THE MEANINGS OF SANSKRIT LOANWORDS IN THAI AND JAVANESE LANGUAGES

Hamam Supriyadi*

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

* Staff of Nusantara Department, Faculty of Cultural Science, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta.
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 A.D., 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 (Pradipita: 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 Hindu 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 miscellaneous 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 language 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 *Pandita*. The Sanskrit word *pandita* 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 /bandit/, and specified the meaning as ‘graduate, a degree holder’; whereas in Javanese language, it is loaned as /pendheta /pendetel/, and specified the meaning as ‘protestant preacher’, as follows:

(1) /kʰerû: sà:t bandit hà: nā:n tla:n jà:k kwà: pʰét tê jà:sà:t bandit / (TH07:33) ‘Bachelor of education finds it usually more difficult to get job than a doctor of medicine.’

(2) Pendheta iku kelairan Purwodadi, Grobogan, Jawa Tengah (JV13) /pandetel iku kelairan purwodadi grobo-gan jawa tenjih/

The preacher was born in Purwodadi, Grobogan, Central of Java. The word /bandit/ in example (1) is compounded with word /kʰerû: sà:t/ ‘science of teaching’ become /kʰerû: sà:t bandit/ ‘bachelor in science of teaching’ and /pʰét tê jà:sà:t bandit/ ‘a doctor or of; word pendheta /pendetel/ in example (2) refers to the Christian preacher. Even though, the meaning of *pandita* 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 system. Previously, institution for education was a hermit’s abode. The pupils who learn in the place were taught and were supervised by a *pandita* ‘hermit’ who was considered as a clever and skillful 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 /bandit/ in bachelor level, /mahà: bandit/ in master level, and /du: sedi: bandit/ in doctoral level. The Sanskrit word pandhita 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 pandhita Duma /pandhita durna/ 'Drone'. 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, pandhita 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 /bandit/, 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 satru. The Sanskrit word satru is denoted as 'enemy'. In Thai and Javanese languages, it is borrowed as /sattru:/ and /sattru/satru/, respectively. In Thai and Javanese languages, the meaning is still maintained as 'enemy', as follows:

(3) /?on ko:n rát t'èba:n klàp kla:i pen sätt ru: kàp prà? tc'à: tc'ôn pai sîe n?/ (TH04: 239)
   'Government organization conversely becomes an enemy of the citizen.'

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

The examples (3) – (4) show that Sanskrit word satru which is denoted as 'enemy' in Thai language, the meaning is still maintained as 'enemy', such as /pen sätt ru:/ '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 /?a:k'om/, then its meaning is shifted as 'magic, incantation, spell, charm', whereas in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as agama 'religion' as follows:

(5) /p'rá sōŋ māi k'ue:n uät ?a:n nai wi tc'à: ?a: k'om/ (TH12)
   'Buddhist monks should not claim that he has a magical power.'

(6) Senajan aku dudu won lanang soleh, nanging aku isih kuwat ngugemí aturan aturan agama. (JV06:36)
   /senajan aku dudu won lanang soleh
   náriŋ aku isih kuwat ngugemí 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 /?a:k'om/, then its meaning is shifted as 'magic, incantation, spell, charm', such as, examples (5) /wi tc'à: ?a: k'om/ '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 /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 /witca:n/, 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) /senûk di: nî: li:ûk pen kʰam witca:n kʰɔŋ jai: mû: e nân tsôp lon/ (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) /jebul kadaeku sinarawedi iki ganep wicarane/ ‘Instead my beloved brother spoke perfectly.’

The example (7) shows that Sanskrit loanword /witca:n/, in Thai language, sometimes is compounded with /wipʰaːk/ ‘judge, criticize’ become /wipʰaːk mitca:n/ ‘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 /rôt/, 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) /pʰoː: tcai nai rôt təːːt plɛːk mài tʰiː: dâ:i râp kʰiːu klum lon pai lîːu/ (TH01: 52) ‘Satisfied with the new strange taste, which was swallowed.’

