

A FRAGMENTARY SKETCH OF THE REJANG LANGUAGE

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INTRODUCTION

In 1927 O.L. Helfrich edited a collection of South-Sumatran folktales with Dutch translations. They are an important source, not only for the knowledge of South-Sumatran folklore, but also for the study of several languages and dialects. The last five pages of this collection contain the first texts ever printed in the Rejang language. They were written by Raden Hasan, at that time a member of the civil service under the Dutch Colonial Government. Apparently he also made the Malay translation on which Helfrich based his Dutch rendering of the tales. Thanks to his efforts linguists can get a first impression of the structure of the Rejang language.

There are three tales, numbers XXV-XXVII of Helfrich's collection (p.244-248, translation p.308-315), entitled 'The tale of the monkey', 'The tale of the dog, the tiger, the anak lumang (orphan boy) and the mousedeer' and 'The tale of the monkey and the cecalik bird'. The first two, which are longer than the third, have their origin in Indian literature. The first text is a folk version of the story of Rāma. In this version the two Monkey-kings Sugrīwa and Hanuman have become one person. In this respect the Rejang tale agrees with a Minangkabau popular version of the story of Rāma.*

The second tale is a variant of the fable in the Pancatantra about a Brahmin who saves an ungrateful tiger. It is a close parallel to the version cited by Hooykaas, 1929, p.99-101 from Leclère, *Contes Laotiens et Contes Cambodgiens* (92).

As mentioned before, the texts written by Raden Hasan are the first published specimens of *spoken* Rejang, from which a linguist can at least get a partial insight into the structure of the language. The 'Specimens of Rejang' published in 1885 (Anon.) with a Malay translation which can only partly be understood, are written in a quite different idiom. When one compares Raden Hasan's texts with the 'Specimens', the differences in vocabulary, morphology and syntax are obvious. The language of the 'Specimens' is the Rejang *literary* language, an idiom composed from elements of other Indonesian languages. This will be clear from the following short citation (Anon. 1885:490):

*This Minangkabau version was written down in 1930 by Osman Idris Gelar Soetan Pangeran, at that time lecturer in Hamburg. During a study leave in Minangkabau he tried, at my request, to find out whether a popular version of the story of Rāma was known there. And indeed, Mr Idris found an old story teller in Payakumbuh who knew such a tale, *Curito Tan si Romo dan Ula'sumono jo rajo Noruano*. He wrote it down and afterwards I translated it into German. Text and translation each have 43 pages typescript.

Malay translation in 'Specimens'

Ini surat bujang kasian
 rawu maring gadis miliye
 aning saraba ricang ading
 karatas layang pakirim
 wadari caking barabas
 kisa batang

Ini surat bujang kasihan
 sampai kapada gadis mulia
 dengar pantun sahaya adik
 kertas surat terkirim
 datang dari mana jatuh
 dari batang

The words kasian = Mal. kasihan; rawu = Jav., Sund. idem *arrive*; maring = Jav. idem or marang *towards, to*; ricang = Jav., Sund. *réncang servant, friend*; barabas from Mal. rebas *fall*; aning, Middle Malay idem *listen*; ading, Middle Malay idem *younger brother or sister*; kisa, Middle Malay *kisah origin* [Jav. *késah go out*]; saraba, Middle Malay serambah *pantun* may scarcely be found in spoken Rejang. Some of these words do not follow the Rejang phonemic pattern. On the other hand, the influence of the spoken language on the literary language appears in such forms as samayang = semba(h)yang ('Specimens', p.485,25); diri = Mal. dari (487,19); kamali = Mal. kembali (485,10); miliye = Mal. mulia (490,13). The tendency of the spoken language to reduce a nasal + media to nasal and to assimilate vowels makes itself felt in these forms.

The use of a literary language widely different from the colloquial is not a Rejang peculiarity only. In other parts of South Sumatra, among the Besemah, Serawai and Lampung, literary languages have been developed from the same elements as in Rejang. Here too, peculiarities of the spoken languages have influenced the languages of literature. This conclusion can be drawn from a comparison of the folktales in Helfrich (1927) with the literary texts edited by the same scholar in 1904 (Middle Malay) and 1891 (Lampung).

Research into the origin of literary languages and their connection with the colloquials is an important subject in Indonesian studies. The result may not only give an insight into the history of language but it seems to me that it may also supplement and enrich our views of political and cultural developments. In South Sumatra we still find literary language and colloquial side by side. This supports my hypothesis about the character of the old Indonesian languages known to us from Old-Javanese literature and from the small part of Old-Malay literature which has been preserved [cf. Aichele, 1943]. It shows the direction to be taken in the study of these languages.

In Helfrich's collection of folktales we find some Malay passages in Lampung and Rejang texts. The Mousedeer's recitation in a Lampung tale (p.198) and the alternating song of the Monkey and the female Cecalik bird in the short Rejang fable (p.248) are in Malay. It seems that Malay, the language of government, schools and the press is taking over the function of the historical literary languages [the author refers, of course, to the Dutch Colonial Government].

