

Traces of the Reproduction and Redistribution of Islamic Texts Through the *Betadut* among Besemah and Serawai People: preliminary remarks

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Abstract

Although nowadays it has faded, there is sufficient evidence that in the past, the Serawai and Pasemah ethnic groups in Bengkulu knew an oral tradition called *betadut*. *Betadut* (from the word *tadut*) means singing the text of the *tadut*. *Betadut* is a folk song without musical accompaniment performed by a group of adults in a certain context: at a certain time, place and for a specific purpose. The *betadut* group is led by a person called the *pendulu* and is followed by a group of relative accompaniments. It is called the *pendulu* because it is he who begins to recite or sing the *tadut* text which is then followed by the accompaniments simultaneously. *Tadut* texts are in the form of folk poetry, covering various themes, such as *akhlak*, *fiqih*, *tauhid* and *tasawuf*. Each theme has a number of topics and each contains specific messages as stated in the title, for example, *tadut esat sembayang*, *tadut pesan rasul*, *tadut sejahat-jahat manusie*. Each topic of *tadut* is presented in relative syntactic-semantic units. One topic may consist of one or more stanzas and each stanza consists of three or more syntactic-semantic units. The themes of *tadut* and the contents of messages in *betadut* topics show traces of the reproduction and redistribution of Islamic texts on various themes through oral traditions in the Serawai and Pasemah ethnic groups in Bengkulu.

Keywords: Bengkulu, betadut, Islamic texts, redistribution, reproduction

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1. INTRODUCTION

Among the Besemah (or also called Pasemah) and Serawai ethnic groups in South Sumatra and Bengkulu are known for folk songs, 'poetical-verbal products' (Propp, 1997:4; Danandjaja, 1992), which contain local cultural knowledge and wisdom passed down from generation to generation (Dundes, 2007:53) orally. The folk song called *tadut*. The word *tadut* (ta'adut) comes from the Arabic root 'adada' which means numbered or repeated. *Tadut* is a folk song in the Besemah or Serawai language, a language that can be categorized as a dialect of the Middle-Malay complex (Helfrich, 1894; Helfrich, 1904; Voorhoeve, 1955; Salzner, 1960; Aliana, 1979).

Betadut means singing a *tadut*, usually carried out in groups, adult men or women. The group is led by someone called *pendulu*. The *pendulu* is chosen and approved upon among the group members, usually the one who has mastered *tadut* singing, in addition to the melodiousness of his voice. It is called *pendulu* because he is the first to sing the *tadut* and is then followed by the members of his group. *Betadut* is sung without musical accompaniment. It is carried out during Isha at people's homes, held for a specific purpose. At that time, *betadut* as a tradition was very popular among the Besemah and Serawai ethnic groups. Even though over time this tradition has begun to fade, today we can still see *tadut* displayed through social media, such as Semende TV or Onstar FM Chanel, or even private channels that take the background of recitations by ustadz.¹

¹ Here are some links from Semende TV South Sumatra that we can look at as examples of *tadut*.

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Slqx43Ug7n0;>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OtOc7Jm5YQE;>
- <https://www.youtube.com/shorts/k8UnJ9pW5BI>

and the following in a recitation broadcast by Ust. Efendi from Pagar Alam, South Sumatra

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T0VZf8uJ-3I&t=10s>

Studies on *tadut* texts and *betadut* have been carried out, although not many in terms of number or aspect of study. We can find this from a number of writings about *tadut* and *betadut*, for example those written by Ongsu (1996), Herdalena (2002), Susanti (2008), Sady, Andayani, and Widodo (2017), Yani (2017), Sady (2018), and Hesti 2019. In general, previous research was limited to a preliminary overview of the *betadut* oral tradition. In the previous study, transcriptions of *tadut* texts were presented. Of course, previous research has made a very valuable contribution to the study of *tadut* and *betadut*. For example, from previous research, around 35 stanzas of *tadut* text have been identified. Although this number may not be able to describe the size of the *tadut* group that lived in the past among the Basemah and Serawai tribes, this number is very significant. Because, with this number we can carry out many possible studies of *tadut* from various aspects and with various approaches.

