The particle *ma* in Old Sundanese

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ABSTRACT

This article will analyse the distribution of the particle *ma* in Old Sundanese texts. Based on an examination of fifteen Old Sundanese texts (two inscriptions, eight prose texts, and five poems), we have identified 730 occurrences of *ma*. We have selected several examples which represent the range of its grammatical functions in sentences. Our observations are as follows: (1) *ma* not only appears in direct dialogues, but also in narrative texts, both prose and verse; (2) *ma* functions as a copula in nominal sentences, connecting subject and predicate; (3) in conditional clauses containing the conjunction *lamun*, *ma* has a function similar to that of *mah* in Modern Sundanese but, in the absence of *lamun* and if the supplementary clauses only consist of verb phrases, *ma* itself is also capable of expressing conditionality; (4) if this particle is preceded by negations such as *hamo* 'not' or *hantə* 'there is not' in conditional clauses, *ma* is placed directly after these negations and does not mark the predicate, but serves instead to stress the negation itself; (5) in the cases described in points 1-4, *ma* can be considered a topic marker, and in some phrases we have even found the dislocations that are characteristic of topic markers; and (6) *ma* can appear in imperative sentences, placed immediately after verbs to emphasize commands, which does not apply to *mah* in Modern Sundanese.

KEYWORDS

Particles; *ma*; Old Sundanese; philology; historical linguistics; syntax.

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1. Introduction[1]

The grammar of Old Sundanese is a field very rarely investigated. Scholars who study linguistic aspects of Old Sundanese have so far focused their attention on morphological (Fatimah Djajasudarma et al. 1990) and lexicographical aspects (Emuch Hermansoemantri et al. 1987; J. Noorduyn and A. Teeuw 2006). Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006: 30-72, 331-429) studied the phonological and morphological system of Old Sundanese and listed the Old Sundanese vocabulary found in the three Old Sundanese poems they edited (see below). Almost no research has been conducted on the syntactic level. This is probably as much because of the dearth of scholars active in this field as to the limited number of Old Sundanese prose texts available.[2] One of the important morphemes in Old Sundanese, which invites detailed examination, is the particle *ma*.

We should explain straight away that in Old Sundanese, it is necessary to identify two morphemes *ma* which have very different grammatical functions. Firstly, *ma* often occurs as a verbal prefix, to form a stative verb, for example, *mojar* 'to say' which must be analysed as *ma+ujar* (compare *mojar* in Old Javanese), *manak* (*ma+anak*) 'having child', and so forth. Secondly, *ma* appears as an independent particle, which can occupy a variety of positions in a sentence. This second morpheme *ma* will form the focus of the present study. Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006: 381) briefly discuss the function of *ma* in their glossary. Apart from Noorduyn and Teeuw, no research has been conducted on *ma*, even though it is a very productive feature of Old Sundanese syntax.

We shall begin by looking at Jonathan Rigg's definition of the particle *ma* in his pioneering work, *A dictionary of the Sunda Language of Java* (1862), the first Sundanese dictionary ever published. It is interesting to note that *ma* is recorded as an entry, while no mention is made of *mah* (Rigg 1862: 26). This raises the questions of whether Sundanese speakers really pronounced it as *ma* rather than *mah* at the time the dictionary was compiled and how they would have written it. One also wonders how attuned Rigg's ear was to hearing a final /h/.[3] Judging from Rigg's description of *ma* cited below (*ma*

[2] This situation is quite different from Old Javanese studies, in which a large corpus of texts, primarily *parwa* (a genre of prose), has been mined as a source of research data by experts such as J. Gonda (1959), E.M. Uhlenbeck (1968, 1970, 1985, 1986, 1987), P.J. Zoetmulder (1982), Dwi Puspitorini (2017), and others. Old Sundanese prose texts are very limited in number and most are in the form of didactic texts containing religious treatises without a plot, while the language of such texts features a rather complex vocabulary.
[3] Note that other lexicographers from this period likewise did not always transcribe the word-final /h/ in the manner we would expect based on the modern language. See, for example, the attestations *papoewah* (*papua*), *si* (*sih*), and *tjengkê* (*cengkeh*) in C.J. Batten's work on Betawi (1868).

instead of *mah*, *bogah* instead of *boga*) and other entries in his dictionary, /h/ often occurs where we do not expect it or vice-versa. Either way, it is clear that *ma* is used in Old Sundanese texts, while *mah* is only found in a text which is considered to date from a relatively late period (that is, the eightteenth century), the *Carita Waruga Guru* – and even there, *mah* only appears once. According to Rigg (1862: 261),

> *ma* [is] an expletive particle which has its force in composition. But [it] admits of no definite translation. *Imahna ma hadé*, "as to his house, it is good". It will often answer to the English expression "as far as, as to". *Sia ma tilok bisa bogah urusan*, "as for you, you can never come right". *Kalakuannana éta ma teu meunang diwada*, "as far as his conduct is concerned, you cannot find fault with it." [Square brackets and quotation marks are from the present authors.]

