

Kayiak Beterang Ritual: The First Social Life Learning Of The Serawai Girls

Sarwit Sarwono, Ngudining Rahayu, Agus Joko Purwadi, Noermanzah

Abstract: This article is intended to discuss a text in the ulu manuscripts, numbered MNB 07.18, preserved in the State Museum of Bengkulu. The manuscript is a bamboo log, 58 cm in length and 7.8 cm in diameter, consisting of 16 lines. The manuscript belongs to the Serawai ethnic, originating from the village of Jambat Akar, Seluma Regency and received by the State Museum of Bengkulu on January 12, 1998. The text entitled arawan bujang ataw gadis (hereinafter called ABG text), contains spells or incantations of kayiak betelang social rites among the Serawai ethnic of Bengkulu. This ritual serves to establish the position of a girl to be able to enter to the social life on the laman libagh, i.e the social world of Serawai ethnic. In that world and in the social interaction, a girl is obliged to master rejang, able to andun dance and merejung as well. The social function of andun dance and merejung, among others, is to find a lover (santing) who will later become her life partner as a family and to actualize her social rights and obligations. The kayiak betelang rite applies to girls aged 5-7 years, the age before adolescence, or the period before getting the first menstruation. The rite is led by a midwife covering a series of actions, that are (a) purifying, (b) traditional dressing, (c) andun dancing and merejung, (d) enjoying meals with family and invitations. The ABG text is based on the knowledge and cultural experience of the scribe and was written to recontextualize and transform the social rite of the kayiak betelang.

Index Terms: ulu manuscript, Kayiak Beterang, social rite, Serawai ethnic.

1. INTRODUCTION

The This article aims to discuss an ulu (de Sturler, 1943; de Sturler, 1855; van Hasselt, 1881; Helfrich, 1894; Helfrich, 1904; Lekkerkerker, 1916; Westenenk, 1919; Westenenk, 1922; Wink, 1926; Voorhoeve, 1970) or ka-ga-nga (Jaspan, 1964) manuscript, MNB 07.18 of the State Museum of Bengkulu. The manuscript is a bamboo log with a length of 58 Cm and a diameter of 7.8 Cm, consisting of 16 lines. The manuscript came from the village of Jambat Akar, Seluma Regency and was received by Bengkulu State Museum on January 12, 1998. The manuscript has no colophon containing the information about the time of writing and social identity of the writer of the text. The text entitled *arawan bujan ataw gadis* (hereinafter referred to as ABG text). The text contains 8 (eight) couplets, 5 (five) mantra couplets and 3 (three) rejang couplets. The word matara or matara at the beginning of the first five couplets and the kato ala expression at the end of the couplets prove that the couplets referred to spells or incantations. The structure and composition as well as the syntactic units in the next three verses show the evidence that those couplets are rejang. Thus, the text of the ABG is a text with 5 couplets of mantras and 3 couplets of rejang.



Fig. 1. MNB 07.18, arawan bujang ataw gadis; State Museum of Bengkulu

The rejang as written in the ABG text were founded in two other ulu manuscripts, namely MNB 07.30 and MNB 07.70, both of which are collections of the State Museum of

Bengkulu. MNB 07.30 is a bamboo log with a length of 57 Cm and a diameter of 7.3 Cm, consisting of 12 rejang verses. This manuscript came from the Padang Jati Village Bengkulu City, received by the Museum on January 26, 1995. Text titled

rejang bejawab (hereinafter referred to as RB text). MNB 07.70 is a bamboo log with length of 44 Cm and a diameter of 7.3 Cm, consisting of 12 rejang verses. The manuscript came from Kelurahan Pengantungan, Bengkulu City, obtained by Bengkulu State Museum on January 9, 1999.

The text entitled *bujang nga gadis* (hereinafter referred to as RBG text). Two rejang verses in the ABG text correspond to 2 rejang verses in the RB text and 2 rejang verses in the RBG text

