



F-Structure Analysis of Clause Types in Old Javanese Manuscripts: A Study of *Uttara Śabda Amṛta* (USA) and *Partha Adnyana Sura* (PAS)

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Abstract

Despite extensive philological studies on Old Javanese manuscripts, the intricate mapping of mood and functional clause structures in texts such as *USA* and *PAS* from the Merapi–Merbabu Bali locus remains under-researched. Consequently, this study seeks to address this void by formulating a central research question: what are the types of clause structures and how are the grammatical relations represented in the Old Javanese texts of *USA* and *PAS* from the Merapi-Merbabu Bali locus? To answer this, the research employs the Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) framework to systematically analyze the mapping between constituent structures and their underlying functional representations. Using a qualitative-descriptive method and LFG analysis, the study identifies linear structures, f-structure relations, and the interaction between syntactic functions such as subject, predicate, object, and complement. Findings reveal that the *USA* manuscript is primarily narrative-action oriented, frequently utilizing pro-drop structures and implicit subjects within ritual sequences. In contrast, The *PAS* text exhibits a stative-locative orientation, employing complex interrogative strings and overt subject markers for pedagogical and doctrinal purposes. Despite these differences, both manuscripts utilize distinct linear patterns and f-structure hierarchies to ensure ritual efficacy and cultural continuity within the Merapi-Merbabu tradition.

Keywords: Clause Structure, Grammatical Relations, Old Javanese, Lexical-Functional Grammar

Abstrak

Studi filologi terhadap naskah Jawa Kuno telah dilakukan secara luas, pemetaan mendalam mengenai modus dan struktur klausa fungsional dalam teks seperti *USA* dan *PAS* namun teks pada lokus Merapi–Merbabu Bali masih kurang diteliti. Oleh karena itu, studi ini bertujuan untuk mengisi kekosongan tersebut dengan merumuskan pertanyaan penelitian utama: apa saja tipe struktur klausa dan bagaimana relasi gramatikal direpresentasikan dalam teks *USA* dan *PAS* dari lokus Merapi–Merbabu Bali? Untuk menjawab hal tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan kerangka kerja *LFG* untuk menganalisis secara sistematis pemetaan antara struktur konstituen dan representasi fungsional yang mendasarinya. Metode kualitatif-deskriptif dan analisis *LFG* digunakan untuk mengidentifikasi struktur linear, relasi *f-structure*, serta interaksi antara fungsi sintaksis seperti subjek, predikat, objek, dan komplemen. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *USA* utamanya berorientasi pada aksi-naratif, yang sering kali menggunakan struktur *pro-drop* dan subjek implisit dalam urutan ritual. Sebaliknya, teks *PAS* menunjukkan orientasi statif-lokatif, dengan menggunakan rangkaian interogatif yang kompleks dan penanda subjek eksplisit untuk tujuan pedagogis dan doktrinal. Terlepas dari perbedaan tersebut, kedua naskah menggunakan pola linear dan hierarki struktur-f yang berbeda untuk memastikan efikasi ritual dan kontinuitas budaya dalam tradisi Merapi-Merbabu.

Kata Kunci: Struktur Klausa, Relasi Gramatikal, Jawa Kuna, Lexical-Functional Grammar

1. Introduction

Old Javanese (hereafter BJK—*Bahasa Jawa Kuna*), a member of the Austronesian language family, holds a significant position in the linguistic development of the Indonesian archipelago.

Although archaic and no longer used as an everyday spoken variety (Mastuti, 2012), BJK flourished between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, a vitality attested by a rich corpus of literary genres preserved on lontar manuscripts, including *kakawin*, *parwa*, *babad*, *purāṇa*, *tattva*, and *tutur* (Zoetmulder, 1983). The *tutur* genre—prose texts conveying moral, religious, and philosophical teachings often bound to ritual practice—deserves special attention: in lexical treatments *tutur* is defined variously as “memory, consciousness, sacred tradition, and religious doctrine” (Zoetmulder & Robson, 2011:1307) and, in Balinese lexicography, as “advice” (Anom et al., 2014:779). Such definitional breadth signals the intertwined textual, ritual, and social functions of these texts, and motivates philological as well as linguistic study.