This article is intended to briefly explain the *tadut* as a text and the *betadut* as a social practice or social event. In the first meaning, *tadut* is a linguistic entity (oral at first) that is structured and meaningful (cf. van Leeuwen, 2005:3; McKee, 2003:4; de Saussure, 1988; van Zoest, 1993). As a text, *tadut* is in the context and as part of a particular social interaction with a particular purpose at a specific place and time (in the past) among the Besemah and Serawai people. This is what is called *betadut*, namely *tadut* texts in cultural communication between the native. We can thus view *betadut* as a cultural event, or what could technically be called a social practice, "...socially regulated ways of doing things." (van Leeuwen, 2008:5-6), a cultural event that is bound by a number of non-textual elements such as certain social and cultural environments. As a social practice, *betadut* articulates elements of discourse simultaneously with non-discourse elements, such as people, place and time, relationships and interactions between people, actions and beliefs or personal and social goals (Fairclough, 1995: 135; 2004: 26).

This study focuses on two things. The first is intended to find various topics in *Tadut* texts as cultural products and the second is intended to describe the social practices of *Betadut* as part of the means of preaching Islamic teachings. The study of *tadut* topics is based on sources in the form of *tadut* texts in the Besemah and Serawai languages, following the principles of text analysis. There are 41 (forty one) stanzas of Besemah language *tadut* texts collected through a number of studies conducted by previous researchers. Ongsu (1996) recorded and transcribed 18 stanzas of *tadut* text from Padang Gucci village in Kaur Regency. Herdalena (2002) recorded and transcribed 8 stanzas of *tadut* text from Tanjung Sakti, and Susanti (2008) recorded and transcribed 12 stanzas of *tadut* text from Mount Raye Tanjung Sakti. Meanwhile, through research by Hesti (2019), a number of verses of Serawai language *tadut* texts were collected from Seginim village in South Bengkulu Regency. Hesti's *tadut* texts include 2 (two) groups, the first is entitled *tadut begusiak* which includes the titles of the thirteen pillars and pillars of prayer and the second group is entitled *tadut* of death which contains topics about various types of death and signs of death.

Of all the collected *tadut* texts, 2 (two) Ongsu and Susanti *tadut* stanzas have the same title, namely about *Bakorut Setinja* (or *Bakorut Baracuci*) and the *Kumbang Bird*. One stanza of Ongsu and Herdalena's *tadut* text has the same title, namely the *Messenger's Message*. Furthermore, 1 (one) stanza of Hesti and Susanti's *tadut* text has the same title, namely *Rukun 13*. The topic of *Inuria* from Susanti's *tadut* text appears 2 times. Thus so far there are 36 (thirty six) stanzas of *tadut* texts with different topics.

The study of *betadut* as a social practice is based on relevant information obtained from a number of documents and from interviews with a number of informants over the past decade. This study is based on the principles of discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2008; Fairclough, 1995 and 2024; and van Leeuwen, 2008).

2. TOPICS OF THE TADUT TEXTS

The *tadut* text is in the form of folk poetry. The construction of the *tadut* text in several aspects is different from the construction of *pantun* or Malay folk poetry in general, also different from other Besemah and Serawai folk poetry known as *rejang* (Sarwono and Purwadi, 2013), and different from Rote ethnic folk poetry (cf. Fox, 1971 and 1974). If we look closely, the construction of the lines in the *tadut* text tends to be narrative in nature. Here are some examples.