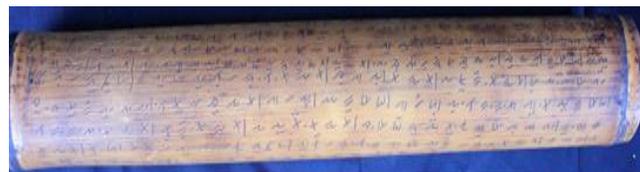


Fig. 2. MNB 07.30, rejang bejawab; State Museum of Bengkulu



Fig. 3. MNB 07.70, rejang bujang nga gadis; State Museum of Bengkulu

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Fortunately, I also got an oral rejangs which are the same as the rejang as written in both the ABG, RB, and RBG texts, as well as the social rite related to the ABG texts (Sarwono, Rahayu, & Purwadi, 2017). Thus, it can be ascertained that the ABG text is a text about the kayiak betelang social rite of the Serawai ethnic in Bengkulu. The ABG text is a text based on 'participant's knowledge' (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003), written

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based on the writer's knowledge and cultural experience about the social rite of the kayiak betorang. Very likely, the ABG text was written by a midwife who leads this rite, mastered and has literacy skills in writing ulu as well. Seen from the process of producing and distributing texts, ABG was intended by the writer of the text to recontextualize and transform (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003) the kayiak betorang social rite. As text written for this purpose, the elements of social rites such as participants, relations between participants, actions, place and time (van Leeuwen, 2008; Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 2004), are not written down in the text, rather they are substituted or omitted partially or in completely (Herman & Vervaeck, 2005). The writer of the text assumes that the reader has the same cultural experience as the text writer. This is the presupposition factor of the text writer, namely topics (cultural knowledge) that are not explicit in the text but are outside the text, are in the context of the situation or cultural context and are indispensable in text analysis (van Dijk, 2008; van Dijk, 2009). In this sense, understanding and explanation of ABG text is not enough to be based solely on the principle of autonomous text analysis, but rather necessitating text analysis in its context, discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1997) or discourse and practice (van Leeuwen, 2008; Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 2004). Placement of ABG texts in its cultural context (van Hasselt, 1881) is very necessary to understand the degree of informativeness of the text, intentionality of the text writers in order to identify the constellation of text production for the meaning and comprehensive explanation of the ABG text.

3 RESEARCH METHODS

This research is subject to the ulu script MNB 07.18. The first step is editing this text. Considering that the MNB 07.18 is codex unicus, text editing is based on the critical edition principle (Robson, 1988), adapted to the language of the script, which is Serawai language by applying punctuation, such as capital letters, periods, and commas. Words in text that are allegedly incorrect or incomplete are emended based on the co-text and context, and by comparing them in the MNB 07.30 and MNB 07.70 texts, as well as in the oral texts. Corrections of words that were mistakenly placed in [], and given an explanation in the footnotes. The title of the text is written as a sentence, beginning with a capital letter and ending with a period punctuation mark, as well as the title of the spell and rejang title. The mantras and rejangs in this text are presented in poetic compositions, based on the couplet units consisting of lines. Couplet are thematic unit and lines are syntactic-semantic units. Each line in a couplet begins with a capital letter and ends with comma punctuation. The final line of the relevant couplet ends with a period punctuation. One couplet is distinguished from another by placing Arabic numerals in [] in sequence [1], [2], [3], and so on. Material and related social rite data as well as oral rejang data were obtained from secondary sources and through observation and interviews to a number of informants from a number of villages in Seluma Regency of Bengkulu Province. The secondary material referred to was Paizal's account of the mantras uttered in kayiak betorang performed on June 2003 in the village of Nanjungan in Seluma Regency. As for observations on the ceremonial kayiak betorang carried out on 25 January 2015 and 14 February 2015 in the village of Gunung Bantan, Semidang Alas Maras district, Seluma Regency. The children who were kayiak were Celsie (the

daughter of Reman and Sarni), 6 years old and lit Permata Sari (the daughter of Lipurman and Wahini) 7 years old. The midwife who led this rite was Niwi (66 years). The other informants were those who provided information about the rejang, namely Fatiha (60 years) from Kembang Mumpo, Marni (64 years) from Sukaraja, Bisahri (76 years) and Masni (76 years) 68 years) from the village of Nanjungan, Seluma Regency. Data analysis are carried out by following the principles of text analysis as suggested by Titscher (2009), covering description, interpretation, and explanation. The description is the analysis of the text and the production process, while the interpretation is the analysis of the text as a social practice, and the explanation is the social analysis of the text. The ABG text is explained in its aspects of codex and text based on the background of the production process as stated briefly in the introduction. Interpretation is related to ABG text analysis as a representation of social practice (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 2004; van Leeuwen, 2008), namely kayiak betorang. Interpretation and meaning of texts requires the placement of texts in relation to other texts as intertextual links (Plett, 1991; Allen, 2000), and in social actions (Jones & Norris, 2005) as shown in the ceremonial kayiak betorang. Explanation is a social analysis of the text. The text of the ABG is interpreted in the cultural context (van Dijk, 2009) of the ethnic group Serawai, in relation to the position and social relations of the text writer on his cultural environment. At a technical level, text analysis requires the use of intertextual principles (Plett, 1991; Allen, 2000).

