

## TWO DALANGS: A COMPARISON OF STYLES AND DIALECTS\*

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## INTRODUCTION

The dialects of Kedah dan Kelantan differ in several ways from standard Malay, which is the standard language being used by the Malaysian broadcasting media, Radio and Television Malaysia. This paper intends to show the linguistic differences between the two dialects and standard Malay so as to facilitate better comprehension of the verbal mechanics of local story-telling.

The division of the Malay language into dialects, according to Asmah Haji Omar,<sup>1</sup> seems in general to coincide with the division of Malaysia into its various political units. Thus we have Johore Malay, Kedah Malay, Sarawak Malay and so on. There is indeed a considerable amount of overlapping in this dialect-state situation especially along the state boundaries, so much so that the areas near the boundaries are themselves the zones of transitions of the different dialects.

It has been traditionally assumed that the Johore-Riau dialect is the standard dialect. This assumption is based on the existence of the Johore empire, in the 17th Century, which covered the states of Trengganu, Pahang, Johore and the Riau archipelago.<sup>2</sup>

Also morphologically and syntactically, the Johore Malay is close to literary Malay. Thus the dialect came to be adopted by Radio Malaya now known as Radio and Television Malaysia.

It should be observed that Malay is the first language not only of the Malays but also of a handful of Chinese whose ancestors had immigrated into Malaya in the 15th Century. These people are predominantly domiciled in the states of Malacca and Pahang, and are known as Baba Chinese.

Just as the areas around state boundaries are transition zones of the different Malay dialects, the northern states of Perlis, Kedah and Kelantan are themselves zones of transition of two national languages, Malay and Thai. About 21,000 Thais live in these three states.<sup>3</sup> They mix freely with the other ethnic groups especially the Chinese and the Malays, but unlike the Baba Chinese the Thais still preserve their language of origin.

\*The materials used in this analysis were recorded in late 1976 from two Wayang Kulit performers; one lives in Asun, a village situated six miles north of the town of Jitra in the state of Kedah, while the other resides in Palekbang in the district of Tumpat in Kelantan.

<sup>1</sup> Asmah Hj. Omar, 'Essays on Malaysian Linguistics', Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, K. Lumpur, 1975, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> La Page, R.B. *The National Language Question = Linguistic Problems of Newly Independent States*, OUP, London, 1964, p. 66.

In these states, too, it is common to meet Thai-speaking Malays who are immigrants from south Thailand. In Kedah, from Jitra northwards one finds here and there villages of these Thai-speaking Malays, the most notable ones being Changlun, Asun, Hosba and Jitra. It is not surprising to find in the Kedah Malay vocabulary a number of Siamese loan-words. According to Baker,<sup>4</sup> it is not uncommon to meet a Malay whose only medium of intercourse is Thai. This is, naturally, more common in South Thailand where there are considerable numbers of Malays or 'Sam Sam' who speak only Thai, though they remain Muslims and retain many Malay customs. But among most of the Kedah people who are ignorant of the Thai language, these Siamese loan-words form a part of the Kedah Malay dialect just as the Arabic and Sanskrit loan-words form an integral part of classical Malay.

Baker also pointed out that not only are two languages spoken in Kedah, but there are at least two dialects of the Malay language current in the state. The first is that spoken in most of the coastal districts, in most parts of Perlis, in Penang and many parts of North Perak. Throughout this area there are differences in the accent but the main features, phonologically are the same.

The other major dialect is the same as that which is spoken in Patani in South Thailand, and Kelantan. This dialect is current within large districts in the interior of Kedah from Baling to Kuala Nerang, and in some localities inhabited by the inland people.

Some of the differences between the Kedah, Kelantan and the standard Malay have already been discussed to some extent by Baker<sup>5</sup> (Kedah Malay), Hamilton<sup>6</sup> (Penang Malay), Sturrock,<sup>7</sup> and Pepys<sup>8</sup> (Kelantan). But I found that more investigation has to be carried out on both dialects in order to find out how they vary from the standard Malay. In the following discussion I will refer to the Kedah Malay, as used by my informants, as 'Asun', the Kelantan Malay as KTN, and the standard Malay as used by Radio and Television Malaysia, as STD.

#### THE INFORMANTS

The first informant, Hamzah bin Awang Ahmad, was born in 1940 in Kampung Palekbang in the district of Kota Bharu, Kelantan. He learnt the art of the Wayang from his father when he was 19 years old and practised the art of using puppets made from cardboard and drawing paper. When his interest in the genre increased he felt that it was necessary for him to work as an under-study or apprentice to a practising dalang. The reason for this being that most story-tellers

<sup>4</sup>Baker, 'Notes on the meaning of some Malay words.' *JMBRAS*, Vol. XVII, Pt. 1. 1939. p. 107.

<sup>5</sup>Baker, J.A. *op. cit.* pp. 107-120.

<sup>6</sup>Hamilton, A.W. 'Penang Malay' *JSBRAS*, No. 85, 1922, pp. 67-96.

<sup>7</sup>Sturrock, A.J. 'Some notes on the Kelantan Dialect, and some comparisons with the Dialects of Perak and Central Pahang.' *JSBRAS*, No. 62, 1912, pp. 1-7.

<sup>8</sup>Pepys, W.E. 'A Kelantan Glossary,' *JSBRAS*, No. 74, 1916, pp. 303-321.

attach considerable importance to legitimacy which may be attained either by heredity or by having a teacher. Orthodox dalangs regard 'dalang tajalli'<sup>9</sup>, i.e. dalangs who claim that the gift of dalangship descended miraculously upon them, as illegitimate. The same attitude is held towards 'dalang tiru', i.e. dalangs who have no instruction but who imitate the performance of dalangs they have observed.<sup>10</sup> In order to avoid the humiliation of being called a 'dalang tiru', after serving an apprenticeship for a year with his father as a 'pelari patung'<sup>11</sup>, he studied under a dalang, Omar bin Yunus, for two years. During this period under Omar, he learnt all about the art of playing the various musical instruments<sup>12</sup> and the type of music used in the Wayang. In 1962, after having acquired the musical skills, he went to Kampung Morak in Tumpat and there he studied the art of manipulating the shadow-puppets under the tutoring of Awang Lah bin Pandak – who, at that time, was regarded as the best shadow-play performer in Kelantan. He worked for seven years as one of Awang Lah's panjak (musicians) and later he progressed to become Awang Lah's 'dalang muda' (deputy dalang). In the next four years he learnt all the various skills of performing the basic repertoire of Wayang stories, as well as gaining the knowledge of 'ilmu dalam' from his teacher. 'Ilmu dalam' or internal knowledge consists of various formulae and usages designed to protect oneself during a Wayang performance. This knowledge, as pointed out by Sweeney, is secret, and includes various charms to make oneself and one's performance attractive to others, to ensure harmony and to prevent quarrelling among the audience. Of three students who studied under Awang Lah, Hamzah is the only one still performing the art of Wayang Kulit.