Later dictionaries no longer include *ma*, but only *mah*. A. Geerdink (1875, s.v. *mah*), for instance, notes that *mah* serves to make a contrast, has no meaning of its own and emphasizes the word after which it appears. The same idea was followed by Sierk Coolsma (1913, s.v. *mah*), who stated that *mah* is a marker of emphasis placed behind the word, clause or sentence to which it refers, producing a contrast by placing a strong emphasis on it.[4]

The function of particles such as *mah*, *téh*, and *téa* has also rarely been discussed in grammars of Modern Sundanese. The scholar Coolsma, whom we have just cited, expressed the idea that *mah* puts strong stress on a word, phrase, or sentence, therefore expressing a contrast (1904: 266). Sundanese scholars, among whom D.K. Ardiwinata (1916) and R. Momon Wirakusumah and I. Buldan Djajawiguna (1957), have identified *mah* as an emphatic particle (*kecap panganteb*). R.R. Hardjadibrata (1985: 33) distinguished these particles (namely, *mah*, *téh*, *téa*, et cetera) from other particles, categorizing them as "emphatic markers" or "phrasal markers", but have not discussed their functions or give any examples. Yayat Sudaryat et al. (2007) made the same argument as Coolsma, explaining that *mah* is an emphatic word which functions as a comparative (*babandingan*), to emphasize that something is important. In short, all linguists seem to agree that *mah* is an emphatic particle and some have argued that it can serve to introduce a contrasting or a comparative situation in a sentence.

A specific discussion of the particle *mah* in Modern Sundanese was offered by Franz Müller-Gotama (1994: 236, see 1996: 117) in two important articles, in which he explained:

> [...] *mah* is shown to be a focus marker introducing new or contrastive information, *téh* a marker of known, topical information, and *téa* a marker indicating that a previously mentioned participant is being reintroduced into the discourse. Structurally, *mah* and *téh* adjoin to the right of any maximal constituent, while *téa* behaves like a special kind of determiner.

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[4] Original quote: "een nadruk wijzer die geplaatst wordt achter het woord, het zinsdeel of den zin waarop hij betrekking heeft, en die door den sterken nadruk dien hij daarop legt, een tegenstelling vormt".

Most recently, Masashi Furihata (2019) has identified *mah* as a contrastive topic marker through the analysis of the intonation of Sundanese speakers. He concluded that in topic-comment order, the pitch movement of the phrases with *mah* showed a greater rise before the topic marker, whereas that of the phrases with *téh* showed a rise at the topic marker.

The particle *ma* in Old Sundanese can be considered the direct predecessor of modern *mah*. Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006: 381), the only scholars who have discussed the particle, provide the following note:

> *ma* [...] an emphatic particle expressing contrast, always occurring in dialogues, MSd. [i.e. Modern Sundanese] *mah* 'id.'; *aya ma* [...] 'if there are'.

It is noteworthy that Noorduyn and Teeuw do not outline any differences between *ma* in Old Sundanese and *mah* in Modern Sundanese. They also mention that, in their three texts, *ma* only appears in dialogues.

The rest of this article aims to address the following questions: Does the particle *ma* in Old Sundanese indeed have the same function as *mah* in Modern Sundanese? If not, how do they differ? To answer these questions, we shall analyse the distribution and function of the particle *ma* in dialogues, nominal sentences, conditional clauses, conditional clauses with negation, and imperative constructions.