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

ABG Text of Kayiak Beterang Rite

Following is the ABG text edition.

Arawan bujang ataw gadis.

[1] Setapang mandika bejalan,
Andun mpay ka nyelam,
Riya ayir riya sambang,
Riya ka ayir bekatibung,
Aku menang segalo menang,
Menang di tenga urang banyak,
Akuwan gaja saribu,
Aku ndiri ka mato aghi,
Kato ala.

[2] Ini ma[ta]ra mincung kayin.
Pincung kanan pincung kiri,
Pincung ke kanan linggang,
Pincung li ke kiri linggang kiri,
Nunduak segalo anak adam,
Tepandang kepada aku,
Kato ala.

[3] Ini matara besanggul bejapauk.
Lang di pangkul lumpat ke batang sari,
Aku duduak sedang besanggul,
Umpamo diwo midang sari,
Kato ala.

[4] Matara nari.
La nenga ke penariyan,
Diratap bedetum redap,
Manuta gaja malinggang peretiwi,
Nunduak segalo anak adam mandesiyo,
Aku nunggangi anak rimaw si jatan nari,

Kato ala.

- [5] Ku berejung.
Balo bali tetap ka darasa,
Medegup di dalam badan dan nyawoku,
Kato ala.
- [6] Si yantang andun bejudi,
Minjam tukul minjam lendasan,
Minjam pulo rimpian taji,
Masang unak di maro ngalam,
Kabaghnyo sampay ke bangkulu.
- [7] Diso sin.
Kami la [sa]mpay diso sini,
Minjam dusun minjam lelanan,
Minjam tampiyan jalan mandi,
Numpang tunak saghi semalam,
Batan pemabang ati rindu.
- [8] Sawi undan betenun,
Sambut bedetas burung takuku,
Saja ndak inggap kalangasan,
Inggap ka ranting gudung kayu,
Pesan kemandan tenga lawut,
Rawa kemandas di bangkulu,
Najin ndayak buliya kebasaran,
Numpang melesap.

The five mantras in the ABG text can be ascertained as a mantra uttered by a midwife when leading the traditional kayiak betelang rite. This is based on the contents of the five mantras in accordance with the contents of the mantra in the actual traditional rite of kayiak betelang. In the ethnic group Serawai was known the traditional kayiak betelang rite or also commonly called kayiak or betelang. In the Pasemah ethnic group, the same rite was known as kayek or bekayakan. Kayiak derived from the word ayiak 'water' or 'river'. The word kayiak means 'to the water' or 'to the river' for the purpose of bathing or purifying someone, who in the kayiak rite is a little girl. The word ayek in Pasemah language also means 'water' or 'river'. Kayiak betelang is a traditional rite of the Serawai ethnic group, which brings a little girls to the river to be bathed. This rite is carried out with the intention of purifying girls who are entering their teens. Girls who are kayiak are usually 7-9 years old or when they are about to get their first period. In addition to preparation, the principal stages in kayiak include (a) bathing (purifying), (b) traditional dressing, (c) dancing, and (d) enjoying meals with family and invitations. At each stage, the midwife uters a spell. The midwife who led the ceremony was the midwife who assisted in the birth of the child who was kayiak. In the event that the kayiak ceremony takes place the midwife in question has passed away, then the task of leading the ceremony is left to the midwife's daughter. Comparison between the spells [1] - [5] of the ABG text and the spells in the kayiak betelang rite as recorded by Paizal Hardadi (PH) and as spoken by Niwi (N) shows the resemblance to one another.