The life of Old Javanese did not terminate abruptly in the fifteenth century; rather, manuscript transmission and literary practice continued in various loci beyond Java. Kurniawan (2019) reports *Uttaraśabda* exemplars dating to the seventeenth century with further recensions and copies into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Bali, significant witnesses include *Uttara Śabda Amṛta* (USA) and *Pārththa Adnyana Śūra* (PAS). These texts, preserved in collections such as Gedong Kirtya Singaraja and in digital archives, present sustained philosophical reflections on ritual *maweda* and the religious life of Balinese communities. For the present study, the USA copy (transcribed on 11 April 1949 by I Ketut Kaler; L.Or. 9829) and the PAS copy (transcribed 15 December 1997 by Aswina CD) were selected for their relative textual completeness and accessibility (Kurniawan, 2019:33, 66–68).

Investigating Balinese-held manuscripts of BJK is crucial for reconstructing continuities and regional adaptations of the Old Javanese literary-linguistic tradition. Clause-level analysis illuminates how syntactic configurations and grammatical relations encode social and ritual functions: topicalization strategies, the distribution of evidential or focus particles, and the morphosyntactic means by which agent–patient roles are expressed all reflect textual purpose and performance context. To model these phenomena systematically, this research adopts Lexical–Functional Grammar (LFG) (Dalrymple, 2001).

Previous research by Kurniawan (2019) has provided a foundational analysis of the Merapi–Merbabu scriptorium, specifically examining five manuscripts from the Merapi–Merbabu locus. His study identified key linguistic features, such as the Predicate-Subject (P-S) sentence pattern, the dominance of active verbal affixes (*-um-*, *a-*, *ma-*), and the specific use of personal pronouns. However, a significant research gap remains as eighteen manuscripts from the Bali locus identified in his survey have yet to be analyzed. Furthermore, while Kurniawan focused on verbal clauses and pronouns in active-passive sentences, a comprehensive formal syntactic mapping of mood and functional relations in Balinese-locus texts is still absent.

This study addresses this gap by investigating the clause structures and grammatical relations in the texts of *Uttara Śabda Amṛta* (USA) and *Partha Adnyana Sura* (PAS). By utilizing the Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) framework, this research moves beyond descriptive philology to provide a precise structural analysis of these previously neglected manuscripts. Applying LFG to USA and PAS enables a comparative mapping of clause relations and modality distributions (declarative, interrogative, imperative), thereby contributing to Austronesian historical linguistics with a regionally grounded case study. By integrating philological attention to codicology and transmission with formal functional analysis, the study aims not only to document and preserve BJK textual heritage but also to clarify how morphosyntactic choices enact ritual and discursive functions in the Merapi–Merbabu–Bali tradition

2. Methods

This research is qualitative in nature. According to Creswell and Poth (2017), qualitative research relies on textual or verbal data from sources and emphasizes meaning, context, and interpretation rather than quantification. The primary data in this study are clauses written in Old Javanese, specifically drawn from two manuscripts: *Uttara Śabda Amṛta* (USA) and *Parththa Adnyana Sura* (PAS), both preserved at Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja. These manuscripts were chosen

because they represent the continuity of Old Javanese literary traditions in Bali and provide a rich source of linguistic data for syntactic and functional analysis.

The data collection employs the observation method, which, according to Sudaryanto (2015), is a method of obtaining data by observing the use of language. In the context of written manuscripts, this is implemented through in-depth reading and note-taking techniques. In practice, each clause in the manuscripts was carefully read, transcribed, and documented. The "observation" here refers to the systematic scrutiny of the written linguistic features. All data obtained were then identified and classified according to clause types, namely declarative, interrogative, and imperative. This step ensured that the categorization aligned with the functional and structural characteristics observed in the texts.

