



J. Noorduyn

Consonant gemination in Buginese

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 146 (1990), no: 4, Leiden, 470-473

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

KORTE MEDEDELINGEN

J. NOORDUYN

CONSONANT GEMINATION IN BUGINESE

The articulation of consonant gemination in Buginese is to some extent different in continuants and in stops. Since the continuants *s, r, l, m, n,* and *ng* are produced with only partial or incomplete stricture of the articulatory cavities, their articulation, including the production of sound, can be continued for some time, and in gemination is continued for approximately twice as long as in non-geminated pronunciation.

The articulation of stops involves a complete stricture of the oral and nasal cavities, which is released almost immediately after its onset in non-geminated pronunciation, but is held approximately twice as long in gemination of the voiceless stops *p, t, c,* and *k*. In this case no sound is produced during the continuation of the stricture.

A similar articulation would be expected for gemination of the voiced stops *b, d, j,* and *g*; but this is not normally the case in Buginese. Only sporadically is a pronunciation heard in which the stricture is briefly held before its release and at the same time the voicing is briefly continued. In normal practice, however, a glottal stop is added before the voiced stop instead, as was discovered by A.A.Cense and his Buginese assistants in the thirties.

In accordance with these phonetic, articulatory facts, it has become accepted usage to indicate gemination of continuants and voiceless stops in romanized transcription with duplication of the single graphemes, and to provide voiced stops with a preceding glottal stop (indicated by an apostrophe here).

In the case of the continuants and the voiceless stops, however, gemination is only one way of describing the facts. Some authors have argued that consonants which here are called 'geminated' consonants or 'gemimates' in fact are prolonged or long consonants, and have either written them with a prolongation mark (*n:, p:, t:, etc.*), or have treated them as a separate category of consonants, to be distinguished from the short ones, and accordingly have reproduced them with special graphemes (*N, P, T,* etc.). From a strictly phonetic point of view there is no objection to such a procedure, because the phenomenon of continuation for twice the time of pronunciation of the single phoneme can in fact be described both as gemination (twice the same) and as lengthening. A practical objection is, however, that this way the consonant system is burdened with ten more consonant phonemes, or at the least with a special mark of prolongation. It is preferable, therefore, to consider these consonants not as long ones but as gemimates, and to represent them in writing with double consonant characters.

In a similar way, gemination of continuants and voiceless stops on the one hand, and preglottalization of voiced stops on the other, are two

different phenomena from a strictly phonetic point of view, and there is no objection to representing the latter in writing with a glottal stop preceding the voiced stop. But the two phenomena are at the same time mutually exclusive, and can never be in contrastive or distinctive opposition because, within the group of stops, their occurrence is conditioned, gemination being concomitant with voicelessness and preglottalization with voicedness. This can be seen in some morphological categories, for example, in which gemination of continuants and voiceless stops and preglottalization of voiced stops jointly form part of a single prefixal system (*ma'bola* 'to make a house (*bola*)'; *mammusu* 'to wage war (*musu*)', etc.).

This is also the reason why Buginese speakers, when writing their language in romanized characters, usually make no distinction between geminated and preglottalized stops, spelling both with double consonant characters, and only become aware that voiced stops are actually not geminated but preglottalized when this detail of their pronunciation is pointed out to them. In general usage, apparently, preglottalization of consonants is interpreted by the Buginese as being identical to gemination or lengthening of consonants, or, in other words, preglottalization is the way in which gemination or lengthening of voiced stops is articulated. The fact that, within the language system, there is no opposition between gemination and preglottalization is decisive.

For this reason it must be considered preferable to represent preglottalized voiced stops, like geminated continuants and voiceless stops, as geminates with double consonant characters, viz: *bb*, *dd*, *jj*, *gg*, *pp*, *tt*, *cc*, *kk*, *ss*, *rr*, *ll*, *mm*, *nn*, *ngng*.

A special issue connected with the general theme of consonant gemination in Buginese is the question of its occurrence in word-initial position in verbal morphology. In my own brief description of the Buginese language published in 1955 (pp.8-20) I stated that active verbs are marked by gemination of the initial consonant of the root or of the nasal prefix in the case of roots having an initial vowel. This observation, and its application in my transliteration of a Buginese text (1955:154-314), was based on the discovery of this phenomenon by A.A. Cense and his Buginese assistants in the thirties, the description of which, like that mentioned above, had remained unpublished until 1955. The same method of transliteration was later applied by some Buginese authors, such as those responsible for the publication of Buginese texts in an edition of the maritime laws of Amanna Gappa (Tobing et al. 1961), Mattulada in his edition of the Latoa (1985), and Fachruddin A.E. in his edition of a part of the La Galigo epic (1983). But it became a moot question because others did not apply it (e.g., Abidin 1985/1979, Chairan et al. 1981), Buginese linguists did not mention it (e.g., Kaseng 1982/1975, and Said in his dictionary of 1977), and its validity was called into question in so many words by Mills (1975:239). It seems worthwhile, therefore, to present here some facts, checked with the assistance of Buginese-speaking informants, which, in my view, prove beyond any doubt the existence of the phenomenon in the present-day language.

In the first place, initial consonant gemination is found in verbs

following a proclitic such as *to-*. This is the clitic (i.e., the unaccented, monosyllabic, never independently occurring) form of the noun *tau*, meaning 'people, human being'. When this clitic is followed by an active verbal form, the expression denotes 'someone or some people who is/are doing the action designated by the verb'. An example is the word which is spelt *to-lolang* in Matthes' dictionary (1874:600) but *tollolang* in the dictionary compiled by the Buginese linguist Said (1977:123). This word means 'thief', but is based on the verb (*l*)*lolang*, 'to walk about'. The meaning 'thief' has obviously become specialized from 'someone who is walking about', and the word may be written accordingly as *to-llolang*. Some other examples, with non-specialized meanings, are *to-ttudangngé*, 'the one who is sitting (*tudang*)', *to-ssuroéngngi*, 'the one who is sending (*suro*) it', *to-mminrengngé*, 'the one who has borrowed (*inreng*), the borrower, the debtor'. Initial gemination appears to be productive in this construction.