Tabel 1 : The Mantras of Kayiak Beterang

Paizal Hardadi (PH)	Niwi (N)	ABG
[1] Bismilahirahmanirahim. Limau ku iris tigo iris seiris cuci badan, seiris cuci rumoh, rambut, kerangka tigo puluh tigo, kato Allah.	[1] Aku tau asal mulo menjadi limau, Limau kurut limau serasam, Tumbuhan di kiri lawang mekah, Becangka lagi secangkah, Limau ku iris tigo iris, Seiris pencuci daki,	[1] Setapang mandika bejalan, Andun mpay ka nyelam, Riya ayir riya sambang, Riya ka ayir bekatibung, Aku menang segalo menang, Menang di tenga urang banyak, Akuwan gaja saribu, Aku ndiri ka mato aghi, Kato ala.
[2] Bismilahirahmanirahim. Siap beteri mandi, mandi di rajo di ribo-ribo, badannyo cuci muko cuci, jemo nginak ibo galo, kato Allah.	Seiris romo rambut, Kerangko tigo pulua tigo kali. [2] Sia ku air sia rembun, Sia ku air sia mau rikin, Tampak nur mandi cahyo, Cahyo Allah cayo Muhammad, Cayo berimbar Rasulullah, Kato Allah.	[2] Ini ma[ta]ra mincung kayin Pincung kanan pincung kiri, Pincung ke kanan lighang, Pincung li ka kiri li[gh]ang kiri, Nunduak segalo anak adam, Tepandang kepado aku, Kato ala.
[3] Bismilahirahmanirahim. Kainku, kupincung ke kanan menang, ku pincung ke kiri menang, kato Allah.		[3] Ini matara besanggul bejapauk Na di pangkul lumpat ke ba[ta]ng sari, Aku duduak sedang besanggul, Umpamo diwo midang sari, Kato ala.
[4] Bismilahirahmanuirrahim. Minyakku segilang gilul, kugilang di ati tangan , kato Allah.		
[5] Bismilahirahmanirrahim. bedak-bedakku, kuterapkan ke mukoku, ku jauwa tampak sinar matoaghi, dekat cahayo kembang, mako mukoku alap galo, kato Allah		
[6] Bismilahirahmanirrahim Aku gadis duduak menang, bediri menang, tegak menang, menang dipandang anak umat manusio, banyak tepandang kepadoku, kato Allah.	[3] Indang-indang beteri kindang, Diola anak beteri dudun, Dio midang tengah laman, Ngindaki kundang dalam dusun. [4] Taghuak kemitir mudo jambi, Pungka ato melato, Pemisir rupunyo nari, Dio sughang ke manis mato , Manislah mato anak adam, Kepandang kepado dio.	[4] Matara nari. La nenga ke penariyan, Di ratap bedetum redap, Manuta gaja malinggang paratiwi, Nunduak segalo anak adam mandesiyo, Aku nunggangi anak rimaw si jatan nari, Kato ala.
[7] Bismilahirahmanirahim. Aku gadis selinggang, nari legak menang berdiri menang, menang dipandang anak umat manusio, banyak terpandang kepadoku, kato Allah.		[5] Ku berejung. Balo bali tetap ka darasa, Medegup di dalam badan dan nyawoku, Kato ala.

Although the syntactic expressions differ between the mantras of PH, N and ABG, they correspond accordingly. The words cuci 'wash' and mandi 'bath' in PH [1] and PH [2] correspond to the meaning of pencuci 'washing facilities' in N [1] and the words mandi 'bath' in N [2], which in [1] ABG text is expressed with the word nyelam 'dive'. The place to purify a child who is kayiak is a river, ayiak in Serawai language. The child who is kayiak is bathed in the river by the midwife. The phrases andun mpay ka nyelam, riya ka ayir bekatibung in [1] ABG and sia ku air sia maurikin in N [2] can be interpreted as a ritual to purify a child who is kayiak. The word limaw in lines of PH [1] and N [1] refers to the meaning of purification. The different syntactic expressions essentially refer to the same purpose, which is 'purifying' or 'purifying oneself'. The difference in words or phrase in the mantras of PH, N and ABG is the

difference in language expression, the difference in expression for the same concept. Thus, couplets [1]-[5] of ABG text are different expressions for the same concepts as pointed out by the couplets PH and N. This means that the [1] of the ABG texts are the incantations pronounced in kayiak betarang, especially when the stages of purification, namely bathing in the river under the guidance of a midwife. The concept of belimaw is understood by various ethnic groups in Bengkulu as purification. The term mandi belimaw refers to the ritual purification (usually done in the river) by using limes that are sliced into three parts for rubbing all over the body to remove impurities. In some ulu texts, we can find the belimaw mantra or the purification mantra as in PH [1]. The rite of belimaw in this sense is general knowledge in various ethnic groups in Bengkulu. Presumably this is what lies behind the term and concept of belimaw not written in [1] ABG text. It can be

