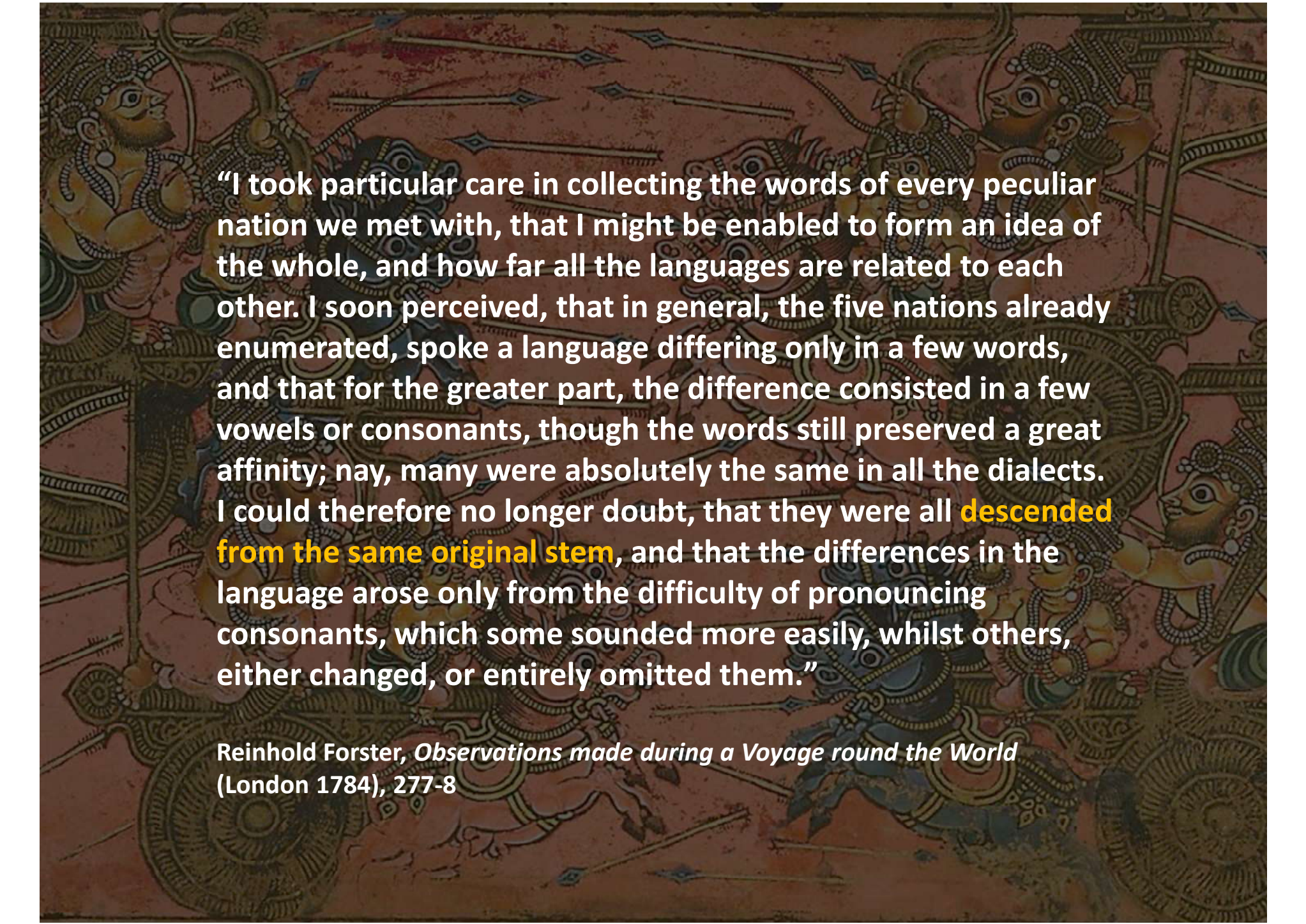




**Expanding the
Comparative View:
Humboldt's *Über die Kawi-Sprache*
and its language materials**

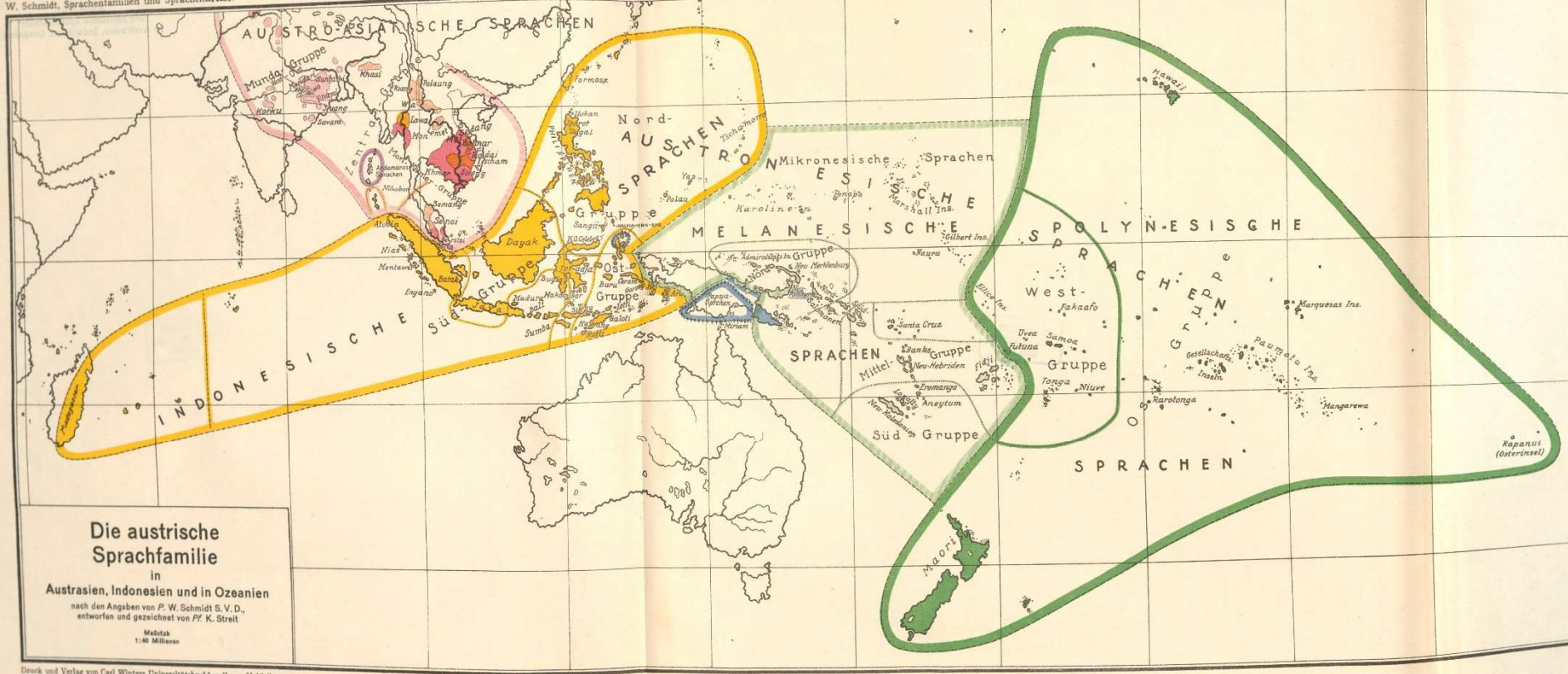
Floris Solleveld
KU Leuven



“I took particular care in collecting the words of every peculiar nation we met with, that I might be enabled to form an idea of the whole, and how far all the languages are related to each other. I soon perceived, that in general, the five nations already enumerated, spoke a language differing only in a few words, and that for the greater part, the difference consisted in a few vowels or consonants, though the words still preserved a great affinity; nay, many were absolutely the same in all the dialects. I could therefore no longer doubt, that they were all **descended from the same original stem**, and that the differences in the language arose only from the difficulty of pronouncing consonants, which some sounded more easily, whilst others, either changed, or entirely omitted them.”