Tadut bakurut setinja (Ongsu, 1996)

*Bokurut kunci la setinja,
Setinja kunci air wuduk,
Air wuduk kunci la sembayang,
Sembayang kunci a serage.*

*Bokurut is the key of istinja,
Istinja is the key of ablution,
The ablution is the key of prayer,
Pray is the key of a heaven.*

and the following is a broadcast from Onstar FM Chanel Padang Gucci, Kaur Regency, Bengkulu province

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G-SFe-FmfaE>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zdM11TEuNxY&list=PLgWESKH96qrORzeFhC2qsiYY0NkuU3bs>

*Memegang anak kunci kita tula.
Gedung dua bakal kan dibukak.
Paretame gedung Tuhan,
La isinyo Dua kalima sadat.
Kedua gedung la Muhammad,
Isinyo kelima lailahailallah.
Itulah leiak gedung paling indah dalam serege.
Di kiri di kanan la air ma'uripatullah,
Totogahan telage kakausar,
Mandian urang bareiman,
Minuman urang musulimin,
Wajib diketaui yakeni, tamat kalam.*

*We hold that key.
Two building will be opened.
First is God's building,
Fill two kalima sahadah
Second is Muhammad's building,
Fill the lailahailallah.
That is the most beautiful building in the heaven.
On the left and on the right is ma'uripatullah's water,
In the middle is the kalkausar lake,
Bathing place of the mukminin,
The drinking of muslimin,
This is must be known.*

The *tadut* texts are constructed in thematic units. There are at least three main themes in *tadut* texts, namely fiqh, morals, and Sufism. Each theme is expressed in several topics. Each topic has a title called *batang tadut* which indicates its content. Each *tadut* topic is stated in one or more stanzas. Each stanza is constructed through an unlimited number of syntactic-semantic units. For example, the *tadut sangsile* (see below) consists of 4 stanzas, the first and second stanzas each consist of 4 syntactic-semantic units, while the third and fourth stanzas consist of 7 and 5 syntactic-semantic units. *Tadut rukun islam* consists of 1 stanza with 7 syntactic-semantic units.

Tadut Sangsile (Ongsu, 1996)

*Barang siape ngaji pekih,
Umpame sangsile ulu lintang,
Besak batang rimbun daun,
Nanti ditebang gerungngangan,*

*Whoever studies fiqh,
Like the pawpaw tree in the ulu lintang,
Large stems, lush leaves,
If cut down hollow (empty) trunk.*

*Barang siape ngaji usul,
Umpame kemuning tengah rimbe,
Besak batang rimbun daun,
Nanti di tabang gerungngangan,*

*Anyone who studies the usul,
Like murraya paniculata in the middle of the jungle,
The stems are full of leaves,
If cut down hollow (empty) trunk.*

*Barang siapa ngaji tasaup,
Umpame panggaran tengkuyung mudik arus,
Rurah rusak bumi la takaram,
Tujuh kali di tempur rawang,
Nga taguling nangkanla batu,
Tegalimpang nangkanla batang,
Nga tengkuyung masih mudik kina.*

*Whoever recites tasawuf (sufism),
Like the gastropoda ride against the river current,
even though it's very difficult,
repeatedly failed,
like rolling and getting hit by rocks,
overturned and overturned,
still trying to achieve its goal.*

*Panci tapigang ngan tasaup,
Denie bumbang di akirate bumbang,
Dik ade tesosak li tanjungan,
Dikade tompang li barisane,
Luas denie luas di akhirat.*

*when Sufism is achieved,
roomy in the world and afterlife,
not constrained by desires,
not burdened by desires,
Spacious life in the world and in the afterlife.*

Tadut Rukun Iselam (Ongsu, 1996)

*Adopun rukun Iselam ade lime parekare,
Paretame mengucapkan kalima sahadat,
Keduo mangarjekan salat lime waktu dalam
saghi semalam,
Ketigo bepuase di dalam bulan ramadan ,
Keempat bayar zakat,
La kelime menunaikan ibadah haji
bagi yang mampu,
Yak ani tamat kalam.*