Data analysis applies a descriptive method using the distributional (*agih*) approach, where the determining key comes from the language itself. Following the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) by Bresnan et al. (2015), this involves techniques such as Immediate Constituent Analysis (ICA/BUL) and non-paraphrastic transformation to reveal syntactic structures and grammatical relations. The results are presented using two methods proposed by Sudaryanto (2015): the formal method, utilizing logical symbols, glosses, tables, and diagrams (such as *c-structure* trees and *f-structure* matrices), and the informal method, providing descriptive linguistic explanations using natural language to ensure clarity and depth of interpretation.

3. Result and Discussion

This section presents the findings of clause structures and grammatical relations in the Old Javanese manuscripts *Uttara Śabda Amṛta* (USA) and *Partha Adnyana Sura* (PAS) from the Merapi–Merbabu Bali Locus. The analysis concentrates on three principal clause types—declarative, interrogative, and imperative—examining both their linear arrangements and functional relations within the Lexical–Functional Grammar (LFG) framework. F-structure analysis is applied to reveal hierarchical relations among syntactic elements such as Subject (SUBJ), Predicate (PRED), Object (OBJ), and Complement (COMP), as well as adjuncts (OBL) and semantic/pragmatic features (e.g., FOCUS, EMPH). Special attention is given to talismanic/mantra passages where sequences of clauses perform ritual and performative functions; these sections display characteristic configurations in both linear and functional dimensions. The subsections below present representative examples and discuss patterns, distributions, and hierarchies observed for each clause type, comparing tendencies between USA and PAS.

3.1 Declarative Clauses

The following data presentation employs interlinear morpheme glossing to map the relationship between lexical structures and their functional representations. Declarative clauses dominate narrative and expository passages in both USA and PAS, but their linear templates and functional emphases differ in predictable ways.

1. Clause Representation in *Uttara Śabda Amṛta* (USA)

USA texts tend to follow **K–P–O–S** or **S–P–(K)** linear patterns, emphasizing narrative-action sequences.

Table 1. Descriptive Analysis of USA Declarative Clauses

Component	Linguistic Analysis (Interlinear Glossing)
Data	<i>karanan ameles i alingan pasang tabe nira yayi</i>
Gloss	because-DEF implore PREP protection set-up honor POSS.3 younger-sibling
Translations	Therefore (I) implore for protection; my respect to you, oh younger sibling
LFG Structure	PRED: <i>ameles</i> ; OBJ: <i>alingan pasang</i> ; ADJ: <i>tabe nira yayi</i> ; SUBJ: <i>pro</i> (implicit).

In the data above, the subject is realized as a *null pronominal* (pro-drop), a typical feature of narrative economy in Old Javanese. The functional structure (f-structure) maps the PRED as the core that binds the object argument and adjunct (OBL) functions. OBJ = *alingan pasang*, and adjunct sequence *tabe nira yayi* adding circumstantial information. The f-structure for such units shows a central PRED node whose ARGUMENTS include an implicit SUBJ and an OBJECT slot, plus OBL slots for adjuncts; topical or SPEC elements (e.g., *iku, punika*) are mapped onto SPEC/TOPIC attributes in f-structure.

2. Clause Representation in *Partha Adnyana Sura* (PAS)

In contrast, PAS shows a stronger tendency toward **S–P–K** arrangements, frequently utilizing stative or locative predicates.

Table 2. Descriptive Analysis of PAS Declarative Clauses

Component	Linguistic Analysis (Interlinear Glossing)
Data	<i>Hana tunggak. Tan pa-maya.</i>
Gloss	<i>Exist stump. NEG HAVE-form.</i>
Translations	<i>There is a stump. (It) is formless</i>
LFG	PRED: <i>hana / pa-maya</i> ; SUBJ: <i>tunggak</i> ; POL: <i>Negative (tan)</i> .
Structure	

PAS declaratives, by contrast, show a stronger tendency toward S–P–(K) ordering and frequent inclusion of locative or status-marking predicates. Example: “*Hana tunggak. Tan pa-maya, undung-undung tan pa-ubhi*” displays S–P–K arrangements (SUBJ: *tunggak/undung-undung*, PRED: *hana/pa-maya*, NEG marker *tan* flagged in f-structure as POLARITY = +neg). In f-structure, PAS declaratives often encode CASE=loc on OBLs and may include further information-structural features (e.g., [TOPIC = +] where an NP is fronted).

