	mbah, BhP 8.1 Utt 17 Utt+ 1 GK 18.0 Sut 53 Sut+ 3 Sut+ 3 Sut+ 1 KHWJ RL 1.22 OJO 2	sembah 1734-2 worship, venerati (4: nanacking sombah ni phulun i e 23: hunisan sombah ni phulun i e 23: bunisan, sombah ni phulun i e 23: mulun i simabi hina ni simabi hina i si wuxya cihan a simabi hina i simabi hina 13: na budharstini simabi hi ahu 3: ni anarik pupa a simabi hina 13: 2: Brohmadi Wissah Yuan tanun sal 13: 2: Brohmadi Wissah Yuan tanun sal 14: 2: Brohmadi Wissah Yuan tanun sal 14: 2: Brohmadi Wissah Yuan tanun sal 16: 0071 3: ni hakan kwaih ni ni duma	ra: mami: libh nira, tumiagalakën sambah nira: ipa sinuwëk: i jë a bhatëra Sugata: aglar / mwan tekan pupa sankan larit; ia sëmbah agya: tatakën sambah rëmanta i Kinwu, ya ta se	mbandhanya n	inanugrahan m	asawaha	
biph (1344) cich (739) diph(diph (1283) diph(diph (1283) diph(diph (1264) diph (1065) h (1262) (17 (1362) diph (1364) diph (2664) hiph (1286) m (1286)	1: së 1: së 1: 1: 1: 1: 1: 1: 1: 1: 1: 1: 1: 1: 1:	mbah, BhP 8 1 Utt 17 Utt+ 1 GK 18 0 Sut 53 Sut+ 3 Sut+ 3 Sut+ 1 KHWJ RL 1.22 OJO 2 Émbah,	sembah 1734 2 worship, venerati (4) naneskára sembah ri hulun i a 23) hunicas sonbah ra puyut hyso 72 82 melayu maktasena hill ni 24 se venya cilma cámabah ira ri svi 11 es buddhestuti sömbah i ahulu 23 in umarki puga sömbahnya m 29 2: Brahmad Wissa thumuna sö 29 2: Brahmad Wissa thumuna sö 29 2: Brahmad Wissa thumuna sö 14 20: aushun sömbah hen mantt : Rej sama otar sämbah, ten mant : Rej sama otar sämbah.	ra: mani: 18 hini: tuminggalakën sambah nira: tipa simunës: 1 jës bhadra Sugata: 1 jës bhadra Sugata: 1 jës bhadra Sugata Sugata Sugata 1 jës Sugata	mbandhanya n	inanugrahan m	asawaha	
bjbh (1344)   cih (739)   dish(djeh) (1283)   dish(djeh) (1284)   dish (055)   dish (052)   tif (164)   dish (062)   tif (064)   bjh (064)   tijh (264)   tijh (264)   tijh (264)	1 : së	mbah, BhP 8.1 Utt 17 Utt + 1 GK 18.0 Sut 53 Sut + 3 Sut + 3 Sut + 1 KHWJ RL 1.22 OJO 2 Sut + 1 KHWJ Ad 132	sembeh 1734 2 worship, venerati 41 nameskara sambah ni hulum i a 23 huninas anombah na puyti hyao 27.28 malayu makatawan hili ni 29. wakataya kanabah ina rina wi 29. sa badharaturi simbah i nahuka 39.2 isahum di Nusu tamurun sal 4.28 usahum dishabi tambah twa marti 21.29 sahum dishabi tambah twa marti 21.29 mangataka kanabah kanabah kanabah samiambah, sinämbah, panaimba u makana jia da hyao Thora, am	ra: mani: 18 hria: tumiagalakën sambah nira: 19 jac hlundar: 1 jac hlundara Sugata: 2 galar / mwan takan pua gaakan lanit: 1 da dëmbah ngya: 1 takakën sambah ramonta i Kinwu, ya ta sa 1 t2Na 1. (ovo), kasëmbahana (ovo) ta wa mëmbah ta aan Arjana:	mbandhanya n	inanugrahan m	asawaha	
