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A light blue world map with white outlines of continents and countries, serving as a background for the title.

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THE PORTRAYAL OF AN AFGHAN WIFE IN ÅSNE SEIERSTAD'S *THE BOOKSELLER OF KABUL*: STYLISTIC ANALYSIS

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Abstract

In the grammatical level of analysis, transitivity is one of the choices. The role of verb in a clause determines its process and participants, and thus imply particular meanings. This research took two chapters as the research data taken from a novel by Åsne Seierstad entitled *The Bookseller of Kabul*. Talking about literature about Afghanistan society, what attracts this research is the Afghan character named Sharifa. The research found that Seierstad employed various types of processes, participants and circumstances to describe Sharifa. First, the use of Actor and of material process aims at portraying the responsibility of an Afghan wife in spite of the sorrow seen from the mental process with Sharifa as the Senser. The use of relational process with Sharifa as the Carrier is to attach her to particular character, both physical and psychological states. In sum, the novel portrays the Afghan wife as a submissive, yet devoted character.

Keywords: Afghan's wife, stylistics, transitivity

Introduction

Men and women have different roles in a particular society, especially in a patriarchal one. One of which is Afghanistan in which father has the most powerful role in a family. In spite of the powerless figure in the society, women in Afghanistan have been stereotyped as submissive and in need of liberation (Andrews, 2016). In *The Bookseller of Kabul*, a novel written by Åsne Seierstad, the portrayal of patriarchal family is obviously found in the narration. Sultan Khan, the eldest son of Bibi Gul, is a successful bookseller in Kabul who has two wives, Sharifa and Sonya. The novel starts the narration by discussing Sultan Khan's second marriage to a sixteen-year-old girl named Sonya. The character of Sharifa, the first wife, is narrated in particular language choice, so this research focuses on the portrayal of the Afghan wife.

In Afghanistan, girls are raised to be good mothers and tolerant housewives. Therefore, education is ignored (Rahimi, 1991, p. 6). The tolerance is shown in the novel, represented by Sharifa. She has to accept the fact that her husband, Sultan Khan, has married to Sonya without her permission. Young girls are common to marry at the ages of 13 and 16. Young girls had no right to choose

their future husbands, or question their engagement, arranged by their parents (Rahimi, 1991, p. 6). She has nothing to do with her husband's choice, yet silence and obedience. The representation of Sharifa to represent an Afghan wife provokes this present research.

The observation of literary works by means of linguistic study is offered by stylistics. Quirk mentions that stylistics is "something like a revolution in the relation between linguistic and literary studies" (Ravassat & Culpeper, 2011, p. 2). The linguistic description of the language in literary works provide the reliable proof on how particular meanings are interpreted. By doing so, the personal assumption can be avoided. Ufot adds that "stylistics is the study of the language of literature which employs the various tools of linguistic analysis" (Ufot, 2013, p.101). In this research, the grammatical choice in the literary work is observed by means of transitivity analysis proposed by Halliday.

In analyzing a novel, its components are categorized into three: chapters relating to each other and the novel as a whole, paragraphing relating to the chapter, sentences relating to the paragraph, and words and phrases relating to sentences (Beard, 2004, p. 15). This research takes two chapters which represent Sharifa. Furthermore, the grammatical choice in the chapters is explained further. By analyzing the grammar of language, this research refers to Halliday's systemic functional grammar (SFG) which looks at language as a 'social semiotic' which directs attention to the communicative and socially expressive functions of language (Leech & Short, 2007, p. 4).

Lock mentions three types of meanings within grammatical structures: experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings (1996, p.8). In the experiential meaning, grammar is used to identify how messages are packed in particular processes seen through transitivity analysis. Transitivity system "acknowledges that the verbal element is the core of the clause, and that the choice of lexical verb itself is somehow crucial to the rest of the choices in the clause" (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010, p. 72). Transitivity system is a grammatical system dealing with different processes found in the language and structures (Song, 2013). Simpson summarizes the four processes in transitivity analysis: material, verbalization, mental and relational (Jeffries & McIntyre, *Stylistics*, 2010, p. 73).

Transitivity is a grammatical system which deals with some types of process, consisting of participants and circumstances, found in language and its structures (Song, 2013). There are three main process types in Hallidian system: material, mental and relational. Material process reflects the outer experience, the process of the external world, such as in "you produce so much money". On the other hand, mental process reflects the inner experience of an emotion, such as in "I was fascinated by it". Relational process is about identifying and classifying. The example of relational process is "Every fourth African is a Nigerian" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.170).

The next process is behavioral process, the borderline of material and mental processes, which refers to "the outer manifestations of inner workings, the acting out of processes of consciousness and psychological states". The example is "People are laughing". The following process is verbal process, which represents the symbolic relationships constructed in human consciousness and enacted in the form of language, like saying and meaning" The example is "we say". The existential process refers to the process of "to be", to exist or to happen (Halliday

& Matthiessen, 2004, p.171). The example is “Today there’s Christmas in the south”. The table below summarizes the processes, meanings and participants by Halliday.

Table 1. The Six Processes Proposed by Halliday.

No	Process Types	Meanings	Participants
1	Material	Doing, happening	Actor-Goal
2	Mental	Feeling, thinking	Senser-Phenomenon
3	Relational	Classifying Identifying	Carrier-Attribute Token-Value
4	Verbal	Saying	Sayer-Verbiage-Receiver
5	Behavioral	Behaving	Behaver
6	Existential	Being	Existent

The employment of SFG to analyze literary works has attracted scholars. A transitivity analysis researching the main character in Hoa Pham’s “Heroic Mother” proves that transitivity is able to find out the significance of verb choice in representing the character role. The research gives the general view of the story that elderly like talking about their past memories and victories to educate the young generations. The analysis figured out that the main character is suffered from loneliness, boredom, and inconsideration from her family. Seen from the transitivity processes, the main character is described to live with sorrow and victories, also ignored by the youngster. The verbs are concluded to represent the main character’s devoting energy, youth and life to the country’s independence (Nguyen, 2012).

The representation of women in Pakistani is researched through transitivity choice made by a Pakistani woman author. The research takes a novel written in Urdu, the national language in Pakistan, in a consideration that it represents the true Pakistani society. From the observation, the employment of mental and material processes in the story reveals that the woman author is still influenced by the society. Women are represented as negative and oppressors. The narration shows that women are passive and dependent on men. The actions denoted to women are reactions of men’s actions (Shah, Zahid, Shakir, & Rafique, 2014).

Similar to previous studies mentioned above, the present research takes how the narrator describes an Afghan wife represented by Sharifa. The first objective is to figure out the linguistic features used by the narrator to describe the Afghan wife. The second objective is to conclude how an Afghan wife is portrayed in the novel. By doing this research, it is expected that studies on literature by means of stylistics can be studied further by scholars. It also invites future researchers to compare the portrayal of men and women in Afghanistan seen in literary works.

Method

This research employs stylistics as its approach since it provides the linguists to observe literary texts. In stylistics, there are some language levels to observe, one of which is grammatical level. In this level, the researcher employs Halliday’s transitivity analysis under Systemic Functional Grammar point of view. Stylistics provides the systematic study of language description of literary works. It is claimed that stylistics shows the process of how language is utilized to criticize literary works (Widdowson, 2013). The study will not only display the language

feature description, but also figure out the effects resulted from the choice of words. In stylistics, transitivity analysis is believed to figure out the effects of particular choice. In this research, the effects are the character of an Afghan wife portrayed in the novel.

The main data were taken from a collection of novel entitled *The Bookseller of Kabul* by Åsne Seierstad. The novel was published by Back Bay Books in New York. The novel contains of 19 chapters. Of those chapters, the researcher selected the ones presenting the role of women. In other words, the extracts of the novel were purposively selected in the way they present an Afghan wife. “The Proposal” and “Crime and Punishment” were the two chapters involving Sharifa the most in the description.

The data were analyzed in some steps. First, the researcher selected particular chapters of the novel which describe the woman characters the most. Second, the researcher sorted the narrator’s utterances in describing the Afghan wife character and categorize each utterance using transitivity analysis. Third, the researcher summarized the process types of transitivity which represented the character. Fourth, the researcher interpreted the roles of the Afghan wife in the story by referring to the linguistic features used to describe the character.

Findings and Discussion

From the observation done by the researcher, Sharifa is represented in various processes, participants and circumstances. The most used process employed is material process with Sharifa as the Actor. The material verbs relating to households mark the process. The relational process with Sharifa as the Carrier is also found in the novel. It is to describe Sharifa’s physical state and status. The next process found is mental process marked by cognition verb such as think and know. The last process is behavioural process, marked by the verb sigh. The paragraphs below display how Seierstad portrays Sharifa in the novel.

The extract below is taken from the first chapter of the novel, “The Proposal”. In the beginning of the novel, Seierstad tells about the plan Sultan Khan has made to propose a young girl to be his second wife. This is the power of man in Afghanistan to arrange his marriage. In Islam, men are allowed to have more than one wife. It is also represented in “The Proposal”. However, this research is more interested in describing how the first wife, Sharifa, is represented in the novel. Seierstad chooses various processes to represent Sharifa. The extract below is the example.

Sharifa [Carrier] was getting old [Attribute]. Like Sultan [Circumstance of manner], she [Carrier] was a few years over fifty [Attribute]. She [Actor] had borne him [Recipient] three sons and a daughter [Goal]. The time had come for a man of Sultan’s standing to find a new wife. (p.4)

The first sentence above is chosen in the relational process. Relational process shows that relationship is a set up between two concepts: an object (Carrier) and a quality (Attribute) (Thompson, 2014, p.101). The Linking Verb *get* marks the process. Sharifa is the Carrier who is attached to the Attribute *old*. Here, Seierstad introduces the physical state of Sharifa to the readers. However, the circumstance of manner found in the beginning of the second sentence emphasizes that Sultan Khan is also in the same state as Sharifa. The relational process in the second sentence is the further description of how old Sharifa is. The

next process found in the extract above is material process. The material verb borne is chosen in the novel to tell the readers that Sharifa has given four children to the husband, Sultan Khan represented as the Recipient. That explanation is to explain the reason of Sulan's choosing another woman to be his wife. It is not because of Sharifa's inability to give him children, but the husband's power and prestige to choose another woman to be his second wife. In the last sentence of the extract above, Seierstad also notices that men over fifty are common to find another woman.

What is interesting in the first chapter of the novel is that Sultan Khan did not tell his wife and family that he would propose a sixteen-year-old girl named Sonya. He managed the proposal himself. This condition makes his wife and the family shocked. Usually, the mother and sisters would arrange a marriage of the man in the family. However, that situation is not found in Sultan Khan's choice. The extract below shows the response of Sharifa, the wife.

Sultan went home to inform his family of the news. His wife, Sharifa, his mother, and his sisters [Actor] were seated around a dish of rice and spinach [Circumstance of place]. Sharifa [Senser] thought he was joking [Phenomenon] and laughed and cracked some jokes [Goal] in return [Circumstance of manner]. (p.7)

The fact that Sultan Khan was about to marry a young woman was never imagined by Sharifa. There are three processes found in the above extract. First is material process marked by the verb seated which involves physical action (Thompson, 2014). The second is mental process marked by the verb thought. It refers to the participant's consciousness about the news brought by her husband. That is, why Sharifa responded it by laughing as a Behaver. This process involves both material and mental. The following response given by Sharifa is crack some jokes, a material process, showing an action by Sharifa to deny the fact she just found out.

When the engagement day comes, Sultan asked Sharifa, his mother and sisters to attend the event. He intends to show Sonya's family that the wife and the whole family supports him. As a wife, Sharifa is represented in a material process as the Actor who conducts particular action for the sake of her husband.

Twenty days after the proposal of marriage the solemn engagement ritual took place. Sharifa [Actor] pulled herself [Goal] together [Circumstance of manner] and put on a brave face [Goal]. (p.8)

The material verb in the above extract is done by Sharifa in a situation that forced her to do so. The Actor and Goal shown above refer to Sharifa. It reveals Sharifa's submission to her husband. The employment of the second Goal a brave face actually signals Sharifa's fear to face the reality. In the material process mentioned in the above extract, Sharifa is the doer or Actor. The noun phrases herself and a brave face in the extract above are regarded as Goals, meaning the participants that something was done to it (Fontaine, 2013, p.74). The choice of words by the author in the extract above signifies that Sharifa intends to make some physical actions for the sake of his husband. The Goals mentioned in the extract are for the husband and family's name.

To accept the fact that her husband is about to marry a young girl upsets Sharifa. Eventually Sharifa cannot keep her disappointment to her husband when the wedding day comes. The extract below is the proof.

Sharifa [Carrier] was inconsolable [Attribute]. What really rankled was the fact that the man had picked an illiterate, someone who had not even completed nursery school. She, Sharifa [Carrier], was a qualified Persian language teacher [Attribute]. “What has she got that I haven’t got?” [Verbiage] she [Sayer] sobbed. (p.7)

The first sentence in the above extract takes Sharifa as the Carrier and inconsolable as the Attribute. The process is relational, meaning that it attributes some kind of quality to a participant entity (Fontaine, 2013, p.76). Sharifa is the noun attached to adjective inconsolable as the Attribute. As a wife, Seierstad portrays Sharifa as a sad wife having to accept the fact that her husband picked someone who does not belong to the same class as her. The extract above obviously portrays that Sharifa is an educated person. The third sentence takes Sharifa as a Carrier and a qualified Persian language teacher as Attribute. Since the Attribute is in the form of noun group, it means that Sharifa is referred to the class of entity which the Carrier belongs.

With the backup of the family, Sharifa shows her action by refusing to attend the wedding ceremony. It is shown in the following datum.

The wedding took place two months after the engagement, on the day of the Muslim New Year’s Eve. This time [Circumstance of time] Sharifa [Actor] refused to attend [Goal]. (p.8)

The circumstance of time above refers to the wedding day of Sultan’s marriage to Sonya. The verb refused in the above extract takes Sharifa as the Actor. This becomes the climax of Sharifa’s rebel to her husband. After her silence and obedience shown in the engagement day, Sharifa is eager to reject her husband’s request to attend the wedding.

The first chapter of the novel taken as the sample discussed above reveals that in one hand, Sharifa is portrayed as a submissive wife. On the other hand, Sharifa is portrayed as an educated woman. The education she has influences her action not to attend her husband’s wedding. Despite her internal conflict, Sharifa is also devoted to her family. She chooses not to divorce from Sultan, but stay for the sake of the family dignity.

In the chapter “Crime and Punishment”, Seierstad tells the readers more about the relationship between Sharifa and Sonya. Sharifa then decides to make peace with the condition she faces. The following extract is taken for the second chapter of the data.

Sharifa [Actor] sweeps the floors [Goal], washes curtains [Goal], busies herself [Goal] with the perpetual dusting [Circumstance of manner], sits down, sighs, sheds a few tears [Goal]. (p.24)

Sharifa [Actor] cooked, served, washed, and make the beds [Goal]. (p.25)

The above sentences are represented in material process with Sharifa as the Actor. The underlined words above mark material verbs, representing actions the Actor does. Those verbs signify the house chores done by the wife. It is the wife’s responsibility to manage things at home. The verb shed in the first sentence above shows Sharifa’s sadness of being the first wife who still takes responsibility of doing chores.

What is dilemmatic for Sharifa is that she has to perform her responsibility as a good wife instead of getting divorce from Sultan Khan. The data below show material process representing Sharifa.

She [Actor] swallowed her pride [Goal] and appeared the model wife. (p.25)
Sharifa tried to chirp like a fussing mother hen. She [Actor] took on the heaviest chores [Goal] and little by little [Circumstance of manner] taught Sonya [Recipient] how to make Sultan's favorite dish, showed her how he liked his clothes organized, the temperature of the water he washed in, and other details that a wife should know about her husband [Goal]. (p.26)

The verbs swallowed is a material verb with her pride as the Goal. It is the constituent which the action is directed to. In the following sentence, the verbs tried, took and taught are also material verbs with Sharifa as the Actor. She is the constituent who conducts the actions, including teaching Sonya how to serve Sultan, their husband.

The actions done by Sharifa above results in some feelings experienced by Sharifa presented in mental process. Below are the examples.

She [Senser] knows that Sultan will turn up one of these days [Phenomenon], but he can never be bothered to tell her exactly when he is leaving Kabul, so Sharifa [Senser] expects him home [Phenomenon] every hour for days on end [Circumstance of time].

The first process found above is mental process, referring to something that goes on in the internal world of mind (Thompson, 2014, p.97). The participants in the mental process above are Senser and Phenomenon. Senser is the participant which senses, while Phenomenon is the participant which is being sensed (Fontaine, 2013, p.75). In the above extract, she representing Sharifa is the Senser. It takes a Phenomenon in the form of a noun clause that Sultan will turn up one of these days. Mental process in that sentence is marked by the verb knows categorized as cognitive process. Here, Sharifa involves her consciousness when she is waiting for her husband. Beside cognitive mental process, Sharifa is also represented in desiderative mental process marked by the verb expects. This kind of process shows Senser's wish. The extract above shows Sharifa's awareness and expectation to her husband.

Though Sharifa does not decide to divorce from Sultan, she cannot deny her feeling of betrayal. Below is the datum in mental process.

Sometimes she [Senser] hates him [Phenomenon] for having ruined her life, taken away her children, shamed her in the eyes of the world [Circumstance of reason]. (p.24)

The verb hates in the above sentence is categorized as emotive mental process. It refers to the Senser's emotion to the Phenomenon. Since the verb shows the process of feeling, the mental process in the above extract is categorized as emotive or reactive mental process (Thompson, 2014, p.99). It is clearly seen that the Senser is Sharifa and the Phenomenon is him, referring to Sultan Khan. Sharifa blames her husband for the material actions he has done to her: ruining her life, taking away the children and shaming her in the eyes of the world. The actions mentioned previously creates emotion to Sharifa.

Another process to represent Sharifa is relational process. The sentences below are the examples.

Sharifa, the pensioned-off wife, [Actor] is waiting in Peshawar [Circumstance of place]. She [Carrier] has no peace [Attribute]. She knows that Sultan will turn up one of these days... (p.23)

The relational process in the above extract is shown by the verb *has*. Thus, the process is categorized as possessive relational process. Sharifa, represented in pronoun *she* is the Possessor and *no peace* is Possessed. This kind of process is to attach Sharifa with *no peace*. As a wife, she does not possess that kind of abstract thing. It is explained by the first sentence above since Sharifa is the Actor who conducts the material verb *wait*.

The other relational process representing Sharifa is displayed in the following sentence.

She [Carrier] swallowed her pride and appeared the model wife [Attribute]. (p.25)

The linking verb *appeared* functions to attach Sharifa as the Carrier to the Attribute the model wife. Despite peace that she does not get, Sharifa is attached as the model wife. She still takes care of households and gives examples to Sonya how to serve the husband.

The next process to characterize Sharifa is behavioral process. It refers to a “borderline area between mental processes and material processes” (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 151).

Sharifa [Behaver] sighs. She [Senser] thinks of the punishment that befell her neighbor Jamila [Phenomenon]. (p. 34)

Shafira [Behaver] sighs. Jamilla committed a serious crime, but more from ignorance than a wicked heart. (p.36)

The verb *sigh* marks the behavioral process. The mental process refers to Sharifa’s feeling towards her neighbor, Jamilla. What makes Sharifa sigh is the punishment given to Jamila, her neighbor who just died. Jamilla is a newly-wed whose husband left for work. During that time, her husband’s brother found a man visiting Jamilla by finding out things belonging to the suspect. Since the family is so shamed of the situation, Jamilla’s mother decides to ask his sons to kill Jamilla. It happens since a woman having an affair with another man is a disgrace to the family.

From the elaboration above, material verbs designated to Shafira is used by Seierstad to represent the household actions a wife does. Despite the feelings Sharifa has, which are represented in mental verbs, Seierstad portrays Sharifa as a tough woman. The one-sided decision to marry a young girl made by her husband, Sharifa does not have any courage to leave her husband. Disgrace is attached to a divorced woman in Afghanistan. Thus, to maintain the family’s dignity, Sharifa chose to stay and even she accepts Sonya, the second wife, eventually.

Conclusion

Through stylistic analysis, the description of particular character in the story can be objectively and obviously explained. This research supports the previous claim since stylistics takes “a close look at the text and analyses its significant language forms and expressions for the sake of interpretation, it comes very close to practical criticism” (Al Shawa, 2015, p.125). This research interprets that Sharifa as an Afghan wife is portrayed as a submissive, yet devoted wife. She can solve the internal conflict she has in order to maintain the family’s pride and dignity. This research suggests future scholars to compare the portrayal of the husband and conclude how the choice of wordings in the novel can create different meanings of particular literary work.

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IDENTITY AND SELF-PRESENTATION IN LETTERS OF REQUEST WRITTEN BY COLLEGE STUDENTS

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Abstract

Participants in an interaction risk their sense of face in every action (Goffman, 1967). Requests, by definition, are face-threatening acts (Brown and Levinson, 1978). In making a request, a speaker not only threatens the hearer's negative face as he impinges on the hearer's claim to freedom of action; he also threatens his positive face as he exposes himself to the possibility of being denied or rejected. In order to minimize this possibility, the speaker has to present himself in such a way that the hearer would have a positive impression of him. This paper examined letters of request written by students of a university in Metro Manila for noticeable forms of self-presentation. Following Goffman's thesis (1956) that self-presentation is a tangible component of identity, this paper analyzed lexico-syntactic patterns, and impression management strategies utilized by the writers to express their communicative intention (make a request), and construct an identity deemed necessary in attaining the hearer's approval.

Keywords: face, request, self-presentation, impression management, identity

Introduction

Participants in an interaction risk their sense of face in every action (Goffman, 1967). A request, by definition, is a face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson, 1978). It is a directive act performed to get the hearer to do something that is to the speaker's benefit and at the cost of the hearer. From the speaker's point of view, the hearer is able to do this act but it is not obvious that the hearer will do it in the normal course of events or of the hearer's own accord (Searle 1969). In making a request, a speaker not only threatens the hearer's negative face as he impinges on the hearer's claim to freedom of action; he also threatens his positive face as he exposes himself to the possibility of being denied or rejected. In making a request, one must create an emotional atmosphere that will ensure the addressee's positive response; therefore, the use of appropriate tone, organizational as well as politeness and persuasive strategies are paramount in order for him to create a positive impression to elicit the preferred response from the addressee. In other words, effort is exerted to convey a positive self-presentation.