*There are five pillars of Islam,
First say the kalima sahadat,
Second, pray five times a day and night,
The third is fasting in the month of Ramadan,
Fourth, pay zakat,
Fifth, perform the Hajj pilgrimage for those who are
able,
That is the end.*

The themes and topics in *tadut* come from Islamic teachings, about fiqh, morals and advice on life and death, as well as about Sufism. The topic of fiqh, for example, is related to the thirteen pillars, namely the rules for carrying out prayers correctly; about the meaning and importance of *bersuci* 'purification or self-purification'; about the rukun Islam 'pillars of Islam' and the rukun iman 'pillars of faith'; about the obligations of mukalaf, and also about the importance of mastering Islamic knowledge and how to implement it correctly. The topic of morals is related to the nature of humans as children of Adam who have evil desires and good

desires; about advice for humans to behave socially well and avoid evil deeds; about the importance of knowledge and the correct use of reason in everyday life. The topic of morals is also related, for example to advice about death, about life after death, about regrets in the last days because humans neglected to carry out God's commands while living on earth; about advice for humans to make the best use of time and opportunities to worship before death arrives. *Tadut* texts related to the topic of Sufism include the nature of prayer, the nature of humans, the nature of existence, and the human journey to God through the path of *toriqoh*.

Tadut Rukun Islam (Susanti, 2008)

*Adapun rukun Islam ade lime parekare,
Paretame mengucapkan kalima sahadat,
Kedua mengarjekan salat lime waktu
di dalam saghi semalam,
Ketiga bepuasa di dalam bulan ramadan,
Keempat bayar zakat,
La kelima menunaikan ibadah haji
bagi yang mampu,
Yak ani tamat kalam.*

*There are five pillars of Islam,
First say the kalima sahadat,
Second, pray five times a day and night,*

*The third is fasting in the month of Ramadan,
Fourth, pay zakat,
Fifth, perform the Hajj pilgrimage for those who are able,*

That is the end.

Tadut Rukun Iman (Susanti, 2008)

*Rukun iman ade enam parekare,
Paretame parecaye kepede Alla taala,
Kedue parecaye kepede Rasul Allah,
Ketige parecaye kepede malaikat,
Keempat parecaye kepede kitab,
Kelime parecaye kepede hari kiamat,
Keenam parecaye la kepede qodo dan qodar,
Yak eni tamat kalam.*

*There are six pillars of faith,
First believe in Allah taala,
Second believe in Allah's Apostle,
The third believes in angels,
The fourth believe in the Quran,
The fifth believes in the Day of Resurrection,
The sixth believes in qodo and qodar,
Yes, it's over.*

Tadut Rukun Tige Belas (Ongsu, 1996)

*Iselam laki-laki,
Iselam parempuan,
Wajib mengetahui rukun tige belas,
Paretame betegak berdiri betul,
Kedua mengucapkan rukun tige belas,
Ketiga mengucapkan niat,
Keempat alpatih,
Kelime ruku,
Keanam atidal,
Ketujuh sujud,
Kedelapan duduk antare due sujud,
Sembilan tahayat awal,
Sepulu tahayat akhir,
Sebelas salam,
Due belas taretib,
Tige belas salam.*

*Male moslem,
Female moslem,
Must know the pillars of the thirteenth,
First stood up straight,
Second said the thirteenth pillar,
Third say your intention,
Fourth alpatih,
Fifth bowed,
Sixth atidal,
Seventh prostration,
The eighth sitting between two prostration,
The ninth the first tahyat,
Ten tenth the second tahyat,
Eleven greetings,
Twelve orderly ,
Thirteen greetings.*

Tadut Beghusiak

Rukun Tiga Belas (Hesti, 2019)

*Pertamau, niat,
Keduwau, berdiri betul,
Ketigau, takbiratul ihram,
Keempat, alfhatihah,
Kelimau, ruku,
Kenam, a'tidal,
Ketujuah, sujud,
Kedelapan, duduk antarau 2 sujud,
Sembilan, tahyat awal,
Sepuluh tahayat akhir,
Sebelas, shalawat,
Duwau belas, salam,
Tigau belas, tertib.*