bjbh (1344)   cth (739)   djøhtjel(k (1233)   djøhtjel(k (1233)   djøhtjel(k (1235)   gjøht (1059)   h (620)   jjøht (1059)   k (620)   jjøht (1059)   n (2059)   i (620)   n (2050)   n (2050)	1: sea	mbah, BhP 8.1 Utt 17 Utt 1 GK 18 0 Sut 3 Sut 8 Sut 1 KHWJ RL 1.22 OJO 2 Simbah, Ad 132 Udy 32	sendeh 1734 2 worship, venerati 14 nanaskira sambah ri hulun i a 23 hunicas sandhar na pyut hysa. 26 waya cihaa sambah ra ni hulun i 27 se waya cihaa sambah ra ni wi 11 na budharutu i simbah i nahulu 20 n. unariki puga simbahnya m 39 2. Brahmad Wissa tamurun adi 4.25b. sanbur simbah twan mantri 1.6 garan dara cahabah. 6 (907) 13 nahan kwalih nira duma sumimabah, intimaba, parakimab. 1.1 makana lin dan kyaa Drene, ma.	re monit 18h nica, tumisgalakén sombah nica: pa cinanka: 1 jisa bharáns Sugata: 1 jisa bharáns Sugata: 2 cárhadh agata 1 tatalén sambah rémonta i Kineu, ya ta se némbah na sa Arjuna: 1 na Samtéhumétra:	mbandhanya n	inanugrahan m	asawaha	
b bh (1344)   c ch (739)   d ship[d]k (1233)   d ship[d]k (1234)   d ship[d]k (1235)   s ai (1234)   j bh (1035)   h (626)   j bh (1035)   k (1036)   j bh (1035)   k (1036)   j bh (1035)   k (1036)   k (1036)   k (1036)   k (1036)   k (1036)   k (1037)   k (1036)   k (1037)   k (1037)   k (1038)   k (1138)		mbah, BhP 8.1 Utt 17 Utt 17 GK 18 0 Sut 33 Sut 8 Sut 4 Sut 4 Sut 12 OJO 2 Sut 122 OJO 2 Sut 4 Sut 122 OJO 2 Sut 4 Sut 132 OJO 2 Sut 4 Sut 3 Sut 4 Sut 4 Su	sembeh 1734 2 worship, venerati 41 nameskara sambah ni hulum i a 23 huninas anombah na puyti hyao 27.28 malayu makatawan hili ni 29. wakataya kanabah ina rina wi 29. sa badharaturi simbah i nahuka 39.2 isahum di Nusu tamurun sal 4.28 usahum dishabi tambah twa marti 21.29 sahum dishabi tambah twa marti 21.29 mangataka kanabah kanabah kanabah samiambah, sinämbah, panaimba u makana jia da hyao Thora, am	re: mani: 18h nira; munisglakkin sambah nira; pa ainuxta; 1 ij bis handara Sugata; a dimbah agya; 1 i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	mbandhanya n	inanugrahan m	asawaha	0

