THE MEANINGS OF SANSKRIT LOANWORDS IN THAI AND JAVANESE LANGUAGES

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ABSTRAK

Dalam sejarah perkembangan bangsa, penutur bahasa Thai dan Jawa berinteraksi dengan penutur bahasa lain, misalnya mereka berinteraksi dengan pedagang India yang juga datang dengan membawa kesusasteraan dan agamanya. Di dalam kontak sosial tersebut, penutur Thai dan Jawa juga mengadopsi sebagian kosa kata Sanskerta ke dalam khasanah bahasa Thai dan Jawa. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan makna kosakata Sanskerta setelah diserap dalam bahasa Thai dan Jawa. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa ada 14 kategori makna kata Sanskerta di dalam bahasa Thai dan bahasa Jawa. Perubahan tersebut merefleksikan perkembangan latar belakang sosial dan budaya dari para penuturnya.

Kata Kunci: perubahan makna, kata serapan dari Sanskerta, kata pinjaman

ABSTRACT

Through history of nation building, Thai and Javanese people interacted with other language speakers. For example, they interacted with Indian merchants who also brought their literature and religions. In their contacts, Thai and Javanese speakers adopted Sanskrit words for enriching their own vocabularies. This article attempts to describe the meanings of Sanskrit loanwords. In comparison between the meanings of Sanskrit loanwords in Thai and Javanese languages, there are 14 categories of semantic adaptations which are found in both languages. These changes reflect the changes of the socio-cultural background of the Thai and Javanese speakers.

Keywords: semantic change, Sanskrit loanword, borrowing word

INTRODUCTION

Javanese and Thai are major ethnic groups who live in Southeast Asian region together with other ethnic groups, such as Malay, Batak, Acehnese, Cebuano, Balinese, Madurese, Khmer, Viet, Burmese, Lao, Cham, and Sundanese. Through history of nation building, Southeast Asian (SEA) language speakers interacted with other language speakers, specifically Sanskrit speakers.

As a consequence, Sanskrit has had varying degrees of influence on the Southeast Asian (SEA) languages such as Thai and Javanese languages. Thai speakers had their first contacts with Indian culture during the pre-Sukhothai period when the land was occupied by Khmer and Mon. During the Sukhothai period, in which King Ramkhamhaeng invented and developed Thai alphabets, the Thai-Indian linkage continued. The Indian influence became

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stronger during the Ayutthaya period due to two – way trades between Indians and Thais. The economic relationship brought about the strong cultural relationship as the Thai court adapted Indian court ceremonies for its own use. In the later period of Rattanakosin, these Indian-influenced traditions and customs continued. Religion is also considered as one of the motivation factors of semantic changes of Sanskrit loanwords in Thai language. With Buddhism as the national religion, Thailand has a predicate as "Kingdom of the Yellow Robes". However, other religions such as Islam, Sikhism, Hinduism, and Christianity are also practiced by the Thai people. According to Wyatt (2003) and Shastri (2005), the current indigenous religious practices and beliefs in Thailand are synthesis between Buddhism (Theravada and Mahayana) and Hinduism. Until nowadays, Thai people or previously known as "Siamese" live in the mainland Southeast Asian region.

Javanese has a very long history of socio-cultural development. Discovered inscriptions which are written in Sanskrit using Pallava letters in Kutai (East Borneo) and Bogor (West Java) are considered as the starting point of Indian influence in Nusantara (or Islands of Indonesia). Sanskrit and Indian literature and culture have been known to be present in Indonesia and have been continuously studied by Indonesian scholars, especially in Java, at least since the fourth century A.D. For example, in the ninth century AD., Ramayana was adapted into Old Javanese (OJ). The subsequent development of Indian influence in Java involved the adaptation of many additional Sanskrit literary works, such as Mahabharata, Kunjarakarna, Arjuna Vivaha, Krsnayana, Sumanasantaka, Sutasoma, Nitisastra etc., into OJ (Pradipta: 2001, 17). In the eighth century AD, people in Central Java established Sailendras and Mataram (Sanjaya) dynasties. These dynasties held different religious beliefs. The Sailendras was a Buddhist Kingdom while the Mataram was a Hindhu Kingdom. King Vishnu of Sailendras built Borobudur temple, which was dedicated to the Buddha, in 778 A.D. and

his grandson Samaratungga completed the temple in 824 A.D. Meanwhile, the Mataram built Prambanan Hindu temple as to rival the Sailendras Buddhist monument. Majapahit was the last kingdom of Java before the Dutch conquered Nusantara. In addition, after thousand years of the adoption of Hinduism and Buddhism, Javanese began to convert to Islam, and all of the kingdoms in Java also converted and became Islamic kingdoms. And then, linguistically, Javanese language was also influenced by Arabic language. Javanese people who live in the Java Island, together with other ethnic groups in Indonesian islands, had politically identified themselves as Indonesian nation since the Oath of Youth of 28 October 1928. Soon after independence in 1945, Java became a part of the Republic of Indonesian territory.