*First niat
Second standing right,
Third takbiratul ihram,
Fourth alfhatihah,
The five ruku,
The six a'tidal,
Seventh, sujud,
Eighth, sitting between two sujud
Nine, tahyat awal ,
Tenth tahyat akhir,
Eleven, solawat,
Twelve, salam,
Thirteen, orderly.*

Allegedly, the subject matter of fiqh in *tadut* texts originates from Syafi'i thought (Karim, 2013; Sanusi, 2018), as narrated in *tadut rukun iman*, *tadut rukun Islam*, *tadut rukun tige belas*, *tadut berut kunci setinja*, *tadut ape sebab kite sembayang*, *tadut esat sembayang*, and *tadut tatkale*. The contents of the *tadut* text show traces of Imam Syafi'i's fiqh. In this context, the oral traditions of the Besemah and Serawai ethnic groups in Bengkulu and South Sumatra take part in the reproduction and redistribution of Imam Syafi'i's thoughts.

The topic of morals in the *tadut* text, for example, is found in the *tadut* as evil as humans. This text tells about the behavior of humans who forget to pray and only chase after material possessions throughout their lives. People neglect to remember Allah, then regret it later. When death came, he did not take any of his possessions with him, except for a piece of white cloth. In the weekly prayer service, it is recommended that people make the best use of their time to do good deeds. The moral topics in *tadut* texts are in accordance with the takhalli doctrine, namely human efforts to free themselves from despicable qualities, in addition to the tahalli doctrine, namely human efforts to fill and adorn themselves with a commendable attitude, and the tajalli doctrine, namely human efforts to feel a sense of belonging, divinity 'Godhood', as taught by Imam Gazali (Zaini, 2016).

Interestingly, the *tadut* text also tells the theological doctrine modeled on Abu Musa Al-As'ary (Mufi, 2013; Ismail, 2019), for example in the *tadut tafsir esat* (see below) which tells about the manifestation of God's asthma in humans. This the case with *tadut usali*, *tadut pesan rasul*, *tadut pembatalan aqikat*, and *tadut burung emas*.

Tadut Tafsir esat (Ongsu, 1996)	
<p><i>Adopun tafsir esat ado tuju parakara</i> <i>Paratama eruh kedua nyawa</i> <i>Ketiga insan keempat qalbu</i> <i>Kelima nurmubin keanam malaikat</i> <i>Apo sebab dindak esat</i> <i>Kama dio bekuasa di tubuh manusia</i> <i>Apo sebab dinamokah eruh</i> <i>Kama meliputi di tubuh manusia</i> <i>Apo sabab dinamokah nyawa</i> <i>Kama dialah idup di tubuh manusia</i> <i>Apo sabab dinamokah insan</i> <i>Kama dia lah tenang di tubuh manusia</i> <i>Apo sebab dinamakah qolb</i> <i>Karna lah menjadi raja di tubuh manusia</i> <i>Apo sebab dinamokah nurmubin</i> <i>Karna dia lah merintah di tubuh manusia</i> <i>Apo sebab dinamakah malaikat</i> <i>Tula sat menghimpun asat</i> <i>Kudarat lah pasti aretinya</i> <i>Dik ado bekuasa melainkan diri Allah bakuasa</i> <i>Iradat aretinya dikado menentukah melainkan Allah taala</i> <i>Ilamu dikado mengataui melainkan Allah taala</i> <i>Hayat aratinya dikado idup melainkan Allah yang idup</i> <i>Samak dikado mendengar melainkan Allah Taala mendengar</i> <i>Qasar dikado melihat melainkan Allah Taala melihat</i> <i>Kalam dikado berkato melainkan Alaah yang berkato</i> <i>Yak ani tamat kalam.</i></p>	<p><i>As for the interpretation of dzat, there are seven cases.</i> <i>The first is the ruh, the second is the nyawa.</i> <i>The three insan are the four qalbu.</i> <i>The five nurmubin six malaikat.</i> <i>Why it is called dzat.</i> <i>Because it has power in the human body.</i> <i>Why is it called ruh?</i> <i>Because it covers the human body.</i> <i>Why is it called nyawe?</i> <i>Because he lives in the human body.</i> <i>Why is it called insan?</i> <i>Because it is tranquill in the human body.</i> <i>Why is it called qalbu.</i> <i>Because it is the king of the human body.</i> <i>Why is it called nurmubin?</i> <i>Because it is the one that reigns in the human body.</i> <i>Why is it called malaikat?</i> <i>That is the substance that collects essence.</i> <i>Kodrat means definitely.</i> <i>one is powerful but God is powerful.</i> <i>Iradat means that no one decides but Allah Taala.</i> <i>Ilmu means that no one knows except Allah Taala.</i> <i>Hayat means there is no life but God lives.</i> <i>Samik means no one hears but Allah Taala hears.</i> <i>No one sees Qasar but Allah Taala does.</i> <i>Kalam means it is not the one who speaks but Allah speaks.</i> <i>Yes, it's over.</i></p>