Cross-text comparison indicates USA is more narrative-action oriented (foregrounding verb sequences and ritual actions), whereas PAS more frequently encodes stative or locative descriptions that foreground position, status, and ritual context. Based on the analysis of both corpora, the following table summarizes the functional emphasis observed:

Tabel 3. Cross-Textual Distributional Comparison between USA and PAS

Feature	Uttara Śabda Amreta (USA)	Partha Adnyana Sura (PAS)
Primary Orientation	Narrative-action oriented; foregrounds verb sequences and ritual actions.	Stative or locative oriented; foregrounds position, status, and ritual context.
Linear Pattern	Commonly follows K–P–O–S or S–P–(K) patterns.	Stronger tendency toward S–P–(K) ordering.
Subject Realization	Frequent null SUBJ (pro-drop) licensed by discourse continuity in ritual sequences.	Admits both overt and null SUBJ; overt SUBJ often uses demonstratives or SPEC markers.
Predicative Forms	Primarily verbal inflections related to action.	Range across nominal (copular/equative), adjectival, and locative predicates.
F-Structure Focus	Central PRED nodes with argument slots for implicit subjects and objects.	Encodes CASE=loc on OBLs and information-structural features like [TOPIC = +].

Distributionally, declaratives in both corpora admit overt and null SUBJ realizations. Null SUBJ occurs when discourse continuity licenses pro-drop, especially in sequences of ritual actions,

whereas overt SUBJ marks reintroduced or contrastive participants, often accompanied by demonstratives or SPEC markers. Morphologically, predicative forms range across verbal inflection, nominal predicates (copular or equative), and adjectival or locative predicates; LFG f-structures capture these distinctions via different PRED frames and argument realization patterns.

3.2 Interrogative Clauses

Interrogative clauses in both *Uttara Śabda Amṛta* (USA) and *Partha Adnyana Sura* (PAS) are systematically marked by interrogative particles and *wh*-forms, with *punapa* and the particle *ta* being recurrent features.

1. Interrogative Representation in *Uttara Śabda Amṛta* (USA)

In USA examples such as “*Om Awigna astu nama sidem; punapa ta panyêpanipun kang ujar?*” the surface pattern reads K–P–(REL clause) with the PRED *ujar* and a relative SUBJ *kang*; the nominal complement *panyêpanipun* is [WH = +] in f-structure. The f-structure representation highlights MOD = interrogative, and often PART = *ta* as an added focus operator.

Table 4. Descriptive Analysis of USA Interrogative Clauses

Component	Linguistic Analysis (Interlinear Glossing)
Data	... <i>punapa ta panyêpanipun kang ujar?</i>
Gloss	what PART conclusion-DEF REL word
Translation	"...what is the conclusion of the word?"
LFG Structure	PRED: <i>ujar</i> ; SUBJ: <i>kang</i> (relative); COMP: <i>panyêpanipun</i> [WH = +]; PART: <i>ta</i> (focus operator).

The f-structure representation highlights MOD = interrogative. The particle *ta* functions as a grammaticalized focus operator, emphasizing the inquiry within the ritual discourse.