The song in the Rejang fable is given here. My interpretation differs in some respects from that of the editor.

The Monkey begins:

"Cecalik, cecalik, dimano sarangmu?"

"Cecalik, cecalik, where is your nest?"

"Di rumpun padi, beuk!"

(The female cecalik:) "Between the rice stalks, Monkey!"

"Di rumpun padi, kalu miang?"

(The Monkey:) "Between the rice stalks — what if the hairs make you itch?"

"Miang - ku (for aku) mandi!" padeak cecalik.
"If hairs cause itching - then I take a bath!" quoth the cecalik.

Padeak beuk:
The Monkey says:

"Mandi - kalu dingin?"
"Take a bath - what if you get cold?"
 "Dingin, aku jemur!"
"If I get cold - I shall dry in the sunshine!"

"Jemur - kalu panas?" padeak beuk.
"Dry in the sun - what if you get too hot?"

"Panas - aku betudung!" padeak cecalik.
"Too hot - then I'll use a sunhat!"

"Betudung - kalu dimakan tumo?" padeak beuk.
"Use a sunhat - what if the lice eat you?"

"Makan tumo - aku mati!" padeak cecalik.
"Eat lice - I'll die for that! (i.e. I'll give my life for it)",
quoth the cecalik.

This unexpected cunning answer of the bird makes the Monkey laugh, so that the bird can fly away from the monkey's open mouth.

The orthography of the three Rejang texts is not absolutely consistent, but on the whole it is sufficiently clear to give an idea of the phonemic structure of the language. There are, however, a number of confusing printing errors, which should be corrected. [The following is a complete list of Aichele's corrections. Those which seem doubtful I have marked with one ?, and one which I think is definitely wrong with two ??]:

BKI 83 p.244:

debilaio	1. debilai o
nienade	1. nien ade
tjoeboko	1. tjoebo ko
boetan	1. boetau
meloepat bako	1. meloepat-ba ko
bokko	1. bok ko

p.245:

telan	1. telau [?]
senimar	1. senimat [?]
todoea	1. tidoea
silo noe	1. silonoe
tjoe	1. tjoa
tenengea ne	1. teningeane [?]

p.246:

benono	1. benamo
sebarankoe	1. sekarankoe
didjai	1. djidjai
tenipan	1. tenipau
moesean	1. moesea
djidai	1. djidjai

p.247:

bipajeak	1. bi pajeak
moekko	1. moek ko
boeahtoe	1. boeakkoe
ketanggoengan koe	1. ketanggoengankoe
beak koejo	1. beakkoe jo
kene	1. keno [?]
oekoe lok oekoe lok	1. oekoe lok [??]

p.248:

awei ne	1. aweine
nemoek ne	1. nemoekne
megango	1. mengango [?]
lameum	1. lameun
teminok na	1. teminokna
tenoa na	1. tenoana

Often m and n are interchanged. Where this occurs in the infixes -em- and -en- the meaning is distorted.

THE REJANG COLLOQUIAL LANGUAGE

1. Method of this study

It goes without saying that a sketch of the spoken Rejang language based on this restricted material can only be fragmentary. Looking at these five printed pages one can conclude that there is a strong phonetic difference between Rejang and the neighbouring South-Sumatran languages and that this difference represents a later development. We see that mainly the word-end is subject to changes of sound — word-final vowels and diphthongs as well as *-h, *-r and *-l. Combinations of nasals and voiced as well as voiceless stops are modified too. Moreover word-initial and -medial *r has disappeared [or rather, it became glottal stop word-medially], except in a number of loanwords. Vowel assimilation, a somewhat uncommon phenomenon in Indonesian languages, is found in several instances.

As matters stand at present [i.e. in the 1930s] the only presentation possible to show the special features of Rejang is comparative. However, the aim cannot be to link Rejang directly with a 'proto-language', which can be constructed from a common stock such as it is scattered all over the Indonesian language territory in regular sound correspondences. The share in vocabulary which Rejang—like every individual language—has in common with the 'proto-language' would be insufficient to comprehend it in its present development. For a clear understanding of Rejang we better turn to the nearest cognate living languages of Sumatra and West-Java. These have been more conservative in their development. They may help us to understand at least the latest developmental phases which Rejang has gone through.

Moreover, comparative linguistics cannot possibly restrict itself to sound systems alone. Only by analysing phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics in their mutual interdependence can it hope to achieve a clearer understanding of these factors individually. For the present comparative linguistics can approach this goal only if it starts from individual living languages which are sufficiently well-known. But, however much the language to be studied may have lost from the common characteristics of its group, it may still show forms which are in some respects more archaic than in the nearest cognate sister-languages. We shall find some examples in Rejang. In such cases one has to refer to languages farther away which, according to the result of Indonesian comparative linguistics, also preserved the older form.