This research attempts to describe the adaptation of Sanskrit words into SEA languages through a comparison of a range of meanings of Sanskrit loanwords in Thai and Javanese languages. The main data of this study is Sanskrit words found in 10 Thai novels and 8 Javanese novels published during the period of 1996 and 2006. The chosen novels are considered best novels in both communities, e.g. awarded by the SEA Writer Award and Rancage Award respectively. These sources make up the primary data. The data, then, will be referred to sort of dictionaries, such as, the Thai official monolingual volume of the Royal Institute, and Javanese monolingual dictionaries of Poerwadarminta; Sanskrit, Thai, and Javanese bilingual volume of dictionaries.

Both the Thai and Javanese data are then written in the orthographical and phonemic transcriptions in accordance with Tuaycharoen's phonemic transcription (Tuaycharoen, 2525). To get a more accurate analysis, this study also uses supplementary data obtained from other sources such as books, mass media, and/or interviews with native speakers of both languages. And all data will be examined during interview. This study will be framed by the Lehmann and Ulmann's theories. Lehmann pointed out that

a language does change over time, whether in terms of phonological system, grammatical system, and/or semantic system. For this proposal, Lehmann cited the word *persona* which was found in Latin and English texts. The previous meaning was 'mask'. Then the meaning changed into 'a character indicated by a mask', thereupon 'a character; role in a play', then became 'a repre-sentative of a character', then 'a representative in general'. Nowadays, its contemporary meaning is 'a representative of the human race' (Lehmann, 1962:193). Ulmann stated that based on the range of changing, the meanings of words can be classified into three categories, namely extension meaning defined as a condition of a particular word which widens its meaning when compared with the old meaning; restriction meaning defined as the condition whereby a particular word has a narrower meaning when compared with the old meaning; and miscella-neous meaning defined as a condition of a particular word which neither narrows nor widens its range as compared with the old meaning (Ullmann, 1977:227-231). Other scholars, such as Gonda (1952) divided semantic change of Sanskrit words in Indonesian languages into 2 categories, e.g. narrowing and widening of meaning, which will depends on the interest of the borrowers towards aspects of the meaning.

In this research, the range of change of Sanskrit loanwords in Thai and Javanese la-nguage will be classified into four categories, namely extension, restriction, maintaining, and shifting meanings. The third and fourth categories fill the slot of miscellaneous meaning of Ullmann. The third is defined as a condition of particular word which retains its original scope of meaning, and the fourth is defined as a condition of particular word which shifts its original meaning.

THE COMPARISON OF MEANINGS OF SANSKRIT LOANWORDS IN THAI AND JAVANESE LANGUAGES

From comparison of the sample, there are 14, out of 16 categories, of semantic

adaptations which are found in both Thai and Javanese languages, as follows.

Meaning of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai and Javanese languages are restricted if compared to the Sanskrit. For example is *Paṇḍita*. The Sanskrit word *paṇḍita* is denoted as 'a wise person; a clever person; a skilled /skillfully person in particular subject; or a scholar'. In Thai language the word is borrowed as /bandìt/, and specified the meaning as 'graduate, a degree holder'; whereas in Javanese language, it is loaned as *pendheta* /pəṇḍeta/, and specified the meaning as 'protestant preacher', as follows:

(1)   /kʰərú: sà:t bandìt hǎ: ŋa:n tʰam jâ:k kwà: pʰɛ̂:t tʰə jasà:t bandìt / (TH07:33) '**Bachelor of education** finds it usually more difficult to get job than **a doctor of medicine.**'

(2)   **Pendheta** iku kelairan Purwodadi, Gro-bogan, Jawa Tengah (JV13)