(10) Kamardikan kuwi bisa dirasakake sa-rana digayuh kanti maspadakeke papan lan pangetrapan pikiran kang pas. (JV08: 8) /kamardikan kuwi bisa dirasakake sarana digayuh kanti maspada keke papan lan pangetrapan 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 /rôt/ sometimes was compounded with /tʰaːt/ ‘nation’ becomes /rôt təːːt/ ‘tastes or particular favor’. Meanwhile, the example (10) shows that Sanskrit loanword rasa /rasa/ in Javanese language could be attached with conflux di-ake become dirasakake ‘be felt by’. Even though, in Thai daily life, the meaning of Sanskrit loanword /rôt/ is only denoted as ‘a particular taste’ but the other meaning of /rôt/ as ‘feeling, emotion’ still could be found in Thai literature which is adapted from Sanskrit literature, such as /sâː:ntârôt/ ‘peaceful’, /pʰiː/ pʰâːt sârôt/ ‘disgusted’, and /witːərôt/ ‘courageous’, (Raksamanee, 2549: 161-168).

Meanings of several Sanskrit words which are loaned into Tai language are restricted if compared to the Sanskrit, but the meanings are shifted in Javanese language. For example is ksatriya. The Sanskrit word ksatriya which previously denoted as ‘warrior, king’ is adapted as /kasâːt/ 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, honor man, sportive’, as follows:

(11) /tʰiː/ tʰiː kʰw: kâːn ?on tʰâːi 7am nàːt tɔːː kêsâːt maː sù muː kʰon ?iː k lûm nûŋ tʰûː nān/ (TH03: 24) ‘In fact, it only transferred power from a king toward another powered group.’

(12) Aku ya mangkel, le, satriya apik-apik nglabuhui bebener kok padha kalah, guneme mbah grontol (JV03: 15) /ʔaku ja manjkel le satriya apik apik nglabuhui bebener kok pada kalah/: guneme 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 /kasâːt/ is only denoted ‘king’, such as in clause /ʔon tʰâːi
In Javanese language, the Sanskrit loanword satriya is mentioned as 'warrior' in its archaic as well as modern 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 rṇatrya 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 /kəsət/ 'king' still known because Thailand as a kingdom or rāť: t tə:a ?a: na: tə:tk tə:ai/, or a constitutional monarchy under king's patronage. The meaning of / kəsət / 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 god manri&m per-mffity 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 sastra is denoted as 'in order, command, precept, rule, teaching any religion or scientific treatise'. In Thai language, the structure is adapted as /sâ:t/, and its meaning is extended 'knowledge, science'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as sastra /sastrə/, and its meaning is restricted as '(fiction) literature', as follows:

(13) /kʰau pen ?a:tɕaːn kʰəná? mənút sêya sâ:t/ (TH02: 12)  
"He is a lecturer at the faculty of Humanities."

(14) Ing jagading sastra Jawa, Dij dus Peter mujudake salah sijining pengarang kang dilungguhake ing barisan ngarep. (JV03: v)  
"In the Javanese literature world, Dij dus Pete is an author who is posited in the frontage line."

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

According to development of science and technology, in Thai language, the meaning of /sâ: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. Yasa dipura II of Surakarta Kingdom within 17-19 centuries, and is classified as New Javanese Literature (Subalindinata: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 /pʰən/, 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) /pʰəm moŋ mài hên pʰən nài kʰə:m pʰəjaja:m nán leːi/ (TH04: 380)  
"I didn't see any result of the effort."

(16) Tegalan kuwi isa ditanduri palawja /tegalan kuwi isa ditanduri palawja/
'The dry agricultural land is able to be planted with crops.'

Example (15) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /pʰõːn/ is extended as 'result, fruit', such as, in /pʰõːn nai kʰwaːm pʰayayaːm/ 'result of trying out'. Meanwhile, example shows that in Javanese language, Sanskrit loanword pala /pala/ is still maintained, such as palawija /palawija/ 'crops' which is compounded between pala /pala/ 'fruit' and wija /wija/ '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 depthness of man's navel; a mantra of Rugyeda'. In Thai language, the structure is adapted as /kʰampʰiː/ and its meaning is extended becoming 'holy book'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as gambira /gembiral/ and its meaning is shifted as 'joyful, happy', as follows:

(17) /kʰun dàːliŋ nérkɔ pʰrɔːm kąp kʰampʰiː/: tʰiː kʰaːp wài nɛː/ (TH05: 105) 'You surely will fall into hell together with a holy book which you faith.'

(18) Rak yat keplok rame, gambirane! (JV03: 43)
Rak yat keplok rame gambirane/
'People applauded loudly. It's joy able.'