2. The sound system

VOWELS: a, é (in the texts: e), i, o, u (in the texts: oe)

e [i.e. ə] (in the texts not distinguished from é) [In the last, stressed, syllable it has an allophone which is sometimes written eu in the texts. Aichele thought it was a separate phoneme for which he used ö.]

DIPHTHONGS (only occurring word-finally):

ai, ei, au, ew

ea, ia, oa, ua, oi

The diphthongs ea, ia, ua also precede word-final ' [glottal stop]
(in the texts written: k)

CONSONANTS: ' [glottal stop; word-medially in the texts only indicated in do-o or doö for do'o; word-finally in the texts written k]

k, g, ng
 c, j, ny (in the texts: tj, dj, nj)
 t, d, n
 p, b, m
 l
 y (in the texts: j), w
 s, h
 r (occurs mostly in loanwords).

[Concerning the 'barred nasals' see 3.14.b]

Voiced stops in word-final position are as rare as in Malay. At most they only occur in loanwords such as *sebab* *reason, cause*. h occurs only in interjections: *hai hey!*, *céh phew!*

3. The sound changes

In opposition to the supposedly better preserved sound forms found in other languages of the group to which Rejang belongs, the following changes appear:

(1) Word-final vowels:

*-a > -o (as in Minangkabau), e.g.:

imo *forest* (cf. Mal. rimba)
 geruwo *cave* (cf. Mal. gua)
 seto *yard* (cf. Mal. hasta)

*-a > -é, e.g.:

adé *be on hand*
 t-en-anyé *be asked*

*-a > -e(ö), e.g.:

ipö *where?* (cf. Lampung ipa *where?*)
 itö *we incl.* (cf. Mal. kita)
 -ne 3rd pers. poss. pronoun (cf. Mal. -nya, Bat. -na)

*-a > -ai, e.g.:

duwai *two*
 te-tawai *laugh*
 matai *eye*
 tuwai *old*

*-a is retained in the particles *ba*, *na*[?] and the 3rd person possessive pronoun is sometimes spelt *-na* in the texts, sometimes *-ne*.

*-i is as a rule replaced by *-ai*, e.g.:

rugai *loss, detriment*
 meterai *princess* (cf. Skt. putrī, Mid. Mal. beteri)
 rezekai *provisions, food* (this Arabic loanword is in the texts the only word which contains z)

sepertai *as, like*
 [bilai *day* (cf. Mal. hari and see 3.7)]

*-i is retained in:

tapi *but*
 api *all that* [Jaspan: *who?*]
 siapi *anyone who*
 udi *you* (polite)
 kuni *from*

*-u is as a rule replaced by -au, e.g.:

ulau *head*
 telau *three*
 te-temau *meet*
 t-en-ipau *be deceived*
 lalau *go on*
 mengabalau *marry a widow*

*-u > -o, e.g.:

meto *come out* (cf. Jav. wetu)
 te-temo *meet*

-u is retained in the personal pronouns uku *I* and kumu *you* (plural)

The diphthongisation of *-a and *-i to -ai and of *-u to -au seems to be caused by the word-final stress.

(2) The original word-final diphthongs *-ai and *-au appear as -ei(öi) and -ew(-öw) respectively, also in those cases where they are for some unexplained reason replaced by -i and -u in Malay and Middle Malay, e.g.:

*-ai > -ei in:

atei *heart, mind* (Mid. Mal. etc. hati, ati, but Tagalog atai, Batak ate, Ngaju- and Maanyan-Dayak atäi, Malagasi (Merina) ati, from *atai, *atäi or *ate, because *-ti would have been palatalised to -tsi)
 matei *die* (Mid. Mal. etc. mati, but Tagalog matai, Batak mate, Dayak matäi, Malagasi mati)
 sapei *arrived, so that* (Mid. Mal. etc. sampai, cf. 3.14a)
 pei *just, just now* (Mid. Mal. (e)mpai)
 bei *mother, mother-animal* (Mid. Mal. bai)
 m-elei *give* (cf. Mal. beri, but Tagalog bigai, Karo beré)

But *-ai > -é in:

gawé *work, activity* (as in Sundanese and Javanese)
 bé *presently* (cf. Mid. Mal. etc. tembai *first, earlier*, from the stem bai *mother*?, Karo-Batak lebé *before*, Jav. tembé *just now*)

*-au > -ew in:

kebew *buffalo* (Mid. Mal. kebau)
 m-ulew *hunt, chase*, imperative k-ulew *you chase* (Mid. Mal. buru, but Tagalog bugaw, Batak buro, cf. 3.7 and 3.9)
 imew *tiger* (Mal. harimau)

(3) Accompanied by diphthongisation of its preceding vowel, final -h becomes glottal stop. Thus:

*-ah > -eak, e.g.:

uleak *behaviour* (< *ulah)
 upeak *wages* (< *upah)
 beak *below* (Lampung bah)
 padeak *word* (< *padah [cf. Aichele, 1943, p.47])
 payeak *tired, weak* (< *payah)
 teak *do not know* (< *(en)tah)
 mareak *cross, furious* (< *marah)
 kileak *also, as well* (Mid. Mal. kilah, kinah *idem*)
 leceak *muddy, wet* (Mal., Karo lecah)

*-ih > -iak, e.g.:

buliak *can, be allowed, obtain* (< *bulih)
 putiak *white* (< *putih)
 keliak *see* (Mid. Mal. kelih)

*-uh > -uak, e.g.:

asuak *younger brother or sister* (< *asuh, cf. Mal. asuh *nursing*)
 m-unuak *kill* (Mal. membunuh)
 ne-luruak *arrangement* (Mid. Mal. melurohi *take care of*, cf. Mal. luruh *fall down*, Old Jav. ruru, Ngaju duroh; as to the meaning cf. Jav. tiba *fall, judge*)

(4) *i, *é and *u preceding an original word-final glottal stop are retained, e.g.:

titik *small, little*
 pék *take, [put]* (Old Jav., Jav. *idem take*)
 kuyuk *dog* (Lampung *idem*)

*a on the other hand tends to become o in this position, e.g.:

anak *child* (< *anak)
 sok *ripe, done* (Lampung sak, Mal. masak)
 tuwok *palmtree* (< *tuwak)
 mukok *open* (Mal. membuka(k))
 bok *reason* (Lampung bak)
 sesok *oppression, tightness* (Mal. sesak)
 otok *brains* (Mal. otak)
 ke-galok *desire, passion, wanted* (< *galak)
 ke-jinok *tame* (Mid. Mal. etc. jinak)

*a is retained in:

telapak *in telapak tangan palm of the hand* (Mal., Mid. Mal. *idem*)
 n-apak *married* (cf. Mid. Mal. mapak *conduct a wedding ceremony*)
 nak *in* (cf. Lampung, Mid. Mal. tunak *stay*)

(5) Word-final *-r and *-l disappear while the preceding vowel becomes a diphthong. A similar process of diphthongisation is found in Minangkabau, where, however, *-ar and *-al are excepted.

*-al, *-ar > -ea, e.g.:

ke-libea	<i>width</i> (Mid. Mal. libagr <i>wide</i>)
ke-luwea	<i>go outside</i> (Mid. Mal. lu(w)agr)
asea	<i>origin, main point, if only</i> (Mid. Mal. etc. asal from Arabic)
akea	<i>sense, trick, deceit</i> (Mid. Mal. etc. akal from Arabic)
magea	<i>to, for</i> (for persons) (cf. Lampung peger, meger <i>come</i> , BKI 83, 197; cf. Jav. dateng <i>come</i> , prepositional <i>to, toward, for</i>)

Deviating diphthongs are:

d-ipoa	<i>on the other side</i> (Toba, Mandailing ipar)
biyoa	<i>water</i> (Mal. ayar, Lampung wai; with regard to the initial sound cf. Old Jav. wway and 3.10)
be-juwoa	<i>offer for sale</i> (Mid. Mal. etc. ju(w)al)

*-il, *-ir > -ia, e.g.:

kecia	<i>small</i> (Mal. kecil)
bibia	<i>lip, edge, seam</i> (Mid. Mal. bibigr, Mal. bibir)

*-ul > -oa, e.g.:

t-em-otoa	<i>pursue</i> (Mid. Mal. tutol, Lampung tutul)
soa	<i>get, search(?)</i> (cf. probably Lampung surul <i>drag, get</i>)
betoa	<i>be true</i> (Mid. Mal. betol, Mal. betul)
tenoa	<i>egg</i> (< *telul, cf. 3.7 and 3.13; Mid. Mal. telogr, Mal. telur)

*-ur > -ua, e.g.:

gugua	<i>fall off</i> (Mal. gugur)
tidua	<i>sleep</i> (Mal. tidur)

Word-final *-r is retained in the interjection purr (for: *a bird flying up*, cf. Sundanese pur), and in the noun tepur *moment* (cf. Mid. Mal. tempor *moment*) which is probably derived from it.

[senimar, p.245, is either a misprint for senimat or a loanword, though a Malay dialect form *simbar for Mal. sambar, Minangkabau sém̃ba is only hypothetical.]