The other dalang whose performance was recorded for this study is Mohamad Noh bin Haji Mahmud (hereafter referred to as Noh) of Kampung Kumluang, Asim,

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<sup>9</sup>Tajalli. Arabic, meaning 'manifestation, revelation,' or things that come into being without visible cause.

<sup>10</sup>But the Malays attitude of legitimacy in the evolution of magicians is reversed. According to Endicott, 'The hereditary factors seem to weigh more heavily than 'tuntut' as the value of indicating heredity. Most respect and confidence is granted to the hereditary magician who has had a revelation, next to the hereditary 'bomor' who has had a revelation following an attack of madness (presumably not spontaneous 'tuntut' since that would place him in the first rank), and only then to the 'bomor' by the instruction alone.' – Endicott *Analysis of Malay Magic*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1970, p. 17.

<sup>11</sup>'Pelari Patung' A person who helps to hand the puppets that are to be used by the dalang during a performance to the dalang when the time or scene calls for its use. From this position or status, the 'pelari patung' may then rise to become a 'dalang muda' or deputy dalang. A deputy dalang may take over the dalangs job whenever the dalang is indisposed. Some dalangs allow the dalang muda to perform 'ranting' tales or tales of lesser importance.

<sup>12</sup>There are seven types of musical instruments used for the shadow play. The musci provides the background necessary to accentuate the dramatic effect of the play during certain portions of the performance, e.g. during a fighting scene, or any form of movement of the puppets when the narrator is not speaking. A musical interlude between scenes also provides the narrator with some breathing space.

Kedah. Noh performed his first Wayang about twenty five years ago after studying for four years under one Eh Dim Lom, a famous Siamese dalang in the Changlun district in Northern Kedah. Like Hamzah, Noh believes in the importance of learning the art from a teacher. For a few years before his apprenticeship with Eh Dim Lim, he practised the Wayang as a 'dalang tiru'. This proved a disaster because by performing the Wayang without the essential 'internal knowledge' a dalang tiru may suffer harmful consequences. As a result, Noh suffered a severe illness which effected a deformity of his face and speech faculty. This illness was later cured by a bomoh (village doctor) who advised him to study the art from a skilled dalang.

His earlier performance took place around Changlun and villages in the northern districts of Kedah. Sometimes his troupe goes north across the Malaya-Thai border into the villages of Thailand. In these places where Thai is the predominant local dialect, Noh performs his stories in the Thai language. This is not difficult for him to execute because even in his own village of Kumluang most of the population use the Thai dialect as their lingua franca. Furthermore, his tutor who was Siamese, taught all his skills and 'internal knowledge' in the Siamese language and tradition.<sup>13</sup> Not until 1960 did he begin to gradually change his performance-language to the Kedah-Malay dialect, although most of his characters still maintain their Siamese names. At this time his troupe has toured most of Kedah and is slowly gaining a good reputation in the other districts such as Alor Star and Jitra.

Most of these performances are one-night stands and are performed mainly at wedding celebrations and social gatherings. 1966, he joined the fun fair<sup>14</sup> circuit, and this gave him the opportunity to improve his techniques, and to try out his repertoire of tales. Then in 1969, the Kedah government sponsored a state fair in Alor Star, and Noh's troupe was invited to perform. From then on it became one of the most popular Wayang troupes in the state. Recently, in March 1977, his troupe was sent to Australia to participate in the North-Malaysia week Show in Adelaide, South Australia.

Unlike Hamzah, Noh is very innovative in the sense that he always tries to fit in new motifs in his shows. He is topical and expresses his ideas and opinions regarding current affairs through his characters. He employs humor which is fresh and sometimes even sings out some current popular tune of a Western or Hindi song. His puppets number more than 300 and most of these are bought in the villages in Songkla in Thailand. And because of his repertoire of stories is so large (he can perform any tale of which he has learnt the outline the night before), his assistant has to arrange all 300 puppets on stage at the time of performance. But Noh

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<sup>13</sup>Noh has to give homage to the Siamese Wayang spirit before and after every performance. And every year he holds a feast as thanksgiving for a prosperous year.

<sup>14</sup>A type of travelling carnival. It consists of various stalls to cater for entertainment such as gambling, 'joget' (dance), 'bangsawan' (stage concert), and a Wayang Kulit theatre.

emphasises that most of the longer tales in his repertoire such as the 'cerita Si Miskin' were not learnt overnight but have been learnt from his teacher.

Although story-tellers may receive a substantial<sup>15</sup> amount of income for each performance, this by no means suggests that they can survive solely by story-telling. Even among dalangs of the Wayang Kulit which is the most popular of these genres very few live exclusively on their earnings from the Wayang, and those that attempt to do so lead a meagre existence even during the Wayang seasons.<sup>16</sup> Performers of the other genres derive only a very insignificant part of their income from their art. This is due, firstly, to the diminishing interest in these genres, like the Tarik Selampt<sup>17</sup> of Kelantan for example, and this may be attributed to competition from the more sophisticated traditional art forms such as the Wayang Kulit and Mak Yong,<sup>18</sup> and also the more modern modes of entertainment, especially films and television. Secondly, story-telling performances are padi-growers, and it is not surprising to find that most of the story-tellers, too, reside in these padi-growing areas. In past years, according to Sweeney,<sup>19</sup> the 'performance season' began after the padi-harvest and extended to the beginning of the rainy season. But in recent years, especially in the last seven years, the cultivation of padi has been intensified, and many growers have started to practise double-cropping every year or even quintuple-cropping in two years. This has cut down considerably the period of leisure time of the padi-growers which at one time had stimulated the growth of the various story-telling and dramatic genres found in these areas.

Thus, the shorter performance period and the growing lack of interest in these genres, which resulted in the lesser frequency of invitations to story-telling sessions, create the need for the story-teller to find a more stable secondary occupation. This means that the professional story-teller now has more reason to improvise his style of delivery and his technique of performance in order to overcome his competitors.

The performance of a particular tale by one performer, will vary considerably between one story-telling session and another before different audiences. While carrying out each performance, the performer knows, although he may not be consciously aware of this knowledge, that he must set up structural rhythms and raise expectancies which will permit a synchronised audience reaction. The rhythm and other structures which he utilises are a part of his cultural resources. He draws upon conventional themes, situations and patterns, and provides them with appropriately directed performance energies. He even changes his stylistic components in every performance in accordance with the responses of the audience.