Requests have been one of the most researched areas in cross-cultural, intercultural, and interlanguage pragmatics (e.g. Blum-Kulka & Oshtain, 1984; Byon, 2006; Baron, 2008, Shively, 2011). Most of these studies, however, highlight the relationship between politeness and requests (e.g. Hassall, 1999 & 2003; Rue & Zhang, 2008; Ogiermann, 2009). This study hopes to contribute to the body of knowledge on requests by examining not only politeness but also other linguistic and discourse phenomena particularly identity construction and self-presentation that relate to successful request making in a specific discourse community.

Statement of the Problem

This paper examined letters of request written by students of a university located in Metro Manila for noticeable forms of self-presentation. Following Goffman's thesis (1956) that self-presentation is a tangible component of identity, this paper analysed lexico-syntactic patterns, and impression management strategies utilized by the student writers to express their communicative intention (make a request), and construct an identity deemed necessary in attaining the hearer's approval.

This paper poses the major question: ***What identities are constructed by the varying types of self-presentation manifested in letters of request?*** This major query is broken down into the following sub-questions:

1. How do the writers of the letters of request present their requests in terms of form and organization?
2. What linguistic and impression strategies are utilized by the writers to show positive values that are deemed acceptable by their addressees?
3. How does the interrelationship between the form and organization of the letters and the language used by the writers create a positive self-presentation by the writers?

Conceptual Framework

This paper is anchored in the works on the Face and Self-Presentation of Erving Goffman; the Politeness Theory of Brown and Levinson; and the Self-Presentation Strategies of Jones and Pittman (1982) and Scott and Lyman (1968).

According to Goffman (1957), participants risk their sense of face in every interaction. Goffman describes a person's face as an image of self that is based on social expectations. It addresses the questions, "Who am I supposed to be in this situation? What behaviors are expected of me? To maintain one's face, particular behaviors must be enacted and not others. Goffman described several types of face-work that people engage in to protect their face and that of others. These are rituals—doing routine behaviors that are considered polite and are expected to be enacted by participants in their everyday encounter; corrective process correcting a negative act done on another person by means of an apology; avoidance—avoiding a person who is deemed to be a threat; and poise—controlling embarrassment when one's face is threatened by exhibiting poise.

Brown and Levinson (1978) expanded the concept of face by defining it as that which all interactants are assumed to have an interest in maintaining during interaction where 'positive face' is the positive and consistent image people have of themselves and their desire for approval; on the other hand, 'negative face' is the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, and right to non-distraction.

When the face is threatened, a speaker may choose from a variety of politeness strategies to avoid or minimize damage to the face.

Closely related to Goffman's notion of the face as the image that is based on social expectation is his concept of self-presentation (1956). To Goffman, social interaction is like a stage and the people who engage in interactions are actors who perform a variety of roles. He used the term 'performance' to mean the activity of an individual in front of others. Through this performance, he delivers impressions to others and information is conveyed to create an identity which the audience attributes to the individual but which the individual may or may not be aware of. Important concepts in Goffman's self-presentation include setting; appearance; manner; front; and front, back, and off stage. Setting refers to the location where the interaction takes place. Since different settings have different types of audience/interactants, an individual/actor has to change performance appropriate to the setting. The appearance has to do with the performer's social status as reflected in his occupation, gender, age, etc. Manner refers to how an individual performs his role; it also tells the audience how the individual will act out his role. For example, a professor is supposed to behave in a respectable manner and must not talk in a vulgar manner. If the professor behaved otherwise, his appearance and manner are inconsistent and may confuse his interlocutor. The front is the image /impression an individual conveys to the audience. Often, he follows a social script on how to behave or interact in an interaction. Everyday interactions have three stages—the front where the individual has to perform because he is constantly watched; the back where the individual can be himself; and off stage where the individual may meet his audience outside the front stage. To illustrate, a student performs and behaves in front of his professor; be himself in his own room; and meets and talks in a quite relaxed way to his professor outside the classroom. Goffman's thesis is that **the presentation of self is the intentional and tangible component of identity**. An individual/actor engages in intra-self negotiations to project a positive impression which Goffman called impression management.

The number of impressions that people construct of themselves in the mind of others is varied and limitless. Jones and Pittman (1982) created a taxonomy that includes five common self-presentational strategies—ingratiation; self-promotion, intimidation, exemplification, supplication. The objective of ingratiation is to make other people like an individual through that individual's imitation, flattery, doing favors for others, or displaying positive personal characteristics (Jones, 1990). In self-promotion, the individual tries to convince his audience of his ability, competence, intelligence. Intimidation is the strategy used by the individual who wants to be feared; be viewed as powerful or ruthless. By using exemplification, one may construct an impression of being morally upright, righteous. Finally, supplication occurs when an individual publicly admits weaknesses and deficiencies.

Other researchers expanded the taxonomy by adding other strategies. Scott and Lyman (1968) presented an analysis of one kind of talk called the account. An account 'is a linguistic device employed whenever an action is subjected to valuative inquiry.' There are two types of accounts—excuses and justifications. Excuses are accounts in which an individual admits that the act in question is bad, wrong, or inappropriate but denies full responsibility. Justifications, on the other

hand, are accounts in which one takes full responsibility for the act in question. To justify an act is to assert its positive value in the face of a contrary claim. Accounts are given in a variety of ways. The linguistic form of the account is expected to be socially suited to the norms of culture and situation. The acceptance or refusal of an account depends greatly on the appropriateness of the language used. Failure to employ linguistic style may result in dishonoring the account.

All of these frameworks contribute to the understanding of writing a letter request as process whereby participants (writer and reader) negotiate identities – the writer creates a positive identity through appropriate self-presentation (using various linguistic and organizational strategies) so his request would not be denied; that way, he is able to maintain his face. The reader/addressee infers from the form and linguistic style of the letter an identity of the writer that would significantly influence his decision to approve or deny the request.

Method

One hundred letters of request processed by the Office of the College Secretary of the College of Arts and Letters of the university were randomly selected and permission was requested via online (email). Except for one, all the students gave their consent for their letters to be part of the study. The data were initially classified in terms of structure and organization following Reep (2003). Afterwards, the presentation strategies were evaluated and categorized based on the self-presentation strategies presented by Jones and Pittman (1982) and Scott and Lyman (1968).

Findings and Discussion

In writing a letter of request, the writer may use the direct or indirect organization (Reep, 2003). The direct organization has generally three sections:

1. The opening which establishes the reason for writing and presents the main idea—statement of the request;
2. The middle part which explains details about the situation ;
3. The closing which reminds the reader of the call for action or looks to future interaction between the writer and the reader.

The indirect organization, on the other hand, has:

1. A “buffer” part before the request. It is usually an introduction of oneself. The introduction gives the reader an idea of who the writer is and his predicament.
2. The statement of the request
3. Details of the request
4. Expression of thanks

An evaluation of the organization of the letters revealed that 75% used the indirect organization. The preponderance of the indirect organization is consistent with the Filipinos’ dislike for directness and confrontation. According to Filipino anthropologist Jocano (2001), the Filipino communication style involves *pahiwatig* (hint or suggestion); *pabatid* (to make conscious); and finally *pahayag*

(to reveal). It is considered rude to be direct and so one has” to go around the bush” before stating the request. It is considered good behavior (*magandang asal*) to minimize directness. Often, good behavior is a standard against which the personhood of the writer is known and expressed. To be perceived, therefore, as having good behavior is paramount in achieving the desired response from the reader.

For Goffman, by choosing indirectness which is actually a negative politeness strategy, the speaker (the writer of the request letter) recognizes the social distance between him and his audience (reader). This recognition is brought about by the respect he has for his reader. This distance is reflected in language by the use of hedges, and apologies prior to the statement of request.

Several research have studied the correspondences between politeness and other phenomena related to requests (e.g. Brown & Levinson, 1978; Roloff and Barnicott, 1978; Cody, Woelfel & Jordan, 1983). The conclusion of these studies is that the speaker’s indirectness which is synonymous with politeness varies according to the speaker’s relationship with the hearer, and according to the nature of what is being requested, along with the potential benefits of complying with the request (Bilbow, 1995). What is the link, therefore, between politeness, indirectness, and request? According to Hendricks (2002), the link with politeness is that indirectness is one type of strategy that speakers can resort to in their attempt to protect a hearer’s face when making a request. As such, politeness will be interpreted as the prime motivator for the use of indirectness.

Of the letters which used indirect organization, 80% started with self-introduction. The students stated their names, courses, year levels, and in some cases their student numbers. The self-introduction was the students’ way of initially providing a context for their letters. For instance, when a student identifies himself/herself as a ‘graduating’ student, the communication dynamics can change into one that would have an added amount of consideration for the student. In this particular university, graduating students are given some preference—that is to say, they have a special day for registration; they are allowed to enlist in a class even if the class is already filled up; and they are usually given residency extensions. However, in many instances, the self-introduction in the letters fundamentally fulfilled a socially acceptable and conventional act of politeness on the part of the students.

Ten percent (10%) of the letters started with a greeting—Good day. As young children, we have been trained to greet people and make polite conversations. Whenever we enter somebody else’s house or office, we say hi or good morning. This kind of politeness extends to the written discourse. For some students, stating the request without greeting first may be interpreted as being rude and impatient. The greeting is a strategy to give deference to the reader to make him feel respected and appreciated. More than being phatic, greetings are expressions of politeness and are reflective of one’s being ‘cultured’ and ‘educated.’

Another 10% of the letters started with expressions of apology and regret. In these letters, the students highlighted their weaknesses (internal as in depression, sickness or external as in family problems) that led to their inability to comply with the university policies/rules.

Examples: 1. “ On account of my balance due to unsettled student loan last semester, I am in deepest regret to inform your office that I will not be able to comply with such deficiency. I was diagnosed with posterior wall hypertrophy and pulmonic regurgitation.”

2. “I apologize for not being able to comply with the deadline of payment due to my mother being unable to leave the house in order to withdraw the necessary amount in time. She has been ill and only recently recovered.”

The attention given to the apology prior to the statement of request arouses a sense of sympathy and to some extent, moral and social obligation. When a student writes about personal crises all occurring at the same time, the reader is moved emotionally and more often than not, the request is approved for ‘humanitarian reasons.’

In summary, the indirect organization reflects two significant impression management strategies—1. To show politeness and good breeding; 2. To emotionally move the reader before the revelation of the request.

The letters that show direct organization comprise 25% of the letters and are broken down as follows:

1. Request for late payment (40%)
2. Request for residency extension (20%)
3. Request for change of matriculation (6%)
4. Request for readmission to the program (17%)
5. Request for readmission from AWOL (17%)

The requests for late payment were noticeably short. The first paragraph had 3-5 sentences and the first sentence stated the appeal or the request and the remaining sentences accounted for the reason/s for the request. In most letters, the reasons ranged from the family’s financial difficulties, delay in remittances from OFW (Overseas Filipino Workers) family members. 16% of the students were working students who also appealed for consideration for their delayed salaries. What is noticeable, however, is that the last sentence assured the university of the intention of the students to pay on specific dates. The commissive act was explicitly stated by the performative “**I promise to pay**” or by the modals in, “**I will pay**”; “**I shall complete payment.**” The commitment shown in the letters reflected the students’ maturity in acknowledging that the privilege to continue studying in the university comes with a responsibility.

The other letters were longer due to the nature of the request. The requests for extension of residency had mostly family circumstances as primary reasons — the student had to take on odd jobs to help the family; the student had to work in the family business to make ends meet; the student had to take care of ailing family members, etc. The reader could get the impression of a family-oriented person who had to temporarily forego his studies to help the family but, at the moment, ready to go back to school. In requests for readmission, the students admitted their inadequacies and delinquency.

Ex 3: “I failed Bio 1 because I lacked focus, self-management, and discipline. I am sure that I can do better next time and will continue to be diligent in my studies.”

“I admit that I have failed to deliver the right and sufficient performance that is needed to pass the subject... I understand now my weaknesses...”

The courage to admit one’s inadequacies created an impression of honesty and sincerity on the part of the students. Though sometimes bordering on the fallacy of ad misericordiam, the appeals nonetheless, impressed upon the reader an overwhelming pathos in favor of the students.

In the next discussion, we look at the self-presentation strategies utilized by students to show positive values deemed acceptable by the reader.

A non-parametric statistical analysis of the self-presentation strategies found in the data yielded the following results:

1. Sixty-six percent (66%) of the student writers used a combination of at least two self-presentation strategies. In decreasing order, the self-presentation strategies are 1) Supplication and Exemplification; 2) Justification and Exemplification 3) Excuse and Exemplification; 4) Apology and Justification; 5) Justification and Self-promotion.
2. Only thirty-four percent (34%) used single self-presentation strategies which are, in descending order, 1) Justification; 2) Supplication ; 3) Excuse

The use of dual self-presentation strategies can be seen as a means of bolstering the arguments of the requests and increase the possibility of approval. Table 1 shows the self-presentation used in the data and the percentages of occurrence.

Table 1. Self-Presentation

Self-Presentation strategies	Percentage
Supplication and exemplification	28%
Justification and exemplification	20%
Justification	14%
Excuse and exemplification	12%
Supplication	11%
Excuse	9%
Apology and justification	3%
Justification and self-promotion	3%

It is not surprising the supplication was the most used self-presentation strategy. Many of the request letters actually appealed to the pathos of the reader. In their request for readmission to the university or to their respective programs and extension of payment, the students usually talked about financial problems as their primary reason for not being able to pay on time, or not being able to continue their studies. The financial problems had been caused by multiple factors such as sickness or death in the family, delay in remittances, or inability of the family to have adequate resources for education. Another prevalent reason would be the students’ health—physical and mental. They admitted suffering

from physical ailments such as heart and neurological problems and mental conditions like depression and bipolar disorders.

EX: 4 “I underloaded twice due to some conflicts in schedule that coincided with financial problems at home. My biological father died in 2006 and it was hard for my mother to finance my education. My stepfather, on the other hand, would rather prioritize the education of my half siblings. Consequently, I started to work as a writer to support my education.”

EX: 5 “Taking a leave of absence for one semester was a decision made by me and my mother. Since the start of the first semester AY 2013-2014, I had been visiting my cardiologist more frequently. My heart condition had become a burden that was difficult to ignore... My heart condition worsen and I developed insomnia. I was advised by my doctor to see a psychiatrist since he believes I might be suffering from depression. My parents and I decided that I take a break from school....”

The discourse of the letters, however, which started with supplication did not stop at highlighting weaknesses and disabilities. The succeeding part of their letters exemplified their virtues. The students showed that they value honor and commitment by stating their willingness to pay at a specified date (in cases of requests for extension of payment).

EX: 6 “I was not able to complete my enrolment on time due to unsettled accountability. I was not able to pay on time because our family is experiencing financial difficulties. I promise to pay my tuition fee on May 15, 2015.”

Others go beyond supplication by magnifying how the approval of their request would affect their ideals. In the next example, the student requested readmission from AWOL. At first, he used supplication by citing his family’s hardships and his medical condition. Toward the end of his letter, however, he cited how meaningful it would be for him to be able to graduate highlighting his struggle to continue his education. The student redirected the reader’s attention from his weakness to his strength—his desire to study despite financial and physical challenges. Any educator/administrator would find this request difficult to deny.

EX 7: “The best use of man’s life is to strive for and obtain new knowledge that he will share and thus further the minds and lives of other men. The learning and development opportunities that are available in XX (name of the university) are invaluable, and I believe in eventually graduating not as a means for me to earn but as a stepping stone in becoming a valuable contributor to the learning and knowledge that can be found in XX. I am grateful for the opportunity to continue my education.”

There were also request letters that solely used justification (14%). A fundamental principle in theories of self is the idea that people want to view themselves positively and they want others to have the same view (Brown, 1998). Knowing how to own up to a mistake impresses upon the reader a mature, well-

adjusted individual. Presenting oneself less favorably by admitting failure in judgment or a misbehavior, ironically, becomes favorable to the student.

Ex 8: “I admit that I always prefer not to drop subjects which I am most likely to fall short of because I would still like to continue attending these classes despite of the risk it might cause my official record. Also, I would like to state that I only lack a few requirements for my subject with INC grades which I am planning to fulfil within this semester. I understand that the efforts I exerted were still inadequate for me to have a good status in our college but I am very much hoping that you would give me another chance...”

Ex 9: “The reason why I dropped the course was because of my failure to cope with the lessons and the requirements. I was balancing work and academics last semester and it took a toll on my studies. I missed a number of classes plus I failed to submit a paper and an exam that was 40% of our grade. I had to withdraw from class with my professor’s consent.”

Twelve percent (12%) of the letters used excuse with exemplification. In using these strategies, the students acknowledged their inability to pay or comply with requirements; however, they denied responsibility and instead blamed other people.

Ex 10: “I was not able to process my change of matriculation because of the late enlistment of my professor. He was able to enlist me formally in the CRS website only after the deadline of the enrollment.

EX 11: “Unfortunately, during that period, my professor in PE gave me an INC. My professor told me that the only way for me to complete the course is to attend the finals of his class.

In both letters, the professors’ actions resulted in the delay of enrollment or graduation of the students. There was no mention of why the student was given an INC. In the other example, the student did not mention why the professor enlisted him late. The self-serving information (putting the blame on the professor) was placed in the preferred dimension of the communication while the negative information (the possible lapse in judgment on the part of the student) was disregarded. These students tried to save their faces by blaming others. Fortunately, these letters comprised only 9% of the total letters.

Three percent (3%) used apology with justification. These students started their letters with an apology for something they were not able to do or fail to comply with. The apology was immediately followed by an acceptance of responsibility. Manifesting accountability is an important factor in creating positive impression and restoring/maintaining the trust of the reader.

EX12: “I sincerely apologize for the lateness of this letter and for my late payment. I am also sorry for the inconvenience this may have caused you. I will pay the tuition fee as soon as this letter is approved.

EX13: "I would like to apologize for the delay of payment regarding my change of matriculation process. I have forgotten and missed the deadline last Monday. I have already prepared the payment and I am hoping to pay as soon as possible."

The remaining three percent (3%) combined justification and self-promotion. After admitting responsibility for a negative behavior, some students tried to convince the reader of their competence and ability in redirecting their academic lives to overcome their delinquency. All they need would be another chance to prove themselves. To appear modest in this situation may be misinterpreted as a weakness or lack of competence. There is a need to enhance self-description to increase the possibility of the approval of requests. In the next example, the student requested an extension of his residency. Apparently, he was dismissed by his former college and was seeking admission to another college. In the course of trying to get in a new program, he was not able to enroll for three years but is now ready to go back and finish his degree.

Ex14: "I stayed with the School of Statistics from 2006 till last semester. I started taking Speech Communication subjects from 2012-2013 though I was not yet accepted. My grades have been excellent. I received a GWA of 1.56 in the first semester and 1.6 in the succeeding semester. I am hoping for your favorable action on my request."

Conclusion

This paper examined the ways students presented themselves in their letters of request to increase the possibility of approval. Majority used an indirect organizational strategy which is consistent with the Filipino style of communication that frowns upon directness. They used dominantly justification and supplication which they balanced with exemplification. These strategies created an impression of mature individuals who initially seemed frail, weak, or even delinquent but strove to be competent, diligent, and responsible.

How do all the lexico-syntactic features, organizational and self-presentation strategies relate to constructing a desired identity?

According to Schlenker (1985), self-presentation can be seen as a goal-directed activity that occurs in a social context which has an actor (the student), an audience (the reader), and the social situation (the student makes a request which will be approved by the reader who is in administration). In this transactional view, two features define the desirability of self-presentation for the individual. The self-presentation must be beneficial in the sense that the actor sees it facilitating the attainment of his goal. The self-presentation must also be believable. The findings in the study support the observation that the self-presentation strategies used by the students helped create acceptable identities. They presented themselves as individuals who, due to varying believable circumstances, were unable to comply with university requirements/policies. The use of modality, however, marked a turning point in many of the letters. In describing past activities/situations, the students admitted their flaws and held themselves responsible for their actions. Many of the letters, however, had a second part where the students stressed their potentials and commitment. They explicitly informed the reader of what they could do if given a chance (that is, if the request would be approved). Putting the past and future in opposition

foregrounded a time-related positive change that was happening or about to happen to the students. The completion of the positive change would be in the hands of the reader and this strategy would significantly contribute to persuading the reader to endorse or approve the requests.

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LOCATING DIGITAL LITERATURE IN WORLD LITERATURE: A CASE OF *QUARTERLY LITERARY REVIEW SINGAPORE*

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Abstract

Although not to the full extent of South or East Asian literature, Southeast Asian (SEA) literature written in English has begun to reach wider prominence. It is important to underline that SEA literature have begun to embrace online or digitalized literature to complement the existence of printed literature. In line with the rising popularity of digital literature, this paper highlights the annual publication of *Quarterly Literary Review Singapore* (www.qrls.com) which encompasses several literary genres, from poetry, short stories and literary criticisms. Although originally established to raise the awareness regarding Singaporean literature, later publication has extended its scope into South East Asian and even diasporic writers. Through reading on several short stories in this annual publication, this paper emphasizes two main concerns. (1) What are the prevalent values and themes addressed by the (selected) short stories published therein and (2) How does the existence of digital literature problematizes the concept of world literature as it is theorized by Goethe and Damrosch? The analysis concludes that digital short stories published in www.qrls.com offer broad varieties of themes which enrich South East Asian literature field and should be considered into discussion regarding world literature as classroom materials.