(6) *r, and sometimes also *l, have disappeared word-initially, e.g.:

asai	<i>feeling, opinion</i> (also Mid. Mal. ase, asaw; from Skt. rasa)
acun	<i>poison</i> (Mal. racun)
imew	<i>tiger</i> (Mal. harimau, Mid. Mal. grimau)
tai(-na)	<i>(its) meaning</i> (Mal. erti, reti, from Skt.)
ne-but	<i>snatched away</i> (Mal. rebut)
ke-tang	<i>you, stretch!</i> (Mal. rentang, or Mal., Mid. Mal. bentang cf. 3.9)
bang	<i>door</i> (Sundanese etc. lawang)
me(m)-pas	<i>set free</i> (cf. Mal. etc. lepas)
igai	<i>still, moreover</i> (Mal., Mid. Mal. lagi, Mid. Mal. also agi; cf. 3.12)
amen	<i>(along with lamen) if, while</i> (Sundanese, Jav. lamun, Mid. Mal. lamon)

Word-medially, *r [becomes ' (glottal stop) or sometimes] disappears, e.g.:

be'uk	<i>kind of monkey</i> (Mal. etc. beruk)
sa'ang	<i>nest</i> (Mal. sarang)
pa'ok	<i>approach</i> (Sund., Jav. parek, Lamp. parok)
be'em	<i>rice wine</i> (Sund. berem, Mal. beram)
sebe'ang	<i>the opposite bank of a river, the other side</i> (Mal. seberang)
soa	(< *sul) <i>search</i> (cf. (?) Lamp. surul <i>drag, get</i>)
bingin	<i>banyan (tree)</i> (Mal. beringin)
m-em	<i>brood</i> (Mal. eram, Jav. angrem, Karo kerem)

Perhaps *l disappeared word-medially in:

soa	<i>piece</i> (auxiliary numeral, among other things for eggs; cf. (?) Sund. solor)
ke-nam-ku	<i>as far as I know, to my knowledge</i> (to be compared(?) with Lamp. nalom, <i>alam clever, all-knowing, experienced</i> ; cf. 3.13)

The sound-sequence *-ari becomes the diphthong -oi because of the loss of *r, e.g.:

moi	<i>come, come on!</i> (Mal. etc. mari)
t-oi	<i>let us (incl.)!</i> (cf. Karo ari, root morpheme of *mari in ari ko <i>come here</i> ; toi is therefore a contraction of ite us (incl.) and *ari > oi)
poi	<i>rice</i> (Lamp., Jav. pari)

Word-medial *r is preserved in the following examples, all of them probably being loanwords:

kereno	<i>because</i> (Mal. karena, from Skt.)
garang	<i>wild, grim</i> (Mal. idem)
metarai	<i>princess</i> (Mid. Mal. beteri, Mal. puteri, from Skt.)
pere(m)puan	<i>wife</i> (Mal. idem)
maro	<i>very well, let's go!</i> (Mal. mara <i>forward!</i>)
percayo	<i>believe</i> (Mal. percaya, from Skt.)
perbuatan, perbuatan	<i>action</i> (Mal. idem)
tarak	<i>asceticism</i> (Mal. idem)
mareak	<i>be furious, cross</i> (Mal. marah; cf. 3.3)
sepertai	<i>like</i> (Mal. seperti, from Skt.)
sekaran	<i>endurance, grief</i> (Mid. Mal. sengkaraw'an, sengkare'an)

[But is geruwo *cave* (cf. Mal. guha) a loan word too?]

Word-initially r appears in the texts only in:

rugai	<i>loss</i> (Mal. rugi)
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(7) The sound recorded by Dempwolff (1934) in his proto-Indonesian sound-system as a voiced velar fricative and written *y*, became *l* in Rejang. This is the sound of Van der Tuuk's first phonetic rule, usually called the RGH-rule, because it appears regularly as *r* in one language, as *g* in another and as *h* in a third language (and as *y* (z) in yet another); in some languages it disappears altogether. The Rejang *l* which corresponds with the sound of the RGH-rule is now only found word-medially. If our analysis of the word *tenoa egg* is correct (see 3.5) it formerly also occurred word-finally. [In the word list of the Rawas dialect of Rejang by Van Hasselt (1881), what is now the diphthong -oa in

Lebong is written -ol. It seems that in the late 18th century this pronunciation was still heard among the Rejang speakers on the coast; see Marsden, 1811 p.203: *water* = beole, *coconut* = niöle. There is no parallel to the shift of the RGH-sound to l in the neighbouring languages of Rejang.]

It should be noted that in the Middle-Malay dialects Besemah and Serawai even now two r-sounds can be distinguished, which Helfrich wrote as r and gr. This gr represents velar r, and indeed in most of its occurrences it is the output of Van der Tuuk's first phonetic rule, although it is not seldom interchangeable with r.