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<sup>15</sup> A Wayang Kulit dalang may receive as much as M\$9/- to M\$11/- per night for his services, whereas he would earn only about M\$2/- a day tapping rubber.

<sup>16</sup> Sweeney, *The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow-Play*, Kuala Lumpur, 1972, p. 31.

<sup>17</sup> Setapa of Kelantan is reduced to begging for his other occupation, while Mat Nor is forced to rely on what his wife can earn harvesting padi.

<sup>18</sup> A genre of dance drama which originates from Thailand.

<sup>19</sup> Amin Sweeney, 1972, p. 26.

## PHONOLOGY

## VOWELS

Some changes occur in the pronunciation of certain vowel sounds.

## 1. /ə/

The pronunciation of the final 'a' in STD is (ə). This sound is articulated with the centre of the tongue raised between half-close and half-open, no firm contact being made between the tongue and the upper molars, and the lips are neutrally spread.

In Asun, this sound is pronounced (a) with a part of the tongue between centre and back in the fully open position.

In KTN, this sound is pronounced (ɔ) which is articulated with medium lip-rounding; the back of the tongue is raised between the half-open and half-close positions.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN	
apa	—	what	—	[ apə ]	[ apa ]	[ apɔ ]
muda	—	young	—	[ mudə ]	[ muda ]	[ mudɔ ]
buta	—	blind	—	[ butə ]	[ buta ]	[ butɔ ]
kaya	—	rich	—	[ kayə ]	[ kaya ]	[ kayɔ ]

## 2. /o/

In two-syllabic words where the phoneme 'o' is present in both syllables, the STD pronunciation for both vowel sounds is (o) which is articulated with full lip-rounding. In both the Asun and KTN the pronunciation for both vowel sounds is (ɔ), which is articulated with medium lip-rounding.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN	
kotor	—	dirty	—	[ kotor ]	[ kɔtɔʔ ]	[ kɔtɔ ]
jodoh	—	match	—	[ jodoh ]	[ jɔdɔ ]	[ jɔdɔ ]
sotong	—	squid	—	[ sotonj ]	[ sɔtonj ]	[ sɔtonj ]
botol	—	bottle	—	[ botol ]	[ bɔtɔi ]	[ bɔtɔ ]

In certain two-syllabic words where 'o' occurs in the first syllable, the (o) sound is changed to (u) in ASUN and KTN. This sound is pronounced with a part of the tongue nearer to centre position raised just above the half-close position; no firm contact being made between the tongue and the upper molars; and the lips are closely rounded.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
boleh	-- can	--	[ boleh ]	[ buleh ]	[ buleh ]
tonggeng	-- bend	--	[ tonɡenɣ ]	[ tunɡin ]	[ tunɡenɣ ]
bongsu	-- youngest	--	[ boŋsu ]	[ bɔŋsu ]	[ bɔsu ]
gores	-- matches	--	[ gores ]	[ guæh ]	[ gɔreh ]
tores	-- scratch	--	[ tores ]	[ tuæh ]	[ tɔreh ]
	cut	--			
hodoh	-- ugly	--	[ hodoh ]	[ hudoh ]	[ hudoh ]

## 3. Diphthongal glide (ai)

There are many words in STD and ASUN which have the final syllabic diphthongal glide (ai). In KTN the glide (a) → (i) is absent. Only the (a) is sounded, like the final open vowel.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
kedai	-- ship	--	[ kɔdai ]	[ kɔdai ]	[ kɔda ]
lantai	-- floor	--	[ lantai ]	[ lantai ]	[ /ata ]
pandai	-- clever	--	[ pandai ]	[ pandai ]	[ panda ]
serunai	-- flute	--	[ sɛrunai ]	[ sɛrunai ]	[ syuna ]

4. The vowels i, a following the other in a syllable are often contracted into a single /a/ or /ɛ/.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
siapa	-- who	--	[ siapa ]	[ sapa ]	[ sapɔ ]
biasa	-- usual	--	[ biasa ]	[ besa ]	[ besɔ ]
malaikat	-- angel	--	[ malaikat ]	[ maʔekat ]	[ mɔlekəʔ ]

These examples occur only in Asun:—

			STD	ASUN
kuala	-- estuary	--	[ ku <sup>w</sup> alə ]	[ kɔlə ]
jauh	-- far	--	[ y <sup>w</sup> aoh ]	[ yoh ]
laut	-- sea	--	[ /aot ]	[ /ot ]
daun	-- leaf	--	[ daon ]	[ dɔn ]

## CONSONANTS

The chief Asun and KTN consonantal articulations are tabled in the following consonant chart.

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation					
	Bilabial	Dental-Alveolar	Palata-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Complete oral closure.						
Plosive						
voiceless	p	t			k	ʔ
voiced	b	d			g	
Affricate						
voiceless			ʧ			
voiced			ʤ			
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	ŋ̃ *
Partial closure						
Lateral		l				
Narrowing						
Fricative						
voiceless		s			ɣ	h
voiced		z		*	ʀ *	
Frictionless Continuant						
Glide	w			y		

*ASUN AND KTN CONSONANT CHART*

- ʈ = voiceless
- ɓ = voiced
- \* = occurs only in Asun

1. All but one of the consonants tabled in the above chart are articulated in the same manner as those of the standard Malay. In Asun and KTN the alveolar trill (r) which is common in STD, does not exist. This consonant, when located in the initial and medial positions, is replaced by the voiced velar fricative (ʀ) in Asun, and the voiceless velar fricative (ɣ) in KTN.



Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
raja	—	king	[ raɣa ]	[ ɣaɣa ]	[ ɣaɣo ]
biru	—	blue	[ biru ]	[ biɣu ]	[ biɣu ]
karat	—	rust	[ karat ]	[ kaɣat ]	[ kaɣaʔ ]
orang	—	man	[ oraŋ ]	[ oɣaŋ ]	[ oɣe ]
rambut	—	hair	[ rambot ]	[ ɣambot ]	[ ɣamboʔ ]

2. The final alveolar trill (r) of STD is replaced by the glottal nasal (ʔ) stip in Asun. In KTN the final trill is not sounded at all.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
kotor	—	dirty	[ kotor ]	[ kotoʔ ]	[ koto ]
lapar	—	hungry	[ ʎapar ]	[ ʎapaʔ ]	[ ʎapa ]
air	—	water	[ aer ]	[ ayaʔ ]	[ ae ]
cukur	—	shave	[ cukor ]	[ cukoʔ ]	[ cuko ]
kafir	—	infidel	[ kafer ]	[ kapraʔ ]	[ kape ]
akhir	—	final	[ axer ]	[ ahiaʔ ]	[ ahe ]

It should be noted, in the last two of the above examples, that in words ending in the phoneme 'r' having 'i' as the penultimate phoneme, the vowel (i) becomes a diphthong (ia). Thus, 'pasir' (sand) sounds [ pasiaʔ ].