2. Distribution in Old Sundanese texts

There are 730 occurrences of the particle *ma* in the corpus of Old Sundanese texts which we have collected. The sources used for analysis are thirteen texts which have been edited on the basis of manuscripts and furnished with a translation, among which eight are in prose and five in verse, plus two inscriptional texts.[5] Considering that it is almost impossible to determine the chronological frame of Old Sundanese texts, the following list of texts is arranged alphabetically.[6]

BM: *Bujaṅga Manik* (poem, ca. fifteenth century, in Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006)
CP: *Carita Parahyaṅan* (prose, prior to 1600, in Atja and Saleh Danasasmita 1981a)
FCP: *Fragmen Carita Parahyaṅan* (prose, prior to 1600, in Undang A. Darsa and Edi S. Ekadjati 2001)
KAW: Kawali inscriptions (prose, ca fourteenth century, Aditia Gunawan and Arlo Griffiths Forthcoming)

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[5] Even though the genres are different, we found that, in the context of *ma*, the syntactic structures are all the same, so the differences in text type do not affect the final result.
[6] In general, the quotes of texts and translations follow the published editions, even though we have taken the liberty of amending these, wherever the published versions have seemed imprecise. These revisions are marked wherever possible.

KEB: Kebantenan inscriptions (prose, circa fifteenth century, Aditia Gunawan and Arlo Griffiths Forthcoming)

KP: *Kawih Paniṅkəs* (poem, prior to 1500, in Undang A. Darsa and Edi S. Ekadjati 2006)

Paby: *Pabyantaraan* (prose, prior to 1500, in Mamat Ruhimat et al. 2014)

RR: *The Sons of Rama and Rawana* (poem, ca. fifteenth century, in Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006)

SD: *Sewaka Darma* (*Kawih Pañaraman*) (poem, ca. fifteenth century, in Saleh Danasasmita et al. 1987)

SJMP: *Saṅ Hyaṅ Jati Maha Pitutur* (prose, prior to 1600, in Tien Wartini et al. 2010)

SSC: *Saṅ Hyaṅ Swawar Cinta* (poem, prior to 1600, in Tien Wartini et al. 2011)

SSKK: *Saṅ Hyaṅ Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian* (prose, prior to 1500, in Atja and Saleh Danasasmita 1981b)

SSMG: *Saṅ Hyaṅ Sasana Mahaguru* (prose, prior to 1500, in Aditia Gunawan 2009)

TB: *Tutur Bwana* (prose, prior to 1600, in Tien Wartini et al. 2010)

Archaeologists assume that the Kawali inscriptions were produced during the fourteenth century, while the Kebantenan inscriptions date from the fifteenth. Meanwhile, almost no Old Sundanese texts mentions a precise date, with the exception of the manuscript which contains the text *Saṅ Hyaṅ Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian* (Cod. L 630 Perpusnas, Jakarta). According to Aditia Gunawan and Arlo Griffiths (2014), this manuscript is the oldest Old Sundanese text which records a date in the colophon, and it was written in the year 1440 Śaka (1518 CE). Nevertheless, it may be assumed that all the above sources were written before the sixteenth century. The time span covered by the data in our corpus therefore corresponds to the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.

2.1 DIALOGUES

As stated by Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006: 381), the particle *ma* often emerges in direct dialogue, as shown in sentences (1)-(5).

(1)   *N-embal   Prəbu Puspalawa, "Lancək-iṅ,   aiṅ   ma   n-urut".*
ACT-answer   king   PR   brother-1POSS   1SG   PRT   ACT-follow
'King Puspalawa answered: "My brother, I shall follow".' (RR.534)

(2)   *Utun Prəbu Manabaya, eta ma tuaṅ   pajurit pamrəraṅ Ratu Rawana*
son   king   PR   that PRT 2POSS soldier warrior   king   PR
'My son, King Manabaya, they are your soldiers, King Rawana's warriors.' (RR.925)

(3)   *Iə   ma   diga   si   utun, diga   Raden Megananda*
this   PRT   alike   HON   son   alike   PR
'This [boy] looks like [my] son, like Raden Megananda.' (RR.1031)

(4) *Anak-iň,*   *Saň* *Rəsi Putih, kita ma ka-duum-an*   *Rəsisasana*
child-1POSS HON   PR   2SG PRT PASS-give-LOC Rəsisasana

'My child, Resi Putih, you are given the *Resisasana* [precepts of the sage].'
(FCP.26b)

(5) *Baruk*   *ma*   *dayəhan daləm, nu ň-əsi   na   kadaton*
evidently PRT   inhabitant palace, REL ACT-fill ART palace

'Evidently, they are the inner-court habitants, who fill the palace.' (RR.226)

Sentences (1) to (5) fit Noorduyn and Teeuw's observation that the particle *ma* is used in direct speech, in the utterances of characters of the story. In the sentences (1)-(5), *ma* is found both in prose (FCP) and verse (RR). Sentence (2) is uttered by Aki Sombali to Manabaya, whereas sentence (3) is spoken by King Bibisana to Sombali. In this discourse environment, *ma* shows that the information introduced is new. In sentence (4), for example, the Resi Putih had just been introduced, and the same is true for the *dayəhan daləm* 'inner-court habitants' in sentence (5). This syntax construction corresponds to the modern usage of the particle *mah* (Müller-Gotama 1996: 117-132).