3. BETADUT AND ITS SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

Betadut is performed in various contexts of situations. At first, *betadut* was carried out in a *majelis ilmu* called the *kaji belapik*. *Kaji belapik* is carried out at home or in the *surau* at night after the evening prayer is finished. The *majelis ilmu* is held at the initiative of a *guru* to introduce, teach, and deepen Islamic teachings to students and to the public. In the context of a *kaji belapik* there is a *guru* 'teacher' and a number of *murid* 'students'. But, it is not uncommon for other listeners to be present, namely people who are not yet students. *Guru* is also called *kalipa* 'khalifah', a person who are pious and wise, knowledgeable and deep about the Islamic religion, and because of that a *guru* is highly respected both by his students and by the wider community.

In the practice of *kaji belapik*, the *guru* starts singing one or several *batang tadut* which is then followed by his students simultaneously. After that, the *guru* will deliver his interpretation, explaining the content and giving an explanation of the meaning and purpose of several *batang tadut* that they have sung. There are no questions and answers in the practice of *kaji belapik*. The learning model through the *betadut* tradition is unidirectional. During the practice of *kaji belapik*, deeds that are relevant to the content of the *batang tadut* being taught are also taught or practiced, for example the practice of purification and the practice of praying properly according to sharia rules.

In the Padang Guci of Kaur Regency, during the 1940s a *guru, kalipa*, who was highly respected and well known, namely H. Manan, was known. He comes from Manau Sembilan village, Padang Guci, Kaur Regency. He is known to have many students in the Padang Guci area and surrounding areas. At that time, he was known to be very active in preaching through the *betadut* method, both in *kaji belapik, kaji tangi*, and *aguk baik* (Ongsu, 1996). Until a decade ago, in the village of Gunung Raye, Tanjung Sakti, South Sumatra, there was still a person who was quite proficient in *betadut*, named Sumadi. Although he is not a teacher or a kalipa like H. Manan, Sumadi is a respected figure and is considered to have extensive knowledge about *tadut* (Susanti, 2008). In its development, *betadut* was also performed in the context of *kaji tangi*, namely the context of grief, the death of a person. *Betadut* in the context of *kaji tangi* is held at the request of the host. In this context, *betadut* is usually carried out on the first night after the body is buried, which is called *nentuka aghi baik bughuknye* 'determine a good or bad day'; on the third night called *nige aghi* 'the third day'; on the twentieth night which is called *ndue puluh aghi*; and on the fortieth night which is called *ngempat pulu aghi*. *Kaji tangi* is intended to entertain the grieving family, as well as being a gathering place for local residents, especially friends of the deceased or deceased's peers. The implementation time is Isha after the *tahlilan* event is held, until early morning.