Examples for the RGH-sound in Rejang:

daleak	<i>blood</i>	(Mid. Mal. dagrah)
mileak	<i>red</i>	(Mal. mérah, Karo mirah)
belau	<i>new</i>	(Mal. beharu)
m-elei	<i>give</i>	(see 3.2)
m-ulew	<i>chase</i>	(see 3.2)
bilai	<i>day</i>	(Mal. hari, Mid. Mal. agri; cf. 3.3 and 3.12)
lilai	<i>run, flee</i>	(Mid. Mal. lari, lagri; see 3.12)
balet	<i>root (also aerial)</i>	(Mid. Mal. urat, ugrat <i>fibre, vein, root</i> ; Old Jav. wwad <i>root</i> , with reduplication owad <i>parasitic plant</i> , otwat <i>veins</i> [but these connections are doubtful]; Lamp. bayit <i>climber</i> , wayit <i>root, climber, creeper</i> . a instead of u in balet and in Lampung bayit, wayit can be explained by shift of stress onto the last syllable. As to the vowel e(ö) (Rejang), i (Lampung) compare Gayo uyöt <i>vein, root, climber</i>)

Exceptions (which follow 3.6 and are probably loanwords from a language with r for the RGH-sound):

tu'un	<i>descend, leave the house</i>	(Mid. Mal. tugron)
binai	<i>venture, dare</i>	(Mid. Mal. begrani, Lamp. bani; cf. 3.12)

Remark: Lampung talum *indigo blue* (instead of *tayum) may be considered a borrowing from Rejang.

(8) Unfortunately the texts do not contain enough examples to be able to recognise with certainty the Rejang reflection of the sound of Van der Tuuk's second sound-rule, the DGRL-rule.

Because it is certain that adik in adik-sanokku *my fellow villager* is a Middle-Malay loan word, only poi *rice* and gén *name* need to be explained. Of these poi might have been borrowed from Lampung (pari); cf. 3.6. Thus the only example of the DGRL-sound would be gén *name* if this could be identified with Jav. aran *name*. The dropping of the first syllable would not be exceptional; see 3.9 and 3.11. But because in the Batak dialects a corresponding *agan, as the word would be, is lacking, this identification is very questionable. Presumably gén belongs to a totally different stem, cf. 3.11.

[A clear example of the DGRL-sound in Rejang is dalek *fly* (Mal. lalat, Simalungun Batak lanog). The final consonant in this and some other Rejang words is not a glottal stop but k, which may go back to *-g. The word is not in Helfrich's texts. Thus, the etymology of gén proposed here is perhaps not as improbable as Aichele thought.]

(9) Occasionally *b has dropped word-initially, e.g.:

- ngus *muzzle* (cf. Sund. *bangus snout, bill, muzzle (of an animal)*)
 tang in: *ke-tang you, stretch* (cf. 3.6)
 ulew in: *k-ulew you, chase* (cf. 3.2)
 uang in: *k-uang you, throw away* (cf. Mal. *uang*)

[Aichele assumed an original word-initial *w in *lai*, because he doubted Helfrich's translation *large* and would connect it with Mal. Arab. *wali patron*. This etymology is impossible because *lai* indeed means *large*.]

(10) Word-initially *w becomes b, e.g.:

- bang *door* (Sund. etc. *lawang*, cf. 3.6)
 balet *root, aerial root* (cf. 3.7)
 biyoa *water* (cf. 3.5 and 3.12)
 bilai *day* (cf. 3.3)

Exception:

- wipe *in what way, how* (cf. 3.15)

(11) Some originally disyllabic word stems have become monosyllabic as a result of merging of sounds, e.g.:

- lut *very* (cf. (?) Lamp. *luwot more*)
 pun *tree, trunk* (Mal. *pohon*)
 tot *tree-stump* (cf. Lamp. *tuhot stub*, Tagalog *tood stump*)
 NB. tot *bingin*, p.247, is translated *banyan-tree* (p.313) but from the context it is evident that it refers to a stump which was left after the tree was hewn.
 gén [Aichele was not satisfied with the etymology given in 3.8 and preferred deriving this word from a stem *gah (Achehnese *fame*) with a suffix *-an, but this seems much less probable.]

(12) The texts contain a number of words which show vowel assimilation, a relatively rare phenomenon in Indonesian languages. Evidently this is caused by the prominence in pronunciation of the stressed second syllable, so that its vowel becomes audible in advance, e.g.:

- uku *I*
 kéme *we* (excl.)
 kumu *you* (pl.)
 bélek *return* (via *balék < *balik)
 binai *brave* (via *bini < *bani, cf. 3.7)
 butau *stone* (via *butu < *batu, cf. 3.1)
 igai *moreover* (via *igi < *agi, *lagi, cf. 3.6)
 jijai *become* (dialectal *ijai*, cf. 3.17) (via *jiji < *jaji < jadi)
 lilai *run* (via *lili < *lali, cf. 3.7)
 bilai *day* (via *bili < *wali, cf. 3.7)
 nosok *hidden, concealed* (via *ne-sok < *ni-sok, cf. Mal. *sorok hide, conceal*, cf. 3.6)

[Aichele also mentions *kiyew tree* (Mal. kayu, one would expect Rejang *kayau) and *biyoa water* (cf. 3.5 and 3.10), but in these words there is no vowel assimilation; the *a became i because of the immediately following y.]