/pəṇḍeta iku kəlairan purwodadi grobo-gan jawa təṇah/

'The **preacher** was born in Purwodadi, Grobogan, Central of Java.' The word /bandìt/ in example (1) is compounded with word / kʰərú: sà:t/ 'science of teaching' become / kʰərú: sà:t bandìt/ 'bachelor in science of teaching' and /pʰɛ̂:t tʰə jasà:t bandìt/ 'a doctor or of /; word *pendheta* /pəṇḍeta/ in example (2) refers to the Christian preacher. Even though, the meaning of *paṇḍita* is restricted in both languages. However, in both languages, the word is restricted on the different orientation, as follows: In Thai language, probably it is caused by the development of education sys-tem. Previously, institution for education was a hermit's abode. The pupils who learn in the place were taught and were supervised by a *paṇḍita* 'hermit' who was considered as a clever and skillfull person. This current time, even majority of Thai speakers are Buddhist, but pupils mostly learn formally in any formal school, from kindergarten until university levels. Someone who graduated from university can be considered as a

clever or skillfully person. Therefore, Thai speakers called a person who graduated from university as /bandìt/ in bachelor level, /máhă: bandìt/ in master level, and /dù sədi: bandìt/ in doctoral level'. The Sanskrit word paṇḍita in Javanese language is undergone to different circumstances. The meaning of pandhita as a hermit or a clever person still recognized by Javanese from the literary works, such as pendhita Durna /pəṇḍita durna/ 'Drona'. In Javanese Mahabharata, he was a well-known hermit who mastered archery. He taught both Pandava and Kauravas in this martial skill. Nowadays, in Javanese, pendhita is referred to a Christian preacher. Attribute for Islamic preacher is used the word kyai (male) and nyai (female) or ustadz (male) and ustadzah (female) of Arabic loanwords.

However, the concept of 'graduate' which in Thai termed by Sanskrit loanword /bandìt/, in Javanese language, the word is replaced by another Sanskrit loanword sarjana /sarjana/ which previously also denoted as 'someone who is clever, skillful or a scholar'.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai and Javanese languages are maintained if compared to the Sanskrit. For example is ṣatru. The Sanskrit word śatru is denoted as 'enemy'. In Thai and Javanese languages, it is borrowed as /sattru: / and satru /satru/, respectively. In Thai and Javanese languages, the meaning is still maintained as 'enemy', as follows:

(3) /ʔoŋ kɔ:n rát tʰəba:n klàp kla:i pen **sàt tru:** kàp prà? tɕʰa: tɕʰon pai sĭə nî:/ (TH04: 239)
     'Government organization conversely becomes an **enemy** of the citizen.'

(4) (Kuwi) kanggo nelukake **para satru**. (JV02: 95)
     /kuwi kaŋgo nəlukake **para satru**/
     '(It) is used to conquer the **enemies.**'

The examples (3) – (4) show that Sanskrit word śatru which is denoted as 'enemy' in Thai language, the meaning is still maintained as 'enemy', such as /pen sàt tru:/ 'as enemy.'; as well as, in Javanese language, its meaning

also maintained, such as example (4) para satru /para satru/ 'enemies' is consisted of words para /para/ 'marker of group or collectivity' and satru /satru/ 'enemy'.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai and Javanese languages are shifted if compared to the Sanskrit. For example is āgama. The Sanskrit word āgama is defined as 'coming near, appearance, arrival, a secret knowledge, a traditional doctrine or precept'. In Thai language, the structure is adapted as /ʔa:kʰom/, then its meaning is shifted as 'magic, incantation, spell, charm', whereas in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as agama 'religion' as follows:

(5) /pʰrá sŏŋ mâi kʰuən uèt ʔâ:ŋ nai **wí tɕʰa: ʔa: kʰom**/ (TH12)
     'Buddhist monks should not claim that he has a **magical power.**'

(6) Senajan aku dudu wong lanang soleh, nanging aku isih kuwat ngugemi aturan aturan **agama**. (JV06:36)
     /sənaɟan aku dudu woŋ lanaŋ soleh nanɪŋ aku isih kuwat ŋugəmi **aturan aturan agama**/
     'Even I am not as a pious man, but I am still able to rely on the **religious rules.**'