### 3. Fricative (s)

The final dental-alveolar fricative (s) of STD is replaced by the glottal fricative (h) in Asun and KTN.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
habis	—	finish	[ habes ]	[ habeh ]	[ abih ]
lapis	—	level	[ lapes ]	[ ʎapeh ]	[ ʎapeh ]
lukis	—	draw	[ lukes ]	[ ʎukeh ]	[ ʎukih ]
kudis	—	skin sore	[ kudes ]	[ kudeh ]	[ kudih ]
manis	—	sweet	[ manes ]	[ maneh ]	[ manih ]

In words ending in s in STD, but which have 'a' as the penultimate phoneme, in Asun the vowel (a) becomes a diphthongal glide (ai). Similarly, if the penultimate phoneme is 'u' the vowel (u) becomes (ui) or (oi). Also, if the penultimate phoneme is 'o', then the vowel (o) becomes (oi).

This phenomenon occurs only in Asun:

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
emas	—	gold	— [ əmas ]	[ əmaɪh ]	[ mah ]
pulas	—	twist	— [ pulas ]	[ pulaiɪh ]	[ pulah ]
putus	—	broke	— [ putos ]	[ putoiɪh ]	[ putuh ]
kurus	—	thin	— [ kuros ]	[ kuɹuiɪh ]	[ kuɹoh ]
boris	—	extravagant	— [ boros ]	[ bɔɹɔɪɪh ]	[ bɔɹɔh ]

#### 4. (l)

a. The dental-alveolar lateral (*l*) in the final position is replaced by (*i*) in the final position is replaced by (*i*) in Asun. This course only when the final closed vowel is (*a*), or (*u*), or (*o*). The final syllable thus sounds like a diphthong.

On the other hand, in KTN, the final (*l*) is not sounded at all, leaving the vowel sound open.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
kenal	—	recognise	— [ kənaɪ ]	[ kənaɪ̯ ]	[ kəna ]
pukul	—	to hit	— [ pukol ]	[ pukoi̯ ]	[ puko ]
betul	—	correct	— [ bətɒl ]	[ bətɒi̯ ]	[ bəto ]
dodol	—	rice-flour cake	— [ dodɒl ]	[ dodɒi̯ ]	[ dodo ]
pikul	—	to carry	— [ pikol ]	[ pikoɪ̯ ]	[ piko ]

b. But in cases where the penultimate phoneme is 'i' the Asun final diphthong sound, as in the above examples, does not occur. Instead, only a single vowel sound (*e*) is produced. This also occurs in KTN.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
katil	—	bedstead	— [ katɛl ]	[ kate ]	[ kate ]
pinggil	—	to call	— [ paŋgɛl ]	[ paŋge ]	[ paŋge ]
wakil	—	representative	— [ wəkɛl ]	[ wake ]	[ wake ]
comel	—	cute	— [ cɔmɛl ]	[ cɔme ]	[ cɔme ]

c. In some cases the dental-alveolar lateral (*l*) is replaced by the glottal (ʔ) sound.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
kecil	—	small	—	[ kəcel ]	[ kəci? ]
ambil	—	take	—	[ ambe/ ]	[ ambe? ]

4. a. The glottal stop sound occurs not only in words that normally end in the phoneme 'k' as in 'hendak' or 'budak'. In some cases where the words end in an open vowel (a) or (i), the glottal stop sound is added after the vowel.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
bawa	—	to bring	—	[ bawə ]	[ bawə? ]
juga	—	also	—	[ yugə ]	[ yugə? ]
mintā	—	to ask	—	[ mintə ]	[ mintə? ]
nasi	—	rice	—	[ nasi ]	[ nasi? ]
jumpa	—	meet	—	[ yumpə ]	[ jupə ]

b. In KTN the glottal stop sound replaces the final plosive sounds (p), (b) and (t).

Examples:—

			STD	KTN
sedap	—	delicious	—	[ sədap ]
susup	—	to hide	—	[ susop ]
rebab	—	malay fiddle	—	[ rəbab ]
nasib	—	fate	—	[ nasep ]
kerat	—	to cut	—	[ kərat ]
lutut	—	knee	—	[ lutot ]

5. The Malay vocabulary contains a considerable number of Arab loan-words which have the labio-dental voiceless fricative (f) consonant sound. This sound, which occurs in the initial and medial positions, is often replaced by the bilabial voiceless plosive (p) in Asun and KTN.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
fasal	—	course	—	[ fasa/ ]	[ pasa ]
faedah	—	benefit	—	[ faʔedah ]	[ pəʔdah ]
safar	—	2nd muslim month	—	[ safar ]	[ sapa ]
hafal	—	to memorise	—	[ hafa/ ]	[ hapa ]

But in KTN, if the labio-dental fricative (f) occurs in the final position, it is replaced by the glottal fricative (h).

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
taraf	—	status	— [ taraf ]	[ tarap ]	[ tarah ]
wakaf	—		— [ wakaf ]	[ wakap ]	[ wakah ]

It should be noted also that the trill (r) in Arabic loan-words remains unchanged in Asun and KTN.

6. In KTN, the pronunciation of the nasals /m/, /n/, and /ng/, undergoes several changes when these consonants occur in the final position. In words where 'u' or 'i' is the final closed vowel the final consonant (m) or (n) sound is changed to (ŋ).

Examples:—

			STN	KTN
jarum	—	needle	— [ ɟarom ]	[ ɟaɟoŋ ]
tahun	—	year	— [ taɦon ]	[ taoŋ ]
alim	—	pious	— [ âlem ]	[ aleŋ ]
main	—	to play	— [ mâen ]	[ maiŋ ]

But when the penultimate phoneme is 'a' then the final consonant (m), (n), or (ŋ) sound is elided, and the vowel (a) sound is changed to (ɛ) with a slight nasal sound.