In prose texts, we also find sentences with particle *ma* in narrative contexts, as in sentences (6)-(10). Nevertheless, it is important to note that some features of direct speech are present in these sentences. Sentences (6), (8), and (10), for instance, are from a didactic text, in which a teacher speaks to his/her pupil(s), as a first-person narrator talking to a second-person addressee.

(6) *Paksa*   *ma cai, alaən-ana   ma basana bijil   ti   hulu-na*
intention PRT water benefit-POSS PRT when appear from source-POSS

'Intention is water, its benefit is when it appears from its source.' (SSMG.1)

(7) *N-əmu darma ti   Aki   ma k-aňkən guru kaki ňaran-na*
ACT-find virtue from grandfather PRT PASS-call PR   name-POSS

'Finding virtue from the grandfather is called *guru kaki* by name.' (SSKK.12)

(8) *Batara Guru di   Jampang ma iña nu ň-iən   rukuh Saň Hyaň Pake*
PR   PREP PR   PRT 3SG REL ACT-make crown PR

'Lord Guru in Jampang, it is he who made the crown *Saň Hyaň Pake*.' (FCP.21a)

(9) *Bagawat Cinta Putih ma siya di-adəg-kən   batara di   Gəgər Gaduň*
PR   PRT 3SG PASS-stand-CAUS lord   PREP PR

'Bagawat Cinta Putih, it is he who has been established [as] deity in Geger Gadung.' (FCP.10b)

(10) *Ini ma iña na ka-tuhu-kən-ən   nu di-pajar trikaya*
this PRT 3SG ART PASS-follow-PASS-NOM   REL PASS-call PR

'This is what has to be followed, what is called *trikaya*.' (SSMG.20)

The particle *ma* can occur in simple or complex sentences. The preceding element can be complex, as shown in the verb phrase *nəmu darma ti aki ma* (7). In such complex sentences, *ma* is always placed in the first clause and functions as a marker between clauses, marking the subject and topicalizing it. It is worth noting that examples (8)-(10) contain cases of dislocation. This term designates a sentence structure in which a referential constituent functioning as an argument or an adjunct within a predicate-argument structure occurs outside the boundaries of the clause containing the predicate, either to the left (left-dislocation) or to the right (right-dislocation) (Knud Lambrecht 1994: 1050).

2.2 Nominal sentences

The particle *ma* typically appears after a noun. In nominal sentences, it separates subject and predicate.

(11) *Pañca ma watək   lima, we ma cai   dani ma   sapu ñere*
      PR   PRT category five PR PRT water PR   PRT broomstick

      '*Pañca* means five categories, *we* means water, *dani* means broomstick.' (SSMG.1)

(12) *Tiga ta   ma   təlu, sadana ta   ma   drəbya*
      PR   PRT[7] PRT three PR   PRT   PRT wealth

      '*Tiga* means three, *sadana* means wealth.' (SSMG.3)

(13) *Kalapa bajra ma   na pañadap, latak si   Balagada ma   pañawah*
      Palm-tree   PRT ART tapper   mud HON PR   PRT rice farmer

      '[One who deals with] palm-trees is the tapper, [with] mud is called Balagada a rice-farmer.' (SSMG.5)

(14) *Ñaṅ-carut-kən maneh ma   ṅaranya: nu   aya   di-pajar*
      ACT-REFL-defile   PRT called   REL exist PASS-consider

      Hantə   nu   hantə   di-pajar   waya
      not.exist REL   not.exist PASS-consider exist

      'Defiling yourself means: that which exists is considered to be non-existent, that which does not exist is considered existent.' (SSKK.5)

In nominal sentences (11)-(13) the particle *ma* separates subjects from predicates, yet in sentence (14) it is placed after the verb phrase and verb clause. In these cases, *ma* functions as a copula. Sentences (11)-(12) merit some contextualization. Before the author explains the terms *pañca*, *we*, and *dani*,

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[7] The particle *ta* in this sentence seems to have a similar function as the same particle has in Old Javanese (Zoetmulder 1982, s.v.), but a relation with MdS *tamah* (a contraction of the particles *éta* and *mah*) is also imaginable. The latter option would, however, not change the meaning of the sentence. A further study of the particle *ta* in Old Sundanese texts is desirable, but beyond the scope of this article.

the previous sentence clarifies that *nihan sinaṅguh pañcawedani* ("here follows what is called *pañcawedani*"), while sentence (12) is preceded by *ini tiga di saṅ pandita, ṅaranna tiga sadana* ("these three are in the sage, they are called *tiga sadana*"). As such, it appears that, besides emphasizing new and contrastive information, *ma* can also introduce elaborations.