In Thai language the Sanskrit word āgama is adapted as /ʔa:kʰom/, then its meaning is shifted as 'magic, incantation, spell, charm', such as, examples (5) /wí tɕʰa: ʔa: kʰom/ 'magical power'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, its structure is adapted as agama / agama/, and its meaning is shifted as 'religion', such as, in aturan aturan agama /aturan aturan agama/ 'religious rules' in example (6) which is formed from aturan aturan /aturan aturan/ 'rules' and agama /agama/ 'religion'.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are shifted, but in Javanese language, the meanings are extended if compared to the Sanskrit. For example is vicarā. The Sanskrit word vicarā which previously denoted as 'mode of acting or proceeding, procedure, consideration', in both languages, the word is undergone to different changes, e.g. in Thai language, its structure

is adapted as /wítɕaːn/, then its meaning is shifted as 'to criticize', but in Javanese language, the word is adapted as *wicara* /wicara/, then its meaning is also extended as 'speak, speech, conversation', as follows:

(7) /sənùk diː nîː lûːk pen **kʰam wítɕaːn** kʰɔ̌ːŋ jaːi mɯ̂ːə nǎŋ tɕɔ̀p lɔŋ/ (TH08: 31)
     'It is enjoyable, son! My grand mother's comment when the movie was end'.

(8) Jebul kadangku sinarawedi iki **ganep wicarane**.(JV02: 85)
     /jəbul kadaəku sinarawedi iki **ganəp wicarane**/
     'Instead my beloved brother **spoke perfectly**.'

The example (7) shows that Sanskrit loanword /wítɕaːn/, in Thai language, sometimes is compounded with /wipʰâːk/ 'judge, criticize' become /wipʰâːk wítɕaːn / 'to criticize'. Meanwhile, the example (8) shows that Sanskrit loanword *wicara* /wicara/ is attached with possessive phrase marker –e 'his/her' become *wicarane* 'his spoke'.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are shifted if are compared to the Sanskrit, but the meanings are extended in Javanese language. For example is *rasa*. The Sanskrit word *rasa* which previously denoted as 'taste (of tongue), feeling', in both languages are undergone to different changes, e.g. in Thai language is adapted as /rót/, then, its meaning is restricted only 'taste (of tongue)', but in Javanese language, the word is adapted as *rasa* /rasa/, and its meaning is still maintained as 'taste (of tongue), feeling', as follows:

(9) /pʰɔː tɕai nai **rót tɕʰâːt** plɛ̀ːk mài tʰîː dâːi ráp kʰíəu klɯɯn lɔŋ pai lɛ́ːu/ (TH01: 52)
     'Satisfied with the new strange **taste**, which was swallowed.'

(10) Kamardikan kuwi bisa **dirasakake** sarana digayuh kanthi maspadakake papan lan pangetrapan pikiran kang pas. (JV08: 8)
     /kamardikan kuwi bisa **dirasakake** sarana digayuh kanti maspadakake papan lan paŋəntrapan pikiran kaŋ pas/

'**Way of tasting** an independency could be done with considering appropriate place and controlling the mind.'

The example (9) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /rót/ sometimes be compounded with /tɕʰâːt/ 'nation' becomes /rót tɕʰâːt/ 'tastes or particular favor'. Meanwhile, the example (10) shows that Sanskrit loanword *rasa* /rasa/ in Javanese language could be attached with confix di-ake become *dirasakake* 'be felt by'. Even though, in Thai daily life, the meaning of Sanskrit loanword /rót/ is only denoted as 'a particular taste' but the other meaning of /rót/ as 'feeling, emotion' still could be found in Thai literature which is adapted from Sanskrit literature, such as /sǎːntàrót/ 'peaceful', /pʰiː pʰát sàrót/ 'disgusted', and /wìːrárót/ 'courageous', (Raksamanee, 2549: 161-168).

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are restricted if compared to the Sanskrit, but the meanings are shifted in Javanese language. For example is *kṣatriya*. The Sanskrit word *kṣatriya* which previously denoted as 'warrior, king' is adapted as /kəsàt/ in Thai language, and the meaning is restricted only as 'king'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the word is adapted as *satriya* /satriya/, and the meaning is shifted as 'nobleman, honorman, sportive', as follows:

(11) /tʰîː tʰɛ́ː kɔ̂ː kʰɯɯ kaːn ʔoːn tʰàːi ʔam nâːt tɕàːk **kəsàt** maː sùː mɯɯ kʰon ʔìːk klùm nɯ̀ŋ tʰâu nán/ (TH03: 24)
     'In fact, it only transferred power from a king toward another powered group.'

(12) Aku ya mangkel, le, **satriya** apik-apik nglabuhi bebener kok padha kalah, guneme mbah grontol (JV03: 15)
     /ʔaku ja maŋkəl le **satriya** apik apik ŋlabuhi bəbənər kok pada kalah": gunəme Mbah grontol/
     'I was annoying, my son! It's caused a good and **honor man** who defended for reaching a justice must lose out, Grandpa Grontol said.'