Vowel dissimilation appears in:

su'et *wasp* (cf. Sund. seureud, Mandailing sorot *sting*)
lungen *upper arm* (cf. Sund. leungeun, Jav. lengen)

- (13) A possible instance of *l assimilating to n in the vicinity of a nasal is:

m-ino perhaps meaning *follow, join* (cf. Mid. Mal. milu, borrowed from Javanese, Sund. ilu). The word is found at the bottom of p.246 in the phrase mino embuk dilem tabang, which has not been translated by Helfrich. It should [perhaps] be interpreted (*he emptied the whole bamboo container*) and with it *he also drank the dregs*.

A comparable assimilation is found in Lampung manom < *malom *evening*.

*l has dissimilated to n in:

tenoa *egg* (< *telol, cf. Mid. Mal. telogr; cf. 3.7)

A comparable dissimilation is perhaps found in Lampung nalam, nalom *clever, competent* (< *lalam, *lalom, being a reduplication of lam, lom *interior, deep*). Presumably this is present in Rejang

ke-nam-ku *as far as I know* (cf. 3.6; also Tagalog alam *know*)

[and possibly in:

namen *know*. This is only found p.245.
Aichele thought it was = lamen *when*.]

- (14) The change of original nasal clusters.

(a) In the vast majority of cases the nasal has assimilated to the voiceless stop [without prolongation of the explosive as found e.g. in Toba-Batak].

*ngk > k, e.g.:

takep *grab, catch* (Mal. tangkap)
ikut *be carried* (Sund. ingkud)
akuak *resembling* (Minangkabau angkuah)
sekarang *endurance, grief* (Mid. Mal. sengkare'an)

*nc > c, the only example:

kacéa *mousedeer* (Mid. Mal. etc. kancil)

*nt > t, e.g.:

(petat)memetat *chop off* (Mal. puntat *chopped-off stump*)
me-litas *to pass by suddenly* (Mal., Mid. Mal. lintas)

*mp > p, e.g.:

sapei *arrive, so that* (Mal. etc. sampai)
me-lupat *jump* (Mal. lumpat)

tupas	<i>throw</i> (Mid. Mal. tumpas)
k-en-apé	<i>be pressed</i> (Sund. kampa <i>press</i> , Mid. Mal. kampe'an, Mal. kempaan <i>press</i> , <i>oil press</i>)
tepur	<i>moment</i> (Mid. Mal. tampor, cf. 3.5)

Exception: the Malay loan word *perempuan wife*.

A nasal followed by *s assimilates to s as well, the only example being:

d-asei	(< *d(i)lan(g)sai, cf. 3.6 and 3.1). According to the translation, p.316, <i>at home</i> , literally <i>at the inside of the curtain, behind the curtains</i> (which hang in front of the sleeping-place or separate a part of the room). Cf. Sund. dina kulambu <i>on the inside of or behind the curtains</i> ; Old Jav. (Poerbatjaraka, 1931, p.27) ri jro langsé <i>on the inside of the curtain</i> , indicating the sleeping-place.
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(b) [The nature of the sounds developed from clusters consisting of a nasal followed by a voiced stop has only recently been satisfactorily explained by Coady and McGinn (1982), who call them 'barred nasals'. A vowel immediately following an 'unbarred nasal' is always nasalised. The *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1919) probably refers to this phenomenon where it says (III, p.5) that Rejang speech has a strong nasal sound. On the contrary, a vowel immediately following a 'barred nasal' is not nasalised. Aichele's examples of 'barred nasals' are]:

*ngg > ng̃, e.g.:

menangeak	<i>look up</i> (cf. Sund. tanggah, cf. for the Rejang form also Old Jav. tangā, teng(h)ā)
t-em-ingang	<i>fall down on</i> (cf. Sund., Toba, Mandailing tinggang)
tingea	<i>stay behind</i> (cf. Mal. etc. tinggal)
s-em-anget	<i>put up</i> (cf. (?) Mal. sangat <i>put ashore (a ship)</i>)
s-em-en̄gut	<i>(used as a conjunction) till, until</i> (cf. Mid. Mal. sunggot <i>arrive, land</i>)

But the cluster is written ngg in the Malay loanword *ketanggungan grief, endurance*.

*nj > n̄y, e.g.:

panyang	(in the name Gerobok musea panyang) is probably Mal. panjang <i>long</i> .
menyalai	<i>to fish with a cast-net</i> (Mal. menjala, from Mal. Skt. jala, Rejang jalai)

The cluster is written ndj (=nj) in:

m-unjuk	<i>to hand, give</i>
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*nd > n̄, e.g.:

tañō	(also written tando) <i>sign</i> (Mal. etc. tanda)
tañuk	(also written tanduk) <i>horns</i> (Mal. tanduk)
poñok	<i>hut</i> (Mal. pondok)
iñeak	<i>be remarkable, peculiar</i> (Mid. Mal. indah <i>peculiar</i> ; Mal. éndah <i>calm, satisfied, beautiful, remarkable</i>)
uñang-uñang	<i>law</i> (Mal. undang-undang)
me-liñung	<i>keep, protect</i> (cf. Mal. lindung)
te-miñok	<i>having arrived, having reached one's goal</i> (Mid. Mal. temindak; cf. 3.4)