interpreted that the ABG text writer places more emphasis on the act of purification as outlined in the first four lines of the verse [1]. Meanwhile the PH and N which was emphasized are the means and objectives, i.e. by mandi belimaw the child becomes pure her body and her soul, splendid and admired by all people as stated in the lines badannya cuci muko cuci, jemo nginak ibo galo, kato Allah (PH [1]) and cayo Allah cayo Muhammad, cayo besimbar Rasulullah, kato Allah (N [2]). In [1] of ABG purification facilities are not important because this mantra is intended to state the activity and purpose of purification, while in that of PH the facility is an important element as the means and purpose of purification. From the point of view of the text production process, in [1] ABG text there is a delision, namely the removal of elements of purification facilities. The mantras [3] and [4] of [PH] correspond to mantra [2] of ABG text. The first line in the text [2] and [3] ABG text, ini matara mincing kayin and ini matara besanggul bejapuk clearly shows the function of these couplets as a mantra uttered by a midwife when helping the girl dressed. Syntactically the lines kainku, kupincung ke kanan menang, kupincung ke kiri menang in PH [3] corresponds to the lines pincung kanan pincung kiri, pincung ke kanan linggang, pincung lika kiri linggang kiri, nunduak segalo anak adam, tepandang kepada aku in [2] ABG texts in terms of their actions and objectives. The lines in the PH [3]

line [4] of the ABG text, matara nari, la nenga ke penariyan pointing to the mantra to andun and the line ku berejung in [5] of the ABG pointing to the spell to merejung. The merejung is a part of traditional dance in bimbang or wedding parties. Merejung means singing the rejung. Rejung is in the form of poetry with a composition that resembles pantun, although different in pattern. Pantun usually consists of only 4 (four) syntactic units, two syntactic units as sampiran and the remaining two syntactic units as contents. Rejung is not the case. Rejung is a composite of statement and response, dialogue between bachelors and girls (or between bridegroom and bride) in traditional dance at weddings. Merejung is sing the rejung in retaliation between male dancers and female dancers in traditional dance at weddings. Meanwhile, the three couplets of rejung [6], [7], [8] of the ABG link thematically with couplet [5] of this text. The merejung ability is inevitability for the Serawai girls. That ability was taught for the first time in the ceremonial kayiak betarang. The rejung couplet that are introduced to children who are kayiak are andun bejudi and diso sini (couplets [6] and [7] of ABG), because those couplets are usually sung for the first time by the bachelors and girls in the andun dance in marriage party (Sarwono, Rahayu, & Purwadi, 2017). In this connection, the rejung in the ABG text have meaning and a link in the integration of the ABG text. Presumably, there is no doubt that the couplet [1] to [5] of the

Table 2: Comparison of Rejung texts

ABG	RB	RBG	Merzanuddin (1995)
[1] Si yantang andun bejudi, Minjam tukul minjam lendasan, Minjam pulo rimpian taji, Masang unak di maro ngalam, Kabaghnyo sampay ke Bangkulu.	[1] Si antang andun bejudi, Minjam tukul minjam lendasan, Minjam pulo rimpian taji, Masang unak di maro ngalam, Kabarnya sampay ka Bangkulu.	[1] Andun bajudi Si antang andun bejudi, Minjam tukul minjam lendasan, Minjam pilo rimpian taji, Masang unak di maro ngalam, Kabaghnyo sampay ke Bangkulu.	Andun bejudi Si Antang andun bejudi, Minjam tukul minjam lendasan, minjam pulo rintikan taji, Masang unak di muaro Ngalam, Riako sampai ke Bengkulu.
[2] Diso sini Kami la [sa]mpay diso sini, Minjam dusun minjam lelamam, Minjam tempian jalan mandi, Numpang tunak saghi semalam, Batan pemabang ati rindu.	[2] Diso sini Kami la sampay diso sini, Minjam dusun minjam lelamam, Minjam tempian jalan mandi, Numpang tunak saghi samalam, Mangko memabang ati rindu.	[2] Diso sini Kami la sampay diso sini, Minjam dusun minjam lelamam, Minjam tempian jalan mandi, Numpang tunak saghi semalam, Batan pemabang ati rindu.	Oi adingai petang tadi Kami la datang petang tadi, Minjam dusun minjam lelamam, Minjam tempian jalan mandi, Numpang tunak saghi se- malam, Batan pemabang ati rindu.