Reinhold Forster, *Observations made during a Voyage round the World* (London 1784), 277-8

W. Schmidt, Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise.



Austronesian language family (a.k.a. Malayo-Polynesian)
1276 languages (Glottolog 3.3, 2018) from Madagascar to Rapa Nui
Resemblance noted as early as 1707 by Adrianus Reland



Comparative grammars:

Franz Bopp, *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Gothicen und Deutschen* (Berlin 1833-52)

Peter Stephen Du Ponceau, *Mémoire sur le système grammatical des langues de quelques nations Indiennes de l'Amérique du Nord* (Paris 1838)

Wilhelm von Humboldt (ed. Eduard Buschmann), *Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java* (Berlin 1836-39)

Ernest Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (Paris 1855)

Robert Caldwell, *A comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages* (London 1856)

Hans Conon von der Gabelentz, *Die Melanesischen Sprachen* (Leipzig 1860)

Wilhelm Bleek, *A comparative Grammar of the South African Languages* (London 1862-67)



High-prestige languages:

**Old, dead, holy, venerable, arcane, literary,
of high culture, belonging to great empires**

Sanskrit, Chinese, Greek, Latin

Arabic, Hebrew, Persian

Gothic, Althochdeutsch, Anglo-Saxon, Provençal

English, French, German

**Such as not: American, African, Oceanic,
Siberian, South Indian languages**

**Identification of 'scientific' with 'historical-comparative':
heuristically stronger than just comparative grammar**

**Sound shift laws, reconstructions, genealogies, demarcating families
require / made much easier by old texts > overlap with philology**



Typological problems:

How to distinguish and demarcate language families?

How to distinguish between language and dialect?

How many **types** of languages are there?

How to determine the grammar of an unwritten language (or one without a grammatical tradition) > knowing better than the speakers?

How to correctly render the sounds of an unwritten/dead language?

What are the borders of a 'word' in an unwritten language?

Relatively easy cases: Malayan/Polynesian, Dravidian, Bantu

Difficult cases: Native American, West African, Papuan



Outline

1. Humboldt's sources

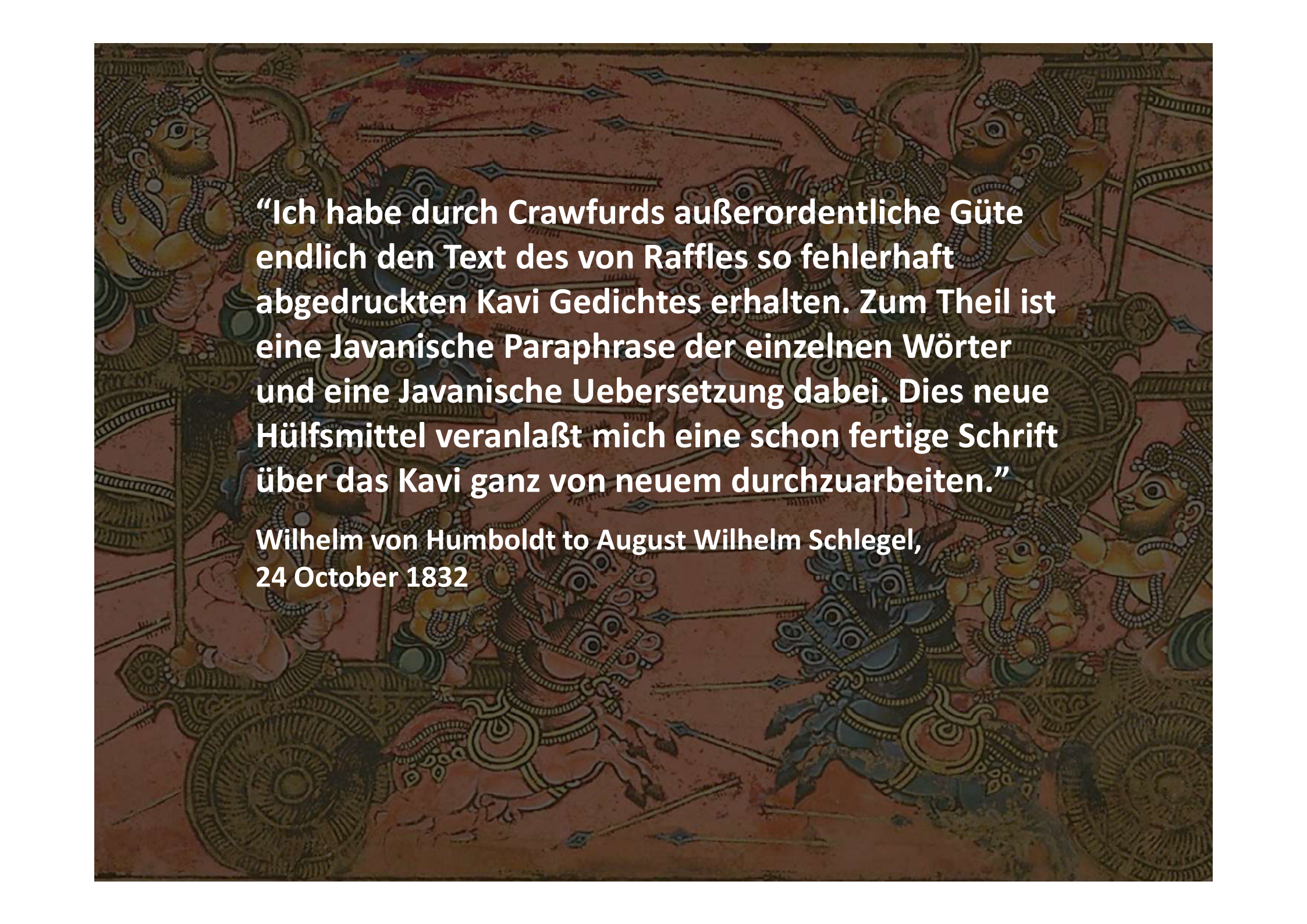
Observation, compilation, 'language material'
What is it? How is it produced, and by whom?

2. Kawi and/as Malayo-Polynesian

From language material to linguistic data
What transformations/reformulations does it undergo?
What happens to language when it becomes an object of study?

3. Comparative grammar for non-Indo-European languages

'Fieldwork' as a problematic category
'High-prestige' vs. 'Low-prestige' languages
Parallel trajectories of language study



“Ich habe durch Crawford's außerordentliche Güte endlich den Text des von Raffles so fehlerhaft abgedruckten Kavi Gedichtes erhalten. Zum Theil ist eine Javanische Paraphrase der einzelnen Wörter und eine Javanische Uebersetzung dabei. Dies neue Hülfsmittel veranlaßt mich eine schon fertige Schrift über das Kavi ganz von neuem durchzuarbeiten.”

**Wilhelm von Humboldt to August Wilhelm Schlegel,
24 October 1832**

Brata Yudha [or *Bharatayuddha*]

Old Javanese adaptation of the
Mahabharata, dated ± 1157 CE
Classic subject for *Wayang*
shadow puppet plays

Ca. 100 extant manuscripts
719 quatrains (in Raffles' ms.)

Written in Kawi (Old Javanese),
a dead literary language with
many Sanskrit loan words

First printed (partly) in
Stamford Raffles'
History of Java (1817)

AN ANALYSIS
OF
THE BRÁTA YÚDHA,
OR HOLY WAR, OR RATHER THE WAR OF WOE:
AN EPIC POEM,
IN THE KÁWI OR CLASSIC LANGUAGE OF JAVA.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The wife of *Santánu*, king of *Astina*, dying on giving birth to *Déwa Bráta* (*Bisma*), *Santánu* asked *Pulásara*, the *Prábu-Anom* (or younger prince), of *Wiráta*, and brother-in-law of *Mángsak Páti*, prince of that country, to allow his wife *Ambarsári*, who at that time had a child (*Abísá*) at the breast, to suckle and so save the life of his infant boy *Déwa Bráta*.

Pulására, offended at the proposal, went to war with *Santánu*, but was afterwards persuaded by the *Déwa Sang yang Nardda* to comply, on condition of *Santánu* resigning his kingdom to him; to which *Santánu* agreed. *Pulására*, when his son *Abísá* was grown up, gave him the kingdom of *Astina*, and turning hermit went and passed the rest of his days on the mountains.

By his wife *Ambalika* (the old maiden daughter of *Balúétma*, a hermit of *Gúnung Chámaragánda*, whom he was forced to marry against his inclination) *Abísá* had three sons, viz.

1. *Drestaráta*, who was blind.
2. *Pánda*, whose head was inclined to one side.
3. *Aria Widúra*, who was lame.

Pánda, the least exceptionable of the three sons, being raised to the throne, *Abísá* turned hermit, and went and passed the remainder of his days among the mountains.

On the death of *Pánda*, *Drestaráta* persuaded his father *Abísá* to allow him to rule the country during the minority of the *Pandúwa* (or five children



Humboldt's main sources:

**William Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (1787) and
Grammar of the Malayan Language (1812)**

Model for Raffles as a compendium

Studied Malay as the *Lingua franca* of the East Indies

Thomas Stamford Raffles, *History of Java* (1817)

Compilation about Javanese geography, population, religion,
commerce, languages, natural history etc.