2.3 CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

In the corpus we collected, the particle *ma* mainly appears in conditional clauses. In this conditional construction, *ma* can be accompanied by the conjunction *lamun* 'if' (15-17) but it can also stand-alone (18-22).

(15) *Lamun dek   ñaho di   puhun suka   lawan enak   ma*
      if   want know PREP source enjoyment and   pleasure PRT

      iṅət-kən   saur saṅ   darma pitutur
      remember-CAUS   word HON   PR

      'If [one] wishes to know the source of enjoyment and pleasure, remember the words of Darma Pitutur.' (SSKK.15)

(16) *Lamun-na ka   ləmah   ma   tiis   diṅin   paripurna*
      if-POSS   to   ground PRT   cold   cool   perfectly

      'If [it falls] to the ground, it will become perfectly cool [and] cold.' (TB.36A.4)

(17) *Lamun-na di-pi-təmen ma   na   adrasya, saṅkan   ka-birəṅəh*
      if-POSS   PASS-real   PRT   ART   Invisible so.that PASS-reveal

      dəi   ka-jəəṅ   raga dəi
      again   PASS-see   body again

      'If the invisible is realized, so that it will be revealed again, the body will be visible again.' (SJMP.2)

(18) *Dataṅ   ma   kita ka daləm, mulah salah   m-awa   beja*
      arrive   PRT you   to palace PROH   wrong   ACT-bring news

      'If you arrive at the palace, do not err in delivering news.' (BM.582)

(19) *Ṅ-impi   rwadek ma, sakit-an kita*
      ACT-dream   ugly   PRT ill-LOC   you

      'If [you] have a nightmare, you will become sick.' (Paby.27r)

(20) *Aya ma na uraṅ   nu ka-səsəl   ku tohaan, eta keh ulah*
      exist PRT ART people REL PASS-scold   by lord   that PRT PROH

      di-turut   twah   bisi uraṅ ka-səsəl   dəi
      PASS-follow   conduct   for   1PL PASS-scold   also

      'If someone is being scolded by the lord, their actions should not be followed, for we shall also be scolded.' (SSKK.10)

(21) *Hayaṅ   ñ-aho   di   lwir-niṅ   ləwəṅ ma gajah   taña*
      want   ACT-know PREP type-POSS forest PRT elephant ask

      'If [one] wishes to know the types of jungle, ask the elephant.' (SSKK.15)

(22) *Aṅgəs ma   ka-pahayu[8]   dora   sapuluh, rampes twah-na*
      already PRT   PASS-maintain gate   ten   good   conduct-POSS

      uraṅ   reya
      people a.lot

      'If the ten gates [of the body] have been maintained, the conduct of people at large will be good.' (SSKK.2)

(23) *Lun aiṅ   tə   di-aku   anak, kita ma   paraiatna*
      if   1SG NEG PASS-claim son   you PRT be.careful

      'If I am not acknowledged as a son, you must be careful!' (RR.1237)

In sentences (15) to (17), the particle *ma* is preceded by the conjunction *lamun* 'if', which connects two clauses as a conditional conjunction. The clause containing the conjunction is the condition of an event, which is itself explained in the clause following it. This construction can also be applied to sentences which do not contain conjunction *lamun* (18-21), in which we see that *ma* itself is also capable of expressing conditionality. In other words, if the condition is X (with or without conjunction) + *ma*, then Y occurs or is expected to be occurred. In these cases, the particle *ma* marks the predicate in the topic. Sentence (22) is a slightly complex case, because *ma* is placed in the predicate in one verbal phrase (*aṅgəs ma kapahayu*). It is a temporal marker which receives *ma* and it shows a similar tendency with cases in Section 2.4, in which *ma* is placed after a negation. In other word, if the verb is modified with an adverbial marker or negation, the position of *ma* can shift from verb to modifier. However, we find an anomaly in sentence (23), where *ma* occurs in the second clause, not in the dependent clause containing *lun* (shortened form of *lamun*) 'if', and this is likely in response to the requirements of the octosyllabic verse.