Keywords: World literature, South East Asian Literature, digital literature

Introduction

In this modern era, English has been used as the language for global communication in which literature as one media of transmitting information is not an exception. The prominence of English as global language makes the circulation of literature easier as literary works now circulates in multiple directions, no longer limited from the metropolitan center to the colonial periphery. (Damrosch, 2009-, p. 106) Moreover, as a shared language, literature written in English functions also to foster intercultural communication among its readers. In the preface of *A Rainbow Feast: New Asian Short Stories*, an anthology of Southeast Asian short stories, Quayum remarks that

literature in English is...not confined to a culture-tight compartment and therefore, it can help establish better understanding between various ethnic groups and nations through the articulation, appreciation, and understanding of each other's values, histories, and cultures (2010, p. 25)

Among Asian Literature in English, it can be seen that South and East Asian literature has a marked advantage in pioneering the use of English and also their longevity in literary production. As early as 1910s, the famous Rabindranath Tagore won the Nobel Prize in literature with the translation of his poems such as *Gitanjali*, *Manasi*, and *Sonar Tori*. Tagore's recognition in the West is soon followed by a Japanese writer, Ryunosuke Akutagawa through his short stories, *Rashomon* (1915) and *Yabu-no-Naka (In a Grove)*. Akutagawa is noted for embracing modernist characteristics which dismantle the archetypical genre of the Showa period (Lippit, 1999, p. 30). Besides poetry and short stories, novel also flourishes as one genre among South Asian literature. During the colonial period, Ahmed Ali's *Twilight of Delhi* (1940) recalls the glory days of India before the advent of the Western colonizer, throughout "the era of Kauravs, Pandavs...Babur...Humayun, and Jahaghir." (1940, p. 4)

Specifically focusing on SEA countries, Singapore has been a leading proponent in using English as the language used in literature production. Summarizing the growth of Singapore as an English-speaking country, a fact highlighted also in their literature, Patke notes that "the first attempts of poetry in English in the late 1940's...is synonymous with the growth of Singapore as a small, rapidly modernizing metropolis" (2000, p. 293). Several notable pioneers of Singaporean literature, especially poems are Wang Gungwu's *Pulse* (1950), *Litmus Ones* (1958) and *30 Poems* (1958). In this contemporary era, English continues to be prevalent as the primary language of Singaporean literature as seen in the publication of several notable novels such as *the Art of Charlie Chan Hock Chye* by Sonny Liew in 2016 and also Simon Tay's *City of Small Blessing* (2009).

The development of Singaporean literature also encompasses literature which is uploaded online or known as digital literature. This phenomenon can be seen in annual publication of a Singaporean online journal entitled *Quarterly Literary Review Singapore* (www.qlrs.com). Ever since its first issue in October 2001, this online journal consistently publishes their annual yearly publication with the most recent issue of Vol. 17 in April 2018. Although originally intended to "promote the literary arts in Singapore, to stimulate the feedback mechanisms in the literary scene, and to develop Singaporean writers to international standards", in its expansion this journal has accepted submission from other SEA writers, diasporic writers and even Western expatriates. Encompassing a wide spectrum of literary genre from poetry, short stories, essays and literary criticisms, the annual publication is reviewed by a board of editors to insure the quality of the online publication. By analyzing several short stories published online in www.qlrs.com, this paper aims to shed some insight on the incorporation of digital literature into world literature.

How Singaporean literature has begun to embrace the development of digital literature can be seen as one solution to bridge the gap between SEA and other Asian literature. In this modern era where everything is digitalized, literature does not only circulate by their printed version but also by the digital copies, one

notable example being Google Books. Sanz, for example, considers that the launching of Google Books in 2004 is “the symbolic turning point when the techniques of storage, transfer, and processing of information became a must on a global scale.” (2017:16) Moreover, several digital literature especially the ones uploaded in QLRS website are primarily intended for digital readership and no printed version is available. Different from the ‘classical’ printed model of literature such as novels, anthologies and romance, digital literature in this case is a form of literature born in the digital world, i.e., the text was created on a laptop for example, and uploaded to a blog or webpage for online reading.

Although digital media offers one avenue to popularize SEA literature, several questions should firstly be addressed regarding digital literature. Firstly, what about the quality of the literature itself? Indeed, anyone can write and then upload either on their personal blogs or social media with which some kind of editorial control remains needed to differentiate between “high” and “low” literature. Secondly, what about the themes? And lastly, how to locate digital literature as one example of world literature? Several leading theorists of world literature such as Goethe, Damrosch and Moretti theorize their differing definition of world literature based on printed literature. The circulation of digital literature differs significantly compared to the classical one, as basically after uploading to the internet the texts are able to read globally. Henceforth, the existence of digital literature then problematizes the previously accepted convention of world literature.

Method

This subsection is intended to contextualize two main aspects regarding the definition of digital/electronic literature and world literature. The development of electronic literature is inseparable with the rapid ascent of technological advancement, especially in the field of computer and internet or mobile networking. As summarized by Montfort (2007:172), computer enables digital literature to represent events by directly outputting narrative text, graphics and sounds. This statement confirms that digital literature can take full advantages of their medium by simultaneously provides its readers with audio-visual reception. Moreover, digital literature is advantaged by their connection with the internet, in which basically “narratives of personal experience is now possible to be shared with millions of strangers.” (Ryan, 2005, p. 18). Since anybody with an internet connection can publish his or her own weblog, there is a great variety in the quality, content, and ambition of weblogs, and a weblog may have anywhere from a handful to tens of thousands of daily readers. (Walker, 2005, p. 97). The increasing influxes of digital literature can threaten the dominance of printed literature. Some even go as far to suggest “pronouncements of the death of the novel became increasingly frequent and strident as the twentieth century progressed and varieties of visual and electronic media became more influential. (Mancing, 2005:538)

Moving into the discussion of world literature, this concept has been questioned and constantly revised since its conception. World literature is first theorized by Goethe through his concept of *Welt literature* which anticipates the emergence of a universal world literature. (Pizer, 2000, p. 215) Writing in the 1800s, Goethe is convinced “that a universal world literature is in the process of

formation” (cited in Prendergast, 2004, p. 3) that literature must not only be read and circulated in their nation but should be able to reach wider, even global audience. Goethe’s seminal concept is further refined by Damrosch’s assertion that world literature encompasses all literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in their original language.” (2000, p. 9). Moreover, in this modern era, most literature circulates via translation. (Damrosch, 2009, p. 65) which highlights the easier accessibility of literary production among the global community.

Damrosch highlights the notion that circulation of world literature is inseparable with the issue of publication. Book publishers are the one that firstly select whether a manuscript is deemed suitable for publication and whether it will be able to attract wider readership. Moreover, the circulation of literature such as novels, anthologies of poetries and also short stories from their country of origin has been a pivotal landmark in the informational exchange since the colonial era especially the how novel as the pre-eminent example of Western literature is transmitted from Europe to Latin America. (Siskind, 2010, p. 336). It can be asserted that circulation and publication plays quite a notable role in world literature, which makes this classical model of literature differs from the digitalized one. Damrosch’s statement that any literature becomes world literature whenever it is circulated beyond their country of origin is scrutinized when it concerns digital literature as it is uploaded into a virtual media with global scope. It is particularly emphasized through Sanz’s statement; digital literature is “literature born to circulate on the Internet” (2017, p. 16) that affirms the primacy of internet in circulating digital literature.

Locating digital literature within world literature, it is clear that the previously accepted definition of world literature still does not recognize the increasing prominence of digital literature. It is worrying, as even as early in the turn of the millennium Apparadurai already asserts that “public spheres are increasingly dominated by electronic media” (2000, p. 22) in which literary field is not an exception. Yet, the emergence of digital literature is still rather neglected by the discussion of world literature specially concerning canonical world literature. The concept of ‘opening up the canon’ (Gulliory, qtd in Damrosch, 2003, p. 8) by complementing the classical canonical literature with lesser known literary production should also begin to incorporate the emergence of digital literature. Circulation and publication, as previously asserted by Damrosch become one problematic area to incorporate digital literature especially into canonical world literature. As the screening for publishing online literature is negligible compared to the printed world, skepticism then arises whether digital literature is qualified enough to be considered an example of canonical world literature. To further contribute in the ongoing debate regarding the incorporation of digital literature into the canonical world literature, this paper analyzes several short stories published online in *Quarterly Literary Review Singapore* and argues that the stories published there are worthy to be considered as canonical world literature.

Findings and Discussion

This section focuses on analyzing several short stories published online in www.qlrs.com with two major emphases : (1) identifying several overreaching themes and values addressed in several texts and (2) arguing that the definitions of world literature as previously theorized by Goethe and Damrosch still do not cover the emerge of digital or electronic literature. In turn, this paper argues that the short stories uploaded in Quarterly Literary Review Singapore (henceforth QLRS) should be placed into consideration when concerning canonical world literature especially Asian Literature in English. QLRS has been a prolific journal, since the seminal launching of QLRS website in 2001, there has been 17 volumes of QLRS which signifies the 17 years of this online journal. Moreover, as each volume in one year encompasses three until four publications, it can be noted that this journal has uploaded sufficient works, the website itself summarizes a total of 252 short stories. From this anthology, this paper aims to provide a brief chart of overreaching themes from several short stories.

One of the most prevalent theme of QLRS publication is nostalgia concerning the past and how the shifting timeframe alienated the protagonist in the present era. One short story, *Oh-Chien* by Lydia Kwa focuses on the main character, Millee's reminiscence with oh-chien (fried oyster) and how her recollection of eating *oh-chien* in the past differs significantly with the present era. "She associated oyster omelletes with her childhood" and how "this scene reminds her with how it used to be in Singapore 40 years ago." (Kwa) She recalls how the older scene of "a string of naked light bulbs suspended between poles of the cart, the charcoal-fuelled fire" is in total contrast with the present Melaka, "Jalan Hang Jebat had transformed into a tourists' Jonker Walk, free of cars and trishaws, packed with vendors selling goods made in PRC."

Another short story, *Mrs Chan's Wedding Day* also places the character's reminiscence of the past a central theme. In this story, the unnamed main character contrasted between Singapore and Hong Kong between Singapore and Hong Kong regarding preservation of Chinese custom and culture. The unnamed protagonist's housemaid, Mrs Chan will not be working on New Year's eve, as she was busy "bringing the wedding cakes round as an old Chinese custom." (Poon, 2002) This tradition, unfortunately had stopped in Singapore around 1970, after the time of "Tower Records and MTV" (Poon, 2002). On the contrary, this dying tradition of visiting families and bringing wedding cake remains continued in Hong Kong, where the main character goes to school after leaving Singapore.

Though several stories portray their place as something nostalgic to pine for, another story contextualizes their homeland as old-fashioned and conservative compared to the previous short stories. One example in *Jasmine's Father* by Paul Tan, the conflict that occurs between Jasmine and her father is fueled by Jasmine's dissatisfaction with the sexist and misogyny driven Singaporean society. Jasmine's struggle in Singapore starts when her boss, a Chinese former government scholar was threatened by Jasmine's "outspoken manner, the speed of her decisions, and her strong presentation skills." (Tan, 2001) All those abilities – which her boss considers should only be acquired by male– marginalizes Jasmine and led her to immigrate abroad to Canada. Moreover, her disdain with Singaporean which later further extended to other Asian men further flourishes.

She increasingly chooses to interact with Canadian men, rather than men from the Asian community there. Those guys are so with it, articulate and sporting, she declared, compared to Singaporean men who were graceless, guarded chauvinists with the charm of a flea. (Tan, 2001)

Among the short stories uploaded in QLRS, one notable short story is *Fathers*, written by Ioannis Gatsiounis, a Greek-diasporic writer, a New York native and now living in Malaysia. His cosmopolitan background provides a fresh outlook of Singaporean community as it is now perceived from a westerner's eyes. In this story, Gatsiounis contextualizes how an unnamed male protagonist from a foreign European country lives his life as a freelance in Singapore in a decrepit neighborhood.

Living poorly in a back-alley, next to the spandex-clad old women harrumphing their way through stacks of cardboard, the Cantonese-speaking junkies flashing sheathes of pirated DVDs from their seats along the curb; or Jamu, the limbless boy wonder who snatched up used condensed-milk cans with his teeth (Gatsiounis, 2005)

From the aforementioned passage, Gatsiounis subverts several stereotypically tropes about Westerner who either lives or visits Asia. A research by Dewi (2014, p. 136) illustrates that the genre of Australian colonial fictions in several novels such as *Five Skull Island and Other Tales of the Malay Archipelago* (1897), Castro's *Last Sacraments* (1900) and *Flight into Paradise* explores the Westerner's lack of understanding of the local traditions and customs in Asia. Even in the modern era, several portrayal of Westerners in Asia still abide to the "imperial eyes" (Pratt, 1994, p. 8-9) trope, where Asia is perceived through Euro centrist perspective. One research on Christopher Koch's fictions, especially his novel *the Year of Living Dangerously* finds out how the protagonist, as the Westerner who visits Asia is disorientated and feeling loss in a strange place and his desire to "regain knowledge and his sense of place in the world" (Habel, 2007, p. 49).

The portrayal of Gatsiounis' main character in *Fathers* explores living condition of Singapore from a different angle. His protagonist is a freelancer trying to do odd-jobs as his occupation as a writer is inadequate instead of going to "the Sheratons, the KFC's, the mega malls and light rail". (Gatsiounis, 2005) During his stay in Singaporean's suburban, he befriends several of his room-mates and neighbors, Razali, a Muslim by name only- who smokes and drinks powdered Milo during the holy month of Ramadhan and Nadhira, who he has a relationship with. Gatsiounis explores the dynamics of Singapore as multi-ethnic society where the Indians, Malays, and the Chinese are the majority groups. Gatsiounis portrays his protagonist as a more tolerant person towards the racial diversity in Singapore, which is contrasted with the character named Charlie Wong. On the contrary with Gatsiounis' unnamed protagonist, Wong is an unashamed racist with statement that "the Chinese were a gruff money-minded minority. The Malays were said to be passive and courteous, to cherish God and family and bumming around more than money." (Gatsiounis, 2005) The racist character in *Fathers* is not the white male protagonist but instead the native Singaporean who is dismissive towards other races in this island, the Malays and the Chinese.

From the prior discussions, it can be concluded that the short stories published in QLRS website enriches SEA literature discussions by providing

different angles of perceiving Southeast Asia especially Singapore. Several stories offer contrasting portrayal of Singapore, either through reminiscence of the forgotten traditions and customs in Singapore, or depicting the still rampant sexism and misogyny as prevailing factor which causes Jasmine in *Jasmine's Father* to emigrate toward Canada. Subsequent paragraphs will problematize more about how online literature, as illustrated through QLRS short stories should also be incorporated into canonical world literature especially in Asian Literature in English.

Returning to the second question addressed by this paper, the previous discussion of world literature by Goethe and Damrosch still do not accommodate the emergence of electronic literature. Damrosch himself acknowledges that what constitutes world literature is not a fixed definition or only accommodates certain canonical works but instead is a mode of circulation and of reading (2003, p. 5). In Damrosch's opinion, world literature is not a settled state and instead unstable in flux. He reviews the development of world literature, while previously the notion of "world literature" only signifies Western literature, nowadays the term 'opening up the canon' has incorporated non-Western writers into the anthology of World English literature. As asserted by Gurray, (qtd in Damrosch, 2003, p. 8) to "open the canon" we must have to modernize it, not just focusing on the early or classical literature but also to include the later works. The "opening up of the canon" have begun to accomodate hitherto unknown including non-Western literary works into canon, either as "*hypercanon*, *countercanon*, or *shadow canon*" (Damrosch, 2006, p. 45). Although "opening up of the canon" has been beneficial for minor and third-world writers, few steps have been taken regarding the incorporation of digital literature as example of world literature. (Tabbi, 2010)

At this point, it is important to underline the differences between world literature and canonical world literature. Both Goethe and Damrosch's previous concept regarding the circulation of literature beyond their country of origin is more particularly biased toward world literature instead of the canonical world. The emergence of digital literature itself is a problematical concept concerning world literature as after the literature is uploaded into the internet itself it instantly becoming world literature. As internet basically is owned by the world community—hence the name world wide web (WWW), digital literature by definition is already circulated beyond their country of origin. Hence, speaking about world literature and the canonical one, it is important to differentiate between the two of them. In this paper's perspective, the literature published by the QLRS should be taken into consideration regarding canonical world literature although some consideration must also be taken. Basically, literary works published outside their countries' boundaries can be classified as canonical works after it passes several criteria, mainly whether it has already been taught as teaching material either at university or high school level and secondly whenever it is anthologies. In the case of digital literature uploaded in QLRS, this paper states that the selected short stories should be considered as material for Asian Literature in English.

This present study argues that the selected short stories uploaded in QLRS encompasses the working definition of SEA literature as proposed by Dewi (2014). In her article, Dewi mainly explores how to define Asian literature in English, and this study reduces the scope into Southeast Asian literature instead of

Asia as a whole. She addresses several characteristics of (Southeast) Asian Literature as follows,

- (a) To portray (Southeast) Asian people, places, and experience
- (b) To depict values, tradition, principles associated with (Southeast) Asian society in the past to the present
- (c) Intended to meet (Southeast) Asian readership
- (d) Written by writers of (Southeast) Asian origin or with (Southeast) Asian background (2014, p. 138)

As previously explored, the selected QLRS short stories abide to the working definition of (Southeast) Asian literature as proposed by Dewi. The selected short stories contextualize living experience in Southeast Asia especially Singapore from various angles and diverse outlook. *Oh-Chien* and *Mrs Chan's Wedding* puts forward the issue of nostalgia, how modernity has changed the street of Singapore into business-oriented district catered for tourist and the extinction of wedding tradition in the rapidly-developing Singapore. Another story, *Jasmine's Father* implores the reader that behind the façade of modern and Westernized Singaporean society, sexism and misogyny still entrenched and hinder the advancement of Singaporean females. Lastly, *Fathers*, although written by a Greek-diasporic writer does not portray Singapore from “imperial eyes” but instead gives an illustration of a struggling European in Singaporean suburban area. The varied and ranging theme such as the longing of the past, disillusionment with the modern society, rampant sexism and misogyny in Singaporean society and different portrayal of the white living in Asia makes QLRS literature worth considering in the curriculum of Asian Literature in English.

Conclusion

It can be stated that the emergence of digital literature enriches the discussions of world literature, especially SEA literature and should be considered. Digital literature can be one possible consideration for SEA literature to –which to say- catching up with the entrenched dominance of other regions in Asia such as East, South, or Middle East in world literary discussion. Yet, several problems still arise regarding the incorporation of digital literature into world literature and there should be a marked differentiation between world literature and canonical world literature concerning digital literature. Goethe and Damrosch's previous concept regarding world literature is too broad, as according to their definition any online literature since it has been uploaded in the web instantly become part of world literature. The notion of circulating literary works by the printed version is shattered by the entrance of internet as the primary medium of digital literature. This paper is in the opinion that classification should be done regarding the integration of digital literature into canonical world literature. Literature published online in reputable journal or academic forum such as QLRS has wide ranging themes, tackling various problems in SEA countries which makes the short stories worth considering as a classroom material especially in Asian Literature in English. It is hoped that this discussion shed some light regarding the position of digital literature in world literature.

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LOCAL CULTURAL LITERACY AND ITS PROMOTION

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Abstract

This study addressed two research questions: what educational functions can be promoted through Museum Wayang Kekayon (MWK) collections? And what criteria should promotional media have to promote MWK? The study implemented hermeneutic approach supported by theories of Semiotics, Discourse, Pragmatics, and Web Usability. Data were collected by browsing the Internet, conducting observations while visiting MWK, interviewing experts on museum, wayang, and semiotics and MWK educators. The findings of the study were 1) the identification of MWK educational functions to introduce cultural literacy and other relevant philosophical values, and 2) the CLEAR criteria of effective promotional media to promote cultural (wayang) literacy in the digital era. The study recommended that fun but meaningful activities should be conducted at MWK, and relevant resources and tools should be provided and used to support the activities.

Keywords: local cultural literacy, museum, promotional media, wayang

Introduction

Wayang is an artistic cultural masterpiece which has a deep-rooted foundation in Indonesian community. Wayang performances describe complex human life symbols from birth until death (Soetrisno, 2008:3). Philosophy, life wisdom, human characters, moral-social teachings are some aspects related to wayang and its performances that can be sources of interest to researchers. UNESCO's declaration which acknowledged wayang as "A Masterpiece of The Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity" on 7 November 2003 confirmed wayang as the world cultural heritage. As a museum (which possesses thousands of wayang collections, Museum Wayang Kekayon Yogyakarta (MWK) could have been a place of interest to visit. However, previous studies indicated that MWK might neither be a must-visit site for tourists coming Yogyakarta nor an object of regular visits by local people. There are some reasons for this phenomenon and previous studies have been conducted to discover strategies to promote MWK and to increase selling points of MWK (Juwita 2014; Purnomo 2016). Considering that the complete research design was multi-year, the researchers decided to focus on the identification of MWK functions to

introduce cultural literacy, and the adoption of appropriate criteria for MWK web site as a far-reaching promotional medium to promote the cultural literacy which is typical of Indonesia (note: the next stage of the research would be the construction of MWK website based on the discovered criteria as an effective means of promotion). The website should be communicatively informing relevant and reliable information and user friendly.

Museum Wayang Kekayon Yogyakarta (MWK)

The founding father of MWK is the late wayang collector whose name is Professor Dr. KPH Soejono Prawirohadikusumo - a professor in one faculty of medical study and an expert in Javanese culture. A great collection of Wayang Purwa, Wayang Madya, Wayang Gedhog, Wayang Klithik, Wayang Golek and many other kinds of wayang and masks are stored in MWK. The collection is privately owned by his family. Therefore, MWK may be categorized as a museum of specialized collections, particularly wayang collections (Hein 2005).

In 1990 MWK was officially opened by Sri Paduka Paku Alam VIII - the Vice Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY) Afterwards, MWK was opened for public fully in 1992 and since then it has joined Badan Musyawarah Museum (Barahmus) DIY. It is located at Yogyakarta-Wonosari street no 277, Banguntapan, Bantul, Yogyakarta.

There are seven (7) units surrounded by a large garden in the museum complex. However, the study only explored Units 1 and 2 in which Wayang Purwa collections were stored and displayed. In Unit 1, visitors could observe a complete set wayang arranged neatly with its essential decorations such as pakeliran, blencong, and artificial dalang sitting facing the pakeliran. On the right side of the dalang were wayang of good characters and knights whereas on the left side were wayang of bad characters. There is also a replica of Gatotkaca – a popular puppet figure who was the son of Wrekodara of the Pandavas. In Unit 2, wayang collections narrating the episodes of Ramayana, Mahabarata, and Karna Tanding were stored. The episodes and figures belong to Wayang Purwa collections - the objects of the study (source: Panduan Pengunjung Museum Wayang Kekayon Yogyakarta).

Wayang is acknowledged as having tangible and intangible aspects. The tangible aspect refers to the objects of carved leather representing characters. The tangible aspects can be seen, touched, stored physically. The intangible aspects of wayang cannot be seen or touched but they can be taught, shared, delivered through wayang performances. The intangible aspects include wayang performances, Javanese poetry, transfer of dalang skills to next generation (source: an interview with the owner of MWK and a resource person of museum on 18 August 2017). It is both the tangible and intangible aspects of wayang which will be explored further to address the two research questions.