Included map, images of Javanese people, analysis of *Brata Yudha*

John Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820)

'Philosophical' history analysing the level of civilization in Indonesia,
incl. descriptions of Kawi, Jav., Malay, and 'minor languages'

Also sent Humboldt his ms. of three Javanese dictionaries



Three different scholarly models:

William Marsden (1754-1836)

Clerk>secretary in Benkulu, later first secretary of the Admiralty

Combines this with life as a gentleman scholar

Collects oriental coins: numismatics as a source on early Islamic history

Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826)

Temporary governor of Dutch Indies, founds Singapore

Highly efficient administrator and data collector

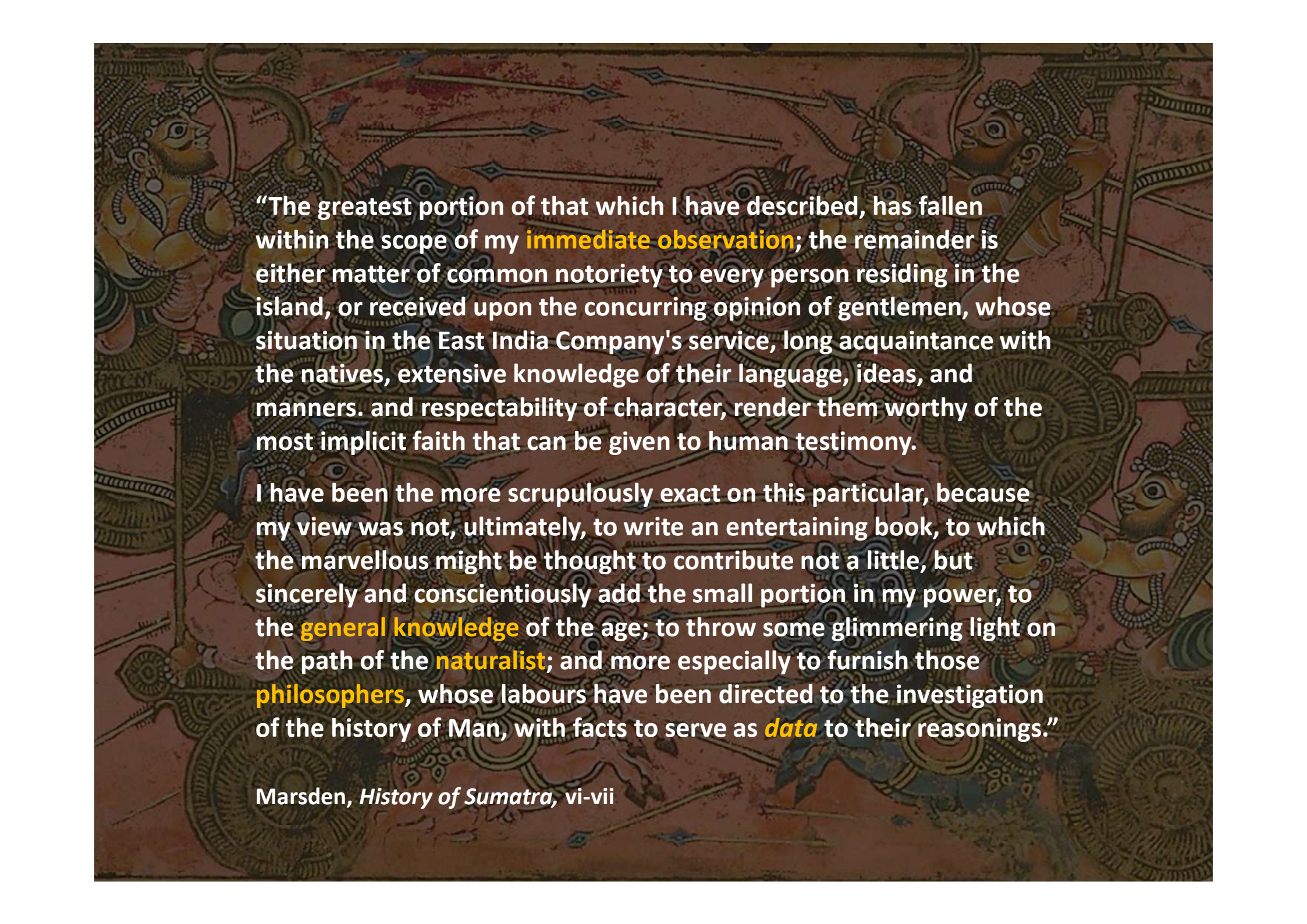
Delegates tasks: geographic survey of Java, botanical collection, illustrations of specimens, monuments, and people

John Crawfurd (1783-1868)

Trained as physician, resident of Singapore, diplomatic missions

Classifies everything: islands, temples, languages, races

Reasoned judgement overrules local sources/traditions



“The greatest portion of that which I have described, has fallen within the scope of my **immediate observation**; the remainder is either matter of common notoriety to every person residing in the island, or received upon the concurring opinion of gentlemen, whose situation in the East India Company's service, long acquaintance with the natives, extensive knowledge of their language, ideas, and manners. and respectability of character, render them worthy of the most implicit faith that can be given to human testimony.

I have been the more scrupulously exact on this particular, because my view was not, ultimately, to write an entertaining book, to which the marvellous might be thought to contribute not a little, but sincerely and conscientiously add the small portion in my power, to the **general knowledge** of the age; to throw some glimmering light on the path of the **naturalist**; and more especially to furnish those **philosophers**, whose labours have been directed to the investigation of the history of Man, with facts to serve as **data** to their reasonings.”

Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, vi-vii

Types of linguistic information

Descriptions

with general characteristics, sounds, cultural/geographic spread

Sample texts

Marsden: parts of Malay *Ramayana*

Raffles: *Brata Yudha*

Comparative vocabularies

Raffles: Mal./Jav./Mad./Bali/Lampung, ceremonial Javanese (90 + 16 pp.)

Crawfurd: 266 words in 7 lang. groups

Alphabets

Manuscripts

Marsden: *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana*

Crawfurd: three Javanese dictionaries, integral *Brata Yudha*, 132 others

Grammars

A Table of the Devanagari Consonants, in comparison with those used in the languages of Java, Ava, and Siam.

Nagari	JAVA		AVA		SIAM	
	varieties of the <i>Kawi</i>	Modern Javan	Syncope Jav	Modern	Modern Bali	Modern Bali
k	क क्क क्क क्क क्क	का का का का	क	का	का	का
kh	ख	खा खा खा खा	ख	खा	खा	खा
g	ग ग्ग ग्ग ग्ग ग्ग	गा गा गा गा	ग	गा	गा	गा
gh	घ	घा घा घा घा	घ	घा	घा	घा
ng	ङ ङ्ङ ङ्ङ ङ्ङ ङ्ङ	ङा ङा ङा ङा	ङ	ङा	ङा	ङा
ch	च च्च च्च च्च च्च	चा चा चा चा	च	चा	चा	चा
chh	छ	छा छा छा छा	छ	छा	छा	छा
j	ज ज्ज ज्ज ज्ज ज्ज	जा जा जा जा	ज	जा	जा	जा
jh	झ	झा झा झा झा	झ	झा	झा	झा
ny	ञ ञ्ञ ञ्ञ ञ्ञ ञ्ञ	जा जा जा जा	ञ	जा	जा	जा
t	ट ट्ठ ट्ठ ट्ठ ट्ठ	ठा था था था	ट	ठा	ठा	ठा
th	ठ	ठा था था था	ठ	ठा	ठा	ठा
d	ड ड्ढ ड्ढ ड्ढ ड्ढ	दा दा दा दा	ड	दा	दा	दा
dh	ढ	दा दा दा दा	ढ	दा	दा	दा
n	ण	णा णा णा णा	ण	णा	णा	णा
t	त ता ता ता ता ता	ता ता ता ता	त	ता	ता	ता
th	थ था था था था था	था था था था	थ	था	था	था
d	द दा दा दा दा दा	दा दा दा दा	द	दा	दा	दा
dh	ध धा धा धा धा	धा धा धा धा	ध	धा	धा	धा
n	न ना ना ना ना ना	ना ना ना ना	न	ना	ना	ना
p	प पा पा पा पा पा	पा पा पा पा	प	पा	पा	पा
ph	फ	पा पा पा पा	फ	पा	पा	पा
b	ब बा बा बा बा बा	बा बा बा बा	ब	बा	बा	बा
bh	भ	बा बा बा बा	भ	बा	बा	बा
m	म मा मा मा मा मा	मा मा मा मा	म	मा	मा	मा
y	य या या या या या	या या या या	य	या	या	या
r	र रा रा रा रा रा	रा रा रा रा	र	रा	रा	रा
l	ल ला ला ला ला ला	ला ला ला ला	ल	ला	ला	ला
v	व वा वा वा वा वा	वा वा वा वा	व	वा	वा	वा
sh	श शा शा शा शा शा	शा शा शा शा	श	शा	शा	शा
s	स सा सा सा सा सा	सा सा सा सा	स	सा	सा	सा
h	ह हा हा हा हा हा	हा हा हा हा	ह	हा	हा	हा
ll	ळ	हा हा हा हा	ळ	हा	हा	हा

Raffles' version of the Brata Yudha

Translated with the aid of two Javanese nobles, Nāta Kāsuma and Raden Saleh, a teenager who had studied in Calcutta

Facsimile of first page sent to Humboldt; in older script than Crawford's ms.