2.4 CONDITIONAL CLAUSES WITH NEGATION

In conditional clauses, the particle can also be preceded by a word expressing negation, such as *hamo* 'not' or *hantə* 'there is not', but in this case, *ma* directly follows the negation word, not the complement clause. The sentences (24)-(26) show these characteristics.

(24) *Hantə   ma n-urut   na   pamagahan, eta sarua dəṅən sakalih*
      not.exist PRT ACT-follow ART advice   that same as   other.people

      'If one does not follow the advice, it is the same as other people.'

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[8] This is based on our reading of the original manuscript. The edition of Atja and Saleh Danasasmita (1981b) gives the words in the order *aṅgəs kapahayu ma*.

(25) *Lamun hamo ma bisa   ṅa-ləbur   iña ṅa-lətik-kən*
     if   NEG PRT capable ACT-pulverize 3SG ACT-small-CAUS

     rasa,   ṅa-raga dəi ka sakala
     intention ACT-body again to manifest.world

     'If one is not able to pulverize himself, diminishing the intention, [he] will incarnate again into the manifest world.'

(26) *Lamun hamo ma bisa   n-urut   pamagahan puṅguṅ   tata*
     if   NEG PRT capable ACT-follow advice   ignorance rule

     ṅaran-na
     name-3POSS

     'If one cannot follow the advice, it is called *puṅguṅ tata* (ignorance of rules).' (TB.31B)

In addition, the sentences (27)-(32) show a pattern in which the particle *ma* is placed not in the first clause but in the second, and appears after the negation *mo* (short for *hamo*).

(27) *Mo ñ-oraṅ   pi-carek   dəi,   mo ma ti na paṅimpian*
     NEG ACT- experience NOM-converse again NEG PRT in ART dream

     '[We] shall never have the conversation again, if not in a dream.' (BM.547-548)

(28) *Ka saha gəsan ṅa-hiras,   di   sakala   di*
     to who place ACT-seek.for.help PREP material world PREP

     niskala,   maṅuni di kahyaṅan,   mo ma di
     immaterial world also   PREP residence of Gods NEG PRT PREP

     na laku tuhu na jati   mahapandita
     ART deed right ART nature great sage

     'To whom shall I ask help, in the material and immaterial world, also in the residence of the Gods, if not to the right virtue, the nature of great sages.' (Kaw Pani.27)

(29) *Mo m-ere   mo ma kadaek, gantal   siratu maṅlayaṅ, mo*
     NEG ACT-give NEG PRT will   betel.leaf PR   NEG

     m-ere   mo ma ka-hayang
     ACT-give NEG PRT NOM-wish

     '[I] shall not give, if it is not [your] will, the betel leaves [called] *siratu maṅlayaṅ,* [I] will not give [them], if it is not [your] wish.' (BM.480-482)

(30) *Cəli ulah baraṅ-deṅe mo ma nu siəp di-deṅe,   kenana*
     ear PROH ACT-listen NEG PRT REL proper PASS-listen for

     dora   bañcana
     gate   suffering

     'Ears should not listen, if [the topic] is not proper to be listened to, for [that is] the gate of suffering.' (SSKK.1)

(31) *Ah   aiṅ   m-raṅ   mo   suka   mo   ma   aiṅ   aṅgəs*
      INTERJ 1SG ACT-fight NEG happy   NEG PRT 1SG already

      ṅa-rəmpek-kən   Gunuṅ Kahyaṅan
      ACT-ruined-CAUS mount   PR

      'Ah, I am not happy to fight, if I have not yet destroyed Mount Kahyaṅan.'
      (TB.27b)

(32) *Hih   Darmajati ta,   mo   aiṅ   ərən ṅa-həri-kan,   mo   ma*
      INTERJ PR   PRT NEG 1SG stop ACT-disturb-CAUS NEG PRT

      aiṅ   aṅgəs   di-sorga-kən   ku   Saṅ Darmajati
      1SG already PASS-heaven-CAUS by   PR

      'Hey, Darmajati, I shall not stop disturbing [you], as long as I am not yet
      placed in heaven by Darmajati.' (TB.31B)

It is interesting to note here that the particle *ma* is not found in the first clause.
Instead, sentences (27)-(32) show that it marks an exception; for example, in
sentence (32), the subject ("I") would not be happy unless "I" had destroyed
Mount Kahyangan. Still following the pattern of conditional clauses discussed
in Section 2.3 and of negated conditional clauses with conjunction *lamun* seen
in (24)-(26), *mo ma* can be translated naturally as 'if not (yet)'. In certain cases,
this can be represented more idiomatically with "unless, until". Noorduyn
and Teeuw (2006) list *moma* as a separate entry in the glossary – in the form
of the construction "*mo … moma*"– and consider *mo ma* an indivisible word.
However, sentences (28) and (30) show that *mo ma* is not always preceded by
the negation *mo*.