Roles of Museums

Related to the museum functions as a place for conservation, research, education, and entertainment, a museum can have particular roles in society, namely, education and social action (Hein 2005). Furthermore, he states that “museums are primarily education institutions”. They have roles in preserving

culture and they are open to public. In this way, they become public institutions having certain educational work related to culture. Visitors to museums, especially children, can experience education which is object –based or inquiry-based. They can actively learn to solve problems by constructing meaning based on their knowledge acquired previously and the experiences in visiting the museums

In addition, museums can also have social roles such as what happened in the early twentieth century when John Cotton Dana (1856-1929) - the founder of the Newark Museum – initiated progressive education and expanded museum functions to include citizen empowerment leading to a democratic society.

Bearing in mind the two integrated roles of museums and simplifying the roles to meet the present local context, the researchers study MWK's wayang collection and the public service assigned to MWK. The result is the identification of relevant cultural values embedded to certain wayang figures which can help us build, develop, and maintain better community life. Values such as heroism, nationality, honesty, loyalty can be introduced and shared to visitors of MWK

Semiotics

By referring to Barthes' theory (1956), Susanto states that semiotics is part of linguistics which studies signs in other fields which can be used as a language to express and represent meanings (staff.ui.ac.id/system/files/users/irzanti.../ metode semiotika.pdf). Further, Susanto considers that signs can deliver certain information. Signs can be communicative. Signs can also represent the meanings of other objects or things which can be comprehended by those seeing the signs. Thus, any research implementing semiotic theories is usually "qualitative-interpretive".

Susanto also discusses Charles Sanders Peirce's theory (1839- 1914) that signs are representatives which explain something (triadic concept) and a certain sign becomes meaningful because of the context when the sign is used. Meanings can be personal or social depending on certain contexts. Peirce also uses the term representamen as used in the triadic concept, however, he sometimes uses the term sign as well.

In addition, Petrilli's theory on sign and meaning (2015) is also implemented in this study as the underlying semiotic theory. In live communication, meaning can be constructed when a sign is used to signify something by an utterer and understood by the listener. Signs must be interrelated in order to be meaningful. Therefore, signs representing meanings about wayang should be studied in relevant contexts so that they can be used communicatively for MWL promotional media, especially for its website.

Discourse

The MWK website as the focus of the study has texts and pictures. Ideally, the texts and the pictures should be in harmonious intertextuality. There are four basic text types generally known such as narrative, descriptive, expository, and argumentative. Another classification of text types introduces informative and

instructive texts. Websites are included in informative texts (www.bbc.co.uk accessed on 6 October 2017). Each text type has its main functions and features but rarely does a text have just one type exclusively.

A particular text can be relatively easy to comprehend or, on the other hand, quite complicated to comprehend. This characteristic is usually known as text readability. According to DuBay (2004), a writer can produce a readable text by 1) using simple words not confusing words, 2) avoiding biases in the language used, 3) employing correct grammar rules, correct punctuation and spelling, accepted graphical elements and markers. In addition, Blakesley (2011) adds five sentence readability principles to be paid attention to by writers. They should pay attention to action style, agent and action position, modifier and modified words position, information arrangement, and characters in agent positions.

The theories on sentence and text readability need to be “crosschecked” by “modifying” the Cooperative Principles of Grice maxims to ensure the quantity, quality, clarity, relevance of information provided at the promotional media, especially MWK websites.

Web Usability

Quensenbery (2006) proposes the criteria of “Balancing the 5 Es” as part of the theories on Web Usability. They are effective, efficient, engaging, error tolerant, and easy to use. Each will be described as follows.

A website must effectively facilitate its users to reach their purposes. A website must be efficient in the sense that it can work fast and accurately to support users. A website should have an interesting interface so it can engage its visitors and satisfy its users. A website should also be error tolerant that it can prevent errors but it also provides a recovery system. Last but not least, a website must be user friendly so it allows users to access with ease.

To sum up, all of the underlying theories on Semiotics, Discourse, Pragmatics, and Web Usability can be synthesized and adapted to result in a criteria of effective promotional media, especially, a website, for MWK. The criteria can be used to design and build an effective web site which can support MWK’ educational roles and functions in general. The figure of the synthesized theoretical framework is provided on the next column.

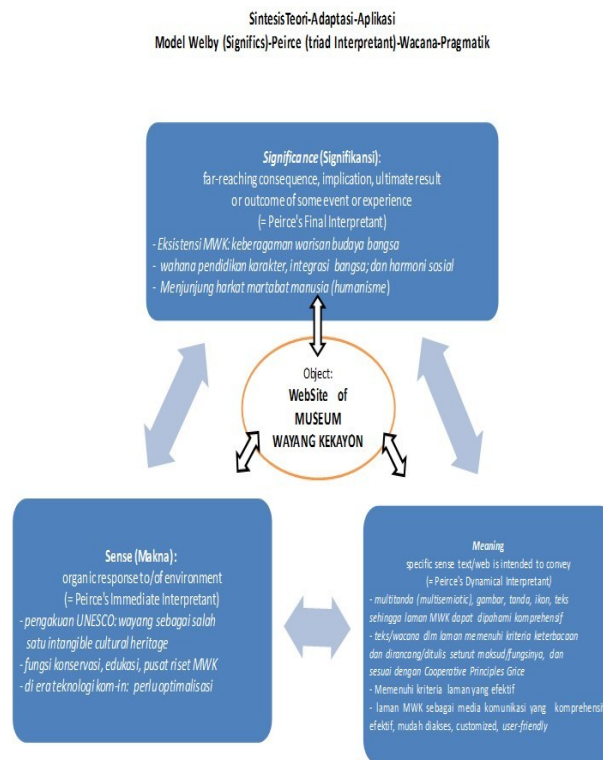


Fig 1: The synthesized and adapted Peirce and Welby Theories

Method

The study was a qualitative descriptive study adopting hermeneutic approach to interpret signs, pictures and texts related to MWK collections in order to construct meanings. As the first year of a multi-year research, the study aimed at 1) identifying educational functions of MWK, and 2) discovering the criteria of MWK effective promotional media, especially the website to promote MWK.

The data of the study consisted of primary data and secondary data. The primary data referred to the tangible and intangible aspects of MWK's wayang collections and the data from the research subjects- resource persons and MWK educators. The secondary data were the data collected by browsing the Internet to search for information about MWK, available websites, blogs, and other promotional media, and elements of good websites.

Research Subjects

There were three MWK educators and three resource persons involved in this study. Since the nature of the study was "qualitative—interpretive", the researchers selected three resource persons who were experienced in their fields so that they could provide rich data regarding wayang, museums/MWK, and semiotics. Three MWK educators provided data on MWK's wayang collections and special events conducted at MWK. They were interviewed at different dates and places. The schedules were provided in the Data Collection sub-sections.

Data Collection

The primary data of the study, namely, the data about MWK collections and events, were collected during three visits to MWK (the second and third weeks of April and the third week of June 2017) by using commonly used qualitative research instruments: observations, individual interviews, and group discussions (libweb.surrey.ac.uk. skills accessed on 5 October 2017). While visiting MWK, the researchers observed all MWK rooms and collections using an observation checklist. The data collected were the identified seven (7) rooms or units in which wayang collections, statues, masks, and paintings were displayed. The researchers also received one brochure of MWK which described some of MWK favorite collections, such as the collections of Pandava and Kaurava wayang, wayang collections from different parts of Nusantara, and adapted wayang figures to match zodiac characters.

A sampling technique was conducted to decide which wayang collections would be the focus of the study. It was Pandava and Kaurava wayang collections out of more than 5500 wayang figures. The popularity of the Pandavas and Kauravas in Mahabharata series and the rich values embedded in the wayang figures and narratives were the reasons of selecting them as the wayang characters to study..

Two other printed brochures were collected in the third visit. One was a “guide sheet” to MWK whereas the other described MWK briefly and mentioned social media belonging to MWK. In the third visit, the sampled wayang collections were re-confirmed.

The online promotional media were collected from January until mid of June 2017. First, a variety of media were identified and scrutinized to result in the sampled far-reaching promotional media, namely MWK website designed by Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta.

The first resource person (RP 1) was interviewed twice on 18 and 25 August 2017. He was the owner of MWK and one of the museum board members of Yogyakarta (Badan Musyawarah Museum/BARAHMUS). The data collected from him were related to MWK special collections, vision and mission, values embedded at particular wayang figures and how to relate the values to nowadays life contexts.

The second resource person (RP 2) was a dalang (a puppet master) who was interviewed on 23 September 2017. He was an experienced dalang and his expertise was required to provide expert judgements on what aspects to introduce or share to public, which wayang figures are worth promoting, how to introduce and promote them to young generation, and aspects related to the intangible cultural heritage.

The third resource person (RP 3) was a professor on linguistics and a lecturer of Semiotics who shared his knowledge about signs, symbols, and meanings related to wayang and MWK existing website.

The secondary data were collected through a library study to learn about MWK, to compare and contrast museum websites, and to discover general criteria of good museum websites.

Data Analysis

All data collected from the observations, visits to MWK, semi structured interviews, and library study were noted, transcribed and analyzed qualitatively to address two research questions. Coding was created to categorize recurring information and to create themes, for example, NIL = nilai meaning values, SIM = simbol meaning symbols, KRT = kriteria meaning criteria, INT = intangible aspects, KOM =komodifikasi meaning commodification, PROM = Promosi meaning promotion, TOK = tokoh meaning figures, and AKT = aktivitas meaning activities. Some codes were combined such as NIL-INT- RP 1 and RP3 which refer to nilai as intangible aspect stated by resource persons 1 and 3.

The data quality was of paramount importance. Thus, triangulation techniques were implemented. Different ways to collect data were adopted such as observations (three times), interviews (five times with three different resource persons), group discussions. The group discussions were conducted among researchers and a focus group discussion (FGD) with the resource persons and MWK educators was planned to be conducted in the third week of October 2017.

Procedure

The procedure of the study was as follows: first, reviewing literature and related documents on museums, wayang, and websites; second, formulating the two research questions as the focus of this first -year research; third, collecting both primary and secondary data; fourth, determining data quality through triangulation; fifth, analyzing data; sixth, reporting results.

Findings and Discussion

The findings related to the first research question about the educational functions of MWK can be divided into two main functions, namely, to introduce, share, and teach cultural local values, and 2) to develop children' s passion toward wayang as local culture. The functions were reported as themes.

Theme 1: Loyalty, brotherhood, equality, honesty are reflections of one's character.

1. Wrekodara who always spoke in bahasa Jawa ngoko implicitly taught us to treat all people as equal partners. (NIL- INT- RP 1)
2. Karno symbolized everlasting brotherhood although he seemed to have betrayed his brothers by taking sides to the Kauravas family. He never betrayed his brothers because if he did not join the Kauravas, the war and situation might be worse for the Pandavas - his brothers by blood. This can be interpreted as a reminder for not judging people too quickly. Also, being loyal as a knight towards his country is heroic. The episode of KARNO TANDING is a popular and favorite episode (NIL-INT- RP 1 and 3)
3. Trijata was known as a loyal companion of Sita - Rama's wife- in her adversity. Trijata always comforted Sita and supported her psychologically when Sita was feeling desperate and worried about her husband. Thus, children/ teenagers need to learn to build friendship and maintain it by being loyal to their friends. (NIL-INT- RP1and 3)

Theme 2: Wisdom and open mindedness are necessary.

1. All wayang were arranged at a pakeliran in such a way that all wayang of good characters were positioned at the right side of dalang and wayang of bad characters were at the left side. However, dalang could change the positions, for example, when he wanted to deliver certain messages that there was no rigid dichotomy in life, no rigid separation between goodness and badness which he might call as a grey area. Thus, there might be wayang of good characters among the Kauravas as well. (NIL- INT- RP2 and EDU 1 2)
2. Local wisdom which is part of cultural heritage needs to be shared and taught to people. It can develop harmony in life, togetherness, etc...so why is it abandoned? (NIL- RP1 and 2)

Theme 3: Dying as a hero for one's country is an honor.

The episode of KUMBOKARNO GUGUR implies heroism. He was a brother of Ravana who died in a war with the Pandavas not because he wanted to defend Ravana who kidnapped Sinta but because Kumbokarno wanted to defend his country. He criticized Ravana strongly before he went to the battle field and finally he died as a hero. (NIL-INT- RP 2)

The previously mentioned examples of values embedded to certain wayang figures are part of the intangible aspects of wayang. Using wayang figures to narrate interesting activities and episodes (TOK and AKT) artistically is one of the many ways to introduce, share, and teach educational and philosophical values. This way can also bring children and young people closer to their Indonesian cultural identity.

Theme 4: Becoming a dalang: why not?

1. Another issue of wayang as a cultural heritage is how to ensure transfer of knowledge, skills, and passions to young people so that they are willing to learn to become dalang. They could start by doing relevant interesting activities. (INT- RP 1 and 2).
2. Children need activities that attract them and once they are attracted they will learn passionately as shared by RP 1 and 2: “ My daughter likes dancing so I encourage and support her and I hope that later she has the passion to learn more about Javanese tembang and wayang, of course.” “ Other children need competitive activities so kompetisi dalang cilik might be the solution but sponsors must be invited to provide rewards.” (INT- RP 1 and 2)

The findings related to the second research questions concerning the ways to promote cultural literacy are divided into two ways, namely, 1) commodification, and 2) criteria of effective promotional media, especially for MWK website. The two ways are described in themes.

Theme 1: Commodification: is it possible?

All resource persons state implicitly that commodification, to some extent, is possible and necessary.

1. MWK needed to create fun activities for visitors, for example, providing a kind of selfie booth and other interesting photo backdrops in the museum complex so that visitor could take pictures of their own using their own

camera phones. This facility may attract more visitors to come to MWK, and the increasing number of visitors can cause positive multiplying effects to MWK and the local community (KOM- PROM-RP 1)

2. Adopting contemporary elements in wayang performances was acceptable as far as the modern elements did not “destroy” wayang as a noble heritage of culture. Through this modification, hopefully children and young people would be interested in knowing and learning more about wayang and other forms of local cultural literacy. MWK should provide specific unique souvenirs for its visitors for free or for sale (KOM-RP2 and 3)

Theme 2: Communicative and effective promotional media to introduce, invite, and involve community members in cultural preservation, education, and entertainment will support local cultural literacy, in this case, the knowledge, values, and spirit of wayang collections

1. RP 1 stated that MWK needed websites and also more practical promotional media which could be operated only by using visitors’ mobile phones equipped for QR code. Thus, visitors could just come and then found wayang collections they wanted to know more, affixed their cellphones to the barcode to connect with the system and they could get more information about the wayang figure. (KRT-RP 1)
2. MWK website should use relevant signifiers (= penanda). External penanda might be the gate whereas internal penanda is probably the pakeliran. (KRT – RP 3)
3. Prepare engaging and relevant activities which were inquiry-based or problem-based, and promote them via promotional media. Activities could be about figures or relevant events. (KRT-RP 1)
4. Select and use colors and pictures carefully. Use icons and symbols only if their deeper meanings were already understood. (KRT-RP 3)
5. Brief and relevant texts, appropriate letter sizes should be considered in creating captions for wayang collections and other visual descriptions. (KRT-RP 3)

Conclusion

Museum including MWK should function as educational institutions. As a museum with a quite complete wayang collections, MWK may have the role to introduce wayang literacy as part of local cultural literacy. Values such as heroism, honesty, loyalty, integrity should be part of everyone’s daily life which can be introduced, shared, and taught through formal and non-formal educational institutions including MWK and other museums. As a privately owned museum, MWK needs supports such as technology and human resources. Promotional media to inform and invite visitors can be employed, however, they should fulfill certain criteria.

In particular, MWK website should be communicative and user friendly in providing relevant information to public. Visitors who have been interested in visiting MWK need to be exposed to well-maintained collections supported with practical technology and involved in engaging learning activities.

The educational functions of MWK seem like a big dream to realize. Supports, courage, and good networking can make the dream come true.

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THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN CHARACTERS IN THE MOVIE *THE BREADWINNER*

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Abstract

This article would like to present how women were defined in the movie, both by male and female characters. Mills (1998) provides a tool to help the readers understanding the style of a writer through her choices of words, sentences, and even in the discourse level. A novel based movie which won and was nominated in several awards, *The Breadwinner*, was full of portrayal of women in the setting of Afghanistan under the Taliban rule. The tragic story was beautifully wrapped under the animated movie produced to show the real picture towards the world. The data are in the form of words, sentences and discourse spoken by male and female characters that represent the depiction of women. The data obtained are examined with the view of Sara Mills theory. It is found that in the movie, the women are represented as two opposing aspects: women representation as an object of man domination, and women as the subject who is able to speak out her mind and to decide independently.

Keywords: depiction, feminist stylistics, *The Breadwinner*, women

Introduction

As one artifact of how language is used by human to utter her idea, a text might carry more than the idea itself; it also represents the ideology that the writer believes. Van Dijk (2015, p. 466) says that “critical discourse analysis is discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”. It means that critical discourse analysis studies the production and maintenance of social-power misuse and inequality. Moreover, Ilinuha et al. (2013) in their article on critical discourse analysis argue that

the issue of identity questions the interrelationship between particular entities such as society, religion and culture. Understanding the changing issue of how people express themselves related to both social and cultural discourse seems necessary in order to achieve a constructive communication. (p. 262)

It means that the text, its producer, and readers are interrelated one another. By understanding the text produced, readers will be able to see what sort of identity that the producer would like to be related to. Through text, the producer can also

communicate to the readers and introduce a certain ideology without having a direct contact.

Texts are not immune to forces outside the texts, as Mills stated that “texts are invaded by the social cultural norms, by ideologies, by history, by economic forces, by fashions, by gender and racial stereotyping, and so on” (1998, p. 157). However, this does not mean that the author does not have any power or control over her work, rather that she is also subject to the interaction with those forces. Through analyzing the language that is used in the text, the readers will understand the meaning beyond the lines. To do so, the readers need tools, one of it is critical discourse analysis or CDA. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA sees discourse as a social practice. It means that there is a kind of dialogue between a discursive event and situation, institution, social structure that set the event.

Power is an important concept CDA. Using language as the vehicle, power has the capacity to implement and maintain a certain structure in society. Thus, studying the language used by a text critically, readers are able to locate power and how the power addresses them as readers. It shows the close relation between text and power, while CDA helps readers to scrutinize the text and withdraw themselves from being taken into the text as the power wants. CDA aims to reveal the hidden agenda of a text and suggests the readers not to accept anything as it is.

The Breadwinner (2017) was chosen as the text to analyze because of it was based on a true story. This movie is an animated drama movie directed by Nora Twomey and produced by Angelina Jolie. The movie was nominated as Best Animated Feature at the 90th Academy Awards. It is based on a bestselling novel written by Deborah Ellis, who had witnessed similar pictures in real life in Afghanistan under the control of Taliban. Though the story as well as the movie aim to show how women survive without the existence of men in Afghanistan contexts, still in some parts of the movie, the male domination lingers.

The purpose of this article is to find the representation of women by female and male characters in the movie. This article, thus explores how women are defined by men, how they are treated, and how they perceive themselves in the movie *The Breadwinner*. This article also investigates the subject-object position as well as reader position that are the main points of Feminist Stylistics, a CDA proposed by Sara Mills.

Feminist Stylistic by Sara Mills

Feminist Stylistic Approach deals with the representation of women in a text. This theory was proposed by Sara Mills (1998) to prove how women are often marginalized in social life even in a text. By looking at the words and sentences produced in a text to represent women, we can tell the ideology of the text writer.

This approach aims to explore the text writer's assumption or ideology through her/his writing style. Not only that, this approach also recognizes the actor position in a text, which one is the subject and which is the object. The third aim is to criticize how a writer and a reader are positioned in a text. The readers' expectation, their values, political affiliation, belief, and norms play an important role in presenting a text to the readers. And the fourth to see a person position through the narrative style and structure (1998, p.13).

Mills proposes three level of analysis (62 - 156) as follows:

- a. Word level analysis, focusing on sexism language and its meaning in the text.
- b. Sentence level analysis, looking at naming, ready made phrase, metaphor, transitivity choice, jokes/humor which carry ideology that look down on female.
- c. Discourse level analysis, scrutinizing the character/role, fragmentation, focalization and schemata.

Besides analysing the actor position in the text, Mills also sees how writers and readers are addressed by the text. The unfair representations of female are seen from two main points subject-object position and reader position. Considering the subject-object position, Mills believes that media is not neutral. It is affected by the position of power around it, that is, the text might represents female as object due to male domination over the text creation. Meanwhile, reader position point sees how the readers of the text are addressed by the text, whether they are considered as female or male. This is important to see what ideology the writer plays throughout the text.

Method

The data was taken from the movie entitled *The Breadwinner*. The words and sentences taken were those related to represent women in Afghanistan. The English subtitle of the movie was used to help locating and understanding the words and sentences well. The novel *Parvana* was used as a supplement to the data taken from the movie, since the movie is made based on the novel written by Deborah Ellis.

This study employs some procedures. First English subtitle was scrutinized to decide which words and sentences belong to the data. Then the data were categorized according to the speaker: male and female. The data were also classified into words, sentences, and discourse to match the theory proposed by Sara Mills. Next step was interpreting the words, sentences, and discourse found to see the pattern that can be used to conclude the style of the writer. The data taken from the movie was accompanied by the frames captured from the movie to give a clear understanding and authentic data. To enrich the discussion, the data obtained was compared to the data taken from the novel.

Findings and Discussion

The finding and discussion will be presented under several sub-categories. The first is the representation of woman seen from several points of view and the second is discussion of the position of subject – object as well as the position of reader, and the third is the text interpretation in general.

Representation of women

The discussion of women representation in the movie *The Breadwinner* begins with the representation done by male character. The setting of the movie was Afghanistan in the era of Taliban. Being conquered by Taliban, the people of Afghanistan had to follow the rule, the order that was set by the conqueror. The rules were mostly captivated women and children living in Afghanistan. Some rules for women can be concluded from several frames in the movie through the dialogues spoken by male characters that obey Taliban. The main rule was that women must not go out of the house without men. This rule resulted to several

conditions, one of which was that no women were seen in the market. The economics activities were done by men, while women would stay and wait at home. The sellers must not sell things to women. It was proven by the frames taken from the movie.