Examples:—

			STD	KTN
malam	—	night	— [ malam ]	[ maɛ̃ ]
dalam	—	in	— [ dalam ]	[ daɛ̃ ]
jalan	—	road	— [ jalan ]	[ ɟaɛ̃ ]
tuan	—	sir	— [ tuan ]	[ tuɛ̃ ]
hilang	—	to lose	— [ hilaŋ ]	[ ɦiɛ̃ ]
orang	—	people	— [ oraŋ ]	[ oɟɛ̃ ]

7. In some words certain consonants in the medial position are dropped.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
kenduri	—	feast	— [ kənduri ]	[ kənuxi ]	[ knuyi ]
kasihān	—	pity	— [ kasehan ]	[ kəsiān ]	[ kəsié ]
mari	—	come	— [ mari ]	[ maɿ ]	[ mayi ]
perempuan	—	woman	— [ pərəmpuan ]	[ pɔmpuan ]	[ pəmpuɛ ]
teriak	—	to cry	— [ təriāʔ ]	[ tɔyaʔ ]	[ tɔyiʔ ]

8. Similar to the Penang Malay as described by Hamilton the Asun dialect also contain several words in everyday use which are shortened by 'clipping' off their first syllables. Some of these clipped words can also be found in KTN.

Examples:—

			STD	ASUN	KTN
ini	—	this	— [ ini ]	[ ni ]	[ ni ]
itu	—	that	— [ itu ]	[ tu ]	[ tu ] ; [ nu ]
tentang	—	at	— [ tɔntarɿ ]	[ tarɿ ]	
sudah	—	completed	— [ sudah ]	[ dah ]	[ dah ]
gergasi	—	giant	— [ gɔrgasi ]	[ gasi ]	
begitu	—	that way	— [ bɔgitu ]	[ gitu ]	[ gitu ]
dekat	—	near/at	— [ dɔkat ]	[ kat ]	[ kaʔ ]
dalam	—	in	— [ dalam ]	[ lam ]	[ dɔlɛ ]
dengan	—	with	— [ dɔŋan ]	[ ŋan ]	[ ŋan ] [ ŋa ]
lepas itu	—	after that ; so	— [ lɔpas itu ]	[ paih tu ]	[ pah tu ]
hari	—	a day	— [ hari ]	[ xi ]	
helai	—	pice	— [ hɔlaj ]	[ laɿ ]	[ lɛ ] [ la ]
emak	—	mother	— [ əmaʔ ]	[ maʔ ]	[ mɔʔ ]
bapa	—	father	— [ bapɔ ]	[ paʔ ]	[ pɔʔ ]
benggali	—	sikh	— [ bɔŋgali ]	[ ŋali ]	[ gɔli ]
encik	—	Sir/Madam	— [ ənçɛʔ ]	[ çɛʔ ]	[ çɛʔ ]
sahaja	—	only	— [ sahajɔ ]	[ aɣa ]	

9. Certain words in Asun are actually combinations of two clipped words.

Examples:—

		ASUN	KTN
Dia itu	— he/she	— [ dɛtu ]	
Dia ini	— he/she	— [ dɛni ]	
Apa buat	— why	— [ awat ]	[ baʔpə ]
Hang apa	— you (plural)	— [ haŋpa ]	
Dia apa	— they	— [ dɛpa ]	[ dɛmə ]
Saya apa	— we	— [ sɛpa ]	
Satu hari	— one day	— [ sari ]	[ sayi ]

It may be observed that KTN has an equivalent in Asun's (awat) (apa buat). In KTN it is (baʔpə) which is a combination of two words — buat apa. For 'they' KTN have (dɛmə) which is a combination of 'dia semua'.

From Asun's example we find that when 'apa' (what) is affixed after a singular pronoun, that pronoun becomes plural. Thus 'dia' (he) plus 'apa' becomes 'you all'. During my research in Kedah I also came across some people who would use 'I-pa' (ai : pa) and 'you-pa' (yv : pa) instead of 'sepa' and 'hangpa'.

#### 10. Local terms and idiomatic expressions.

In their narration of the tale of Si Miskin, the Wayang Kulit performers use quite a large number of local terms and idiomatic expressions. It is necessary, therefore, to list the most frequent of those terms here for the benefit of the reader.

Comprehensive accounts of these terms may also be found in the JMBRAS papers by Hamilton (1922, pp. 67-96), Baker (1939, pp. 107-120), Sturrock (1912, pp. 1-7) and Pepys (1916, pp. 303-321), and also in the study of the shadow-play by Sweeney.

WORD	DIALECT	SOUND	MEANING
balah	KTN	[ balah ]	I. Berbalah = to dispute; to argue. II. Balas = "way", functions similarly to 'macam' in phrases such as e.g. 'balas- mana', 'balas ini'.
balon	ASUN	[ balon ]	Beating with a heavy stick; trouncing.

basa	KTN	[ basə ]	I. bangsa = race; type; group. II. balasa – language, manner. The resulting word is here written 'basa'. 'kalaubasa' is equivalent to 'kalau sekiranya'.
bengah	KTN	[ bəŋəh ]	= mengah : to pant.
bengkeng	KTN	[ bəkɛŋ ] [ bəkɛ ]	Fierce; ill-tempered, irritable.
berconget	KTN	[ bccɔŋɛʔ ]	I. In both Asun and KTN the term implies a type of movement, bobbing up and down, as in a sea-saw.
bercunggit	ASUN	[ bəʔcungget ]	II. In Asun, 'cunggit' without the prefix 'ber' means to run away at high speed.
berbera-berbera	KTN	[ bbərə ] [ bəbəʔa bəʔa <sup>20</sup> ]	= berderai-derai : flowing freely e.g. berbera-bera air mata.
buang	ASUN	[ buaŋ ]	'buang' is an added to verb to mean 'to get rid of' – possibly, due to Thai influence. e.g. koyak buang = to tear it up. biar mati buang = to let it die. lempar buang = to throw it away. bunuh buang = to kill it.
cam	ASUN KTM	[ čam ] [ čɛ ]	Recognition by sight; remembering what has been seen.
cekeleh	KTN	[ čəkələh ]	Scheme; trickery. e.g. Ini cekeleh buatan dayang. This is all the servants trick.
dan	ASUN & KTN	[ dan ] [ dɛ ]	I. conjunction 'and'. II. to be in time; have time to e.g. Dia nak cepat sampai tak dan makan. He's in sudah a hurry that he had no time to eat.
dodo	KTN	[ dodo ]	I. = dodoi : lullaby. II. = dodol : a type of cake made from rice and coconut.

<sup>20</sup>This word is frequently used by the dalang.

dok	KTN & ASUN	[ dɔʔ ]
donde	KTN	[ dɔnde ]
duwana	KTN	[ du <sup>w</sup> ano ]
gak	KTN	[ gaʔ ]
geh	KTN	[ geh ] ; [ deh ]
getuh	KTN	[ gətuh ] ; [ gɛtuh ]
guwana	KTN	[ gu <sup>w</sup> ano ]
hat	ASUN	[ hət ]
	KTN	[ hoʔ ]
hola	KTN	[ hola ]
hungga	KTN	[ hunɡa ]
igak	KTN	[ iɡaʔ ]

= duduk. This verb which in STD means 'to sit; to dwell', is shortened to 'dok' to mean 'in the middle of an act' e.g.

a. Dia mai masa aku dok makan. He came when I was in the act of eating (dinner).

b. Lama dia dok sakit. He has been in the state of illness for some time.