*mb > m̄, e.g.:

a _m o	<i>slave, I</i> (Mal. hamba, but cf. 3.15)
i _m o	<i>jungle, forest</i> (Mal. rimba)
ti _m oa	<i>emerge, appear</i> (Mal. timbul)
n-a _m ung	<i>slung up(wards)</i> (spelt with mb in m-ambung <i>sling up(wards)</i> , <i>throw upwards</i> ; cf. Mal., Gayo lambung, Achehnese lambōng; cf. 3.6)
ne-m̄in	<i>be carried on the back</i> (also spelt ne-embin; cf. Mid. Mal., Mal. ambin)
s-en-i _m at	<i>be caused, be seized</i> (cf. Mal. sembat) [? cf. 3.5]

(15) Word contraction.

The texts give a few examples of compound constructions with word contraction:

cigai (sigai)	<i>not any more</i> , from *coa igai
wipe	<i>how, in what way</i> (Mal. bagaimana), from *awei ipe

The personal pronoun of the 2nd person ko also fuses to one single word with the imperative, which it often precedes. If the imperative root begins with a consonant, it is prefixed as ke-. If the root begins with a vowel the pepet also disappears. Hence e.g.:

*ko pék	becomes kepék	<i>you, take!</i>
*ko sok	becomes kesok	<i>you, cook!</i>
*ko uang	becomes kuang	<i>you, throw away!</i>
*ko ikut	becomes kikut	<i>you, carry!</i>

[cf. Aichele, 1943, p.51. According to Aichele, the pronominal prefix of the 1st person *ku- also becomes ke-. The only example in the texts is amo moi kecat *I will take down*, where amo would be the personal pronoun (Mal. hamba) and kecat from *ku-cat. Such a combination of amo (=hamba) and ku- is very unlikely. Perhaps amo has nothing to do with hamba and kecat is an imperative. The explanation of the prefix ke- in the imperative as *ko is hypothetical too.]

(16) Shortening of words used as conjunctions, prepositions and particles is found in several Indonesian languages (cf. Brandstetter, 1915, par.274 ff.). Examples in Rejang are:

lok	as a particle, indicating the future, along with galok <i>to wish, to desire</i>
nak	as the preposition <i>in</i> (cf. Mid. Mal. tunak <i>stay</i>)
das	as the preposition <i>on</i> (cf. Mal. di atas, but also Karo dās)
dan	as the conjunction <i>and</i> (along with: dengen; cf. Mal. dengan <i>with</i> , Batak dongan <i>fellow</i> ; also Mal. dan <i>and</i>)
ngen	<i>and, to, with</i> (from dengen; cf. Mid. Mal. ngan)

(17) Dialectal divergencies.

In the three Rejang texts which Helfrich's collection contains, nrs XXVI and XXVII as compared with nr XXV show dialectal deviations in two cases:

instead of jijai	(cf. Mal. jadi) <i>become, thereupon</i> : ijai
instead of cigai	<i>not any more</i> (cf. 3.15): sigai

POSTSCRIPT

In the Preface I should have referred to Jaspan's note on Rejang orthography in his Thesis (1964a:xii-xv) and I might have mentioned his optimistic view of the editing of his dictionary (xviii).

I should perhaps have taken more freedom in splitting up articles in which homonyms are treated as one word, e.g. djenang.

My omitting the dots under *ḍ* and *ḃ* (preface p.viii no.10) may in a few cases have obscured a difference between the barred nasals (*ṁ*, *ṃ*) and *nd*, *mb* in which *n* and *m* are infixes. Compare Jaspan's *djendjo'*, which probably represents (in my spelling) *jenejo'*, not *jenyo'*.

If we accept McGinn's opinion (1982:60) that the infix *-en-* may be causative as well as passive in Rejang, some of Jaspan's active translations of *-en-* forms may not be wrong, as I supposed in the preface, p.ix no.13. Perhaps it might even be possible to explain some 'printing errors', supposed by Aichele (p.147, last line), in this way.

Many persons whose help Jaspan acknowledged in his Thesis (1964a:xxvi ff.) also gave their help in compiling the dictionary. I thank others who helped me in editing this book. The names of most of them appear on the title pages and in the preface. I regret that I could not use Patrick Sweeting's tape-recordings of a reading of Jaspan's manuscript with numerous additions by A. Sani, performed by three Rejang speakers. My hearing is now too weak to use such a tape. My special thanks go to Mrs Dianne Stacey, who coped successfully with the typing of the difficult manuscript and with my moods of making changes until the last moment.

P. Voorhoeve
Barchem, September 1st, 1984.

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| <i>BijdrTLV</i> | <i>Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut.</i> |
| EI | <i>Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië.</i> 2nd edition. |
| TBG | <i>Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.</i> |
| VBG | Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. |
| ZES | <i>Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen.</i> |

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