2. Interrogative Representation in *Partha Adnyana Sura* (PAS)

PAS interrogatives are similar in linearity (e.g., “*Punapa ta panyêpan-ipun, kang ujar ong awighnamastu nama sidhêm?*”), but PAS exhibits more elaborate multi-question strings and rhetorical sequences. Interrogatives frequently attach to declaratives: a statement is presented and immediately queried for confirmation or clarification; this adjacency is captured in discourse-level f-structures by linking a declarative clause frame with one or more interrogative frames (MOD=interrogative) that take elements of the prior clause as COMP or TOPIC. Functionally, interrogatives often serve exegetical or pedagogical roles in PAS: rhetorical questioning introduces explanation or mitigative clauses. Syntactically, interrogatives may be subordinative, filling SUBJ/OBJ/ADVL positions inside larger clauses which LFG models by embedding a COMP-attribute with MOD = interrogative.

Tabel 5. Descriptive Analysis of PAS Interrogative Clauses

Component	Linguistic Analysis (Interlinear Glossing)
Data	<i>Punapa ta panyêpan-ipun, kang ujar ong awighnamastu...</i>
Gloss	what PART conclusion-DEF REL word [ritual formula]
Translation	"What is the conclusion, (of) the word 'ong awighnamastu'..."
LFG Structure	MOD: interrogative; TOPIC/COMP: elements from prior declarative clause; FOCUS: <i>ta</i> .

Functionally, PAS interrogatives often serve exegetical roles where rhetorical questioning introduces further explanation. Syntactically, these may be subordinative, filling SUBJ/OBJ positions which LFG models by embedding a COMP attribute with an interrogative mood.

The distribution and function of interrogative markers across the two texts reveal distinct stylistic choices:

Tabel 6. Cross-Corpus Observation: The Role of *ta*

Feature	Uttara Śabda Amreta (USA)	Partha Adnyana Sura (PAS)
Frequency of <i>ta</i>	Sparing use; primarily within ritual sequences.	Frequent and occurs in complex configurations.
Functional Role	Information seeking within manifest rituals.	Rhetorical effect and structuring dialectical exposition.
Syntactic Adjacency	Often stands as independent inquiries.	Linked to prior declarative frames as COMP or TOPIC.
Discourse Role	Ritual formality.	Exegetical or pedagogical (explanation-oriented).

A cross-corpus observation indicates that *ta* acts as a grammaticalized focus marker in both texts but appears more frequently and in more complex configurations in PAS. This suggests a performative difference: PAS utilizes interrogative marking to structure dialectical exposition, whereas USA uses questions more sparingly within established ritual formulas.

3.3 Imperative Clauses

Imperatives are comparatively rarer in the corpora but are critically important in ritual passages and mantric contexts. These forms demonstrate the performative function of language where the utterance enacts a ritual consequence.

1. Imperative Representations in USA

In *Uttara Śabda Amreta* (USA), imperatives often appear as direct commands within ritual procedures, following specific linear patterns such as **P-S-K** or **P-O-S**.

Tabel 7. Descriptive Analysis of USA Imperative Clauses

Component	Linguistic Analysis (Interlinear Glossing)
Data 1	<i>sira ring griya!</i>
Gloss	2HON PREP house
Translation	"(You) be at the house!"
LFG Structure	MODE: imperative; SUBJ: <i>sira</i> (addressed); OBL: <i>ring griya</i> (locative).
Data 2	<i>Ta-bantu ring wari, sira!</i>
Gloss	IMP-help PREP water 2HON
Translation	"Help (with/in) the water, you!"
LFG Structure	PRED: <i>bantu</i> ; OBJ/OBL: <i>ring wari</i> ; SUBJ: <i>sira</i> (vocative); PERFORMATIVE: +.

Mantra paragraphs complicate the typology by interweaving declarative, interrogative, and imperative forms into sequences that enact ritual efficacy. These sequences typically follow a recurring linear pattern:

Liturgy → Description/Justification → Subordination.

Table 8. Structural Features of Mantric Discourse

Feature	LFG Representation & Functional Role
Mantric Formula	Assigned to a special COMP or OBL slot to preserve its liturgical integrity.
Explanatory Clause	Marked with [FOCUS = +] or [EMPH = +] to index performative intensity.
Subordinate Clause	Encoded as a dependent frame specifying conditions or ritual results.
Global Discourse	Syntax and information structure align to produce a PERFORMATIVE discourse.