= dendang : lullaby.

Di mana = where.

According to Sweeney, the particle [ gaʔ ] is often placed at the end of the first utterance and draws attention to the fact that a second, qualifying utterance is to follow, e.g. Tidak gak, matilah kita; (if) not, we shall die.

Gak also occurs in other positions with the sense "well", "you know", "as it happens".

A particle used at the end of a question to indicate request of confirmation e.g.

Ha, begitu deh?

Oh, is that so?

to 'pick' (a flower).

= bagaimana : how.

demonstrative pronoun used before 'ini' or 'itu' e.g.

h ni = this one.

h tu = that one.

affirmative — ya lah.

to hasten; to quickly.

to catch; to arrest.



jemba	KTN	[ yembo ]	I. a covering of dry leaves to protect young plants. II. to keep visiting; to press on towards; to attack (jemba-terpa).
jembia	KTN	[ yəmbiə <sup>y</sup> ]	a curved dangger.
jom	ASUN	[ yom ]	come on; let's go.
	KTN	[ məh ]	
Kecek	KTN	[ kɛcɛ? ]	to converse
	ASUN	[ məŋcɛcɛ? ]	to cheat with plausible stories.
kekpong	KTN	[ kɛʔpɔŋ ]	to carry on the back.
	ASUN	[ taŋŋɔŋ ]	
kerok	ASUN	[ kɛrɔ? ]	pidginised English phrase 'care of'
	KTN	[ kɛrɔh ]	to indicate an address or direction. e.g. Dia salah kerok. He's going the wrong way.
kuek	KTN	[ kuɛ? ]	to vomit out.
la	ASUN	[ la ]	moment. 'la ni' — at this very moment. 'la tu' — at that very moment.
lagu	ASUN & KTN	[ lagu ]	way or manner. e.g. pakai lagu ni — use it this way. Jangan buat lagu tu — stop behaving in that manner.
liga	ASUN	[ liɡan ]	to chase after something.
lig t	ASUN	[ liɡat ]	(spinning) fast.
	KTN	[ liɡa? ]	
lolok	KTN	[ lɔlɔ? ]	= olok-olok = pretend.
mengenat	KTN	[ məŋɛna? ]	= mengkhianati: to cause or plan treachery. in Asun 'buat naya' (aniaya) is often used.
mo	KTN	[ mɔ ]	= semua.
moh	ASUN	[ məh ]	= emboh, often in the negative 'tak moh' meaning 'tidak mahu.'
muga	KTN	[ mugɔ ]	because.

nu	KTN & ASUN	[ nu ]	I. = demonstrative pronoun — 'itu'. II. a particle used after a ques- tion asking confirmation. e.g. Ni bagi saya, nu? Give this to me, will you?
pakat	ASUN KTN	[ pakat ] [ paka? ]	Pakat 'agreement in conference' is sometimes used in combination with other words to mean 'in a body' e.g. Dema dah pakat lari. They ran off in a body.
pak teh	KTN ASUN	[ pəʔteh ] [ paʔteh ]	Pak Puteh; Pak Uteh = uncle.
pandak	KTN	[ panda? ]	— pendek : short.
polok	ASUN	[ pələʔ ]	to eat gluttonly.
punah	KTN	[ punəh ]	ruin; destruction.
punggai	ASUN	[ puŋgai ]	to throw at.
pupuan	KTN	[ pupu <sup>w</sup> an ] <sup>21</sup>	= sepupu : cousin.
pantaian	KTN	[ pantai <sup>y</sup> e ] <sup>22</sup>	= pantai : coast; beach.
ralit	ASUN KTN	[ ʁalet ] [ ʁale? ]	sleepy; somnolent; overcome by sleepiness. also — unconscious of ones sur- roundings in day dreams.
rempang	ASUN	[ ʁəmpaŋ ]	eccentric.
reti	ASUN	[ ʁəti ] [ ʁəti ]	= mengerti; to understand; to have knowledge of.
royat	KTN	[ ʁəya? ]	= riwayat: tale. More often used to mean 'to tell' something (information or story, etc.).
ruat	KTN	[ ru <sup>w</sup> a? ] ; [ ru <sup>w</sup> at ]	Javanese, to utter a magical formula or incantation so that a certain object may change its form. e.g. to resume human form of a were-tiger; to change a sword into a dagger.

<sup>21</sup> and <sup>22</sup> used only by the dalang.

sabit	ASUN	[ sabet ]	= sebab. Because of.
	KTN	[ sabeʔ ]	
sakan	ASUN	[ sakan ]	equivalent of 'very many'.
	KTN	[ sake ]	e.g. a) berhikayat akan sakan. tell many a tale. b) bekerja. Kuat sakan. work very bad.
seka	KTN	[ səko ]	= sangka; guess; misdoubt; suspect.
selop	ASUN	[ səlop ]	to faint; to become unconscious.
	KTN	[ səloʔ ]	
sembang	ASUN	[ semban ]	to gossip.
Tahuk	ASUN	[ taoʔ ]	I. = to throw away.
	KTN	[ təhoʔ ]	II. = to banish; exile.
Tang	ASUN	[ taŋ ]	= tentang; at.
Tara-tara	ASUN	[ tara-tara ]	= reference to size, rank; match in strength.
Terkerenyeh	ASUN	[ təkəʔəŋəh ]	= to grin.
Tercacang- cacang	KTN	[ təcaŋə-čaŋə ]	= bewildered.
Teniap	KTN	[ tənɪap ]	= Thai, Thamniap = resting-place; tent; camp.

#### MORPHOLOGY AND STYLE

The professional story-teller usually presents the tale in his own dialect, as in the case of the Wayang Kulit dalang, he and his audience are usually unfamiliar with classical or literary Malay.<sup>23</sup> In this research I also detect what Sweeney has observed earlier, that "dalangs produce a heightened form of local dialect by introducing various distortions of grammar, both through ignorance and design."<sup>24</sup> The various distortions of grammar which occurred were in the form of "incorrect use of affixes, repetition of words and employment of a variety of padding devices, and contortion of syntax."<sup>25</sup>

The Wayang Kulit dalang may be consciously aware that he is trying to heighten his language during a certain part of his narration, for example, the scene during

<sup>23</sup>Sweeney, Amin. 'Professional Malay Story-telling,' *JMBRAS*, Vol. MLVI, Pt. 2, 1973. p. 22.