6

00:01:55,920 --> 00:01:57,832

I saw you serve a woman!

It was stated in the movie, Taliban, represented by male character, had already made a rule for women. It was said that they had determined a specific dignity for women. The complete rule can be seen as follow:

70

00:04:50,480 --> 00:04:53,757

We have determined
specific dignity for women!

71

00:04:53,760 --> 00:04:55,592

Women should not go outside

72

00:04:55,600 --> 00:04:58,069

and attract
unnecessary attention!

73

00:04:58,120 --> 00:04:59,998

If a woman shows herself,

74

00:05:00,000 --> 00:05:02,605

she will be cursed
by Islamic Sharia

75

00:05:02,640 --> 00:05:04,757

and should never
expect to go to heaven.

Disobeying this rules, women were not going to heaven after they past away.

The sympathizer of Taliban checked the market and watched if anyone disobey the rule. If women have to go out of their house, they should be accompanied by their husband or brother. Even when the women have no choice, whenever they disobeyed this rule, they would be punished by being beaten in the street and being told to go home, “the place where they belong” according to Taliban rule.



230
00:13:28,240 --> 00:13:31,074
Why are you out here by
yourself? Where is your husband?



231
00:13:31,160 --> 00:13:32,913
- I... I have no choice!
- It's not permitted to be



232
00:13:32,920 --> 00:13:35,037
out here without your
husband or your brother.

From the frames above, it can be seen that whenever going out, women have to wear Burkha (a cloth to cover their head). This Burkha does not allow the women to see the road clearly, since it only consists a small net in the eyes part that gives a limited view.

One of male character, Idrees, considered women as a kind of thing that should be kept away from the crowd. It is seen from the expression he said when he saw Parvana in the market. Idress said that a girl should not draw attention to herself:



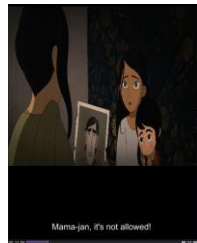
97
00:05:55,440 --> 00:05:57,238
She's drawing attention
to herself!



98
00:05:57,240 --> 00:05:59,277
She should be at home,
not displaying herself

The word display shows that women was represented as a thing.

The next discussion on representation of women is taken from utterances spoken by female characters. Female characters in the movie were depicted to be submissive to Taliban rule. One example was when Parvana disagreed to go with her mother to find her father:



217

00:12:05,680 --> 00:12:07,717

Mama-jan, it's not allowed!

Women were also portrayed as stereotype of having long hair (which she has to take care of), doing the cleaning and taking care of food and clothes. They also had to be ready to become a 'gift' from a family presented to another family who had male that was looking for a wife. Parvana's sister had to be ready and willing when her mother told her to marry their cousin from other city in order to survive.

Female characters are also looked down for their existence as human being equals to men. A simple scene when Parvana took raisins, Sorraya, her sister, forbade her to eat them. Soraya said that the raisins were for Zaki, their younger brother. The family ate together, but the father (man) should take their portion first. Although the family did not agree to the Taliban rule, they still maintain the patriarchy within their family. The conservation to the patriarchy was done by female characters.

However, the female character of Parvana was also portrayed differently. Losing her father and seeing her mother was beaten by male in the street, Parvana gained her courage to go to the market to buy food for their family. Instead of getting some food, she lost all the money she had. After a night of deep consideration, she cut her hair and wore her late brother clothes, pretended to be a boy. She went to the market and succeeded to buy some food for her family. She gained confident and went to the market everyday to find a job and becoming the breadwinner for her family.

As a girl Parvana had an important role within her family. Although she had older sister, Sorraya, Parvana owned a position to replace her father's position. She even acknowledged that she had provided her family with enough food. She assured her mother that she could take care of the family matters, until she found a way to save her father from prison. It is seen from the frame below:



992

01:05:19,200 --> 01:05:21,635

Why? I provide
for you just fine!

Although education for children and women were banned at that time, Parvana's father, who was a teacher before Taliban came, told his children stories. He also taught them to read and write. Parvana was good at making up a story, she used to soothe her brother with her story. Unfortunately, in her story she created a male hero who saved his city. She named him Sulayman, who happened to be the name of her late brother whose clothes she wore. Parvana even owed the courage from the shadow of her brother Sulayman, who lives in her made up story.

Subject-object and reader position

This movie addressed women as both subject and object. Some parts of the movie portrayed women as the object since the movie depicted the real women condition in Afghanistan under Taliban. As objects, women were not counted, their voice was not heard. However, through the female main character, Parvana, this movie also addressed women as the subject. As subjects, women, through the character of Parvana, had the control over the actions they did. Parvana did not ask anybody to consider her decision of cutting her hair and pretended to be a boy. Nobody told her to save her family and her father, she decided herself.

It was also her own choice to go to prison to find her father and did several things to save him:



1004

01:05:48,160 --> 01:05:50,277

Let me go see him before
we leave.

Parvana had already planned to gain some money to bribe the prison guard to let her father go. She did not want to ruin her plan, although her mother asked her to obey her and stayed at home until their relative from other city came to pick them.

Meanwhile, this movie positioned its viewers (readers) as women who need to know the difficult conditions of women in Afghanistan under Taliban. This movie assumes that the readers will agree to the statement concerning gender that women equal to men. The movie also focalized the voice of muted women and children in Afghanistan in the time of the story. Readers are asked to join the feeling and experience the hardships that were experienced by the female characters.

Interpretation

Although this movie aims to portray women in Afghanistan under the control of Taliban, it also emphasizes on the struggle of the women to survive. It shows that this movie takes side to support the women actions to liberate themselves. Unfortunately, the imaginary story told by Parvana spoils the picture of strong women. The movie appreciates women to have courage to liberate, but at the same time it reminds women that they cannot survive without men. This kind of duality shows how deep patriarchy is rooted within human's life, even when a son has passed away, he still lives as a hope.

As a strong girl, Parvana did not realize of the thing she was able of doing. While her mother, Fattima, finally found her strength after she was about to lose her life and she had to save her first daughter, Sorraya, and her baby boy, Zaki.

This shows that the institutionalized culture by Taliban was deeply rooted, making each individual loses her strength and confident to decide and act upon her life.

Compared to the novel version, the movie was considered inconsistency in the portraying the struggle of women in Afghanistan. The movie version imprisoned Parvana through the story she created, in which a boy became the story hero. While in the novel version, the made up story about Sulayman was not found. The movie sadly used male character as the hero, as the subject, above Parvana, making the depiction of Parvana as strong girl soften and still marginalized by the shadow of her late brother.

Conclusion

Using CDA, especially feminist stylistics approach, this article has shown that *The Breadwinner* represents women as two opposing dimensions. The first, women representation is as an object of man domination, represented by Taliban, in Afghanistan context. The second representation is that women becomes the subject, being able to speak on behalf of her own way of thinking, being able to take decision on what to do next.

The discussion has also shown that although this movie tried to take readers to see what happened to women in Taliban in the hope that women all over the world support one another, still the phantom of patriarchy lingers. The use of story made up by Parvana to calm the situation spoils the strong representation of women, due to the creation of male hero in the story. It seems that it wants to perpetuate the statement that women can not survive without men. However, the story that Parvana made up was only found in the movie, while in the original novel version this story was not found.

Feminist stylistics has suggested ways to approach texts and reveal the *latent* condition carried by the text, especially related to gender issues. A text carries its writer ideology and the elements around the text making. As readers, reading the text critically will help to understand the hidden agenda that the text would like to convey. A text, like *The Breadwinner*, tries to communicate with the readers in two ways directions. First, the text conveys the message from the author, and second the readers perceive the text as a tool to focalize their marginalized conditions.

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CHILD MARRIAGE IN SHORT STORIES FROM INDONESIA AND BANGLADESH: VICTOR, SURVIVOR, AND VICTIM

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Abstract

Early marriage is a total destruction to the human rights of children. Contrary to the conviction that child marriage in rural, developing countries is inextricably linked with their cultural backwardness, violence against women need to be examined and addressed in terms of the specific socio-economic and cultural conditions as to why girls, adolescents and young women are forced to live and marry in their young age. This article examines two short stories from Indonesia to be analyzed comparatively with another story from Bangladesh to show the limit of mainstream feminist perspectives that often put the blame on minority cultures. The present study reveals that first, child marriages in both countries are largely driven by such factors as poverty, economic dependency, lack of education, and dowry in Bangladesh's case. Secondly, the ways in which authors depict child marriages vary, i.e. it is either perpetuating the violence in child marriage, or critically depicting child marriage as an aberrant patriarchal practice. Taken together, the child brides play their respective role as victor, survivor, or victim.

Keywords: child marriage, feminism, normalization, multiculturalism

Introduction

In 2011, the world was shocked by the heartbreaking news of child marriage practices in different parts of the world shown in the cover of the *National Geographic* magazine by the photographer Stephanie Sinclair for her article entitled "Too Young to Wed" (Harlan, 2015). It features a red-veiled girl Surita Shreshta Balami, 16, screaming in protest over a marriage procession that carries her to a new home with her husband Bishal Shrestha Balamani, 15, in the village of Kagati, Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. Since witnessing the horrific events in 2003 when several young girls in one province in Afghanistan burnt themselves rather than being forced to marry, Sinclair was a determined advocate to end this cruel practice. The young girls she interviewed testified that they chose to die than to live a terrible life under such torture as rape, abortion and divorce. Sinclair said that early marriage was performed in at least 50 countries in the world with a startling number, i.e. 39,000 marriages every single day. It means that two girls

per second were sacrificed in forced marriages, sometimes with men who are much older. Sinclair's photos paved the way for the formation of a non-profit foundation "Too Young to Wed" which she built in 2012.

This article is to discuss the representation of early marriage in two short stories set Indonesia and one short story from Bangladesh. It would seem that in both Bangladesh and Indonesia, as in other less developed countries, the practice of child marriage is largely driven by socio-economic factors, including poverty, economic dependency, financial incentives and the practice of dowry, as well as lack of access to education and health services.

As reported in the *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition* (2012), 82% of women in Bangladesh aged 20-49 years got married before the age of 18 years, and 63% of marriages took place before the age of 16 years. There have been attempts to lower the number of child marriage that is proven to be harmful for the health of the mother and child, either through formal and informal education as well as the revision of the law that set the age limit for the minimal age of 19 for marriage in the country.

Although there are already laws that restrict early marriage, Indonesia, likewise, is ranked seventh among the ten countries with the highest number of child marriage; while India and Bangladesh are on the, respectively, first and second place. In Indonesia, Article 7 of Law No. 1 of the 1974 Marriage Law allows marriage only if the man has reached the age of 19 years and 16 years for the woman. It is also stipulated by the law that the basis for a marriage is the consent of the bride; and that of the parents for the bride who is not yet 21 years old. Dispensation against the age limit may be granted by the Court or other officers appointed by the parents of both sides (Susetyo, 2010). However, according to *Plan International, Getting The Evidence: Asian Child-Marriage Initiative* (2015), an estimated one out of every five girls in Indonesia get married before the age of 18 years. Child marriage in Indonesia is more common in rural areas. West Sulawesi, for example, is recorded as the region with the highest rate of child marriage before the age of 15 because some people regard this practice as a cultural tradition that has long been rooted. The community accept it as part of the social structure, hence they rarely question about the effects and consequences posed by early marriages.

Suffice to say that for now, early marriage is not infrequently associated with the normalization of violence of men against women and children (girls). Such marriage is often seen as a way out for the bad stigma that afflicts a girl due to a sexual experience outside of wedlock, victim of rape, and various other forms of sexual abuse. The aim of this article is to examine how male cruelty toward (young) women is imagined and often taken for granted as being a normal practice in different ways in different countries, like Bangladesh and Indonesia; and how the varied interpretations thereof are respectively represented in the three child bride's stories.

Literature View

There is an assumption that women of the minority groups (read: Eastern, non-Western) have become victims of their own culture. Cultural practices within the multicultural society often appear conflicting with the feminist views (from the West) in reading the ways men treat women. Women in the third world culture

are considered more subordinate compared to experienced women in the Western world, as it has been discussed at length and refuted by, for example, Mohanty (1988), Suleri (1992) and Ang (2003).

While it may be true that many values in a multicultural society are not pro-women (Okin, 1998), Volpp (2001) proposes a constructive dialogue of feminism-multiculturalism in order to revisit the biased opinions of the European feminism. That minority culture is often seen to oppress women is a view that comes from the colonial ideology. So imposing is this view that it claims the superiority of the rational Western culture vis-à-vis the barbaric and irrational other. In addition to the historical legacy of colonialism, Volpp considers the origins of liberalism, the depiction of the feminist subject, and the use of binary logic that have all obscured cultural strengths and multicultural experience of women's life. Indeed, multicultural/minority culture itself is never static but constantly changing and negotiable with the times. Such a crude feminism perspective retains the patriarchy, cruelty and the overturning of the dignity of women it otherwise seeks to challenge. Therefore, an analysis of early marriages in literature will be placed in the context of gender studies with postcolonial perspectives. Using the tri-prong strategy of feminism-multiculturalism-postcolonialism, the discussion aims to reveal the power-relations and their implications that occur in the three stories chosen to discuss.

Findings and Discussion

Précis of the Short Stories

The first story by Ahmad Tohari, "Minem Gave Birth to a Baby" (English version of "Si Minem Beranak Bayi") is set in a dry limestone hill village in Indonesia where Kasdu rushes back home to meet his 14-year-old wife Minem who has just given birth to a premature baby – 2 months ahead of time. The baby is forced out from Minem's womb when she falls downhill with a large earthen jar full of water in her hand. Kasdu is too lazy to fetch some water from the other neighboring village when a prolonged drought hit the region. Still puzzled by the incident, the young father walks his way quickly to see his in-laws to tell the news only to meet Minem's father who is equally baffled that his child can produce a child. Impatient by her husband's exaggerated response, Minem's mother reprimands him that she too was 14 when giving birth to Minem. Still amazed, Minem's father puts a proud smile on his face thinking how easily his daughters meet their soul mates; Next month the family is to celebrate the wedding of Minem's sister, twelve-year-old Minah.

The second story "Inem" was written by the famous Indonesian writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer after his release from 29-month-imprisonment by the Dutch Indies government. Presumably a semi-autobiographical in nature, the story is told by a six-year-old boy Muk (also Pram's nickname) about a girl two years older than he is who stays with his family to help Muk's mother cooking in the kitchen or, at times, accompanying Muk and his younger siblings to play. Till one day Inem tells the narrator that she is going to get married. Not only Muk, his mother is also baffled because Inem is only a child. When Inem's mother who lives nearby comes to take the girl back, argument ensues between Muk's mother and Inem's mother. Mbok Inem is determined to marry her daughter off with 17-year-old Markaban, son of a wealthy cattle trader, ignoring as she does Muk's

mother advice to avoid child marriage for health reason. Inem's marriage however is not a happy one, for Markaban is a sex maniac and wife-beater. Having divorced her husband, Inem begs Muk's mother to return to the family again whilst asking for protection. To the child narrator's disappointment, his noble decent mother refuses to let the 9-year-old divorcee stay in the house with male children out of respect.

Set against women's daily life in Bangladesh, the last short story "Seduction" by Razia Sultana Khan tells of Halima, a girl who is forced into a marriage at a young age. Her routine chore involves helping her mother-in-law preparing meals for the family in the morning and serving the husband's needs of the flesh in the evening. Halima's husband quickly makes Halima tired of life in a marriage without love. During the daytime, the lonely wife is often caught stealing glances through the slats on the window of her room facing Aga Sadeque Road, as she is waiting for the touring cinema to pass by. The mother-in-law then makes her busy with embroidery work, until one afternoon, Halima is attracted by the charm of a young *chai* peddler who looks more manly and muscular than her thin, pale husband. Halima is thrilled and with mixed feeling receives the *chai* from him brought to her by nine-year-old Ahsan, the son of Halima's neighbor. In fact, Chai Bhaia gives this free sherbet drinks to everyone for free before selling it later for one paisa per cup. When the much awaiting Chaiwallah is no longer seen selling *chai* on a pushcart for he is now selling it in a tea shop, Halima willingly gives four paisa to Ahsan to get her *chai* nonetheless.

Theory Application

All girls in "Minem Gave Birth to a Baby", "Inem, and "Seduction" are married to men from rich families when they are very young, respectively, 13, 8, and 16, to alleviate each family's financial problem. To begin with the story set in Bangladesh, Halima is expected to help reduce the burden of the family. In India and most South Asian countries including Bangladesh, the tradition surrounding early marriage, dowry, and arranged marriage still continue since colonial times, especially in rural areas, because this custom is loaded with religious, political, and financial systems (Subramanian, 2010). Poverty is one of the main reasons why Bangladeshi families marry off their daughters. In addition, the marriage of children reduces the financial hardship of the family which is then passed on to the daughters. "You'll be the oldest daughter-in-law", Halima's mother says, "you will be respected and ... have responsibilities." (Khan, 2010, p. 119). The girl who still loves to romp in the yard with her little friends, two birds named Tuni and Mooni, is suddenly disconnected from the world of her childhood. Her husband's family house is larger and more comfortable to his mother's home. In the daytime, however, the space and mobility of the young wife is confined to a narrow room in order not to interconnect with life around her. The husband's family is certain that by getting Halima locked up in her room, she is not to touch the outside world. The following passage describes Halima's cultural bondage.

Helping her to settle into the customs in their house, Halima's husband had mentioned the windows. "We always have the slats pointing downwards; otherwise there's no privacy in this room." He had paused, then added, "Ma is very particular about this."

As the days passed Halima did notice that whenever her mother-in-law came to her room, her eyes invariably went to the slats even as she talked to Halima. (Khan, 2010, p. 121)

Here, Halima is given the responsibility, but the right is not given to her – the right to mingle, the right to gain entertainment, the right to be free to live a normal daily life for girls of her age.

Victimization continues in the story. Sexual maturity is quickly obtained by Halima because almost every night she is made an object of sexual satisfaction by her husband. Being treated as an object of lust, not only does she live an unhappy marriage life, she is also prone to physical damage. Child marriage is but sexual exploitation the way prostitution is (Mikhail, 2002). It should also be borne in mind that WHO, UNICEF, and NGOs around the world have established grounds for criminalization on destruction of the reproductive organs suffered by the child bride. The decline in the number of early marriages in Bangladesh, according to Kamal, has increased the country's maternal and child health index (2012, p. 317). Women and children become victims of violence in marriage at a young age, both physical and psychosocial violence.

If seen through gender studies, "Seduction" offers a narrative of violations of women's rights, but there is no solution in them. Halima is depicted as a *femme fatale* or seductive female (Dewi, 2016: 130). The appearance of female trappers with aura of enchantment and mystery always color the literary works since the ancient and classical (see Braun, 2012), until the contemporary times primarily in novels and western films at the end of the 20th century. Such characters as Delilah, Salome, Cleopatra, Helen of Troy get transformed into beautiful girls in the James Bond film. This kind of objectification is inseparable from Orientalist view which became the core of postcolonial studies (Dewi, 2018).

Though there is no infidelity between Halima and the chai man, "adultery" through the eyes is plainly illustrated as she peeks through the window admiring how well-built the young man is:

[The biceps] bulged through the half sleeve of his safari shirt as he stood poised over the cup of tea with the heavy kettle in the midair. She wondered how it would feel to the touch. She closed her eyes and a stillness came over her, and when she opened her eyes the stillness was mirrored in the eyes of the Chaiwallah. His left brow shot up and he gave his quirky smile. Halima's heart thundered away but she did not lower her eyes. (Khan, 2010: 128)

The passage above betrays typical sex-innocence of a young woman. Instead, it depicts Halima's sexual/sensual repressions. It is clear here that the narrator put the female character in her position as a victim. Until the story ends, the more obvious is the weakness of Halima. Despite her seemingly rebellious manner as shown in her taking a peek and even sneakily buying tea for herself, the young woman is on the losing side. When Chaiwallah no longer passes in front of her window for he is now working in a coffee shop, Halima continues to send Ahsan to buy a cup of chai even if she has to pay four times more expensive. Here, instead of breaking the rope of violence against her, Halima in reality accepts the conditions and consequences of early marriage, that is, the marriage that has made the child bride physically and spiritually burdened.

Similarly, “Inem” is evidence that young girls are wed to ease the family’s economic problem. The story is one of Pram’s early works along with 10 other short stories compiled in *Stories from Blora*. “The twenty-nine months in the Dutch captivity to Pram is a time of experience, mentality, thought and imagination that matures and enriches the soul,” H. B. Jasin writes in his introduction to the reprinted edition of the short stories collection (in Toer, 1994, p. vi). Indeed, Pram’s childhood experiences, criticism of the feudal culture, and his anxiety over the justice in society are characteristic of the works of the Maestro (Hatley, 1980; Dewi, 2013).

Child marriage is considered commonplace among families living in the poor area that becomes the setting of Pram’s story. It would seem that Inem, like probably most girls in her kampong, is thrilled when telling her little young master about her marriage: “The proposal came a week ago. My folks and all my other relatives think it’s a good idea.” Though astonished that Inem is only two years older than him, Muk comments cheerfully, “Wow! That’ll be fun!” (Toer, 2004, p. 31) That marriage means alleviation of poverty is apparent in Inem’s enthusiastic rejoinder described below:

“It sure will,” she agreed. “They’ll buy me all these beautiful new clothes. And I’ll get to wear a bride’s dress and have flowers in my hair and powder, mascara, and eye shadow. I’m going to like that!” (Toer, 2004, pp. 31-32)

Conversely, Muk’s mother, who is of higher social status, gives a different reaction thus: “And just a child! Eight years old. Such a shame. But they need money, I suppose, and the only way to get it is by marrying off their daughter.” (Toer, 2004, p. 37) The mother character who is reportedly inspired by Pram’s own mother tries hard to explain to Inem’s mother not to let Inem get married in such a young age by repeatedly saying “It’s not right for children to marry” for fear that “their children will be stunted [and] their health will be poorly affected” (Toer, 2004, pp. 35-36). As a note in passing, the Acting Director of Reproductive Health, National Population and Family Planning Agency (BKKBN) Widwiono recently claims that a mother younger than 18 years old is incapable of taking care of her baby optimally (cited in *KOMPAS*, August 2, 2018, p. 10). The same report says that based on the 2012 Indonesian Demographic and Health Survey, the maternal mortality rate reached 359 deaths per 100,000 births.