Example (17) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /kʰampʰiː/ is denoted as 'holy book', such as /kʰampʰiːː tʰaː kʰaːn lʰiː 'al Quran'; /kʰampʰiːː bai bɛiː lʰiː 'bible'; and /kʰampʰiːː pʰra trai pʰidɔːk 'Buddhist scripture'. Meanwhile, the example (18) shows that Sanskrit loanword gambira /gembiral/ are denoted as 'happy, joyful' 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 jati. The Sanskrit word jati which previously denoted as 'birth, race, tribe', in Thai language, the structure is adapted as /tcʰāːt/: and its meaning still being maintained'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as /tʃiː: / jati/: then, its meaning is restricted as 'true, genuine', as follows:

(19) /sàː: sè nàː pʰúː sɔːn hàː kʰoŋ tʰaːm kʰaːm díː pʰúː sàŋ sòm búŋ bə:əml tʰaːn nai tcʰāːt nìː le? tcʰāːt nàːl/ (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 impekg mau berti dudum impeŋ seejati? (JV06: 35)
Nek ngono impekg mau berti dudum impeŋ seejati/
'It means that last night my dream was not a real dream?'

Example (19) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /tcʰāːt/ is denoted as 'race' and 'birth/life', such as /tcʰāːt nìː le? aːt nàːl: 'the current life and the next life' which is consisted of /tcʰāːt/ 'birth' + 'nàː 'this, current' and /tcʰāːt/ 'birth' + /nàː / 'next'. Meanwhile, example (20) shows that the meanings of Sanskrit loanword jati /jati/ in Javanese language are shifted, such as the adverb seejatine /sejatine / '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 /aː sòm/, and its meaning is still maintained'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as aśrama /asrama/, and its meaning is extended as 'dormitory', as follows:

(21) tʰiːdàː nàːk tʰap ʔaːi lʰiː kʰreŋ wàː rʰəŋ tɔː pʰai tʰuŋ hùː bidaː tʰɾuŋ kʰiː tʰiː tʰãː sàŋ hàː n daː bɔt tʰãːn sìː mɔː pʰai tʰuŋ ʔaː sòm/ (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 piye iki aku rak kudu bali ṇaṅ asrama/
'What should I do? I must go back to my (military) dormitory.'

Example (21) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /rā: sōml/ 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 /tĆenǒk/, 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 nuj pʰrā māhā: tĆenǒk snj pratʰap bon kʰo: tĆá:ŋ pʰuwe: tʰt tʰrā ně:t ?utʰeja:n/ (TH13)
'One day Mahajanaka king sat above of elephant neck for sightseeing the garden.'

(24) Anā ing panggung wayang wong, Asih kadhapak dadi Janaka. (JV01: 17) /anā in panggung wayang wong asih kadhapak dadi janaka/
'On the wayang wong stage, Arjuna was performed by Asih.'

Example (23) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /tĆenǒk/ is denoted as 'father', such as /māhā: tĆenǒk/ '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 /pʰāw/, then, its meaning is shifted as 'picture'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as bawa /bawal/, and its meaning is extended as 'situation, circumstances, character; to build something on one’s own efforts', as follows:

(25) /pʰā:p dēk tĆaːi kʰlāːi kʰejːaːi jāi kʰwOn tem tʰɔŋ fā:/ (TH04: 148)
'The boy picture is extended until fulfilled sky.'

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

Example (25) shows that in Thai language, Sanskrit loanword /pʰāːp/ is denoted as 'picture', such as in /pʰāːp dēk tĆaːi/ 'the picture of a boy'. Meanwhile, the example (26) shows that the meaning of Sanskrit loanword bawa /bawal/ in Javanese language is extended, such as in merbawani /merbawani/ '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 upavāsa. The Sanskrit word upavāsa is denoted as 'a fasting, a fast'. In Thai
language, the structure is adapted /būat/, then its meaning is shifted as 'ordination, ordain'. Meanwhile, in Javanese language, the structure is adapted as pasa /pasā/, and its meaning is maintained, as follows:

(27) /kʰau da:i būat pʰwə tʰot tʰr:n pʰrä kʰun pʰə: kəp mə: / (TH12)
'He has completely ordained' for thanks his parents.

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

The example (27) shows that in Thai lan-
guage, Sanskrit loanword /būat/ is denoted as 'ordination', such as in /kʰau da:i būat/ 'he has already ordained'. Meanwhile, the example (28) shows that the meaning of Sanskrit loanword pasa /pasā/ 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 Java-
nese 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, /sawān/ '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 ṣān/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 the 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 /kesāt/ 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 /kesāt/ 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 sāstra '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 /sā: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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