The example (11) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /kəsàt/ is only denoted 'king', such as in clause /ʔoːn tʰàːi

ʔam nâ:t tça:k kèsàt/ 'transferring a power from king'. In Javanese language, the Sanskrit loanword *satriya* is meantioned as 'warrior' only in its archaic usage, as well as used by *mbah Grontol* in example (12) which was discussing about *satriya* from the Ramayana epic. Therefore, the contemporary meaning *satriya* 'noble man' is found in word *nyatriya* /ɲatriya/ which is consisted of *satriya* and derivational prefix N- which referring to 'do as a nobleman, do a supportive action'. In Thai language, the meaning of /kəsàt/ 'king' still known because Thailand as a kingdom or /râ:t tçʰa ʔa: na: tçàk tʰai/, or a constitutional monarchy under king's patronage. The meaning of / kèsàt / as 'the second caste' of Hindu caste system is shifted because majority of Thai speakers are Buddhist. In Javanese language, all of the old meanings of *satriya* did not use in current daily life. Javanese speakers shifted as 'a good manner and personality look like a warrior or king'.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are extended if compared to the Sanskrit, but in Javanese language, the meanings are restricted. For example is *sastra*. The Sanskrit word *śastra* is denoted as 'in order, command, precept, rule, teaching any religion or scientific treatise'. In Thai language, the structure is adapted as /sà:t/, and its meaning is extended 'knowledge, science'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as *sastra* /sastra/, and its meaning is restricted as '(fiction) literature', as follows:

(13) /kʰau pen ʔa:tça:n kʰəná? **mənút səya sà:t**/ (TH02: 12)
      'He is a lecturer at the faculty of **Humanities.**'

(14) Ing jagading **sastra** Jawa, Djajus Pete mujudake salah sijining pengarang kang dilungguhake ing barisan ngarep. (JV03: v)
      /ʔiŋ ʝagadiŋ **sastra** ʝawa ʝayus pete muʝudake salah sijiniŋ peɲaraŋ kaŋ diluŋguhake iŋ barisan ŋarəp/
      'In the Javanese **literature** world, Djajus Pete is an author who is posited in the frontage line.'

Example (13) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /sà:t/ is extended as 'knowledge, science, subject', such as in / mənút səya sà:t/ ' science of humanism' are compounded between /sà:t/ and /mənút/ 'human'. Meanwhile, example (14) shows that in Javanese language, Sanskrit loanword *sastra* /sastra/ is restricted as 'fiction literature', such as *sastra ʝawa* 'Javanese literature' which is composed from *sastra* 'literature' and *jawa* 'Javanese'.

According to development of science and technology, in Thai language, the meaning of /sà:t/ is extended if compared to the Sanskrit. In Javanese language, in previous period, Sanskrit loanword *sastra* also denoted as 'science and knowledge', such as *niti sastra* 'law science' (Old Javanese version), *Serat Niti Sastra* 'law text book' (New Javanese language) which is written by R. Ng. Yasadipura II of Surakarta Kingdom within 17-19 centuries, and is classified as New Javanese Literature (Subalidinata:1994, 74-77). However, Javanese literary works which written during the previous period (Old Javanese period, Middle of Javanese period) until new Javanese period are written in Javanese alphabet. Spreading of Western literature, such as, novel and poet genres, and also Romanization of Javanese alphabets within Dutch occupation probably involved towards the shifting meaning of *sastra*, from 'science, knowledge' become 'a fiction literature'.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are extended if compared to the Sanskrit, but the meanings are still maintained in Javanese language. For example is *phala*. In Thai language, Sanskrit word *phala* 'fruit' is adapted as /pʰŏn/, while the meaning is extended as 'result'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, its structure is adapted as *pala* /pala/, and the meaning is still maintained as 'fruit', as follows:

(15) /pʰŏm mɔ:ŋ mâi hěn **pʰŏn** nai kʰa:m pʰəjaja:m nán lə:i/ (TH04: 380)
      'I didn't see any **result** of the effort.'
(16) Tegalan kuwi isa ditanduri **palawija**
      /təgalan kuwi isa ditanduri **palawiʝa**/

'The dry agricultural land is able to be planted with **crops**.'