But the effort of Muk’s mother to explain about the risk of early marriage is fruitless because Inem’s mother unwaveringly believes that nothing is wrong about early marriage. Having previously detailed Inem’s future husband, i.e., Markaban son of a rich man and an only child, Mbok Inem is puzzled why Muk’s mother should be overly worried about Inem’s getting marriage. Pram describes the different views between the two women as follows.

“I’m sure you’re right, ma’am, but my own family is long-lived. My mother is still alive and she’s at least fifty-nine. My grandmother is living, too. She must be about seventy-four. And she’s still strong, strong enough to pound corn, anyway.”

Still ignoring her, Mother added, “Especially if the husband is young, too.”

“Of course, ma’am, but Markaban is seventeen.”

“Seventeen! My husband was thirty when he married me.” (Toer, 2004, p. 36)

The conversation between the two women of different social status concerning early marriage clearly shows the gulf that socially separates them. Pram’s criticism to feudalism is shown by the term “Ndoro” (in the original version of the story) meaning “Ma’am” used by Inem’s mother to address the narrator’s mother (see Toer, 1994, p. 41). Thus, by showing two contrasting concepts of marriage and its consequences, Pram underscores the economic and educational disparities that fertilize early marriage practices. This short story also offers a counter-ideology against child marriage, which in this case is represented by the upper-middle class family like the mother of Muk. The characterization of narrator’s mother breaks the assumption that all third-world women passively accept the oppression and subordination of patriarchal ideology.

Pram’s criticism of child marriage is put in the mouth of 6-year-old Muk who cannot stand hearing Inem’s screaming in pain when beaten and forced to serve the biological needs of her husband. As such, this short story effectively calls for justice for the weak and the marginalized. Whenever Muk ask his mother why Inem is crying out “in time with a thudlike sound and then pounding on a door”, Mother gives this simple answer: “They’re fighting.” (Toer, 2004, p. 42) If Muk urges again why Inem and her husband should fight, Muk’s mother never gives him a satisfactory answer but saying this only: “Such a pity, such a poor little thing...” (Toer, 2004, p. 43) Thus, through postcolonial reading, Pram’s cynical comment is all the more palpable in the closing paragraph: “I’d often hear her cries of pain and when she screamed, I cover my ears with my hands. Meanwhile, Mother continued to uphold propriety and the family’s good name.” (Toer, 2004, p. 47)

Like Inem as well as the Bangladeshi child bride Halima, Minem and her sibling in Tohari’s short story also wed in their young age – all marry into money. In both stories with Indonesian (Java) settings, however, early marriage for girls is not only economical but it also makes the parents proud. Through the characterization of Minem’s father, it is inferred that having his two daughters “fly fast off the shelves” makes him delighted (Tohari, 2015, p. 33). One can compare Minem’s father here with the anxiety shown by Inem’s mother in Pram’s story discussed earlier should her daughter accept no marriage proposal, saying: “I just feel lucky someone’s proposed [...] and if we let this proposal go by, there might not be another one. Imagine the shame of having a daughter become an old maid! Besides, once she’s married she might even be able to help lighten the load around the house.” (Toer, 2004, p. 34) It is clear here that for the Javanese society in the 1950s (and perhaps even today), early marriage for daughters makes the family brim with pride.

When compared to Halima and Inem, it would seem that Minem belongs to women survivors, not victims. The male characters, ironically, come across as timid, if not to say cowardice. Not only is Kasdu cast as lazy, but he is also weak. Tohari describes how this husband of Minem is impressed with “how Minem bore the extreme pain...held her breath and contracted her belly so that the baby would be pushed out.” (Tohari, 2015, p. 29) Although Kasdu is concerned about the safety of Minem and her baby, negligence of his pregnant wife is a form of violence.

It is also interesting to look further at the actions of Kasdu's father-in-law. Unlike Kasdu, Minem's father seems less concerned about the pain of his own child. After being rebuked by his wife not to over-respond to the birth of her premature grandchild, the man said: "Yes, yes. But I'm still amazed. It turns out that not only a mature woman can give birth to a baby, a little girl can do it also." (Tohari, 2015, p. 33) Now it is clear that in this short story, normalization of violence is delivered in a joking tone. Minem's father's jokes about babies that are likened to eggs or meat are but verbal violence. The feminist perspectives help to uncover Tohari's criticism of marriage at a young age that harms women vis-à-vis male egoism.

Nevertheless, reading this short story with emphatic understanding accompanied by a sense of taste, one can see that the tradition of early marriage is but common existence in poor areas. Tohari extensively described Minem's arid village where "little boys with cracked skin" scavenged dry twigs and broken branches for firewood and *gadung* yam, cassava remnants in stony soil (Tohari, 2015, p. 28). Tohari's depiction of hollow in the ground that used to be a stream without a single drop of water, dried molten trees, rock-hard soils, and so forth helps reinforce the picture of people who live in poverty. For this impoverished population, child marriage is a solution. The paradoxical effect is juxtaposed herein: the dryness of nature and the fertility of the child bride's womb.

Conclusion

This article has shown that there are similarities and differences in "Seduction", "Inem", and "Minem Gave Birth to a Baby" in representing child marriage. They all open with events experienced by the female characters who are married at their young age. Life does not immediately become good after these women put an abrupt end to their childhood – a time of playing and schooling. The extent to which the female characters can be seen as victims, survivors, or victors of early marriage differs from one case to another and to the third. The story from Bangladesh by Khan depicts Halima the child bride as a victim of patriarchy, while the Indonesian child brides in the stories relatively survive the hardship of following early marriage tradition. Pram's Inem however is not as successful as Tohari's Minem. Although both young women endure the difficulty, the former is left out, while the latter is welcomed by the family.

This study has also shown that the varied imaginations of child marriage in the stories studied are inseparable from the cultural context upon which each story is drawn. Apparently, "Seduction" is presented to readers in the Western world who tend to assume that the exploitation of women is but exoticism of the local culture, particularly through the depiction of sexual repression experienced by the main character, i.e. a copied figure of temptress in Western literature. Conversely, child marriage in "Minem Gave Birth to a Baby" is displayed with a little jest as a natural, everyday thing and there is no element of coercion in the matter, since early marriage has been a long-standing practice in the village that becomes the setting of the story. The normalization of violence in Tohari's short story is thus proven through the presence of a tough and self-controlled female character, while in Khan's, the young woman character comes across as troubled and repressed. But criticism against child marriage is most obvious in "Inem" in that normalization of violence perpetrated by men against women is scarcely shown

herein. There is an attempt, even if it fails, to break the violence of child marriage in this early story of Pram

Therefore, this paper concludes that victimization toward child brides in the three stories occurs in varying degrees. The female protagonists are all too young to wed; and, worse still, they are too weak to defend themselves against patriarchal system. Gender issues in the story from Bangladesh, however, are not the same when placed within the context of the Indonesian stories. In the hope of ending the practice of early marriage, these short stories have all invited further reading to reveal the complexity of gender and multicultural cultures as diverse as Bangladesh and Indonesia. When more transformative writing and reading of child bride stories is available, the world would require no more heart-rending stories to put an end to early marriage like those reported in the *National Geographic* magazine quoted in the beginning of this article.

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FUNCTIONS OF METAPHOR IN THE LYRICS OF RAYOLA'S SONG

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Abstract

This study aims to show some of the functions of the metaphor used in the lyrics of Rayola's song. Rayola is a singer of Minang's songs from Padang. The method used in this research is qualitative research in three stages: stage the provision of data, data analysis, and presentation of the results of the data analysis. Sources of data in the form of a song sung by Rayola, consisting of 8 albums Rayola ever published and commercialized. The theory used in this research is the theory of metaphor which is initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as well as the theory of metaphor functions according to Stefanowitsch (2005). The results of this study revealed that there are at least seven functions of metaphor contained in the lyrics of Rayola's song 1) to concrete human experience, 2) creating space imagination, 3) soften the language, 4) means to achieve aesthetic effects, 5) to attract attention, 6) to beautify the tone, and 7) pleasing to be heard.

Keywords: metaphor, metaphor functions, folk songs, Rayola, Minangkabau

Introduction

Discussion of the song can not be separated from the use of language in the lyrics. The song is a blast expressive feelings or thoughts are issued regularly in the form of sound. Waluyo (1987: 1) explains that the songs we listen to are not merely beautiful language, but the content of his poetry moreover capable of entertaining humans. The beauty of a song lies in diction or choice of words used. Style of language or style becomes problem or part of diction or choice of words to question whether or not suitable use of words, phrases or specific clauses to a particular situation (Keraf, 2009: p.112).

The lyrics of the song has a typical style of the beautiful language, but full of meaning. Semi (1988: p.106) states lyric is a short poem that expresses emotions. The words in the song composed by the author with considering both aesthetics shades of meaning of words, diction appropriate tones, and other creative elements. When separated from the elements of the music, the melody, rhythm, rhyme, and preparation lines and stanzas, the lyrics can be analyzed as text (Sudjiman 1992: P.64).

Rayola is a Minang's singer who has a distinctive vocal sound and talented. It proved she successfully issued 8 albums consisting of 1) Hanyo Punyo Cinto, 2) Takana Kasiah Di Pakanbaru, 3) Rindukan Ayah, 4) Cinto Tak Sampai, 5) Manikam Jajak, 6) Basandiang Bukan Jo Cinto, 7) Luko Batahan Surang, and 8) Pakasiah Tak Baramuan. In the lyrics of her songs performed are found metaphors that are used as figurative language as well as a means to convey a message.

Metaphor is a way to solicit ideas, ideas or other things that are used in the lyrics of Rayola's song. The purpose of the use of metaphors for several reasons. These reasons can be concerned about the beauty and cognitive function. It is considered important due to the function studied more deeply is deemed important enough. In addition as a garnish language of metaphor function is very useful for the composer and the audience / listener. The purpose of this study only focuses on the function of metaphor contained in the lyrics of Rayola's song. The function is meant metaphorically function as a figure of speech.

Metaphor comes from the Greek (meta and pheron), meta meaning more while pheron which means move. It's a figure of speech in which a word or phrase used to describe one who does not have a literal reference (McGlune, 2007: p.109). Kridalaksana (2008: p.152) is the use of another word or phrase to another object or concept is based on figurative or equation. In line with the statement, Chaer (1984) and Keraf (2009) say that metaphor is a kind of analogy that compares two things directly, but in the short form.

In studies using metaphor theory initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). In their book, the metaphor we live by, they argue that:

"The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Thus Spake Our conceptual system plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

Directly, through their statement, they wanted to convey that metaphor is not only appears in humans but it can also appear in everyday life, in the experience, and human actions.

The basic structure of metaphor is very simple consists of two things: something that is being discussed (compared) and something that is used as a comparison. If the two are close together, the metaphor would appear yet expressive quality of nothing at all. Conversely, if the distance between these two things pretty much, the more effective metaphor (Sumarsono, p. 2012: 265-266).

According to Richard (1972: p.97), the theory of metaphor can be seen that the metaphor has three main elements in it, namely: 1) vehicle or the source domain is the domain that serves as a means to convey a metaphor in the form of words or figurative expression itself. 2) tenor or the target domain that contains ideas, concepts, objects described, discussed, figured, symbolized, and compared 3) ground or a sense that is similarities between the vehicle and the tenor in the form of a relation equation can be objective: the shape, place, character, or any

combination in between and similarities emotive, concept, function, and socio-cultural.

In connection with the function of metaphor, there are two hypothesis: Stylistics Hypothesis and Cognitive Hypothesis (Stefanowitsch, 2005). Stylistics Hypothesis refers to the ornamental function, namely that the metaphorical expression is believed to be ornate language used. Cognitive Hypothesis refers to cognitive function, namely that the expression of metaphors contains concepts that form an integral experience in everyday life.

Metaphor functions referred to in this article is referring to the use of interest metaphorical expression that has the power or force that exceeds the literal sense of the phrase. Owned power metaphorical expression consists of intensify, refine, transform diversity, beautify, facilitate a concept is understood. The basic five power which is based on the underlying function sequentially metaphor related to concretize, refine, emotive function and other functions.

Method

This research uses three stages: stage research providing data, stage of data analysis, and presentation of the results of data analysis. At the provision of data using Simak methods (Sudaryanto, 1988:), the researcher observed attentively the language in the lyrics of Rayola's song that uses the metaphor. After the data is found, classified into certain parts by the realm of metaphor sources. Furthermore, the data recorded in the data card.

At data analysis stage using a Padan Method (Sudaryanto, 1993: p.13), the method of determining the data analysis is outside, apart, and do not become part of the language (language) concerned or studied. Data were analyzed is determined by means of deciding which of the mental power possessed sorting researcher then followed by a referential sorting techniques. Furthermore, using comparison technique that appeal equate which is equate principal staple in the realm from the source and the target domains. Translational technique is also required in this study in order to change the Minang language to Indonesian.

At the stage of presentation of the data analysts use informal methods and formal methods (Sudaryanto, 1993: p.145), using a formulation of words can even with its technical terminology and use the formulation signs or symbols.

Findings and Discussion

Some findings about the function of metaphor contained in the lyrics Rayola's song can be structured as follows.

to Concrete Human Experience

The things that are abstract in life can be concretized by using metaphors. Abstract objects that can not be captured by sensory can be illustrated with the help of metaphors. How is an abstract object that can be concretized is a mechanism that is unique. Through a complicated metaphor can be explained with a simple, consider the following offerings:

1. takuik ko duri cinto manusuk hati
afraid this love's thorn stabs heart
'afraid thorn this love stabs heart (1.RUS.2)

2. *tasamsam duri cinto*
be touched thorn's love
'be touched thorn's love' (4.B.6)

Through metaphor, the concept of love can be explained and be seen in example (1). Abstract's love then is figured with the word *duri*. the word *duri* juxtaposed with the word love is a metaphor. Love is figured as a thorn, it can hurt, stabbing or can injure. Of those referred to in this metaphor is the love that is 'thorns' may barb. Through the realm of plant sources can be prefigured the concept of love. A similar concept can be seen in the example (2) love is figured as a strap that is a depiction of love that can bind like a rope. Abstract's love realm source can be concretized with inanimate objects that rope.

Creating Space Imagination

Space imagination is a picture in the mind of the something without direct experience through the senses. Imagination (KBBI, 2008: p.526) is the power of thought to imagine (in fantasy), or creating images (paintings, essays, etc.) the event is based on reality or experience of a person; delusion. In this case, that meant imagination in the metaphor is to imagine a pattern or concept of something through a metaphor. This happens because of the power of imagination that appear as a result of the process in a metaphor metaphorical. Metaphor try to bridge it by describing the abstract to the concrete.

Generally, the things that are abstract described by the metaphor, but there are also things concretely described. Love is hard to define even the true meaning. In the dictionary yet, the concept of love is elusive because every human being has their definitions. Through metaphor, the concept of love that can be simplified with imaginative space.

3. *dulu sabiduak kito baduo*
first one boat we were both
'first we were both of the boat'

marangkuah dayuang marendo cinto
holding the paddle crochet love
'to hold the paddle crochet love' (2.TMP.3)

4. *diantaro kito lamo tajalin cinto*
among us long standing love
'among us have long intertwined love'

indak denai sangko putuih jadinya
unexpecte to break would happen
'I was not expecting to break up eventually' (4.RSG)

Some feel that love is a fabric that can be embroidered. Love can be decorated with beautiful things. The word crochet is commonly used for fabrics, materials fabrics, silk and garments. However, juxtaposed with the word love crochet forming figurative meaning. In addition, as a complement of other elements located on *dulu sabiduak baduo* that has long been the love relationship is established, it is designated by the *dulu sabiduak baduo*. In other words as a complement lies in *marangkuah dayuang* 'holding paddles' that seeks to achieve a

certain goal together. So, in the example (3) of the things want to describe is their love story that has happened already quite long with many obstacles and barriers in order to achieve a common goal. Through the example (4) The story of the journey of love that can be imagined by using the boat dulu sabiduak kito baduo and do a trip with the paddle there.

The next love is figured as something that can be put together. Something that split can be combined with the name of love. This can be seen in the example (4) *tajalin cinto* 'entwined in love'. Love is figured with word *Tajalin* 'established'. Selanjutkan complement of the idea of love can be seen from these words advanced *Indak denai sangko putuih jadinya* 'not what I expected would break up happens'. The shape figure illustrates that I never thought that a love affair that has been established will be broken. Through the example (4) The story depicted a love story of the character me which has long been the case then broke in the middle of the road.

Two different perceptions about the journey of love arises because love is an abstract thing that is in the thoughts and feelings that can not be defined easily. Through metaphor, the concept of love was imagined into a variety of stories that fill the story of the characters involved in it. These two examples illustrate that love is a life journey that is taken by people who want to feel that love. Love can also be interpreted as a long process, which does not guarantee the end of a love that would be wonderful.

Soften the Language

In certain occasions, something that is sometimes considered taboo for phrased properly. So, we need something that is considered taboo replacement looks more refined. It is also found in the lyrics of Rayola's song, songwriter deliberately doing so in order to be good to hear. By using metaphors such purposes can be done. This is because one of the characteristics of the metaphor is to equate one thing with another.

5. *ayah jo mandeh bapisah cinto*
father and mother goodbye love
'father and mother split of love' (3.BL.1)
- 5a. *ayah jo mandeh bacarai*
mother and father divorced
'father and mother divorced'

Example (5) and (5a) are two forms that are almost the same meaning. Example (5) is a metaphor that is marked with the notation word *bapisah* 'split' combined with the word *Cinto* 'love', forming a predicative metaphors. While in the example (5a) is not a metaphor because it does not have a figurative meaning, for example (5a) is a direct meaning.

Metaphor in the example (5), the object to be figured was a divorce. However, by using a metaphor, the term divorce can be smoothed by replacing the word becomes a metaphor. The word divorce for some people is something that is considered ugly, bad and has negative connotations, especially when used in the lyric of folk song . the words *Bapisah Cinto* 'goodbye love' is seen as more subtle than the word divorce. Parting words of love can be used as a "definition" of divorce / separation through metaphor. In that instance, contained a function to refine the language with the goal of politeness.

Means to Achieve Aesthetic Effects

Metaphor functions are the other means to achieve the aesthetic effect. This is related to the basic concept of metaphor is comparing something else because there are similarities. Metaphor as figurative language spoken language can create catchy.

6. *bamulo cinto tajalin di antaro kito*
Begins love existed between us
'our love started among us' (7.LSBS.1)

6a. *bamulo cinto tajadi di antara kita*
begins love happening between us
'love happens between us'

6b. *bamulo cinto tibo di antaro kito*
begins love comes between us
'love come between us'

Through the example (6) can be compared with the sample (6a) and examples (6b) which is more beautiful figurative language to express the love that occurs between both figures. Predicative metaphors of the third example word Tajalin 'exists' is considered more aesthetic and concept of intertwined it suitable for use in the sample (6) In short, love is figured into some object that can be put together. Love is an abstract concept that can be realized to be something that can be put together.

The lyrics is one of the informative media that convey ideas, ideas and thoughts of the creator of the lyrics. To that end, consideration using proper grammar, manners and beautiful into a strong reason to use a metaphor as one means to achieve the aesthetic values in the songs, especially folk songs.

Attention

Function of the most common metaphor is to attract attention. This is based, that metaphor becomes a medium to convey something ordinary into something exaggerate (considered to be outstanding). The applicability of these figurative terms will create more interesting to hear even though its literal meaning would be the same. Here are some of the data found in the lyrics of the song Rayola.

7. *tapi denai takuik jo kumbang*
but I fear with the beetle
'but I fear with the beetle' (1.HPC)

7a. *tapi denai takuik jo laki-laki*
but I fear with the man
'but I fear with the man'

Metaphor in the data (7) the word kumbang 'beetle' is one example of nominative metaphors for the symbol of figurative only in that metaphor. Beetles are metaphors for men. Use of the beetle is certainly the goal is not merely to complement it, but make it more interesting lyrics. Example (7a) can be comparable, although equally pointed in males, but the use of the word beetle is considered more attractive.

to Beautify the Tone

Metaphors in the lyrics of Rayola's song also has the function of a way to beautify the tone. The function is found by way of repeating certain parts of the metaphor to give a certain effect that support the function of the tone beautified. This is done with consideration as an effective way if it is compared with other means if without repetition. These methods are commonly used in songs, especially folk songs. In songs generally use the way of repetition, the repetition of certain parts, even the repetition almost most of the lyrics of the song. However, the lyrics of Rayola's song, the repetition can be found in the form of metaphor. In addition to the form of metaphor, another form will be ignored. That is not part of this research study.

The repetition shape can be seen in the example (8), which uses the word *laruik* 'soluble' which is a form of metaphor action. Figurative meaning to be figured that I was getting late for love. The main thing is to be conveyed to the sample (8) is a love that can make people late to the atmosphere, can also soundly asleep with love. Love likes something that can make a blend with specific circumstances.

Metaphoric in the example (8) will be tested based on the presence or absence of such repetition. The shape whether they can be expressed as a function to beautify the tone. Consider some comparative examples.

8. *denai lah laruikdilaruik cinto*

I have solubled solubled love

'I have solubled solubled because of love' (8.AD)

8a. *denai lah larut cinto*

I have solubled love

'I have solubled love'

8b. *denai lah dilarut cinto*

I have solubled by love

'I have solubled by love'

Example (8) when compared with the example (8a), even though both use the word *soluble*, figurative meaning will appear different. In the example of figure (8) have already explained that I was in a state of "dilarut" love while examples (8b) explained that the figures I've dissolve in love. In the example (8b) appears almost the same meaning, but the effects that arise only mediocre. Will be different from the meaning that appears in the example (8) is a confirmation of the specific points that solubled by love. With the repetition, as well as beautify the tone also serves as the emphasis on certain points in the song.

Pleasing to be Heard

Metaphor has another function, namely as an alternative to convey something so pleasing to be heard. The lyrics are part of the language that will be delivered through music. The use of metaphors in the lyrics of the song also be considered to be pleasant to hear, not boring and uncomfortable to hear because the language is conveyed using figurative language.