(but both are not traditional palm leaf manuscripts > transcripts of mss. from Bali?)

His cousin Thomas Raffles made a version in pentameters; only small segments published

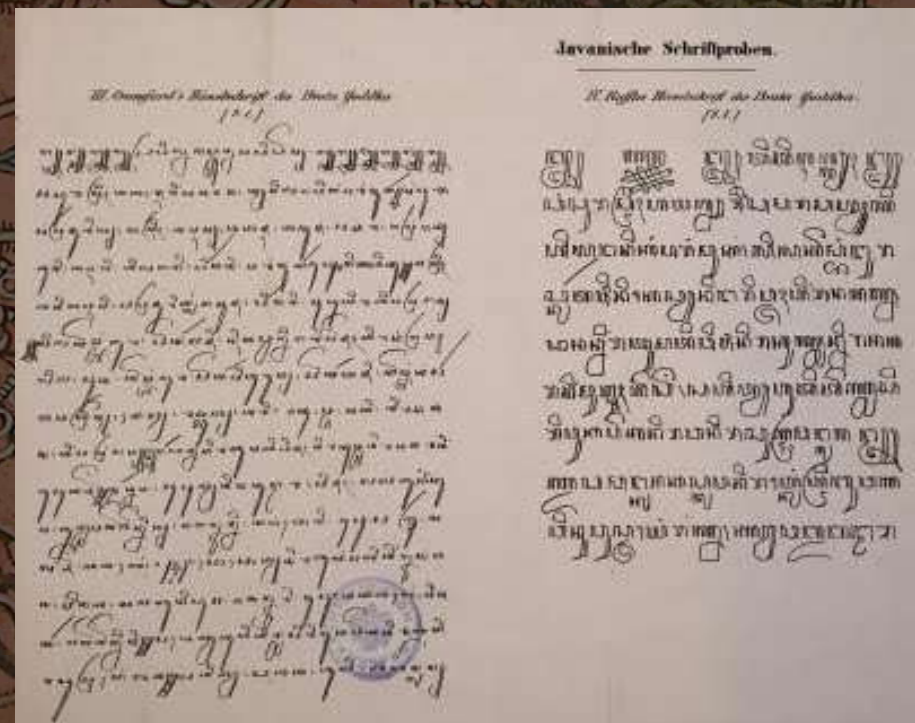
(Measure *Jagadita*.)

1. In war 'tis the prayer of the brave to annihilate the foe,
To see the braids of fallen chiefs scattered like flowers before the wind.
To rend their garments, and burn alike their altars and their palaces,
Boldly to strike off their heads while seated in their chariots, and thus
to obtain renown.

Awigno mastutina masidam.

(Tembang *Jagadita*.)

1. Sāng sūrā m'ri ayā|niā rtog sā|mrā mā|yoāni lāng'āni kāng | pārāngmū|kā||
Lilā kēmbāng ng'ōrā | sēkār tā|jīnī kēsā|ning'āri pē|jāb hīng | rānāng'gānā||
Urnā utog rātu mā|tī wī|jā nī|rā kūn|dīnī nā|gāraning | mōsū gēsāng||
Sābtūā ūtī tēn|dāst rīpū kākā|ka nī|rātā sū|rā sūs|rāmēng lāgā||