Example (15) show that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /pʰŏn/ is extended as 'result, fruit', such as, in /pʰŏn nai kʰwa:m pʰəyaya:m/ 'result of trying out'. Meanwhile, example shows that in Javanese language, Sanskrit loanword *pala* /pala/ is still maintained, such as *palawija* /palawiɟa/ 'crops' which is compounded between *pala* /pala/ 'fruit' and *wija* / wiɟa/ 'seed'.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are extended if compared to the Sanskrit, but in Javanese language, the meaning is shifted. For example is *gambhīra*. The Sanskrit word *gambhīra* is denoted as 'the deepness of man's navel; a mantra of Rugveda'. In Thai language, the structure is adapted as /kʰampʰi:/, and its meaning is extended becoming 'holy book'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as *gembira* /gəmbira/, and its meaning is shifted as 'joyful, happy', as follows:

(17) /kʰun dâ:i loŋ nərók pai pʰrɔ́:m kàp
    kʰampʰi: tʰî: kʰâ:p wái nê:/ (TH05: 105)
    'You surely will fall into hell together with **a holy book** which you faith.'

(18) Rakyat keplok rame, **gembirane**!
    (JV03: 43)
    /rakyat kəplok rame **gəmbirane**/
    'People applaused loudly. It's **joy able**.'

Example (17) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /kʰampʰi: / is denoted as 'holy book', such as /kʰampʰi: ʔal kùr ʔa:n/ 'al Quran'; /kʰampʰi: bai bəˆl/ 'bible'; and /kʰampʰi: pʰra trai pidòk/ 'Buddhist scripture'. Meanwhile, the example (18) shows that Sanskrit loanword *gembira* /gəmbira/ are denoted as 'happy, joyable' in Javanese language.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are maintained if compared to the Sanskrit, but in Javanese language, the meanings are restricted. For example is *jāti*. The Sanskrit word *jāti* which previously denoted as 'birth, race, tribe', in Thai language, the structure

is adapted as /tɕʰâ:t/, and its meaning still being maintained'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as jati / ɟati/, then, its meaning is restricted as 'true, genuine', as follows:

(19) /sà: sə nǎ: pʰút sɔ̌:n hâi kʰon tʰam
    kʰwa:m di: pʰûə sàŋ sôm bun ba:əmí:
    tʰáŋ nai **tɕʰât ní: lɛ́ʔ tɕʰâ:t nâ:**/ (TH12)
    'Buddhism teaches people for doing goodness for merits and halo collection which will protect to the **current life and also to the next life**.'

(20) Nek ngono impenku mau bengi dudu
    impen **sejati**? (JV06: 35)
    /nek ŋono impenku mau bəŋi dudu
    impen **səjati**/
    'It means that last night my dream was not a **real** dream?'

Example (19) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /tɕʰâ:t/ is denoted as 'race' and 'birth/life', such as /tɕʰât ní: lɛ́ʔ â:t nâ:/ 'the current life and the next life' which is consisted of /tɕʰâ:t/ 'birth' + 'ɯ̃ /ní:/ 'this, current' and /tɕʰâ:t/ 'birth' + / nâ:/ 'next'. Meanwhile, example (20) shows that the meanings of Sanskrit loanword jati / ɟati/ in Javanese language are shifted, such as the adverb *sejatine* /səɟatine/ 'actually. The adverb is formed from word *jati* which attached by prefix *se-* and particle –e.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are maintained if compared to the Sanskrit, but in Javanese language, the meanings are restricted. For example is *aśrama*. The Sanskrit word *aśrama* is denoted as 'hermitage'. In Thai language, the structure is adapted as /ʔa: sǒm/, and its meaning is still maintained'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as *asrama* /asrama/, and its meaning is extended as 'dormitory', as follows:

(21) /tʰida: nâ:k ʔàp ʔa:i lɛ́ʔ kre:ŋ wâ: rɯ̂:ən
    tɕà? pai tʰǔŋ hǔ: bìda: tɕɯɯŋ kʰít tʰî: tɕá
    sǎn hǎ:n da: bòt tʰáŋ sì: mɯ̂:ə pai tʰǔŋ
    ʔa:sǒm/ (TH13)
    'The dragon daughter ashamed and worried that the problem would be

heard by her father. Therefore, she had idea to kill 4 ascetics when arrived to their hermitage.'