With the metaphor, the aim that the song is nice to be heard can be achieved. Through metaphor, we can make the words used in the song lyrics are easy to

digest and will provide certain effects. Rayola's song lyrics found on goal these functions are in the form of metaphor in the following example.

9. *di antaro kito lamo tajalin cinto*
'among us longentwined in love'
'among us has long been entwined in love' (4.RSG)

- 9a. *di antaro kito lah lamo tajadi cinto*
'among us happened a long time love
'among us happened a long time love

'Metaphorin the example (9) uses the verb Tajalin' entwined 'whereas in example (9a) using the verb happened. The second form of this metaphor, the words entwined considered more pleasing to be heard because the word gives a positive impression, soft, and polite. In contrast to the example (9a) using tajadi word 'happened'. The word is heard as it gives the impression of a dramatic, terrible, and give a different effect. Although the meaning of the metaphor of the two data are similar, metaphorical form entwined in Example (9) to be considered as having a function to be pleasing to be heard.

Conclusion

Rayola's songs is one of Minangkabau's songs which use Minang's language and have quite a lot of figurative language, especially in the form of metaphor. Based on research of the lyrics of Rayola's song, argued that metaphor is a means to express language, and ornate language is also a means to achieve certain functions. These functions are part of the songs are sung, and the messages to be conveyed. The metaphorical expression that is directly or not directly related to the songs sung by singer.

The results of this study indicate that the function of the metaphor used in the lyrics of Rayola's song is intended as follows 1) to concrete human experience, 2) creating space imagination, 3) soften the language, 4) means to achieve aesthetic effects, 5) to attract attention, 6) to beautify the tone, and 7) pleasing to be heard.

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THE PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF A JAPANESE SINGER: THE CRITICISM OF USING SONGS IN ENGLISH TEACHING

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Abstract

This study deals with the phonological analysis of a Japanese singer in some English sounds in live performance music videos. It aims to analyse and describe the pronunciation process of Japanese singer in producing tense vowels, diphthongs, and liquids. It also criticizes the use of songs in English teaching based on the findings. The data are from live performance videos of Japanese singer. The researcher watched and listened to the videos. After that, the researcher listed the words in the lyrics of the songs containing tense vowels, diphthongs, and liquids. The words were transcribed into standard phonetic transcription. Then, the researcher transcribed the words into the phonetic transcription according to the pronunciation of the singer. After that, the data were classified into three parts which were the words containing tense vowels, diphthongs, and liquids. After the researcher analyzed the videos, the findings of this study showed that the Japanese singer as an EFL speaker had different pronunciation process in producing tense vowels, diphthongs, and liquids sound. The findings also gave the criticism on the use of songs in English teaching in a form of caution and contribution

Keywords: phonological analysis, a Japanese singer, songs, English teaching

Introduction

As an international language, English has been learned by many people around the world. It is in accordance with Crystal's statement (2003) that English becomes the language which is most widely taught as a foreign language so that the number of second language speakers increases vastly. In this case, there will appear a lot of accents which are produced by the foreign speakers of English such as Japanese accents, Chinese accents, Korean accents, Spanish accents and so on. It is a clear sign that the sound patterns or structure of their native languages influence the speech or production of their second language. In short, it is very equitable to say that the nature of a foreign accent is determined to a large extent by a learner's native language (Avery & Ehrlich, 1992).

The sound patterns of language or usually called as phonology of a certain language raises some problems for the foreign speakers in pronouncing English words since the phonology of a certain language is different from the phonology

of English. The difference can appear from the absence of sounds in a certain language but they are present in English. One example of the language is Japanese. As Kenworthy (1987) said, Japanese has only five vowels in its vowel inventory namely /i/, /e/, /a/, /u/, and /o/. A system is quite common among many natural languages in the world. It is different from English which has fifteen vowels namely /i/, /ɪ/, /e/, /ɜ/, /æ/, /ə/, /ʌ/, /u/, /ʊ/, /o/, /ɔ/, and /ɑ/. The difference of Japanese and English vowel systems is also indicated from the existence of lax and tense in those two vowel systems. The difference between tense and lax vowels is made according to how much muscle tension or movement in the mouth is involved in producing vowels (Ladefoged, 1982). Some of English vowel systems are tense such as /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ and all of Japanese vowel systems are lax.

In addition, there are differences in consonantal distribution between Japanese and English. According to Avery and Ehrlich (1992) and Kenworthy (1987), there are more consonants in English than Japanese. Japanese does not have fricatives and affricates which are much more widely distributed in English such as /f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /tʃ/, and /dʒ/. In addition, Japanese has a liquid /r/ which is different from the /r/ or /l/ sound of English. The exact of articulation point of /r/ sound in Japanese is not specific.

This study discusses the phonological systems in Japanese which influence the Japanese singer in pronouncing the English words. The study describes the process of Japanese singer in making the sounds of tense vowels, diphthongs, and liquids. From the findings, the study gives the criticism on the using of songs in English teaching. As it is known that many believed that using songs in teaching English is good, the finding of the study notes that not all English songs can be used to teach English. According to the finding, a singer did some mispronunciations in English words containing liquids, vowels and diphthongs. Therefore, the study gives the implication and caution for teachers to be more careful in selecting the songs will be used to teach English.

Phonological Analysis

Phonological has meaning as relating to the nature of sounds of certain language, in this case is English (Fromkin, Rodman, & Hyams, 2007). Therefore, phonological analysis can be defined as the theoretical and practical steps in analyzing the sound patterns of English produced by foreign speakers and the strategies they use to solve the problems in producing the English sounds (Jenkins, 2000; & Nathan, 2008).

Steps of phonological analysis can be divided into three major steps. As Veen and Mve (2010) said, the first step of phonological analysis is carrying out preliminary inquiries in which the researcher has to determine the clear goals of the research and the sound representations. The second step is performing phonetic transcription. This is the necessary step yet it consumes a plenty of time to work on. The final step is analysis.

Veen and Mve (2010) also stated that in working on phonological analysis, there are some important things to consider. Being rigorous, meticulous and accurate are must in working on phonological analysis, especially in terms of transcription, data management and storage, analysis, and description. They are

very important since doing a phonological analysis is a task that combines specific analytical skills, techniques and reasoning (describing problems and giving solutions). The ability to manage the time and being patient are also important since when the researcher does the phonetic transcription it will take a plenty of time. It requires careful observation in watching and listening. In addition, it requires repetition in identifying the exact pronunciation of the subjects.

Vowels

McMahon (2002) said that vowels refer to the sounds which are produced on a pulmonic aggressive airstream, with central airflow. Vowels can also refer to an unobstructed sound produced by unimpeded airflow that moves up from the larynx and out through the lips (Roach, 2009, p. 10). Vowels have some types, three of which are diphthongs, tense and lax

A diphthong is a sequence of two sounds, vowel plus glide. For example: bite [bajt]; there are [a] vowel and glide of [j]. Another example is bout [bawt]; there are vowel of [a] and [w] glide (Fromkin, Rodman, & Hyams, 2007). This kind of vowels do not exist in Japanese since as Kenworthy (1987) said, Japanese has only five vowels.

Tense vowels are the vowels which are produced with greater tension of the tongue muscle than its counterpart, and they are often a little longer in duration (Fromkin, Rodman, & Hyams, 2007). [a], [e], [i], [o], [u] and diphthongs are tense in English, while in Japanese, there is no tense or lax differentiation. In his journal, Ohata said that the tense/lax vowels pairs of English such as /i/ vs. /ɪ/, /e/ vs. /ɛ/, /u/ vs. /ʊ/, do not exist in the five-vowel system of Japanese.

According to Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2007), lax vowels refer to the vowels which are produced with smaller tension of the tongue muscle than its counterpart, and they are shorter in duration. Some examples of lax vowels are /ʌ/, /ɪ/, /ʊ/, /ɜ/, and /ɔ/.

Liquids

Liquids refer to the sounds produced by some obstruction of the airstream in the mouth, but not enough to cause any real constriction or friction (Fromkin, Rodman, & Hyams, 2007). There are two liquids in English: [l] and [r]. In Japanese liquids are not exactly the same as in English. This issue stems from the lack of a separate /r/ and /l/ sound and the difference in place of articulation between Japanese and English /r/ sounds. There are two types of liquids namely trilled and flap.

A trilled “r” can be found in the word “perro” which means dog in Spanish. They produce the /r/ very clear. Therefore, according to Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2007), a trilled “r” is the sound produced by rapid vibrations of an articulator.

A flap is produced by a flick of the tongue against the alveolar ridge. It sounds like “a very fast d (Fromkin, Rodman, & Hyams, 2007).” This kind of sound can be found when American pronounce the word “writer” in which it is almost the same as pronouncing the word “rider”. A flapped “r” is symbolized as [ɾ], so the word “writer” will be pronounced as [raɪɾər]. It also happens when Japanese students say an English word which has liquids. It is different from English in which /l/ is an alveolar lateral or approximant and the /r/ is a post-

alveolar approximant. Japanese students produce a single liquid voiced consonant that combines the two sounds of /l/ and /r/ as it is produced by a very quick tap (also called a “flap”) of the tongue tip on the alveolar ridge (Suski, 1931, p. 70).

Method

This study dealt with the description of sound production analysis, which focused on the pronunciation process when Japanese produced liquids, diphthongs, and tense vowels. This study described how the sounds were produced.

In this study, the sources of data gathering can be specified into document analysis. As Ary, Jacobs, and Razavieh (2002) said that document analysis refers to a method of research utilized to written or visual materials in a purpose of identifying specified characteristics of the material or a project that focuses on analyzing and interpreting recorded materials within its own context. From the description of document analysis, live performance videos from Japanese singer can be indicated as the visual materials which are going to be identified and analyzed the errors.

As Ary, Jacobs, and Razavieh (2002) stated, there are six steps in document analysis which should be done. The first step is specifying the phenomenon to be investigated. In this step, the researcher specified the phenomenon of pronunciation process of Japanese singer in producing tense vowels and liquids. Secondly, the researcher selected the media to analyze which are the videos. The third step is formulating exhaustive and mutually exclusive coding categories so that the verbal or symbolic content can be counted. Then, the researcher specified the sample in this case video based on the year or period when they performed. It aims to obtain a representative sample of the documents. The next step is training the coders so that they can consistently apply the coding scheme that has been developed and thus contribute to the reliability of the content analysis. Finally, the data was analyzed and it involved the descriptive accounts since this study used qualitative research.

The materials could be analyzed from the textbooks, newspapers, web pages, speeches, television programs, advertisements, videos, musical compositions, or any of a host of other types of documents. The reason why the researcher wanted to use the live performance videos as the data because they showed the originality of the singer when he sang a song in English. The videos did not use the process of editing and it was as real as it was. In addition, from that originality the researcher was able to see the authentic process when the Japanese singer pronounced the English words. The pronunciation of the Japanese singer was analyzed from the lip movement and mouth so that the clearer sound transcription could be interpreted.

In analyzing the data, there were some steps which should be undergone by the researcher. The following is the steps in analyzing the data.

1. The first thing to do was watching the videos and listening to the songs
2. Secondly, the researcher found the words containing liquids.
3. Next, the words found were transcribed into phonetic symbols.

4. The writer inserted those in the table of variation of phonetic transcription, as can be seen in table 1, so that the difference from the standard phonetic transcription could be seen.
5. The next step was categorizing the findings into three major groups, which were word or word group with tense vowels, word or word group with diphthongs, word and word group with liquids and combination.
6. After inserting the phonetic transcription, the researcher tried to find the difference between the standard phonetic transcription and variation.
7. From the differences, the researcher described the process of pronunciation of the Japanese singer when producing tense vowels and liquids by relating the theories how the process of pronouncing the tense vowels and liquids were with the pronunciation produced by the Japanese singer.
8. Describing what made the Japanese singer produce the sounds of tense vowels and liquids differently in which the strategies of how they made the sound could be indicated in table 1.

Table 1. Sounds Production

No.	Words	Phonetic Transcriptions	
		Standard	Variation
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

Finally, the study will give the criticism on the using of songs in English teaching based on the finding. By providing the table 2, the study will discuss mispronunciation cases found in English words containing liquids, diphthongs, and tense vowels which will affect the use of songs in English teaching in table 2.

Table 2. Mispronunciation Cases

Cases	Words	Standard Pronunciation	Mispronunciation
Tense Vowels			
Diphthongs			
Liquids			

Findings and Discussion

The findings of the study answered the first research problem by describing the process of pronunciation of the Japanese singer in producing tense vowels, diphthongs, and liquids. Then, the second research problem was answered by

criticizing the use of songs in English teaching based on the mispronunciation done by the Japanese singer when he produces the tense vowels, diphthongs, and liquids.

The Pronunciation Process of Tense Vowels, Diphthongs and Liquids Produced by the Japanese Singer

This part discusses the pronunciation process of Japanese speakers which are represented by the Japanese singer. This part has three sections of discussion containing the pronunciation process when he produced tense vowels, diphthongs and liquids.

1. Tense Vowels

In two videos, the researcher found thirty nine single words containing tense vowels. From the videos, the researcher analyzed that the singer of the band L'Arc-en-Ciel produced words containing tense vowels in a different way. Even though Japanese vowel system has sounds /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, and /o/, it does not have exact pronunciation between tense and lax. It means that in English, there are specific differences between tense and lax vowels, such as /i/ and /ɪ/, /u/ and /ʊ/, /e/ and /ɜ/ and so on. However, although long vowels of Japanese are sometimes analyzed as having the same quality as English tense vowels, this claim is difficult to support because those vowels of Japanese are not always contrastive in nature as the English tense/lax vowel pairs (Vance, 1987). This case occurred when the singer produced /i/ sounds. Several examples are provided in Table 3.

Table 3. Tense Vowels Production

No.	Words	Phonetic Transcription	
		Standard	Variation
1.	me	/mi/	/mɪ/
2.	street	/stri:t/	/strɪt/
3.	knee	/ni:/	/nɪ/
4.	see	/si:/	/sɪ/
5.	deeply	/di:pli/	/dɪpli/
6.	heavenly	/hevnlɪ/	/hevənɪ/
7.	eternity	/ɪtʒ:nəti/	/etʒ:nəɪ/
8.	venality	/vi:næləti/	/vənəɪ/

The table showed that the singer produced /i/ sound in lax. In English, it is usually called short /i/ which is symbolized as /ɪ/. When the singer said the word me, he pronounced it as /mɪ/ instead of /mi/. It also happened when the singer pronounced street, knee, and see. He pronounced all of them as /strɪt/, /nɪ/, and /sɪ/ in which the /i/ sound which is supposed to be the tense vowel became /ɪ/. There were also other examples such as the words eternity and venality. In English, eternity and venality are pronounced /ɪtʒ:nəti/ and /vi:næləti/, yet the singer pronounced them as /etʒ:nəɪ/ and /vənəɪ/. Those words also showed the same results that the singer produced /ɪ/ sound instead of /i/ especially in the final syllable from the other words such as deeply and heavenly. In the videos, the researcher also watched the vocalist did not totally do unrounded lips. In fact, Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2007) said that when someone produces /i/ sound

he or she will have the lips in the shape of smile which is totally unrounded. Meanwhile, the vocalist's teeth were still not closed which means the lips were not in the shape of smile.

In addition, when the singer pronounced words *me*, *knee*, and *see*, he actually had produced impossible words in English. It means that lax vowels mostly did not appear at the ends of English words. For example the words *me*, *knee*, and *see* should be pronounced as /mi/, /ni:/, and /si:/ in English yet the singer which is a Japanese pronounced them as /mɪ/, /nɪ/, and /sɪ/ all of which have no meaning in English words. It comes from Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2007) who stated that lax vowels do not occur at the ends of words, so [sɪ], [sɜ], [sæ], [sʊ], and [sʌ] are impossible words in English.

From the data result, it can be concluded that the singer who is a Japanese speaker did not pronounce the tense vowels clearly. The singer produced the tense vowels in lax. It means that the singer did not spread the lips when he produced the words *me*, *knee*, and *see*. In fact, Ladefoged (1982) stated that the difference between tense and lax vowels is made according to how much muscle tension or movement in the mouth is involved in producing vowels. In this case, the muscle tension or movement in the mouth occurred when the singer spread his lips.

2. Diphthongs

The second section is diphthongs. In order to make the discussion clearer, the meaning of diphthongs was explained concisely here. As Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2007) stated, diphthongs are the sounds produced by the English speakers by adding the short /j/ and /w/ glides when they produce front and back vowels. For example, English speakers pronounce *survey* as /sɜveɪ/ in which the front vowel /e/ is followed by a short /j/ glide and they are symbolized as /eɪ/.

Discussing the analysis result, there were fifty eight single words and word groups containing diphthongs found from two videos. The researcher analyzed that there were several different pronunciation done by the vocalist when he produced diphthongs. The different pronunciation occurred because the vocalist often pronounced diphthongs only the tense vowels without the /j/ or /w/ glides. There were several examples of the different pronunciation provided in Table 4.

Table 4. Diphthongs Production

No.	Words	Phonetic Transcription	
		Standard	Variation
1.	rolling	/roʊlɪŋ/	/lɔ:lɪŋ/
2.	cold	/koʊld/	/kɔ:ld/
3.	no	/noʊ/	/no/
4.	twilight	/twaɪlaɪt/	/twa:let/
5.	around	/əraʊnd/	/əɾɑ:nd/
6.	down	/daʊn/	/dɔ:n/
7.	snake	/sneɪk/	/snek/
8.	taste	/teɪst/	/test/
9.	so	/səʊ/	/so/
10.	wake	/weɪk/	/wek/

From the table, it could be seen that most of different pronunciation occurred because the vocalist did not pronounce the glides /j/ or /w/ clearly. It occurred because there are only five vowels in Japanese vowels inventory (Kenworthy, 1987). He pronounced the words **rolling**, **cold**, and **twilight** as /ɔ:lɪŋ/, /kɔ:ld/, and /twa:let/ in which he only pronounced the vowels. One example came from the word **down**. In the word **down**, /a/ becomes /aʊ/ since /a/ is added with /w/ glide so the word is pronounced as /daʊn/. However, the singer pronounced it as /dɔ:n/. The singer did not pronounce the glide clearly, so that the sound was like /o/ in lax which becomes /ɔ/. Another example is **snake**. /e/ became /eɪ/ since /e/ is added with /j/ glide, so the word is pronounced as /sneɪk/. However, the singer only pronounced the tense vowel [e] without the [j] glide and it became /snek/.

The different pronunciation also occurred in the other words such as **so** and **wake**. The words should be pronounced as /səʊ/ and /weɪk/. Yet, the vocalist pronounced them differently and the words became /so/ and /wek/. It happened since there are no vowels which are added with the glides in Japanese vowel system. It is supported by Okada's statement (1991, p.94) which is showed in the vowel chart that the vowels of standard Japanese are only [ä], [i], [u], [ɛ], and [ɔ]. They only have simple vowels usually called as monophthongs (Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams, 2007).

The data result indicated that the singer did not pronounce the diphthongs clearly. In this case, the singer had produced the diphthongs only in one sound which means that the glides were not produced directly after the vowels. For example, when the singer said the word **down**, he pronounced that word as /dɔ:n/ instead of /daʊn/. Therefore, it is different from what Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2007) had stated in their book that diphthong is two sounds containing vowel and glide which are produced in a sequence.

3. Liquids

From the two videos, the researcher found sixty four single words and word groups containing liquids. Each word had the liquids which were different in place. The liquids were placed at the beginning, within, and the end of the words. Even there were some words containing cluster with /r/ and /l/. Even though Japanese has liquids, there are no specific differences in producing the liquids because of the lack of a separate /r/ and /l/ sound and the difference in place of articulation between Japanese and English /r/ sound. It means that in English, /l/ is an alveolar lateral or approximant and the /r/ is a post-alveolar approximant, yet Suski described "the Japanese produce a single liquid voiced consonant that combines the two sounds of /l/ and /r/ as it is produced by a very quick tap (also called a "flap") of the tongue tip on the alveolar ridge" (as cited in Smith, 2012, p.202). Akamatsu (1997) also stated that /r/ is an apical postalveolar flap undefined for laterality. Therefore, it is specified as neither a central nor a lateral flap. Thus, it raises some evidences from the videos. The examples of evidences are provided in the Table 5.

Table 5. Liquids Production

No.	Words	Phonetic Transcription	
		Standard	Variation
1.	rolling	/roulɪŋ/	/lo:lɪŋ/
2.	asphalt	/æsfælt/	/æsfɑ:t/
3.	your	/jɔ:(r)/	/jɜ:/
4.	dare	/der/	/dɜ:/
5.	grown	/groʊn/	/glon/
5.	blood	/blʌd/	/bʌd/
6.	survive	/səvaɪv/	/səpɑ:/
7.	holding	/houldɪŋ/	/hodɪŋ/

The table showed that the singer had difficulty in pronouncing /r/ and /l/. When the liquids at the beginning of the word like the word **rolling**, the vocalist pronounced it as /lo:lɪŋ/ in which the liquid /r/ became /l/. The singer even sounded like omitting the liquids when they were within and at the end of the words. For example, **survive** and **holding**, the words should be pronounced as /səvaɪv/ and /houldɪŋ/ yet the singer pronounced the words without the liquids. Therefore, the pronunciation became /səpɑ:/ and /hodɪŋ/. It also occurred in the words **your** and **dare** in which the singer pronounced them as /jɜ:/ and /dɜ:/. Other examples are the word **grown** and **blood**. In the word **grown** /groʊn/ the singer sounded like pronouncing /r/ as /l/ which became /glon/. In addition, the vocalist could not produce the liquid clearly in the word **blood** /blʌd/ then it became /bʌd/. The inconsistency happened because of the absence of exact sound for liquids in Japanese consonants system.

Thus, it can be concluded that the singer which is a representation of Japanese speaker had problem in pronouncing /r/ and /l/. The singer often exchanged /r/ to /l/ or even he did not pronounce /r/ or /l/ sound. This problem raised because of a great deal of difficulty for Japanese speakers as represented by the singer both in producing and distinguishing /r/ and /l/ which is caused by the lack of a separate /r/ and /l/ sound in Japanese (Smith, 2012, p. 202). From the results, it can be concluded that the Japanese singer produced tense vowels, diphthongs, and liquids in different ways. In English his pronunciation can be clear, yet he produced non-standard pronunciation.