and [2] ABG texts refer to the act of dress, for the purpose of appearing to attract everyone and win, surpassing anyone's appeal (nunduak segalo anak adam, tepandang kepada aku 'respect and admiration for all people to me'). The couplet [5] of [PH] and [3] of ABG text also correspond, referring to the act of make up, bedak-bedakku, kuterapkan ke mukoku in PH [5] and na dipangkul lumpat ke batang sari, aku duduak sedang besanggul in [3], and the results or the purpose of the action is that ku jauwa tampak sinar matoaghi, dekat cahaya kembang, mako mukoku alap galo in PH [5] and umpamo diwo midang sari in [3] ABG texts. Sytactic expression ku jauwa tampak sinar matoaghi, dekat cahaya kembang, mako mukoku alap galo refers to an incomparable state of beauty, as does the phrase umpamo diwo midang sari refers to the same state. Diwo means 'god', midang means down to earth to the human realm. The comparison of gods with humans shows that the beauty of the child who was kayiak was like a god and surpasses human beauty. The couplets [6] and [7] of [PH], [3] and [4] of [N] are couplets that correspond to the [4] and [5] of ABG, intended to dance andun (traditional dance in the ethnic Serawai) and merejung 'sing the rejung'. The first

ABG texts are mantra couplets for the kayiak betarang rite. The ABG text was thus written with the intention of narrating the rite, the text about the kayiak betarang rite. Kayiak Beterang: social life learning of the girl. The Kayiak Beterang rite begins with a pilgrimage to the graves of the ancestors, the day before the rite is carried out. Parents and child who want to be kayiak make this pilgrimage. While the child is brought on a pilgrimage by her parents, relatives at home prepare a bakul sajian for offerings which will be given to the midwife after she completes the ritual on the next day. The bakul sajian is also called rerubo which means 'offering' as an expression of gratitude for the child's parents to the midwife who has helped with the birth of the child. The contents of the bakul sajian are in the form of juadah, grilled chicken thighs, rice, white cloth, yarn, sewing needles, and money. In this ritual, the bakul sajian is a rukun (pillar) that is compulsory for both parents of the child to the midwife who has assisted the child's birth process.

In the morning before the execution of kayiak, the midwife prepares bedak langigh, powder made from turmeric which is mashed or scraped with a knife to be mixed with limaw (lime)

to scrub the body of the child when bathed. This bedak langigh is spelled out before being used to scrub the child during the bath. It is believed, this powder will clean all dirt on the child's body. Bathing the child is generally done in the river. In case the river is overflowing due to the rainy season, bathing is done in the well. After the child's body is covered with bedak langigh and cleaned again with a bath, the midwife recites the mantra. These spells are PH [1] and PH [2] or N [1] and N [2]. After being purified, the child is brought back home, dressed and make up like a bride, worn on her traditional clothes and bridal crowns. Sometimes a midwife recites mantras when she has finished bathing the child and goes ashore and on her way home. The mantra is hai beteri mentik, ninggala kamu di sini, di laman mandian ini, mangku kamu betunggal ngan budak ni, nunggu redap kelintang la bebunyi, rerubo tampung bungo "hey beteri mentik, stay here, in this bath, then you are united with this child, until the redap and kelintang have sounded, and the rerubo composed of flowers. When the child is bun, the midwife recites the mantra again with the aim that the child becomes a beautiful teenage girl and is loved by kaum Adam 'a man'. The spells are PH [3], PH [4], PH [5], PH [6], N [3] and N [4]. After finishing the wedding dress, the child is invited to the center of the laman 'yard' along with his mother, the midwife, her friends, and female relatives. The word laman means the home page. This word can also mean a field in the middle of a village, which is also commonly called the laman libagh 'wide yard'. In the middle of the yard the child is guided to perform andun dance movements. This is the first time a child (girl) dances in the guidance of a midwife. The child is also taught to merejung, sing the rejung. At this stage the midwife also recites a dancing spell and a merejung spell. The rite ends with the event of enjoying a meal with family, relatives and neighbors.