(22) Lha piye iki, aku rak kudu bali nyang **asrama**? (JV05: 11)
/lha pije iki aku rak kudu bali ŋaŋ **asrama**/
'What should I do? I must go back to my **(military) dormitory.'**

Example (21) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /ʔa: sŏm/ is mantained as 'hermitage'. Meanwhile example (22) shows that in Javanese language the meanings of Sanskrit loanword *asrama* /asrama/ is extended as 'dormintory, barrack'.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are still maintained if compared to the Sanskrit, but in Javanese language, the meanings are restricted. For example is *janaka*. The Sanskrit word *janaka* is denoted as 'father'. In Thai language, the structure is adapted as /tɕʰənók/, and its meaning is still maintained. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as *janaka* /janaka/, and its meaning is shifted becoming 'another name of Arjuna, the third's Pandava brothers', as follows:

(23) /wan nɯ̀ŋ pʰrá **məhă: tɕʰənók** soŋ pratʰáp bon kʰɔ: tɕʰá:ŋ pʰɯ̂ə: tʰɔ̂:t pʰrá nê:t ʔutʰəja:n/ (TH13)
One day **Mahajanaka king** sat above of elephant neck for sightseeing the garden.'

(24) Ana ing panggung wayang wong, Asih kadhapuk dadi **Janaka**. (JV01: 17)
/ana iŋ paŋguŋ wayaŋ woŋ asih kadapuk dadi **janaka**/
'On the *wayang wong* stage, **Arjuna** was performed by Asih.'

Example (23) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /tɕʰənók/ is denoted as 'father', such as in /məhă: tɕʰənok/ 'the great father' which is adopted from the Story of the Mahajanaka, a sacred Buddhism text, becomes well-known among Thais after

rewritten in Thai prose by King Bhumibol Adulyadej (http://www.thailandlife.com/thai-buddhist/the-story-of-the-mahajanaka.html). Meanwhile, the example (24) shows that the meaning of Sanskrit loanword *janaka* /janaka/ in Javanese language is shifted become the other name of Arjuna, the third prince of Pandava of Mahabharata story.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are shifted if are compared to the Sanskrit, but the meanings are extended in Javanese language. For example is *bhāva*. The Sanskrit word *bhāva* is denoted as 'manner of being, nature, temperament, character'. In Thai language, the structure is adapted as /pʰâp/, then, its meaning is shifted as 'picture'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as *bawa* /bawa/, and its meaning is extended as 'situation, circumstances, character; to build something on one's own efforts', as follows:

(25) /pʰâ:p dèk tɕʰa:i kʰlá:i kʰəjă:i jài kʰɯ̂n tem tʰɔ́:ŋ fá:/ (TH04: 148)
'The boy picture is extended until fulfilled sky.'

(26) Swara sesorahe wong kabupaten anteb **merbawani.** (JV03: 45)
/swara səsorahe woŋ kabupaten antəp **mərbawani**/
'Voice speech of the regency officer was heavy and **exerting authority**.'

Example (25) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /pʰâ:p/ is denoted as 'picture', such as in /pʰâ:p dèk tɕʰa:i/ 'the picture of a boy'. Meanwhile, the example (26) shows that the meaning of Sanskrit loanword *bawa* /bawa/ in Javanese language is extended, such as in *merbawani* /mərbawani/ 'exerting authority' which is formed from *perbawa* (per + bawa) which is attached by confix N-i.

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Thai language are shifted if compared to the Sanskrit, but the meanings are maintained in Javanese language. For example is *upavasa*. The Sanskrit word *upavasa* is denoted as 'a fasting, a fast'. In Thai

language, the structure is adapted /bùat/, then its meaning is shifted as 'ordination, ordain'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as *pasa* /pasa/, and its meaning is maintained, as follows:

(27) /kʰau da:i bùat pʰɯ̀:ə tʰot tʰrːn pʰrà kʰun pʰɔ̀: kàp mɛ̂: / (TH12)
'He has completely **ordained** for thanks his parents.

(28) **Pasa** minangka salah siji saka lima rukun Islam. (JV13)
/pasa minaŋka salah siji saka lima rukun islam/
'**Fasting** is one of the five from Islamic pillars.'

The example (27) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /bùat:/ is denoted as 'ordain, ordination', such as in /kʰau da:i bùat/ 'he has already ordained'. Meanwhile, the example (28) shows that the meaning of Sanskrit loanword *pasa* /pasa/ in Javanese language is extended as 'fasting month/ ramadhan month, fast'. Word *pasa* is defined as 'fasting' which in Islamic principles, a follower is prohibited to eat any food and water which is started from the dawn time until the sunset time, and doesn't do any evil things. The concept of *pasa* 'fasting' is used in Islamic terminology.