What is interesting is that *betadut* in the context of *kaji tangi* and *aguk baik* was held as a replacement for the practice of *geguritan* at the same time as the arrival and the development of Islam in Pasemah and Serawai (Ongsu, 1996). In the period before the arrival of Islam to Pasemah and Serawai, in both social contexts, *geguritan* was commonly held. *Geguritan* or *guritan* is a pre-Islamic oral text in the form of lyric prose (Helfrich, 1894), containing a life cycle story, which in the Serawai and Pasemah ethnic groups is told in the context of grief due to the death of a family member (Herdenson, 1996). In accordance with the arrival and the development of Islam in Pasemah and Serawai, the social practice of *geguritan* was abandoned because its content was considered less relevant to the content of Islamic teachings (Ongsu, 1996).

The practice of *kaji tangi* did not require a *guru*. *Kaji tangi* is generally carried out by adults who have the ability to pronounce *tadut* and among them there is someone who is considered the most proficient and has memorized the *tadut* texts the most. This person is called the *pendulu* 'leader' because he is the one who will lead the practice of *betadut*. The other people are called *pengiring* 'accompanists'. The practice of *betadut* in the context of *kaji tangi* begins with the performer reciting one or several *batang tadut* followed by the accompaniment simultaneously. The topics of the *batang tadut* that are told in the context of *kaji tangi* are selected and adapted to the circumstances of the death situation. These topics are, for example, *tadut beringin due dahan* which symbolizes "shirat al mustakim", *tadut rencen* which tells the story of human nature, as well as topics that are appropriate to the context of the atmosphere of grief and death. There is no interpretation or explanation of the *tadut* topics told.

In accordance with the development of society, *betadut* is also carried out in the context of *aguk baik*. *Aguk baik* refers to good conditions and atmosphere, good days, good deeds and works. *Aguk baik* has a friendship atmosphere, a gathering to express joy, *tasyakuran* 'gratitude' or for the purpose of *aqiqah* or marriage. *Tasyakuran* is usually related to the return of a family member who has wandered to their hometown, success in business, recovery from illness. *Aguk baik* can refer to an atmosphere of joy or excitement because a family is blessed with offspring and for this reason *aqiqah* is held. Excitement can also refer to the marriage of members of a family. It is in this atmosphere of excitement of *aqiqah* or wedding that *betadut* can be held.

In *aguk baik*, *betadut* is held at the request of the host. The request is addressed to a group of people who are known in mastering *tadut* and are able to perform *betadut*, to be asked to perform *betadut* on the specified day, time and place. Among the people invited to perform the *betadut*, there is that who is proficient and have memorized the *tadut* the most, in addition to their melodious voice, he will be asked to be the *pendulu* and others to be the accompanist. At the *aguk baik* event, *betadut* is held in the evening after Isha, starting with a welcome from the host and an evening banquet.

4. CONCLUSION

The context of *betadut*, both in *kaji belipik*, in *kaji tangi*, and in *aguk baik* as stated above shows the phenomenon of reproduction and redistribution of Islamic texts. *Betadut* is a social practice that has its roots in the oral traditions of the Pasemah and Serawai ethnic groups, as does *geguritan*. *Betadut* is a forum and means of da'wah to introduce and disseminate Islamic texts to the public. In the context of *kaji tangi*, *betadut* replaces the function of *geguritan* which socio-religiously has the same function, namely reminding people of death and life after death.

Through the social practice of *betadut*, Islamic texts are reproduced with composition and language construction adapted to local oral genres. The use of local languages, namely the Pasemah and Serawai dialects, in addition to diction and metaphors based on local culture shows evidence of this phenomenon. This phenomenon is also evidence of why Malay, a formal language commonly used in the spread of Islamic teachings, especially in the Malay world, is not used in the disseminate of Islamic teachings among the Pasemah

and Serawai ethnic groups.

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