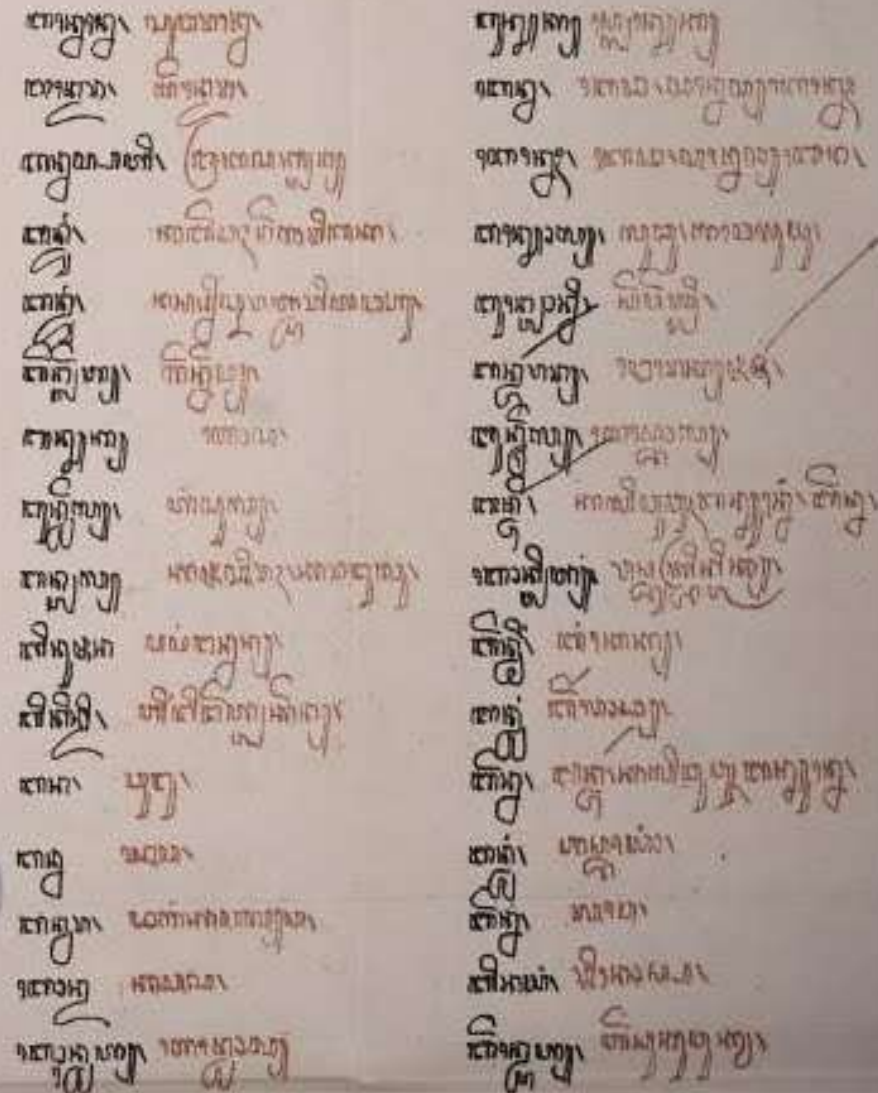


ENGLISH.	MALAYU.	JAVAN.			MADURESE.		BALI.	LAMPUNG.	
		Jáva.	Bdca krdwa.	Sánda.	Madúra.	Samendp.			
			<i>Of God, Nature, Elements, &c.</i>						
God	tuhan; ilah	{ yéwang wídi ; pang'éran ; gusti ; alah }		{ hongyéwang ; sang-yéwang }	pangéran	ilah	batúra	alah; gusti	
Godhead	ka-tuhanan	ka-pang'éranan ..		{ kahong- yéwang ; yéwangau .. }	ka-pangéranan ..	ka-ilahan	ka-batúra-an ..	ka-g'ustian	
Creation	ka-jédian	ka-dédian	ka-dadósan	ka-jédian	ka-dédian	ka-dédian	ka-dédian	ka-jédian	
The Author of Providence ..	memalára	ang'ing'u	amiára	cho-choong'o-an ..	angé-bu	angraksa	mang'u-ning'a ..	nga-gádok	
The Omnipotent ..	meng'wása	ang'wása		mang'a-wása	maka-bésa	seka-wása	mang'wasa	sai-ku-isa	
The Omniscient ..	meng'atáwi	ang'awerúhi	ang'uning'ani	ng'a-nia-hok'un ..	ng'a-ná-lihi	setáu	mang'a-wirubi ..	sai-ng'a-péudai	
Eternity	kakálan	kaleng'gang'an ..		{ kakálan ; lang-geng'an }	ka-lang-gang'an ..	lang-gang	krákán ; lang-gang	ka-kálan	
Fate; Fortune ..	untung	bagja		papisten	dólat	dólat	réduh	gháwan	
Angel	maláikat	maláikat		mala-ékat	mala-ékat	mala-ékat	dewíta	mali-kat	
Soul	jiwa; níwa	niówo; yétmó ..		sókma; níwa	niába	niáwa	jiwa; átma	nia-wa	
Life	idup; hidop	úrip	gesang	irup	ódi	údi	úrep	biághé	
A Spirit; Super- intelligence }	dewa	dewa		diwa	diba	déwa	déwa	djwa	
Demon or Ghost ..	hantu	antu		antu	anto	antu	manódi; antu ..	lántu	
A Geni	gargási; raksása ..	báta	den-nawa	báta	búta; denába ..	búta	yakaa; raksása ..	éan-éaa	
World	dúnia	jágat	bówana	dúnia	dúnia	dúnia	marcha-páda ..	dún-nia	
Mas	manúsia	manúsa	jalmi	manúsa	manósa	manósa	manúsa	manúsa	
Heaven	surga	éswarga	séwang'i	surga	séarga	séar-ga	éarga	séwa-ghága	
Sky	lang'it	lang'it	ákasa	lang'it	lang'it	lang'é	angkéa; lang'it ..	lang'it	
Light	cháhia	cháhia		cháhia	sadja; cháhia ..	cháhia	depta; cháhia ..	chahiya	
Meteor or falling Star	chirit-bintang	lintang álih		sorot-bentéung ..	{ bintang-men- chórong .. }	chíret-bintang ..	bintang-háwan ..	bintang-máleh	
Star	bintang	lintang		bentéung	bintang	bintang	bintang	bintang	
Halo of the moon	págar-bólan	kalang'an-wólan ..	kalang'an-sási ..	kalang'an-bólan ..		kalang'an-bólan ..	kéng'an-bólan ..	kandok-bólan	
Planet	bintang-berjalan ..	lintang lámáka ..	lintang-lámampah ..	bentéung-lémpang ..	bintang-ájalan ..	bintang-ájalan ..	pellíntang'an ..	—	
Saturn	bintang zahál	lintang zohal		bentéung-jábel ..	bintang-jóhal ..	bintang sáhal ..		—	
Jupiter	bintang mastri	lintang móstari ..		bentéung-mustári ..	bintang-mustári ..	bintang-mustári ..		—	
Mars	bintang maríh	lintang maríh		bentéung-maríh ..	bintang-maríh ..	bintang maríh ..		—	
Venus	bintang zahára	lintang johra		bentéung-jáhára ..	bintang-johro ..	bintang-súhara ..		—	
Mercury	bintang átarad	lintang átarad		bentéung-utára ..	bintang-utára ..	bintang átarad ..		—	
Sun	mata-bári	sreng'éng'é	súria	matápoék	ng'areh	aré	mata-nai; súria ..	mata-gháni	
Moon	bólan	wólan; reumbólan ..	sási	bólan	bólan	bólan	bólan; sasih ..	bólan	
Sunshine	trang-mata-bári ..	pólang sreng'éng'é ..	pólang-súria	cha-ang-matápoék ..	pólang-íreh	téra-'aré	gílang-mafánal ..	wáwa-mata-ghánal	
Moonlight	trang bólan	pólang-wólan	pólang-sási	cha-ang-bóléan ..	pólang-bólan	téra-bólan	gílang-bólan	wáwa-bólan	
New moon	sahári-bólan	tang-gal-súpisan ..	tanggal súpindah ..	tanggal sakáli	séreh-bólan	{ tanggal péran ; tanggal sakáli }	tanggal-pisan	tanggal-pisan	

English	<i>moon</i>	English	<i>rainbow</i>
1. Javanese (o.)	wulan rambulun	1. Javanese (o.)	kuwung
Javanese (c.)	sasi	Javanese (c.)	tejo
Javanese (a.)	chondro	Javanese (a.)	
—	sitangau	—	
—	sosodoro-rati,	—	
Malay	bulan	Malay	ular-danu
2. Bali (o.)	bulan	2. Bali (o.)	byang-lalah
Bali (c.)	sasi	Bali (c.)	kuwung-kuwung
Madura (o.)	bulan	Madura (o.)	andang
Madura (c.)		Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	bulan	Sunda (o.)	katombiri
Sunda (c.)		Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	bulan	Lampung	gonch
3. Bajak	bulan	3. Bajak	liyu
4. Bugis	ketang	4. Bugis	tara-uwe
Macassar	bulang	Macassar	tara-uwe
5. Timuri	fulan	5. Timouri	
Rotti	bulak	Rotti	
6. Atui	marama	6. Atui	
7. Sämang	kachik	7. Sämang	
Madagascar	voier	Madagascar	avvar
English	<i>sun</i>	English	<i>east</i>
1. Javanese (o.)	srang-nge-nge	1. Javanese (o.)	wetan timur
Javanese (c.)	suryo	Javanese (c.)	purwo
Javanese (a.)	baskoro, rawi	Javanese (a.)	purwo
—	prabonggo	—	
—	prabongcopati	—	
Malay	matahari	Malay	timur
2. Bali (o.)	mata-nahi	2. Bali (o.)	kangia
Bali (c.)	surya	Bali (c.)	wetan
Madura (o.)	are	Madura (o.)	temor
Madura (c.)		Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	panan-poe	Sunda (o.)	wetan timur
Sunda (c.)		Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	matagani	Lampung	
3. Bajak	matandao	3. Bajak	timor
4. Bugis	mataso	4. Bugis	alao, timura
Macassar	matalo	Macassar	iraia, timura
5. Timuri	laroh	5. Timuri	
Rotti	lacloh	Rotti	
6. Atui	hai, ras	6. Atui	
7. Sämang	mitkatok	7. Sämang	
Madagascar	andro	Madagascar	tinogher

Javanische Schriftproben.

Taf. IX.

III. Cransford's Java's Javanisches Wörterbuch
[S. 261]



Main sources on Polynesian:

Word lists resulting from Cook's voyages:

Reinhold Forster, *Observations made during a Journey round the World* (London 1778)

Tahitean vocabularies (ms.), collected by Joseph Banks

Grammars:

John Martin [as communicated by William Mariner],
An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands with an original Grammar and Vocabulary of their Language (London 1817)

Samuel Lee [as communicated by Thomas Kendall and two Maoris],
A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand (1820)

John Davies, *A Grammar of the Tahitean Dialect of the Polynesian Language* (Tahiti 1823)

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE VARIOUS LANGUAGES IN THE ISLES OF THE SOUTH-SEA, AND OF THE VARIOUS NATIONS TO THE EAST AND WEST OF IT.

Table with columns for various languages: English, Society-Isles, Friendly-Isles, New-Zealand, Rapa-Bora, Marquis, New-Caledonia, Tanna, Mellicilla, Maloy, Tiglia, Pongapi, New-Holland, Mexican, Pyramin, Chitsep. Rows list words like 'The Number', 'The eye or hand', 'A man', etc., with their equivalents in the listed languages.

TABLE OF SYLLABLES.

1.

bá	ba	bé	be	bí	bi	bó	bo	bú	bu
dá	da	dé	de	dí	di	dó	do	dú	du
fá	fa	fé	fe	fí	fi	fó	fo	fú	fu
gá	ga	gé	ge	gí	gi	gó	go	gú	gu
há	ha	hé	he	hí	hi	hó	ho	hú	hu
ká	ka	ké	ke	kí	ki	kó	ko	kú	ku

2.

lá	la	lé	le	lí	li	ló	lo	lú	lu
má	ma	mé	me	mí	mi	mó	mo	mú	mu
ná	na	né	ne	ní	ni	nó	no	nú	nu
pá	pa	pé	pe	pí	pi	pó	po	pú	pu
rá	ra	ré	re	rí	ri	ró	ro	rú	ru
sá	sa	sé	se	sí	si	só	so	sú	su

3.

tá	ta	té	te	tí	ti	tó	to	tú	tu
vá	va	vé	ve	ví	vi	vó	vo	vú	vu
wá	wa	wé	we	wí	wi	wó	wo	wú	wu
yá	ya	yé	ye	yí	yi	yó	yo	yú	yú
zá	za	zé	ze	zí	zi	zó	zo	zú	zú

4.

bai	bau	kai	kau	pai	pau	wai	wau
boi	bou	koi	kou	poi	pou	woi	wou
dai	dau	mai	mau	rai	rau	yai	yau
doi	dou	moi	mou	roi	rou	yoi	you
hai	hau	nai	nau	tai	tau	zai	zau
hoi	hou	noi	nou	toi	tou	zoi	zou

5.

Nasal Sounds.

ngá	nga	ngé	nge	ngí	ngi	ngó	ngo	ngú	ngu
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

WAI ATA.

(SONG.)

E táká to e áu ki te tíu marángai,
 I wíua mai ai e kóinga du ánga,
 Tai ráwa nei ki te púke ki ére átu.
 E táta te wiunga te tai ki a *Táwa*,
 Ki á koe, e *Taua*, ka wíua, ki te tóna.
 Náu i ó mai e káhu, e túriki,
 E takówe e ó mo tóku nei rángi,
 Ka tai ki reira, áku rángi auraki.