<sup>24</sup>Sweeney, Amin. *The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow-Play*, Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 1972, p. 63.

<sup>25</sup>Sweeney, Amin. *JMBRAS*, 1973. p.

which the princely hero converses with the princess or his parents. At the same time the *dalang* does not have enough knowledge to properly use the correct affixes and particles in his grammar. This results in some peculiar forms of linguistic construction.

Once a word is spoken it is not retractable. Sometimes words, affixes and particles not normally found in his every day speech are uttered during his narration. Thus we find usages such as these:

taklukban  
 mereka berdiam di dalam hutan  
 kutuk-kanak  
 pantaran  
 pi boloi menatang mana, melapiak macam ni  
 secelipan  
 sedang kami bertunggu  
 menuntupan  
 jikalau  
 termelayang  
 terdenggan  
 pedirian

Some words are pronounced in the narrator's idiolect. For example, 'jitra bari' (= *cetera* or *ceritera bahari*), 'bajak' (= *bijak*), *bauma-uma matari* (= *berumbai-umbai mutiara*). The reasons for this occurrence are that these words are not commonly used, and that most *dalangs* are unfamiliar with classical Malay. As a result we find in his pronunciations the elision of medial consonants, for example, *uma* < *umbai*; *bari* < *bahari*; *jitra* < *ceritera*, and the absence of the final syllabic diphthongal glide, for example, *umbai* > *uma*.

Even if he does know some classical Malay words but commits mispronunciation or grammatical errors, the *dalang* cannot stop or even pause to correct it. He has to maintain the flow of his narration. Every *dalang* has his own individual approach towards pleasing his audience. The audience in a story-telling session is expected to interject, to demonstrate their reactions, and the story-teller must adapt his story to their mood. Even if he is reciting a well-known myth, as Proudfoot pointed out,<sup>26</sup> "if his audience is tiring he must quickly bring it to its conclusion, if his audience is enthralled he will spin it out by elaborating and introducing further episodes." This depends not only on his ability to compose quickly enough to maintain the flow of words, and flexibly enough to adapt to exigencies of performance, but also on his artistry to be topical on any subjects of interest to his audience.

<sup>26</sup>Proudfoot, Ian, *The Hikayat Pelandok Jenaka: Malay Myth and Oral Composition*, unpublished Thesis submitted to ANU, Canberra, 1967, p. 172.

In the case of the Asun dalang, it is noted that he could get through to his audience through humour rather than descriptions of heroic battles of the hero's romantic conquests which are dominant in the Kelantan version, and which seems to enthrall the Kelantan dalang's audience. So we find that the Asun dalang uses more dialogue incorporating a string of simple jokes in his short humorous episodes, while the Kelantan dalang employs longer narration thus producing more of the 'heightened' form of language. This may indicate that the Kelantan narration is more traditional than the Kedah version.

The following examples will show the repetition of words in an Asun dialogue, and the employment of filler words in the Kelantan narration.

Example 1 : Asun.

'Dia nak tilik buat apa, Nunui?'

'Tu la dok kata tu. Dok tilik buat apa?'

Baik tak baik, tu anak raja. Anak kita bolehlah. Ni pi dok nak tilik buat apa?'

.....  
'Eh, dok tilik buat apa, eh. Tak payah dok tilik, eh.

Tiap yang beranak tentu bertuah. Siapa tak bertuah. Aku dulu, mak aku tak tilik pun.'

'Oh, mak hang tak tilik pun.'

'Tak tilik pun! Em, mak, aku tak tilik aku sekali pun . . .'

Example 1 : Kelantan.

Maka serta yang dinamakan isteri pun makanlah buah puah mem-  
pelam. Pintas tanjung mengambil rantai, rantai panjang kerat pandak,  
jalan belok akan pintas betul, makin sehari makin yang namakan  
duduk dia makin letih kerana sebab sudah mengandung dah dia.  
Hingga sahingga sampai dinamakan sembilan bulan dia mengandung,  
cukup hari kedaran masa sakitlah perut dia dinamakan nak bersalinlah  
pada masa ini hari. Keluarlah terbit dok menyeru-nyeru yang dinama-  
kan oleh daripada sekalian bidan-bidan yang ketujuh negara kayangan.

From example 1 Asun, we find the word 'tilik' repeated no less than 9 times, while in example 1 Kelantan, the filler words 'dinamakan', 'yang namakan' or 'yang dinamakan' are used so excessively that the sentence construction becomes complicated. This, plus the repetition of similar information in the same short narration often results in a distortion of grammar. The following narration, for example, exemplifies a typical grammatical distortion by the Kelantan dalang.

Example 2 : Kelantan.

'Maka ajar itu, dia duduk dalam *berikat tapa*, dia dapati tahu antara yang dinamakan ada satu orang budak jatuh di dalam hutan cerambana belukar alam. Dia berasa *kesian belas kerana sebab* duduk di

dalam perintahan negeri dia pun budak mana tak dapat ketahui. Dia demi tengok yang dinamakan secelipan dari jalan antara *ketutupan* dia ada budak seorang yang jatuh di dalam hutan cerambana belukar alam, *turun* ke kaki gunung, *berhingga* akan *nak gi* mengambil.

In Example 2 Kelantan, we are twice told that through his meditation (berikat tapa, ketutupan) the sage or 'ajar' has detected an alien wandering in his jungle kingdom; that he felt sorry (kesian belas) for (kerana sebab) the lost boy; and that he set out (*turun, berhingga, nak gi*) to help him. Also included in this narration are the filler words 'antara yang dinamakan', 'jalan antara', and 'akan'.

According to Sweeney, the employment of padding devices is necessary for two reasons. He says, "At a traditional story-telling session, one may expect a whole range of background noises, from babies screaming to toothless old men pounding their sirih. Consequently, one does not expect to catch the story-teller's every word. Secondly, the performer is faced with the difficult task of marshalling the threads of his chanting or singing."<sup>27</sup> Also, repetitions of stock descriptions or filler lines afford him some relaxation and this can be used by the oral composer as a chance to plan the next step in his story, in the same way as he might use a musical interlude.<sup>28</sup>

In the Kelantan version one may find this description of the throne in six court scenes:

'Keluar terbit atas balairong balai peseban agung, atas tinggi ratna gading beruma-uma matahari agung berhadapan patih demang arya penggawa, menteri temenggung di dalam pemerintahan negeri.'

But if he wishes to abbreviate the tale, the *dalang* can pass over whole scenes at a leap by stating,

'pintas tanjung mangambil rantai  
rantai panjang kerat pandak  
jalan belik akan pintas betul  
.....'