On the other hand, the data taken from *Suluk Wujil* was processed using the *concordance* feature on *antcont* app.



## 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis will be discussed inductively, starting from the hybridity between Javanese and Sanskrit to the hybridity between Javanese and Arabic.

## 3.1 Hybridity between Javanese and Sanskrit

Javanese Hybridity during the Old Javanese era is seen in some of literatures produced during that era, namely kakawin and parwa. However, as explained by Zoetmulder, the Old Javanese language still maintain its characteristics as an Austronesian language, despite the strong influence of Sanskrit [2]. Words borrowed from Sanskrit are treated as roots in Old Javanese, although in the original language such words have already undergone conjugation. Hybrids between Old Javanese and Sanskrit are formed through grammatical processes undergone by words borrowed from Sanskrit, as seen as follows.

(1) upawāsa 'fasting, abstinence from food, etc. in general'

mopawāsa (ma- + upawāsa) 'to fast'

(2) şadpada 'bee' (şad 'six', pada 'foot')

smanadpada 'to be or act like a bee'

Both examples above show complex words in which the roots that come from Sanskrit words are paired with affixes that are grammatical elements of Old Javanese. Zoetmulder [2] provides a similar example of Sanskrit word pariwrt 'to turn around' that denotes a passive meaning. This word is borrowed as an Old Javanese word pariwrta and is treated as a root. Consequently, the word pariwrta can be derived into its passive form by adding affix -in- to become pinariwrta and into its active form by adding affix aN- to become amariwrta.

Nonetheless, Sanskrit-borrowed words that have equivalent meaning to original Old Javanese words, such as words that denote feeling like krodha 'angry' do not necessarily undergo a morphological process with affix ma- in order to become verbs [7, p. 120]. Meanwhile, the word gělěng, as an original Old Javanese word that has an equivalent meaning to krodha, has to get affix ma- to become a verb, as seen in the following example.

(3) Magělěng ta bhatāra Brahmā mulati sira 'Bhatara Brahma was angry to see him/her'.

A similar pattern is also shown in other words that also denote feeling like *bhagya* 'happy' and *sukha* 'glad, like'.

Hybridity of Old Javanese is also seen in Sanskrit compound words that are borrowed without changing the word order, such as *Yadukula* 'Yadu group' and *dewaputra* 'son of god'. However, their equivalent words in Old Javanese are still retained: <u>watĕk</u> Yadu 'Yadu group' and *anak hyang* 'son of god'. This pattern is also found in other compound words borrowed from Sanskrit.

*Parwa*, a type of Old Javanese literary work, presents the assimilation between Sanskrit and Old Javanese by citing Sanskrit sentences followed by their translations in Old Javanese in the same sentence, as seen as follows.

(4) Sira ta maweka sang Yadukula, ikang sinangguh watek Yadu.

'S/he brought down the Yadukula, which was called Yadu group'

A similar pattern is also found in other compound words originated from Sanskrit, namely sukha 'glad' and dukha 'sad' that are combinations among Sanskrit words kha 'sky', su 'good', and duh 'bad'. Here, the meanings are modified from 'a good sky' to 'glad' (sukha) and 'a bad sky' to 'sad' (dukha).

#### 3.2 Hybridity between Javanese and Arabic

The use of Arabic words in *Suluk Wujil* demonstrates the existence of Javanese hybridity during the Middle Javanese era. A number of words, both those who have and do not have equivalent words in Javanese, are borrowed, especially for the purpose of Islamic preaching. Assimilation between Javanese and Arabic is seen in some Arabic words that actually have equivalent words in Javanese, such as *dunya* or *donya* 'world' that is originated from Arabic word *dunya:* 'world, earth, this world' (as opposed to */a:khira/*) [8].

#### (5) yen sira nora weruh // kang sinembah ing dunya iki

'if you do not know what should be worshiped in this world'

Javanese actually has some words with similar meaning, namely *loka*, *buwana*, and *jagat* that are originated from Sanskrit. The word *loka* is used in Old Javanese to describe the three realms (*triloka*), namely the realm of god (heaven), the world of human (world), and the world of monsters and low creatures (lower world). There is also the world *jagattraya* that also mean the three worlds (*traya* means 'three'). Still, the word *dunya* is borrowed because it brings a different concept from what is described by *loka*, *jagat*, and *buwana*. The antonym of *dunya* in Arabic, *akhira*, is also borrowed to Javanese with a phonological adjustment becoming *akerat*. The borrowing of *dunya* and *akerat* to Javanese has evidently enrich Javanese vocabulary repertoire.

In *Suluk Wujil*, an important character is introduced by the name of *Ratu Wahdat*. This name actually refers to Sunan Bonang, a saint from which the main character, Wujil, learned Islamic teachings. The word *wahdat* itself comes from Arabic word *wahadah* that means 'unity'.