By presenting the data in this tabular format, the mapping between the surface syntax of the manuscripts and their deep functional representations in LFG becomes explicitly clear, showing how these ancient texts utilize specific grammatical structures to achieve ritual results.

3.4 Summary of Patterns and Implications

Across both USA and PAS the core mapping SUBJ–PRED–OBJ/OBL remains stable. Variation arises in information-structural marking (SPEC/TOPIC), in distribution and function of focus and interrogative particles, and in the use of morphological strategies (nominalization, passivization) to manipulate argument structure. USA emphasizes verb-centered ritual action and linear narrative, while PAS shows a preference for complex interrogative sequences, locative predicates, and hierarchical clause embedding. Mantric sequences instantiate a specialized genre in which declarative and performative functions converge; LFG analysis renders these convergences as distinctive f-structure profiles combining MODE, FOCUS, and PERFORMATIVE features. These findings underscore the value of clause-level LFG analyses for capturing both syntactic form and ritual-pragmatic function in Old Javanese manuscripts.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of clause structures and grammatical relations in *Uttara Śabda Amṛta* (USA) and *Partha Adnyana Sura* (PAS) manuscripts from the Merapi–Merbabu Bali locus demonstrates that linear structures and f-structure relations are central in revealing how meaning is constructed in Old Javanese texts.

Declarative clauses are predominantly used to present narration, doctrinal explanation, and descriptive information. Their linear arrangements, often following *K–P–O–S* or *S–P–(K)* patterns, show flexibility while still maintaining predictable relations between Subject, Predicate, Object, and adjuncts. F-structure analysis reveals the hierarchical dominance of PRED as the organizing nucleus, while SUBJ and OBJ relations clarify agency and affected participants in narrative and exegetical passages.

Interrogative clauses, typically introduced by *punapa ta*, serve as clarification devices, often embedded in declarative sequences to elicit, highlight, or verify information. Their f-structure encodes [+Q] features, capturing the interrogative force and relative-subject relations. This reflects a pedagogical function: interrogatives are not only inquiries but also means of transmitting doctrinal understanding within the textual tradition.

Imperative clauses, though scarce, are crucial in ritual instructions and performative contexts. They often appear in concise *P–S–K* or *P–O–S* structures, directly encoding [+IMP] features in f-structure. Their presence emphasizes the authoritative and directive nature of ritual performance, underscoring the pragmatic role of language in commanding, invoking, or ritualizing actions. *Mantra* passages integrate declarative, interrogative, and imperative structures, forming extended clause sequences with layered semantic functions. F-structure captures features such as [FOCUS =

+, [EMPH = +], and [MODE = ritual], showing how textual integrity is preserved while ritual efficacy is reinforced.

Overall, the systematic relations between linear clause structures **and** functional hierarchies in f-structure illuminate the mechanics of Old Javanese grammar. They demonstrate how language encoded not only narrative meaning but also ritual performance, thereby ensuring textual preservation, pedagogical clarity, and cultural continuity within the Merapi–Merbabu tradition.

While this study provides a detailed mapping of syntactic functions, it is important to acknowledge its **limitations**. This research is restricted to two specific manuscripts from the Merapi-Merbabu Bali locus, which may not represent the full syntactic diversity of the eighteen neglected manuscripts identified in the region. Furthermore, the analysis primarily focuses on the mapping of core grammatical relations within the LFG framework, leaving broader discourse-functional aspects and sociolinguistic variations for further exploration.

Based on these boundaries, **recommendations for future research** include expanding the corpus to include the remaining manuscripts from the Bali locus to validate the generalizability of these findings. Future investigation could also apply a comparative methodological approach by contrasting these Balinese-locus texts with those from the central Merapi-Merbabu skriptorium to identify regional linguistic shifts. Lastly, examining additional variables such as the evolution of clitics and complex predicate constructions would further enrich our understanding of Old Javanese functional syntax.

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