(TRANSLATION.)

The strong and irresistible wind blowing from the tempestuous north, made so deep an impression upon my mind for thee, O *Taua*, that I ascended the mountain, even to the very top, to witness thy departure. The rolling billows extend nearly as far as *Stivers**. Thou art driven to the eastward, far away. Thou hast given me a garment, to wear for thy sake; and happy shall I be in the remembrance of thee, when I bind it on my shoulders. When thou art arrived at thy intended port, my affections shall be there.

* A man who is said to have visited the Bay of Islands before Captain Cook.



Humboldt and Harry Maitey

“Er is schwer zu zusammenhängenden Redensarten in seiner Sprache zu bringen, so daß er zur Erlernung der Grammatik weniger zu gebrauchen ist, als zur Wörterkenntniß. Ueberhaupt scheint er viel von seiner Sprache vergessen zu haben. Doch habe ich das vollständige Sandwich-Pronomen durch ihn erhalten, und mich deutlich überzeugt, daß die Sandwichische und Tahitische Sprache sich bloß als Mundarten, meistens nur durch leicht zu erkennende Buchstabenverwechslung von einander Unterscheiden”

Kawi-Sprache vol. III, 438-9

2695. an.

Über
die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java,
nebst
einer Einleitung
über
die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues
und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwicklung des
Menschengeschlechts.

Von
WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT.

Erster Band.



Berlin.

Gedruckt in der Druckerei der Königlichen Akademie
der Wissenschaften.

1836.

In Commission bei F. Dümmler.

Structure:

Introduction: On the Variety of Human Language

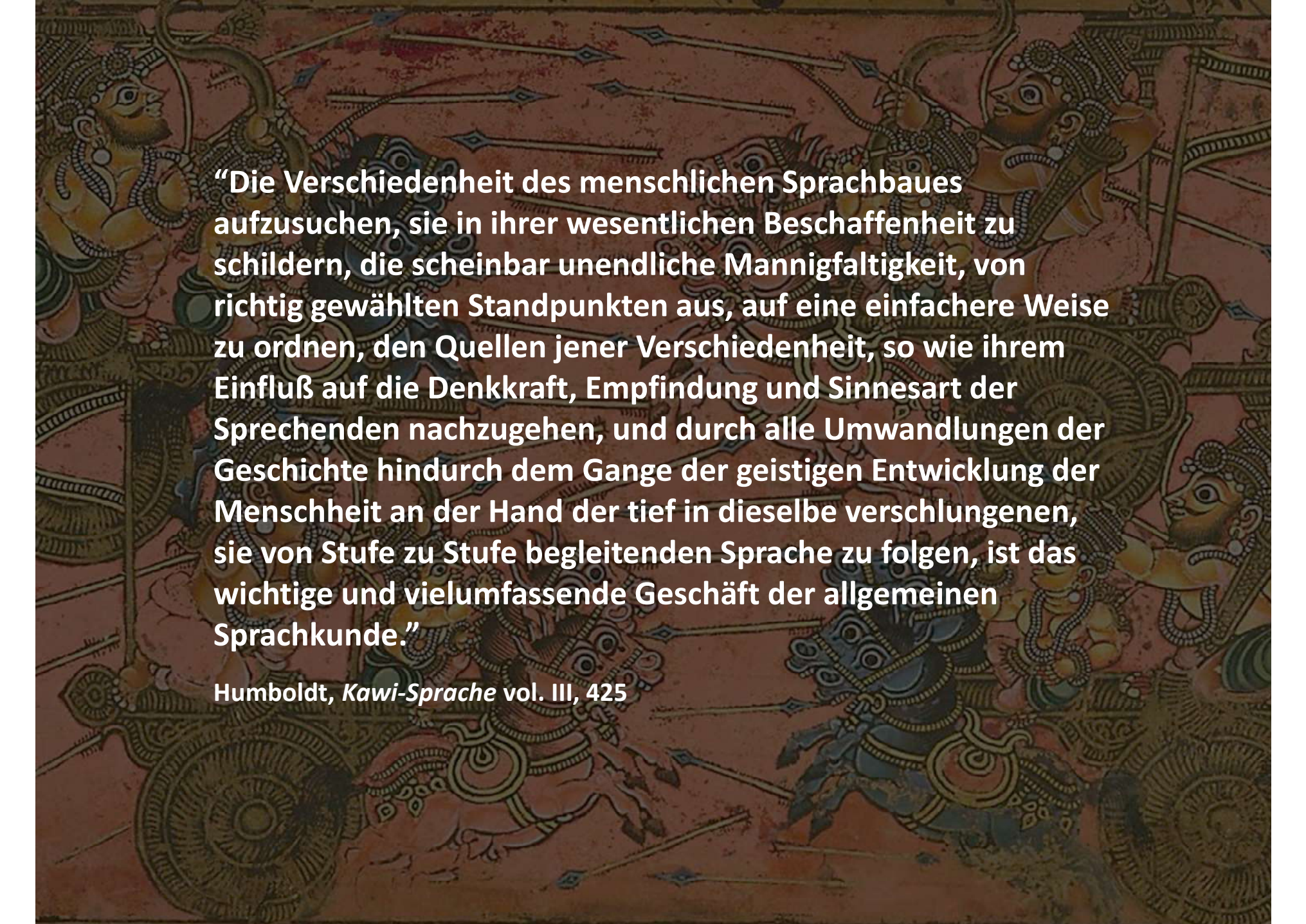
Book I: Connections between India and Java

Book II: The Kawi Language

Book III: The Malayan Language Family [*Sprachstamm*]

Begun in the mid-1820s, years after Humboldt's stay in London

Published posthumously, 1836-39; finished by Humboldt's assistant, Eduard Buschmann



“Die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues aufzusuchen, sie in ihrer wesentlichen Beschaffenheit zu schildern, die scheinbar unendliche Mannigfaltigkeit, von richtig gewählten Standpunkten aus, auf eine einfachere Weise zu ordnen, den Quellen jener Verschiedenheit, so wie ihrem Einfluß auf die Denkkraft, Empfindung und Sinnesart der Sprechenden nachzugehen, und durch alle Umwandlungen der Geschichte hindurch dem Gange der geistigen Entwicklung der Menschheit an der Hand der tief in dieselbe verschlungenen, sie von Stufe zu Stufe begleitenden Sprache zu folgen, ist das wichtige und vielumfassende Geschäft der allgemeinen Sprachkunde.”

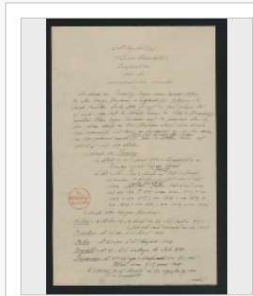
Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache* vol. III, 425

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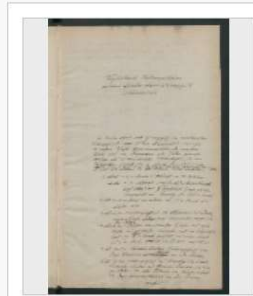
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„Briefwechsel über die amerikan. Sprachen”

Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...

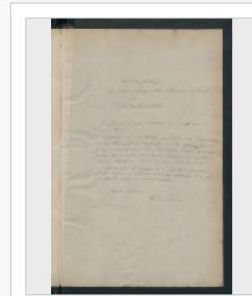
rękopis



„Wörterverzeichnisse mehrerer Amerikanischer Sprachen”

Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...

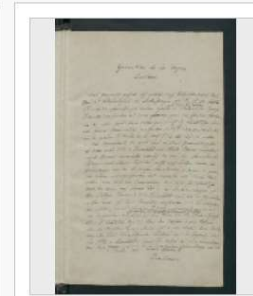
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„Wörter der Lenni-Lenape Sprache”

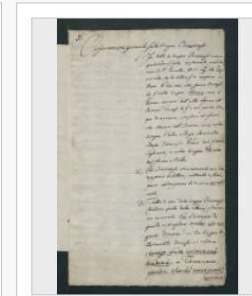
Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...

rękopis



"Hervas Gram. Quichua"

Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...



"Hervas Gram. del Orinoc."

Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...



"Omagua Grammatik"

Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...



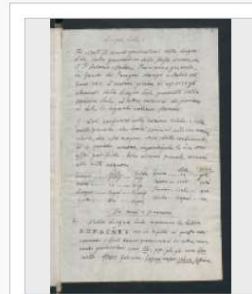
"Mocobische Gr."

Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...



"Hervas Gram. Mbaya"

Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...