CONCLUSION

The meanings of Sanskrit Loanwords in Thai and Javanese languages can be divided into four types, i.e. restricted meaning, extended meaning, maintained meaning, and shifted meaning. Meanings of Sanskrit loanwords which borrowed in Thai and Javanese languages, somehow, partly change over time and the other part is still maintained. In context of comparison of the meanings between Sanskrit loanwords in Thai and Javanese languages, a particular Sanskrit word will change or maintain its specific meanings depends on the development of socio-cultural of the speakers from the previous period when the vocabularies were borrowed until current time.

The change of meaning of Sanskrit loanwords in Thai and Javanese languages could be considered as a change in range of meanings. This change in range of meanings may occur gradually over time due to changes in socio-cultural backgrounds of the speakers. For example, the meanings of Sanskrit words *svarga* 'heaven' and *naraka* 'hell,' which were borrowed into Thai and Javanese languages, have been generally maintained although the concepts of the words in Thai and in Javanese may differ. One of the main factors motivating this difference is religion. In Thai language, /sǎwǎn/ 'heaven' is viewed as a "transitory place" for righteous souls who have performed good deeds before their next reincarnation but whose conduct is not enough to attain *moksha* 'enlightenment,' whereas นรก /narok/ is viewed as a place of great suffering for those who have committed evil actions. Thais believe that staying in heaven or hell is not eternal. Eventually, they will use their deeds as "retribution" for the next rebirth. Javanese, on other hand, conceptualize these words as follows: after death one will reside in the grave until the appointed resurrection on judgment day. In both societies, the concept of "heaven and hell" can be split into many levels depending on the actions taken in life. In other words, punishment depends on the level of deeds committed in life and good is divided into many levels depending on how much one has followed the word of God. Javanese believe that they will remain in the heaven eternally or, in the case of a particular Moslem who has already committed evil actions, he/she will have to pay for his/her evil deeds in hell before being able to stay in heaven eternally.

Some Sanskrit loanwords may have undergone different changes in their meanings when borrowed into Thai than when borrowed into Javanese. For example, the meaning of Sanskrit word *ksatriya* 'warrior, king, castes' is restricted in Thai language, whereas it is shifted in Javanese language. Factors motivating these changes are different. In Thai language, the factor is religious matter, whereas in Javanese language the factor is political matter. In present time Thailand, the meaning

of Sanskrit loanword /kəsàt/ is 'king', other meanings such as "warrior" and "castes" are removed. This is because Thailand is a constitutional country under royal patronage. In addition, the meaning of /kəsàt/ as 'the second caste' of Hindu religion is removed because the majority of Thai speakers are Buddhist. In Javanese language, the old meanings of satriya are no longer used in current daily life. Javanese speakers have shifted the meaning to 'a good manner and personality; sportive; political leader'. The old meanings of ksatriya in Javanese language are removed as a result of political changes in Java. The converting of Java kingdoms from Hindu-Buddhist to Islamic kingdoms generated changes of political terms used. For example, the adopted words sultan is used as a title given to Muslim rulers in some countries and sultanate as 'an area of land that is ruled over by a sultan.' The second factor is colonialism eras and integration of Javanese into the Republic of Indonesia which resulted in decreasing roles of Sultan or adipati 'sovereign, regent' in Java. The new meaning of satriya as 'sportive, nobleman' instead appeared in Javanese language, reflecting the impression of Javanese speakers toward their idols from the Javanese classic literary works such as Ramayana, Mahabharata, or Panji stories.

Another example is Sanskrit word śāstra 'in order, command, and precept, rule, teaching any religion or scientific treatise'. In Thai language, the meaning is extended as 'knowledge, science', whereas in Javanese language the meaning is restricted as '(fiction) literature'. Factor motivating these changes in meaning are different. In Thai language, the factor is social development, whereas in Javanese language the factor is political matter. As a result of the development of science and technology, the meaning of /sà:t/ is extended in Thai language. Previously, in Javanese, Sanskrit loanword sastra is also denoted as 'science and knowledge', such as, Serat Niti Sastra 'law text book' which is written

in Javanese alphabet. Spreading of Western literature, such as novel and poet genres, and the Romanization of Javanese alphabets within Dutch occupation may have influenced the shifting in meaning of sastra, from 'science, knowledge' to 'a fiction literature'. The concept of 'science, knowledge' is replaced by the Arabic loanword ngilmu or ilmu.

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