(6) Sang Ratu Wahdat mesem ing lathi 'Ratu Wahdat smiled'

#### (7) Sang Ratu Wahdat lingira aris 'Ratu Wahdat spoke gently'

In Arabic, the word *wahdat* is commonly followed by other words, such as in *wahdatul wujud* [9, p. 230]. This term refers to a metaphysical notion comparable to *ma'rifat*, which in Javanese spiritual tradition is understood as the highest achievement in seeking the nature of God. At this level, there is a unity between a man and the God, because s/he is considered to have found the God by deeply understanding His holiness and wisdom. Therefore, the title *wahdat* attached to Sunan Bonang reflects his achievement in this spiritual pursuit.

Unlike the hybridity of Javanese during Old Javanese era that results in complex words containing Javanese and Sanskrit elements, language contact between Javanese and Arabic leads to enrichment in Javanese vocabulary, which especially features certain adjustments in the phonological system. The terms *nafi nakirah*, *nafi jinis*, and *nafi itsbat*, for example, are originated from Arabic terms *la nafi Jinzi* and *an-nafyu wa al-Itsbat*.

(8) Nafi Nakirah lan Nafi Jinis // mapan iku jinising Pangeran // kang Nafi nyateng Itsbate // Nafi lan Itsbat iku // nora pisah pan ora tunggil // Nafi kalawan Itsbat // Nafi karoni pun // Nafi roro winaleran // dining Illa karone tan kena manjing // maring lafal Illallah.

*Nafi Nakirah* and *Nafi Jinis* constitute the natures of God. *Nafi* entails *Itsbat*, *Nafi* and *Itsbat* are not separated nor united. (Yet,) *Nafi* and *Itsbat*, along with both types of *Nafi* (*Nafi nakirah* and *Nafi jinis*) are restricted by the word *Illa* and may not and cannot come in to the word *Illallah*.'

In Arabic, *nafi* (from the root *nafyuu*) means 'inexistence'; *istbat* (from *tsabata*) means 'acknowledgment' or 'determination'; *nakirah* means 'uncertainty';

and *jinis* means 'type'. The words *nafi* and *itsbat* as seen in example (8) are used to describe the nature of God's existence in Islamic point of view.

Also used in this example is the word *illa* that is a conjunction in Arabic, forming the word IllaAllah that means 'except God.' Therefore, the concept of godliness as told in *Suluk Wujil* is characterized by a disacknowledgment towards any types of god and an acknowledgment or *istbat* that there is no god except God.

## 4. CONCLUSION

Analysis on Javanese hybridity as an effect of Sanskrit and Arabic influence shows that there is a difference between hybridity occurring during Old Javanese era and that occurring during the Middle Javanese era. Thousands of Sanskrit words borrowed to Old Javanese are treated as roots that may undergo certain grammatical processes following the grammatical rules of the Old Javanese language. Consequently, Old Javanese has many complex words that formed from the combination between Sanskrit lexical items and Old Javanese grammatical elements. Not only Sanskrit words, Arabic words are also borrowed to the Javanese language. However, the language contact between Javanese and Arabic tends to lead to vocabulary enrichment, although assimilations also occur, mainly with phonological adjustments. Despite this difference, the hybridity in Javanese, which have been taking place for centuries, reflects a harmony between the Javanese culture and foreign cultures. As a result, Javanese people is nowadays no longer aware of any traces of foreign elements in the Javanese language.

### REFERENCES

- [1] S. Mulyani, *Sāstra paddhati: merajut ilmu humaniora*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Universitas Sanata Dharma, 2013.
- [2] P. J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan: Sastra Jawa Kuno selayang pandang*. Penerbit Djambatan, 1985.
- [3] J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1952.
- [4] J. W. Creswell, *Research Design: Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Mixed.* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010.
- [5] P. J. Zoetmulder and S. O. Robson, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1982.
- [6] S. H. Widyastuti, *Suluk wujil: suntingan teks dan tinjauan semiotik*, 1st ed. Semarang: Kelompok studi Mekar, 2001.
- [7] D. Puspitorini, "Afik Verbas Bahasa Jawa Kuno," Universitas Indonesia, 2015.
- [8] H. Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, Arabic-English. London: McDonald & Evans Ltd., 1974.
- [9] S. Endraswara, *Falsafah hidup Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Cakrawala, 2003.