And to describe how the villain, angered by the hero's unwelcomed arrival, attacks him the *dalang* says,

'tunduk bengah seperti harimau menerkam ke bangkai,  
pandang yang dinamakan ke dada,  
seperti ular mengeluarkan bisa,  
pandang ke muka seperti,  
bunga raya kembang pagi,  
merah mata akan  
biji saga dahi dahan.'

<sup>27</sup>Sweeney, *JMBRAS*, 1973, p. 23.

<sup>28</sup>Proudfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

Some descriptions are used only once. Perhaps this is due to the fact that only the particular event is worthy of such a description. The birth of Marakarma, for example, was marked by,

'maka waktu mana waktu siang yang namakan hendak bersalin,  
hujan akan rintik-rintik basah,  
gelap-gelemap dengan  
kutuk-kanak yang salah ketika,  
ribut akan salah musim,  
tanda apa, tanda alamat  
yang namakan oleh anak Mak Miskin  
nak keluar dalam kandungan.'

And when the wicked Maharaja Indera Dewa is defeated in battle and slain by Marakarma, the dalang utters these words as a plea that no curse may befall Marakarma and his succeeding generations as a result of his deeds.

'jangan sampai ajar tulah papalah  
alaidina mustakina budak ke anak kecil,  
besar tua-muda, tepok-tempang,  
panjang tujuh benganti lima,  
dalam tua-muda, tengah bungsu.'

In common also with the stock descriptions is the use of synonyms and parallelisms. While some of these are cliches some others are not actually common in everyday speech but can also be found in many of the dalang's other stories. Some examples are:

Synonyms: bercerai-tanggal  
keluar-terbit  
saing-rodong  
susup-semunyi  
besar-penjang  
selop-pengsan  
pantang-larang  
muda-remaja

- Parallelisms: i. Nak kenal ayah, nak kenal bonda.  
ii. Nak cari tanya kabar yang namakan ibu mencari bertanya kanan akan bapa.  
iii. Jaga akan bangun Pak Miskin dengan mak Miskin terkejutlah.  
iv. Bercerita banyak, berhikayat akan sakan.  
v. Dia orang bijak, dia orang lebih sangat.  
vi. Bukan mudah, bukan bicara.  
vii. Duduk berkasih, duduk bersayang.  
viii. Anak celaka, anak yang bangsa tidak bertuah.  
ix. Bolehlah dia berkecek, boleh dia berkira.  
x. Aku nak berikat tapa tak dapat, nak buat amal akan tak boleh.

xi. Nak mari jual lebih, nak mari jual bijak.

xii. Silap gayung, sumbang akan langkah.

The Asun version reveals a lack of stock descriptions. Except for the employment of scene openers and closers, there appears to be very little use of any rhythmic prose as is found in the Kelantan version. Perhaps it is due to the dalang's intention to inject humour into his tale that he uses a less high-flown language than the type he usually employs in another more serious story.

One of these approaches to achieve humour is to include foreign words, or certain vocal sounds that would seem foreign to the audience, for example,

'Wah, siapa dia, ha?'

'Eh, siapa dia?'

'Oh, a rinda wana sekera?'

'Apa?'

'A rinda wana seka?'

'Apa diwana sekerak?'

'Dia tak tau la Nui. Buat apa pi tanya lagu tu.'

'Jepun. Basa Jepun.'

'Ih!'

'Ih nama tawa yuki na sekerak? Hai, apa ku nak kata la, keow?'

'Ku tak tau la, Tong. Kata pi la, Tong!'

'Hem, ana tawa doki, doki, doki, doki, yuki mas. . .'

The words used by the dalang in this dialogue are definitely not Japanese, and the words which form the lyrics of this Hindi tune definitely not Hindi. i.g.

'Ah, mali kang a mali cahek

Sa sa ali calek.

Eh, nali cangli mali calek

Hali lolo me calek.'

Another method used by the dalang is mispronunciation of common Malay words, and this mispronunciation is often repeated so as to emphasize its error. e.g.

'Aku pun tak boleh dengar tu. Eh, eh, eh, eh, eh, tak boleh, tong oi.'

'Jangan toyak!'

'Eh, eh, eh. (Sob)'

'Jangan toyak!'

'Sampai hati tuanku buat begitu, Hm, ee, eh, eh!'

'Jangan toyak!'

Here the word 'toyak' (= teriak) is repeated three times, while in another later episode the word is again used repeatedly which brings up some laughter from the audience. In one episode the dalang mispronounced 'mulut' (mouth) as 'mulit' which sounds like 'burit' (vagina) and this, too, tickled the audience. Some words used by the dalang are local terms such as 'seluak mergah piap' (baggy trousers), 'melapiak' (to fly low), 'rempang' (eccentric), while some others are typical Wayang



words such as 'teniap' (Thai, Thamniap: resting place), 'kusina' (Thai, sena = servant), 'gasi' (gergasi = giant), 'jentaka' (misfortune), 'karun' (= harta karun; treasure), 'maharisi' (wizard), 'penawar setanggina' (= astagina = antidote).

In the previous paragraphs, I have mentioned in passing the use of scene openers and closers by dalangs. A Wayang Kulit performer may use the same opening formula for several stories although it is subject to minor variation to ensure that the words accord with the context of the episode in which it is used. In the Asun version a typical court scene is normally opened by the king asking the queen,

'Adinda, apa yang menyusahkan bagi pehak adinda?'

or

'Apa yang disusahkan lagi, adinda?'

and the scene is closed by,

'jikalau begitu senangkanlah dihati kami sedang kami berehat di bilik istana.'

or

'Senangkanlah kami dan masuk berehat di bilik istana.'

It does seem appropriate that a scene which opens with 'susah' should end with 'senangkanlah hati.'

But if the scene opens with the dalang's narration, then these lines are used:

'Lepas tu tak lama kelamaan . . . . .'

and the scene closes with:

'Kisah ini diletak dulu, kisah lain mendatang.'

The above scene closer actually signifies and end of one section of the narrative and the commencement of another. This is similar to the Kelantan type which says

'Maka hilang royat (ending section) kemudian timbul royat .....  
(new section).

Examples:

Maka hilang royat daripada Pak Miskin daripada antara masuk di dalam kota peseban agung Maharaja Indera Dewa, kemudian timbul royat Maharaja Indera Dewa nak keluar terbit di atas balai-rong balai peseban agung .....

Hilang royat di situ dulu barang sekejap, timbul royat Jin Pari Hantu Laut keluar terbit dalam pertapaan .....

As a concluding remark, I would like to stress that the above discussion on styles and dialects was strictly based on recorded materials. From time to time there may occur stylistic and dialectic changes which are peculiar to wayang kulit performances in both Kedah and Kelantan.