2.5 IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

The particle *ma* is also attested after imperative verbs. Imperative forms in
Old Sundanese can be marked by the absence of prefixed on verbs. In the
following sentences, the non-prefixed verbs are *baan* 'to bring', *balun* 'to wrap',
and *bawa* 'to take'.

(33) *Baan ma   ka pamaṅgahan!*
      bring PRT to   gallows
      'Bring [her] to the gallows!' (RR.239)

(34) *Asup-kən ka karas tulis, balun ma   ku   boeh   laraṅ*
      enter-IMP to ornate box wrap PRT with sacred cloth
      'Put [her] into the ornate box, wrap it with sacred cloth!' (RR.252)

(35) *Jompoṅ sia pulaṅ   dəi, ini bawa paṅirim-iṅ,   bawa ma*
      PR   2SG go back again this take parcel-1POSS take PRT

      ka tuaṅ   ambu!
      to POSS.2SG mother

      'Jompong, you should go back home, here, take my parcel, take it to your
      mother!' (BM.398)

Sentences (33)-(35) show that *ma* gives emphasis to imperative verbs, which it follows directly in a manner similar to the use of *-lah* in imperative clause in Malay. Sentence (33) is uttered by Rama who orders his troops to take Sita to the gallows (implying: not anywhere else). In (34), when Sita is put in a casket, Laksamana requests that the casket be wrapped in *boeh raraṅ* (sacred cloth). Noticing this precious fabric in the river, the elder protagonist Hayam Caṅgoṅ, becomes suspicious and finally saves her.

One wonders here whether the emergence of *ma* is because of the requirements of octosyllabic metrics, considering that we find these occurrences exclusively in verse texts. However, to the best of our knowledge, the use of *mah* is never found in imperative sentences in Modern Sundanese, so this imperative construction is a particularity of Old Sundanese.

3. Practical implications

Our examination of the grammatical functions of *ma* in Old Sundanese can contribute to the editing of Old Sundanese texts and help to gain a more accurate understanding of the meaning of the sentences which contain this particle. An interesting example is the interpretation of the last sentence in one of the Kawali inscriptions. As given in (36′) are two interpretations which epigraphists have offered of its meaning.

(36′)   *Aya **ma** nu pa(n)dəri pake na⁹ gawe rahayu pakən həbəl jaya di na buana* (Kawali I)

    (i)   'To those who will come next, they should apply welfare as the foundation of the victory of life in the world'[10] (Richadiana Kartakusuma 2005: 49).

    (ii) 'May there be a successor who will carry out good deeds so that they will be glorious in the world for a long time'[11] (Titi Surti Nastiti 1996: 21).

Referring to the functions of the particle *ma* as outlined in this article and the construction of Old Sundanese imperative sentences, our interpretation would be as in (36).

(36)   *Aya ma   nu   pa(n)dəri pake na   gawe rahayu pakən həbəl jaya*
    exist PRT REL posterity use ART deed good   for   long glory

    di   na   buana
    PREP ART world

    'If there is a successor, do good deeds for everlasting glory in the world.'
    (Kawali I)

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⁹ All previous scholars who have studied the Kawali inscriptions treat the article *na* as the suffix *-na*, and therefore give *pakena* as one word (see Noorduyn 1976; Titi Surti Nastiti 1996; Richadiana Kartakusuma 2005). On the function of *na* as a definite article, see Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006) and Hardjadibrata (2003: s.v. *na* 5).

¹⁰ Original translation in Indonesian: '*Kepada yang akan datang, hendaknya menerapkan keselamatan sebagai landasan (ke)menang(an) hidup di dunia*'.

¹¹ Original translation in Indonesian: '*Semoga ada penerus yang melaksanakan berbuat kebajikan agar lama jaya di dunia*'.