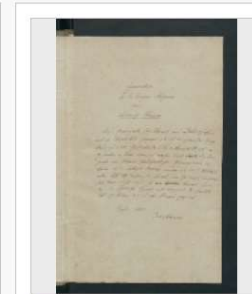
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Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...



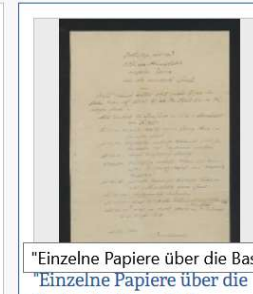
"Araucanische Gr."

Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...



"Abiponische Gr."

Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...



"Einzelne Papiere über die Baskische Sprache"

Humboldt, Wilhelm von (17...



ke — N. Seel., Haw. (392)

{ Artikel (vor gewissen Buchstaben; vor andren steht *ka*, 490) — Haw. 489, 492, 493 (N. Seel. und Tah. *te*; Tong. *ke*, nur in einzelnen Spuren *te*; das westliche *si* 491)

{ erstes Glied der Pron. dem. — Haw. 689, 690, 694, 696 (N. Seel. *te* im Sing.; Tah. *te*)

{ Artikel vor dem Pron. int. *aha* — Haw. 725, 726 (N. Seel. und Tah. *te*)

{ vor eins — Haw. 571, 742 (N. Seel. *te*, Tong. *ke*)

{ Zeichen der Ordin. (vor gewissen Buchstaben; vor andren *ka*) — Haw. 617, 618 (N. Seel. und Tah. *te*, Tong. *ke*)

{ vor dem Verbum — beim Verbum fin. — *ke-nei, ke-la* Zeichen des Präs. — Haw. 782, 783, 796 (Tah. *te-nei* Präs., *te-ra* Imperf., Tong. *te* Fut., manchmal Präs.; N. Seel. *te* vor dem Verbum dunkel; Mal. *telah*, Jav. und Kawi *telas* vor dem Verbum Zeichen des Perf. 796)

{ — im Imper. — Haw. (Ein B.) 810, 812

{ — Zeichen des Inf. — Haw. 824, 828 (in einigen Fällen, sonst *e*)

{ dafs — Haw. 1037.

{ wenn (der Bedingung) — Haw. 1045

{ nach dem Verbum — bei der Vergangenheit — N. Seel. 230, 232, 804 (vor dem Verbum kann dabei *koa* stehn)

{ — beim Fut. — N. Seel. 233, 804 (vgl. *ake*)

{ Ortspräpos. der Ruhe und Bewegung — N. Seel. 228, 970 (wohl mit *ki* verwandt; s. daselbst die Sprachvergl.)

{ *kē*, ein anderer — N. Seel. 227 (Tong. *gehe*, Tah. *ē*, Haw. *e*; viell. das Jav. *edjē* 751)

kei — N. Seel. — Ortspräpos. der Ruhe und Bewegung — 229, 971 (wohl von der Präpos. *ke* abgeleitet; das Tah. *tei*, *ei*, viell. das Haw. *ai*; vgl. 958-965, 967-969)

ki — N. Seel., Haw. (über die N. Seel. Präpos., ihre Etym. und die ihr verwandten Formen der östlichen und westlichen Stammsprachen s. 958-965, 967-969; über den Unterschied der Form *ki* von *kia* s. 966)

{ Ortspräpos. der Ruhe und Bewegung — N. Seel. 196, 970 (vor Subst. appell. und Ortsnamen, sonst *kia*) (auch *i, ke*; Tah. *ii, i*, Haw. *i*, Tong. *gi*; *i* und *gi* dieser Sprachen in der angegebenen Beschränkung; der Kaw. Verbal-Ansatz *hi* 961; Kawi *hing, ni, ri, ring*, Jav. *hing*; Mal. *de* Ruhe)

{ als diese Präpos. vor örtliche Subst. gestellt, bildet es Adv. und Präpos. — N. Seel. 970 (auch *i*, s. daselbst die Sprachvergl.)

{ als diese Präpos. vor Adv. — N. Seel. 970 (Tong. *gi*, Tah. und Haw. *i*; Mal. *de* Ruhe; Jav. *hing*, Tag. *di, d*)

{ Zeichen des Dat. und Acc. — N. Seel. 196, 544, 545 (vor Subst. appell. und Ortsnamen, sonst *kia*) (*i* Zeichen des Acc., Tong. *gi* des Dat., Tah. und Haw. *i* des Dat. und Acc.; ebenso das Verbal-Suffix Mal. *ī*, Kaw. und Jav. *hi* 961; Kawi *hing, ni, ri, ring*, Jav. *hing*; Bug. *ri* und Mad. *ni* Zeichen des Acc.)

{ von (Lat. *de*) — N. Seel. 196, 1017 (Tong. *gi*, Haw. *i*)

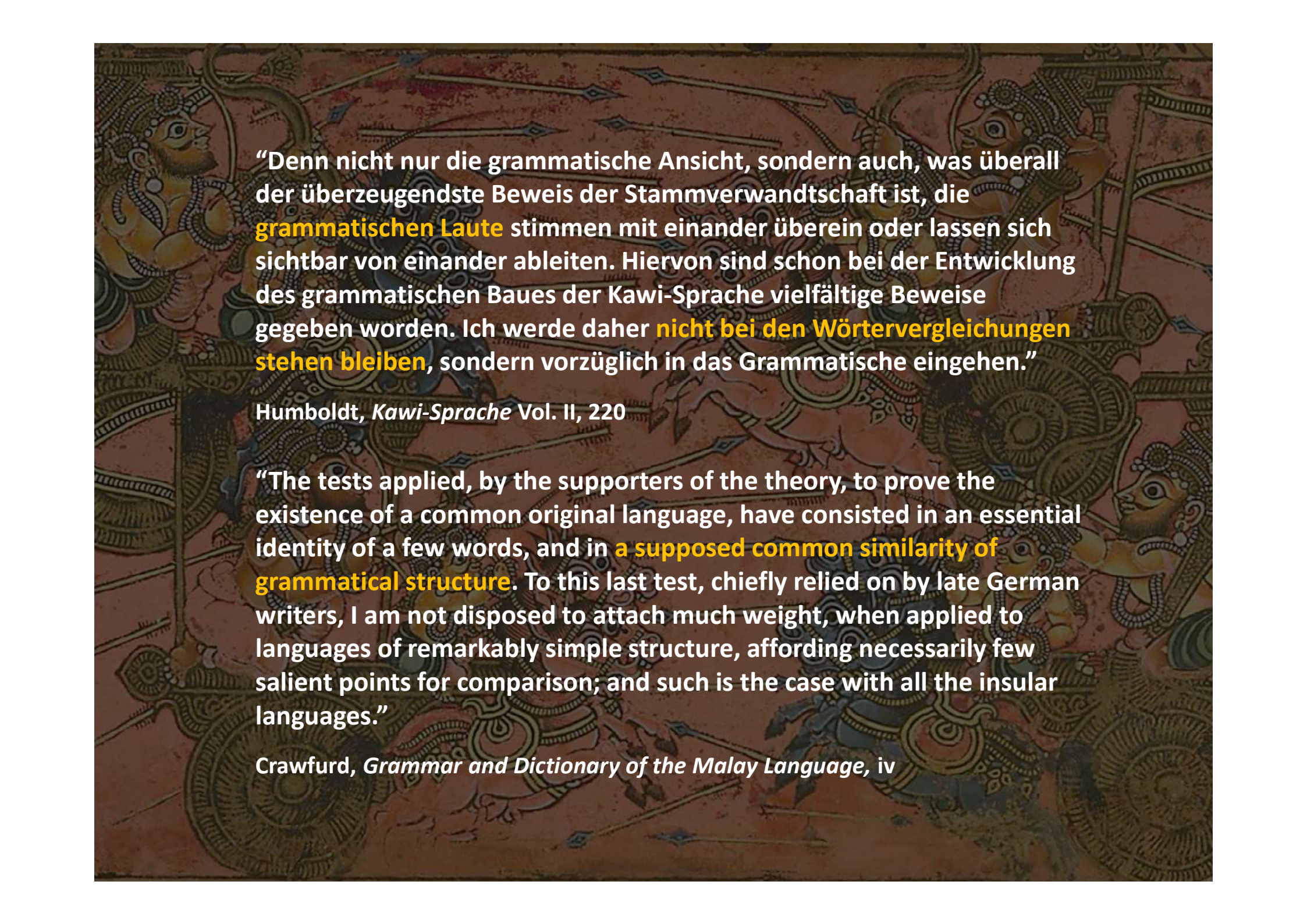
{ wie — N. Seel. 196

Humboldt at work:
identifying 'meaningful
sounds'

Not just phonetic:
greatest part devoted to
particles, prepositions, affixes

Comparing what grammatical
role these play in different
Malayan/Polynesian languages

Principle of 'Analogy', i.e.
regular structure of words
> if it's not analogous, it's
(probably) a loan word



“Denn nicht nur die grammatische Ansicht, sondern auch, was überall der überzeugendste Beweis der Stammverwandtschaft ist, die **grammatischen Laute** stimmen mit einander überein oder lassen sich sichtbar von einander ableiten. Hiervon sind schon bei der Entwicklung des grammatischen Baues der Kawi-Sprache vielfältige Beweise gegeben worden. Ich werde daher **nicht bei den Wörtervergleichen stehen bleiben**, sondern vorzüglich in das Grammatische eingehen.”

Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache* Vol. II, 220

“The tests applied, by the supporters of the theory, to prove the existence of a common original language, have consisted in an essential identity of a few words, and in **a supposed common similarity of grammatical structure**. To this last test, chiefly relied on by late German writers, I am not disposed to attach much weight, when applied to languages of remarkably simple structure, affording necessarily few salient points for comparison; and such is the case with all the insular languages.”

Crawford, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language*, iv

Crawfurd, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language* (1852)

Dedicated to Humboldt's brother
Criticizes Humboldt: Malayan and Polynesian languages cannot be related because

1. There are not that many resembling or borrowed words
2. Polynesian languages lack many consonants used in Malay/Jav.
3. You can form a sentence in Polynesian languages without using Malayan words
4. Polynesians belong to a different race (taller, prettier)

in 1000 of the whole body of the Tagala and Bisaya are Malayan, including Sanskrit and Arabic under this head, the number of them referring to the arts and knowledge introduced by the Malays and Javanese must be thought a large proportion.

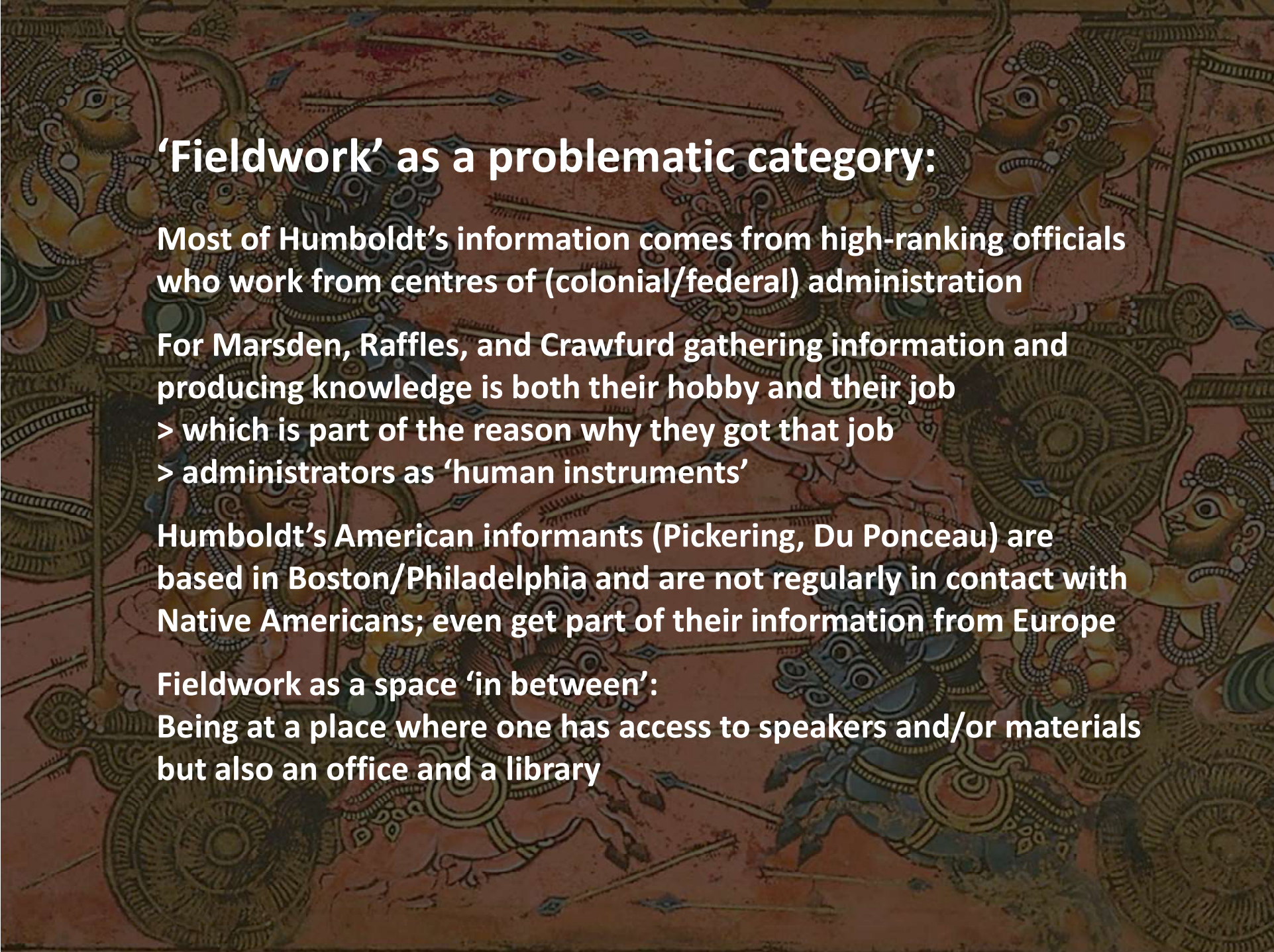
I have now to enquire into the nature of the Malayan intercourse with the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific

speaking the Polynesian language. The total number of Malayan words in the Polynesian, it will be recollected, is little more than 80, the numerals included, which of themselves make near a sixth part of that number. When Europeans first authentically

examined the South Sea islands, they found the only domesticated animals known to the inhabitants to be the dog, the hog, and the common fowl, which have the following names in the different dialects:—

ENGLISH.	MARQUESAS.	SANDWICH ISLANDS.	TONGA.	NEW ZEALAND.	MALAYAN.
Dog.	Nuhe, peto.	Ilio.	Guli.	Kuri, kireke.	Anjing, m.; asu, j.
Hog.	Puaka.	Puäa.	Buaka.	—	Babi, c.
Common fowl.	Mäa.	Möa.	Möa.	—	Ayam, manuk, c.

These were found to be very unequally distributed. The Society and Sandwich islands had all the three. The Marquesas had only the hog and common fowl, and Easter island only the last. New Zealand had only the dog. The breed or race of all the animals was uniformly the same throughout all the islands. Forster, in his "Observations on Cook's Second Voyage," describes the hog and dog. "The hogs," says he, "are of the breed which we call Chinese, having a short body, short legs, belly hanging down almost to the ground, the ears erect, and very few thin hairs on the body." Of the dog, he says, "The dogs of the South Sea isles are a singular race; they most resemble the common cur, but have a prodigious large head, remarkably little eyes, prick ears, long hair, and a short bushy tail. They are exceedingly stupid, and seldom or never bark, only growl now and then, have the sense of smelling in a



'Fieldwork' as a problematic category:

Most of Humboldt's information comes from high-ranking officials who work from centres of (colonial/federal) administration

For Marsden, Raffles, and Crawford gathering information and producing knowledge is both their hobby and their job

> which is part of the reason why they got that job

> administrators as 'human instruments'

Humboldt's American informants (Pickering, Du Ponceau) are based in Boston/Philadelphia and are not regularly in contact with Native Americans; even get part of their information from Europe

Fieldwork as a space 'in between':

Being at a place where one has access to speakers and/or materials but also an office and a library



Linguistics as/or philology:

Humboldt distinguishes between *Sprachwissenschaft* and *Philologie* (which French and English scholars back then did not)

But his programme is to trace the development of human culture and mind through language > needs rich textual sources

Jürgen Trabant: this is why Humboldt abandoned his American for his Malayo-Polynesian studies (*Weltansichten*, 2012)

Strategies for increasing philological prestige:

- 1) Gathering and publishing folklore, mythology, epic poetry
- 2) Identifying ancestor languages
- 3) Highlighting linguistic complexity
- 4) Filling gaps in historical record



General trajectory:

language > language material > linguistic data

[speaker > missionary/explorer/administrator > professional]

Fundamentally problematic: expert judgement requires autopsy

You can't fully rely on reports by others, and being an expert means being able to make corrections

But experts are not necessarily better at speaking/understanding individual languages

Parallel trajectory: natural history of language

Language as a source of names for places, plants, animals

Language as a denominator of ethnic groups

This intersection takes place at every level of study: *in situ*, in administrative centres, and in European institutions/metropolises