Fig. 4 and 5: The midwife bathes the girl



Fig. 6: The midwife dress the girl



Fig. 7 and 8: The midwife teaches children to dance and sing a rejung



Fig. 9 and 10: the girl dance with peers and old people



Fig. 11: Musical instruments of kelintang and redap accompany the andun dance

The Kayak Beterang rite is a first-time traditional dance learning social events for a little girl. This rite is also believed to be a social events in the context of the transition from childhood to social maturity. The kayiak betelang rite can be seen as the entrance of a girl to the social world. Since this rite the child has been attributed to 'girls' and are no longer as a 'young girl'; he will be called or addressed as a gadis 'maid' and not as a budak 'young-little girl'. The word budak means 'child', a socially immature child. Thus, the word gadis in the title of the ABG text, arawan bujang atau gadis referred to this meaning, a girl who is considered socially mature. A socially mature person in the ethnic view of Serawai is among others able to dance andun or adat dance and merejung. Because, dancing andun and merejung especially in the bimbang event is an institutionalized arena for bachelors and Serawai girls to get their future life partners. For a Serawai girl, socially mature means 'wearing adat clothes'. "Wearing" means that the girl understands and enforces customary provisions as 'adult' women carry out it in daily life. She no longer deserves or is taboo to behave as a child. She is no longer able to go alone out of the house in long distances, but must be accompanied by relatives. She must begin to learn and understand and carry out various social affairs as should be done by a woman. Furthermore, she can, according to customary provisions, participate in adat or andun dancing in a bimbang event, with other girls and pair up with a bachelor, and sing the rejung. In the broadest sense, participating in adat dancing in a bimbang event means entering and interacting in the wider social world, to the laman libagh with the bachelors and adults. Socially, the term laman libagh means social life in accordance with prevailing customs. The dance spell and the merejung spell in the ABG text have a significance to the overall knowledge of the Serawai ethnic culture, as intended and designated in the lines in N [3], PH [6] and PH [7]. Those lines show the significance of the meaning that after the child is kayiak she will become a girl (indang-indang beteri kindang, diola anak beteri dudun on N [3]; aku gadis on PH [6]) who is able to get along well even beyond other girls in the social life (dio midang tengah laman, ngindaki kundang dalam dusun on N [3] and

dio sughang to sweet mato, sweet mato adam child on N [4]; nari legak menang berdiri menang, menang dipandang anak umat manusia, banyak terpandang kepadaku in PH [7]). The rejang couplets [6] and [7] of ABG, in addition to thematic links to the five mantra [1] - [5] this text, also show the significance of their meaning with the function of the kayiak rite as the entrance to the social world of a girl. The phrase andun bejudi in the first line of [6] of the ABG text and the lines of the minjam dusun minjam leلمان, numpamng tunak saghi semalam in [7] of this text can be interpreted that in the arena of social life a girl (and also bachelor) is likened to andun 'going to' or enter to the social life, to try their luck or fortune, namely finding the future life partner. Merejung in adat dance is one of the institutionalized activities for bachelor and girl to find their life partner. The word tunak in the phrase numpamng tunak in [7] of the ABG text means 'stay', 'living together' or 'living permanently' (Helfrich, 1904). Betunakan means 'married'. In this sense, merejung in traditional dance is the last arena for bachelors and women to determine the status of the relationship they have shared so far in their social life. Merejung is part of verbal rhetoric activities as a manifestation that Serawai girls have followed the Kayiak Beterang ritual and their status has changed to being part of the community that is allowed to take part in daily activities in the community (Noermanzah, et. al. (2019).

5 CONCLUSION

In the tradition of writing Ulu ethnic Serawai, texts are generally written based on and for the purpose of narrating the knowledge and cultural experience of the author, about various social rites in his cultural environment. The texts are a reproduction and also a re-contextualization of knowledge and social rites from the sources available and lived in the time in its cultural environment, and distributed to readers from the same cultural environment. In this context, the text of the arawan bujang ataw gadis (the text of the ABG) is a text about the kayiak betelang rite. The ABG text is the reproduction and re-contextualization of knowledge and practices or the rite of the kayiak betelang rite in the Sarawai ethnic group. In this sense, the ABG text can also be seen as a transformation of cultural knowledge and social rites that factually take place in the socio-cultural environment. The composition and structure of the ABG text shows that the knowledge and rite of the kayiak betelang is reproduced in order to transform that knowledge and rite in another context and in the form of a text. The ABG text is written in its function and is for the purpose of re-contextualizing and transforming the knowledge and social rituals of the kayiak betelang.

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