That it is a function of the verb occurring in the construction and is not brought about in any way by any feature of the proclitic *to-* may be clear from the fact that it is absent in other cases, such as when *to-* is combined with the prefixless adjective *maté*, 'dead', or with an adjective having the prefix *ma-* such as *maraja*, 'great' (stem *raja*). Words such as *to-maté*, 'the dead', or *to-marajaé*, 'the great man, the governor', never have geminated *m*. There are even instances of a clear opposition between geminated and non-geminated prefix *m-*, e.g., *tométau'é*, 'the one who is afraid (*étau*)', and *to-mmétau'éngngi*, 'the one who is afraid of it', the first of which is an adjective form, the second a transitive verb.

In the second place, the same verbs which display initial gemination following *to-* will have it also in other constructions in the sentence, even in a position where they open an utterance. A sentence such as *Mmitaka' jonga*, 'I am seeing (*ita*) a deer', which is pronounced with geminated *m*, can be the first sentence of an utterance.

It may be added here that word-initial gemination has also been found as a morphological process in the Endekan dialect of the Massénrémpulu language, which is spoken in the mountains between the Buginese and the Toraja areas in South Sulawesi (see, for example, Mursalin et al. 1982: 23-26).

A diachronic explanation of the phenomenon in Buginese can be given on the basis of a comparison with the *uN-* prefix in the closely related Toraja language. In this language, active transitive verbs are marked by this prefix, which consists of *u* followed by gemination of the initial consonant of the root if this consonant is a continuant (*r, l, s, n, m, ng*), by a homorganic nasal if the initial consonant is a stop, and by a geminated *n* if the root begins with a vowel (Salombe 1982:122-131). If it is assumed that both the Buginese and the Toraja language once had a verbal prefix *um-*, the nasal of which assimilated in various ways to a subsequent initial consonant (*uG-*) and was geminated before a subsequent initial vowel (*umm-*), the attested Buginese initial consonant gemination and geminated prefix *mm-* attached to vowel-initial roots are explained by a supposed loss of the *u-* from the prefix in Buginese, and the attested Toraja prefix *unn-* is explained by the general change of final *-m* to *-n* in this language, e.g.,

-dalam in mandalan, 'deep' (cf. *dalem 'id'). Possible examples are: Bug. *umminreng > mminreng and Tor. *ummindang > unnindang, 'to borrow'.

REFERENCES CITED

- Abidin, A.Z., 1985, *Wajo' pada abad XV-XVI: Suatu penggalan sejarah terpendam Sulawesi Selatan dari lontara'*. Bandung: Alumni. [Ph.D. thesis 1979.]
- Chairan, T., et al., 1981, *Bunga rampai sastra Bugis: Bacaan sejarah Sulawesi Selatan*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Fachruddin Ambo Enre, 1983, *Ritumpanna welenrenge: Telaah filologi sebuah episode sastra Bugis klasik La Galigo*. Ph.D. thesis Jakarta.
- Kaseng, S., 1982, *Bahasa Bugis Soppeng: Valensi morfologi dasar kata kerja*. Jakarta: Djambatan. [Ph.D. thesis 1975.]
- Matthes, B.F., 1874, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Mattulada, 1985, *Latoa: Satu lukisan analitis terhadap antropologi politik orang Bugis*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press. [Ph.D. thesis 1975.]
- Mills, R.F., 1975, *Proto South Sulawesi and Proto Austronesian Phonology*. Ph.D. thesis Michigan.
- Mursalin, S., et al., 1982, *Sistem morfologi kata kerja bahasa Massenrempulu*. Ujung Pandang.
- Noorduyn, J., 1955, *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek van Wadjo'*. Buginese historiografie. 's-Gravenhage: Smits.
- Said, M.Ide, 1977, *Kamus bahasa Bugis-Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa.
- Salombe, C., 1982, *Bahasa Toraja Saqdan. Proses morfemis kata kerja*. Jakarta: Djambatan.
- Tobing, Ph.O.L., c.s., 1961, *Hukum pelajaran dan perdagangan Amanna Gappa*. Makassar: Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara.

E.P. WIERINGA

SOME INDONESIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NATURAL HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUM AT OUDENBOSCH

On a rainy Sunday afternoon on 31 July 1989 I visited the Natural History and Ethnological Museum (*Natuurhistorisch en Volkenkundig Museum*) at Oudenbosch, in the province of Noord-Brabant, The Netherlands, to see a small exhibition of Indonesian artefacts.¹ My attention was drawn to some *lontar* manuscripts in one of the showcases, and I was informed that they belonged to the museum collection. Since they have never been described before, I would like to give a description of these manuscripts in this *Korte Mededeling*, so that they may become known to a wider public.

The origin of the Natural History and Ethnological Museum at Oudenbosch goes back to 1956, when the physical collection (founded in 1905)

¹ The address of the *Natuurhistorisch en Volkenkundig Museum* is Markt 30a, Oudenbosch, and of the secretariat Markt 68, 4731 HR Oudenbosch. The museum is open from 2 to 5 p.m. on Sundays.

I would like to thank Mrs. M. de Rooij for letting me inspect the museum's manuscripts and Dr. S.O. Robson and Drs. M. van Yperen for kindly correcting some impurities in my English.