In this inscription, the particle *ma* marks conditionality. In this case, the condition is the presence (*aya*) of a successor to the King mentioned in the inscription, Prabu Raja Wastu. This hypothetical successor receives an order (marked by imperative verb *pake*) to perform an action (marked by article *na* as a definite article modifying *gawe rahayu* 'good deeds') in order that he might receive everlasting glory in the world. Another example containing a similar construction is found in the Kebantenan I inscription, as analysed in (37).

(37) *Mulah   mo   mihape ḍayəhan   ḍi   Jayagiri, ḍəṅ ḍayəhan   di*
      PROH   NEG guard   inhabitant PREP PR   and inhabitant PREP

      Su(n)ḍasəmbawa, aya   ma[12] *nu   ṅa-bayu-an   iña ulah   ḍek*
      PR   exist PRT   REL ACT-live-LOC 3SG PROH   PRT

      ṅa-həryan-an   iña ku na   dasa calagara kapas timbaṅ   pare doṅdaṅ
      ACT-burden-LOC 3PL by ART   PR   PR   PR   PR

      'Do not fail to guard the inhabitants of Jayagiri and the inhabitants of Sundasembawa. If there are people who support them, do not burden them by *dasa, calagara,* cotton *timbaṅ,* rice *doṅdaṅ*'.[13]

Another example of a nominal sentence construction featuring *ma* is found in the Kebantenan II and IV inscriptions.

(38) *Nu   ḍi-pitəkət-an   ma   na   ləmah ḍewasasana*
      REL   PASS-decree-LOC   PRT ART land PR

      'The place which has been made the subject of a decree is the land of *dewasasana*.'

Both Boechari (1985) and Hasan Djafar (1991) transliterated *ma na* as a single word *mana* and proposed emending this to *nana*, to obtain *ḍipitəkətannana.* By considering the use of *ma* in nominal sentences (see Section 2.2), however, it is clear that the above sentence does not need to be emended at all.

4. Conclusion

After conducting a descriptive analysis of the particle *ma* in Old Sundanese, we have found, unsurprisingly, that there are considerable similarities between the function of *ma* in Old Sundanese and that of the particle *mah* in Modern Sundanese. None the less, some differences have also come to light. With regard to its use in Old Sundanese, we have found that: (1) *ma* not only appears in direct dialogue, but also in narrative contexts both in prose and verse; (2) *ma* functions as a copula in nominal sentences, connecting subject and predicate; (3) in conditional clauses containing the conjunction *lamun, ma* has a function similar to that of *mah* in Modern Sundanese, but in the absence of

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[12] Boechari (1985) transcribes *aya ma* as a single word *ayama.*

[13] These four terms appear to refer to taxes and/or penalties. The *dasa* might relate to a tax on slave ownership (< Sanskrit *dāsa* 'slave', see *Old Javanese-English dictionary*: s.v. *dāsa* 'id'.); *calagara* is the regular Sundanese cognate of Old Javanese *walagara* 'the corresponding contribution (to obtain permission) or penalty' (see Zoetmulder 1982, s.v. *walagara*); *kapas timbaṅ* and *pare doṅdaṅ* seem to refer to cotton (*kapas*) and rice (*pare*) in certain units: *timbaṅ* and *doṅdaṅ.*

lamun and if the supplementary clauses consist only of verb phrases, *ma* itself is also capable of expressing conditionality; (4) if this particle is preceded by negations such as *hamo* 'not' or *hantə* 'there is not' in a conditional clause, *ma* is placed directly after the negation, does not mark the predicate, but serves to stress the negation itself; (5) in the cases described in points (1)-(4), *ma* can be considered a topic marker, and in some phrases we have even found the dislocations which are characteristic of topic markers; and (6) *ma* can appear in imperative sentences, placed immediately after verbs to emphasize commands, which does not apply to *mah* in Modern Sundanese. Cumulatively, these findings are expected to help editors of Old Sundanese to work with the texts they are facing. Further linguistic research into Old Sundanese data is desirable to fill the many remaining gaps in this field.

ABBREVIATIONS

In the analysis of Old Sundanese examples, we use simple Leipzig glossing rules (Bernard Comrie et al. 2015). The following are several terms we use to describe the quoted Old Sundanese sentences.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACT	active voice
ART	article
CAUS	causative
DEF	definite
HON	honorific
INTERJ	interjection
LOC	locative
NOM	nominalizer
PASS	passive voice
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PR	proper noun
PROH	prohibitive
PRT	particle
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative particle
SG	singular

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