The Criticism on The Use of Songs in English Teaching

Using songs in teaching English is believed to be effective and fun, in this case teaching pronunciation. As Kramer (2007) said, songs are funny and interesting for students. The students can learn English pronunciation very easily by singing the songs. Paul (2003) also stated that by listening to the song, the students can remember the pronunciation easily and draw more deeply into the lesson. In addition Philips (1993) said that by imitating the singer in singing the song, it can help the students know how to pronounce English words correctly.

Despite the effectiveness of using songs in teaching English pronunciation, the findings of the study gave the caution for the teachers in selecting the English songs for the students. The findings provided the cases showed in the table 6.

Table 6. Mispronunciation Cases

Cases	Words	Standard Pronunciation	Mispronunciation
Tense Vowels	street	/stri:t/	/strɪt/
	knee	/ni:/	/nɪ/
	heavenly	/hevnlɪ/	/hevənli/
	eternity	/ɪtɜ:nəti/	/etɜ:nəti/
	venality	/vi:næləti/	/vənələti/
Diphthongs	rolling	/roʊlɪŋ/	/lɔ:lɪŋ/
	cold	/kould/	/kɔ:ld/
	no	/noʊ/	/no/
	twilight	/twaɪlaɪt/	/twa:let/
	around	/əraʊnd/	/əɾɑ:nd/
Liquids	dare	/der/	/dɜ:/
	grown	/groʊn/	/glɒn/
	blood	/blʌd/	/bʌd/
	survive	/sərvʌv/	/səpɑ:/
	holding	/hoʊldɪŋ/	/hodɪŋ/

The cases showed in the table 6 can be indicated that the singer did mispronunciation in the words containing tense vowels, diphthongs, and liquids. Considering these findings, the teachers should be more careful in selecting the songs. The teachers must listen and pay more attention to the singer's pronunciation in singing the English songs whether the singer pronounce the words correctly or not. This is important since the students will listen to the songs and imitate how the singer pronounce the English words. Therefore, choosing a singer with good pronunciation will lead the students to produce correct pronunciation in English words.

Conclusion

The study concluded that the Japanese speakers, as represented by the singer of a group band, have different pronunciation process from English speakers in producing English words containing tense vowels, diphthongs, and liquids. These differences are caused by the non-existence of some sounds in their phonological system. When the singer produced English words containing tense vowels the data showed that the singer pronounced them in lax because the vowels in Japanese phonology system do not have contrast sounds in nature as the English lax or tense vowel pairs (Vance, 1987). The singer also produced the diphthongs without pronouncing the glides /j/ or /w/ due to the limited vowels of Japanese which only have five vowels ten sounds compared to English with five vowels twenty four sounds (Tsujimura, 2007). In addition, when the singer pronounced the liquids /r/ or /l/, he did not pronounce them clearly. This problem occurred because of the dilemma experienced by the singer since there is no clear separate /r/ and /l/ sounds in Japanese (Suski, 1931)

Based on the findings, the researcher wants to give the insights of the diversity in English accent to the EFL (English as a Foreign Language) teachers. Nation and Newton (2009) stated that the EFL speakers often have pronunciation problems in speaking English influenced by the first language of the speakers. The researcher hopes, the EFL teachers can consider the barriers faced by Japanese learners when they speak in English because of their first language. Therefore, this will help EFL teachers not to misunderstand the words uttered by the Japanese learners.

Finally, the study criticized the use of songs in English teaching. In spite of some beliefs in the effectiveness of using songs in teaching English pronunciation (Kramer, 2007; Paul, 2003; & Philip, 1993), this study gave the caution for the teachers in using songs to teach pronunciation in English. The teachers have to consider the singers first when they want to use the songs as the teaching media. The teachers have to listen and pay more attention to the pronunciation of the singer whether it is correct or not. As a result, this consideration can lead to the better understanding of the students in pronouncing the English words correctly..

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THE NATURE OF LITERARY STUDY AFTER THE RISE OF CONTEMPORARY LITERARY THEORY

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Abstract

Before the rise of contemporary literary theory, literary study mainly concerned with the nature, role, function of literary works and general schema for literary criticism. The rise of contemporary literary theories, such as structuralism, poststructuralism, psychoanalysis, feminism, new historicism, postcolonialism, and so on have changed the nature of literary study. By applying concepts and paradigms taken from other spheres of intellectual activity, such as culture, linguistics, aesthetics, politics, history, psychology, economics, gender, and so on, current literary study starts questioning and criticizing literary study basic assumptions. Contemporary literary theory brings a broad array of fundamental issues to attention, such as the act of reading, interpretative strategy, epistemology of literary scholarships, nationalism, genre, gender, originality, intertextuality, social hegemony, authorial intention, truth, representation and so on.

Keywords: literary criticism, literary study, literary theory

Introduction

Literary study is generally classified into two: literary criticism and literary theory. Literary criticism is a study of the concrete literary works through analysis, interpretation, explication or contextualization (Wellek, 1960; Hawthorn, 1987). It's the oldest discipline in literary study as it goes at least as far back as archaic Greece that begins around 800 BC (Habib, 2005; Ford, 2002). Throughout the history of literary criticism, two strands of the discipline recur in form of rhetorical criticism and grammatical criticism (Day, 2008). Literary theory, on the other hand, concerns on theoretical principles and concepts that form the foundation for practical methods and strategies used in literary criticism (Castle, 2007).

In the old days, literary theory involved the general concern of the nature, role, function of literature and conceptual schemes for evaluating literary works. However, historical development shows that contemporary literary theory applied to literature seems less interested just in focusing on the nature of literary works itself and providing general schema for literary criticism. Contemporary literary theories, such as structuralism, poststructuralism, psychoanalysis, feminism, new

historicism, and postcolonialism, actually are not ‘literary’ theory in nature. The theory derives from a non-literary system (Carter, 2006). For examples theory derives from culture, language and linguistics, aesthetics, politics, history, psychology, economics, gender, and so on applied to literary works in the interests of a specific critical aim. Contemporary literary theory thus grows out of this experimentation with concepts, terms, and paradigms taken from other spheres of intellectual activity (Castle, 2007). Throughout the history of literary theory, rises a whole range of theoretical approaches those focused on meaning and form, those that are political and those that are seemingly a-political (Bertens, 2007).

These contemporary theorists pay attention to a broad array of fundamental issues related to the reading, interpretative strategy, literature and culture, nationalism, genre, gender, originality, intertextuality, social hegemony, authorial intention, truth, representation and so on. Moreover, the contemporary theory has challenged the status and value of literary scholarship by raising epistemological objections to determine interpretations of literary texts (Shumway, 1985). Thus, it raises many protests from humanist scholars who seek a return of literary studies to traditional humanistic way. Many antitheorists claim that the theoretical enterprise should come to an end. Antitheorists are wrong to call for the end of theory and return to the unexamined literary traditions. Contemporary literary theories play important role as means of inspecting the gaps and failure of critical tradition and bringing self-aware scrutiny to the methods of literary study (Leitch, 2001). As claimed by Culler (2000) contemporary literary theory has radically changed the nature of literary study and criticism. This paper discusses how the contemporary theory has changed the nature of literary study.

Theory

The Nature of Literary Study before Contemporary Literary Theory

Literary theory has its roots in Plato’s ideas on mimesis and Aristotle’s *Poetics* which establishes the definitions of tragedy and comedy, and distinguishes poetry from history (Leitch, 2001; Goulimari, 2015). These classical Greece theories influence the literary study to see the nature of literary work as the representation of the universal truths about nature through the description of particular. Reading text and reading world are parallel activities.

In the medieval era, literary study focuses on the practice of reading, interpretation and theory of language. Augustine’s hermeneutic theory proposes that language is transparent. Language truthfully portrays the world as it is, thus, truth is accessible through language. The foundation of literary criticism is developed under this medieval era through the influence of Quintilian’s four level of allegorical interpretation: 1) literal or historical, 2) the allegorical or spiritual, 3) the tropological or moral, and 4) anagogical or mystical (Leitch, 2001).

In the Renaissance era, the national consciousness is growing and thus increases the preoccupation with distinct national literary tradition and the use of vernacular language (Patrick, 2007). In this era, Horatius proposes important doctrine of verisimilitude that means that literary works must depict historical realities and facts (Leitch, 2001).

In the Romantic era, general reflections on the nature of literature and criticism are still mainly sporadic as in the previous era. It is often arising from

manifesto-like writings of particular authors and literary groups, or from contemporary commentary upon them, such as Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*, Wordsworth's preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, or Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*. Romantic era is predominated by Kant's philosophy that subjectivity determines the apprehension of world (Durant, 2006). Literary works are seen as intimately bound with the personal impressions of the author. Thus, Schleiermacher calls for readers' sympathetic identification with the author. Literary work is also seen as organic form developed by author's imagination (Leitch, 2001; Childs, 2006).

The development of literary study through these eras has highly influenced the liberal humanism literary approach to literary works that predominates England in the mid of 19th century. Basic tenets of liberal humanism approach to literary works are (Barry, 2009, pp.17-20):

1. "Good literature has timeless significance; it somehow transcends the limitations and peculiarities of the age it was written in, and thereby speaks to what is constant in human nature."
2. "The literary text contains its own meaning within itself. It doesn't require any elaborate process of placing it within a context, whether this be:
(a) *Socio-political* - the context of a particular social 'background' or political situation;
(b) *Literary-historical* - whereby the work could be seen as the product of the literary influences of other writers, or as shaped by the conventions of particular genres;
(c) *Autobiographical* - that is, as determined by the personal details of the author's life and thought."
3. "To understand the text well it must be detached from these contexts and studied in isolation. What is needed is the close verbal analysis of the text without prior ideological assumptions, or political pre-conditions."
4. "Human nature is essentially unchanging."
5. "Individuality is something securely possessed within each of us as our unique 'essence'."
6. "The purpose of literature is essentially the enhancement of life and the propagation of humane values; but not in a programmatic way: if literature and criticism become overtly and directly political they tend to be utilized as propaganda."
7. "Form and content in literature must be fused in an organic way, so that the one grows inevitably from the other."
8. "Sincerity (comprising truth-to experience honesty towards the self, and the capacity for human empathy and compassion) is a quality which resides within the language of literature."
9. "What is valued in literature is the 'silent' showing and demonstrating of something, rather than the explaining, or saying, of it."
10. "A theoretical account of the nature of reading or of literature in general, isn't useful in criticism and will simply, if attempted, encumber critics with preconceived ideas which will get between them and the text."

In this era, it can be seen that literary study is heavily stressed on the criticism rather than on the theorization of literature. Literary criticism is dominated by empiricism. Thus, it can be understood why the liberal humanist opposed the application of contemporary literary theory from other study fields.

Theory Application

The Nature of Literary Studies and Criticism Under the Contemporary Theory

Early twentieth century shows the transition from traditional literary theory to contemporary literary theory which is adopted from outside the field of literary study, such as linguistics, politics, history, psychology, economics, gender, and so on. Theory of criticism begins to be a more self-conscious activity, and more independent of the creative writing of the time. The first theorists which develop a conceptual framework for the understanding of literature were the Russian Formalists and the Prague Linguistic Circle. This more systematic attitude to theory spread to Germany, and then to England and America. In the 1970s, literary theory enters a new phase dominated by philosophy, history, politics, and psychoanalysis.

Theory in this stage develops along two main pathways. First are text-based theories, such as New Criticism, Formalism, Structuralism, and Poststructuralism. Text-based theories focus on the analysis of language, signs, or systems of signification. Second is historicist theories such as Marxism, Feminism, New Historicism, and Postcolonialism. Historicist theories focus on the critique of social, cultural and historical conditions and the way these conditions are reflected in and altered by cultural form like literary text (Castle, 2007).

Contemporary theories have radically changed the nature of literary studies because it challenges the traditional literary study assumptions or common-sense. A common-sense view of the world gives the illusion of unity and completeness. Theory is always the enemy of common sense; it is the spirit of subversion in the world of thought (Selden, 1991). Many unexamined concepts in literary study are under scrutiny by contemporary literary theory, such as meaning, interpretation, nature and function of literature. Theory has changed people's views and thought differently about objects of literary study and activities of studying literature. Contemporary theory challenges these traditional literary theory assumptions (Selden, 1991; Shumway, 1985):

1. a literary text is an object which has a meaning which is unified, univocal and definite inside it;
2. the author is the origin of the text and its meaning, and that the author's intention is the only authority for interpretation;
3. the reader is a passive reflector of the author's intended meaning or the text's structure;
4. reading does not affect the meaning of a literary text, because the reader discovers it from a position of Parnassian detachment: the instruments of criticism are perfectly sterilized
5. literary canon represent politically neutral values that everyone within a given culture might be expected to affirm.

The blow on the common sense of literary study is culminated with the coming of Derrida's deconstruction in 1960s. Deconstruction attacks on the core or essence of the text which refers to: spiritual truth, transcendental essence, the author's intention, teleology, social reality, etc. Derrida argues that no text can sustain the logic of its own discourse without somewhere violating it (Eagleton, 2005; Norris, 2002). The multi-accented nature of language always resists the mastery of truth and logic. Deconstructive reading requires readers to be critical in

unresolved issues of a text, such as contradiction, paradox, indecision, and logical tension in a text (Norris, 2018; Stocker, 2006).

The contemporary literary theory challenges the status and value of literary study by raising epistemological objections in determining the interpretations of literary texts. According to Belsey the central problem of literary theory is the problem of meaning (Belsey, 1982). Literary theory could not claim of its own impartiality of standing outside of contest for meaning (Belsey, 1982).

The common-sense of the traditional literary study assumes that literary text tells a certain truth which is communicated to us through the undistorted or transparent language. A literary work is thought of as being governed by a spiritual essence, or a transcendental sign. The readers are trying to discover a truth which the literary work illustrates. The act of reading itself does not influence the meaning of the text and thus literary criticism can be done in objective way solely based on the literary text. All of these traditional literary study assumptions are challenged by contemporary literary theory.

The basic assumption of contemporary literary theory is that facts, meaning, value, reason and nature are construction, not objective or unchanging realities. This basic tenet can be traced back to the work of Saussure and Bakhtin. Saussure proposes that a sign not as a sign of something. Its relation to the signified is relational and arbitrary (Barry, 2009; Culler, 1986). The individual signifier always carries with it the multiple possibilities of signification it derives from the multiplicity of its existing signifieds. A word can remain the same, but the meaning varies in history and depends to its context. Thus, the meaning does not precede language. Bakhtin, on the other hand, establishes a discursive view of language which claims that language is dialogic, the site of ideological contestation (Gardiner, 1992). Every utterance is potentially the site of a struggle for meaning between competing discourses and voices (Pope, 2002). Language cannot be separated from its social context. Language is always contaminated, interleaved, opaquely coloured by layers of semantic deposits resulting from the continuing processes of human struggle and interaction. Words are therefore inevitably marked by ideological struggle; they are multi-accentual, not univocal. Words speak of a conflict of perspectives (Selden, 1991).

Even though, contemporary literary theories have different approaches and traditions, based on the previous explained basic assumptions it can be seen that these theories share several similar ideas that have changed the nature of literary study (Barry, 2009):

1. Politics is pervasive;
“Theorists generally believe that all thinking and investigation is necessarily affected and largely determined by prior ideological commitment. Every practical procedure (for instance, in literary criticism) presupposes a theoretical perspective of some kind.”
2. Language is constitutive;
“Language conditions, limits, and predetermines what we see. Thus, all reality is constructed through language, so that nothing is simply 'there' in an unproblematical way everything is a linguistic/ textual construct.”
3. Truth is provisional;

“Instead of being solidly 'there' in the real world of fact and experience, they are 'socially constructed', that is, dependent on social and political forces and on shifting ways of seeing and thinking.”

4. Meaning is contingent;

“The meanings within a literary work are never fixed and reliable, but always shifting, multi-faceted and ambiguous. In literature, as in all writing, there is never the possibility of establishing fixed and definite meanings: rather, it is characteristic of language to generate infinite webs of meaning, so that all texts are necessarily self-contradictory.”

5. Human nature is a myth

“Theorists distrust all 'totalising' notions. 'Human nature', as a generalised norm which transcends the idea of a particular race, gender, or class, is to be distrusted too, since it is usually in practice *Eurocentric* (that is, based on white European norms) and *androcentric* (that is, based on masculine norms and attitudes). Thus, the appeal to the idea of a generalised, supposedly inclusive, human nature is likely in practice to marginalise, or denigrate, or even deny the humanity of women, or other disadvantaged groups.”

Contemporary literary theory has changed the nature of literary study by bringing forth these consequences to the literary study:

The indeterminacy of literary works' meaning does not mean the negation of the literary criticism, but it renders the value of such interpretation relative to the purposes of the criticism. Literary criticism cannot claim to be impartial and objective. It cannot longer stand outside the contests for meaning it identified because all critics operate within specific ideological positions. As a knowledge itself, it is inevitably a location of power and contests for power.

It is unavoidable that canonical status of literary works is being questioned and reexamined. Aesthetic evaluation on literature would be irrelevant because the boundaries of literature as a value and a category are not unchanging.

In literary reception, the readers are demanded to be skeptical with everything they have taken for granted from literary works. Rereading are required in order to seek out those elements in a text which are most alien or repressed or most radically discontinuous with what the readers take for granted.

It is unavoidable for critics to recast the received interpretations of old texts and frameworks. The critics should have to keep revealing interesting new zones of meaning and possibilities from literary works for future critical inquiry.

Literary theory remains valuable as long as it persists in being theoretical by continually criticizing its own dogmatism. When literary theory becomes self enclosed area and distant itself from critical movement, then it is no longer being theoretical. Theory must not only be assertive in advocating particular theory, but it must always be analytical to its own theory. Thus, theory always means criticism.

Conclusion

Contemporary literary theory has drastically changed the nature of literary study by questioning and criticizing literary study basic assumptions. It has changed the nature of literary study into unstable and uncertain quest of texts, meanings, identities, values, and truth. The relevance of its quest is relative and relevance only in certain socio-cultural contexts. It would have never achieved the

stability, uniformity, consistency and universality as science has achieved across social and cultural contexts.

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THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM IN THE PANJI STORY: A TZVETAN TODOROV'S NARRATOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

Narrative is understood as the record of human activities which relate strongly to a cultural matrix. Narrative, in terms of story or story telling, is representative of factual and fictional achievement placed in a chronological or causal order. Therefore, narrative and narratology have an important function in understanding cultural activities. Some structuralist scholars, especially those living during 1960-1980, created a special theory on narratology. There are four specialists of narratology; they are: Vladimir Propp, Claude Levi-Strauss, Tzvetan Todorov, and A. J. Greimas. They claimed the same perspective, that all narrative (such as folktale, myth, and legend) in fact share the same fundamental structure (i.e grammar, syntactical structure, semantics axes, actantial structure, or logical structure). Panji Story is one of Indonesian heritage stories popular during the rule of Majapahit Kingdom. The narratives were transmitted into folktales, oral literature, written literature, *hikayat*, or engraved as the reliefs at ancient temples. The narrative which was originated from Singasari Kingdom was so pervasive in East Javanese culture, as it created a Panji Culture (Nurchahyo, 2016). The spread of the narratives was so extensive, reaching Bali, Nusa Tenggara, Sumatra, Borneo, Papua, and to neighbouring countries such as Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar. This paper aims at revealing narrative sequences of Panji Narratives in line with Todorov's narrative theory, especially in relation to his narratology theory of equilibrium. Todorov's equilibrium gets a new perspective and meaning.

Keywords: narratology, Panji narratives, equilibrium, disruption, realization, repair, restoration

Introduction

Through long and arduous struggle, the Panji script was officially recognized by UNESCO as one of the memories of the world (MOW), in October 2017. In February 2017, the nomination proposal was signed by four countries, namely: Indonesia, Malaysia, Cambodia, and the Netherlands. In the proposal, Indonesia included 76 Panji manuscripts; Malaysia attached 7 Panji manuscripts; Cambodia

1 Panji manuscript; and Leiden University attached 252 Panji manuscripts (Agung, 2018). As noted by Prasetya (2014), Panji is a typical form of Indonesian creativity popular during the Majapahit kingdom in East Java. One thing is certain that the manuscript or oral version of Panji story created at that time is not based on the Indian literature.

The Panji story essentially contains the Javanese romance very popular in the Majapahit era (1300-1500 AD). The depiction of Panji story was also seen in the reliefs of the Panji story at Kendalisodo Temple, Mirigambar Temple in Tulungagung Regency, Yudha Temple on the slope of Penanggungan Mount, and especially Panataran Temple in Blitar Regency. Kieven (2014) assumed that the figure with a hat carved on the temple's reliefs was Panji. The Panji story is written in various versions of literature. These stories tell of the engagement of Putra Panji (Inu) from the Kingdom of Jenggala / Kahuripan with Putri Candrakirana (Sekartaji) from the kingdom of Daha/Kediri. After being separated, the two lovers searched for each other. They are eventually reunited after wandering around and overcoming many obstacles. These three elements - separation, mutual searching, and reunion - are characteristics of all versions of the Panji story.

During the 177 years of power, the Kingdom of Kediri (1045-1222) contributed to the color of the civilization in the archipelago. In its golden age, the reign of Kediri Kingdom covered a relatively extensive area. The expansive spread of the Panji story from Kediri kingdom in East Java to other places across the Archipelago is a proof that the Kingdom covered a very extensive area. Besides gaining popularity in Java, the Panji story was also known in Bali, Nusa Tenggara, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Papua. It even spread to Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar (Nurcahyo, 2016: 21-22). The Panji story is not only inherited through oral media (fairy tales) but also written media (saga), performing arts (*wayang beber*), and enshrined in temple reliefs. Despite its status as the world heritage, the Panji story is not understood and studied intensively or extensively, especially by the cultural owners of the story. It is time for the Panji story to be reviewed and appreciated more deeply by younger generation.

Questions arise, such as "Why is the Panji story so famous? What are the characteristics of the story compared to other stories? What is the meaning of Panji story?" This paper has two purposes. First, it aims to examine the narrative structure of the Panji story and reveal its meaning, both the surface and deeper meaning. Second, it aims to understand the basic structure of various Panji stories by using Tzvetan Todorov's structuralism narratology.

Theory

Narratology is a branch of structuralism that studies the narrative structure and how the structure influences the readers' perception. Narratology comes from Latin words *narratio* and *logos*. *Narratio* means a narrative, words, story, saga; whereas *logos* means science. Narratology is an attempt to study the nature of a 'story' as a concept and as a cultural practice. So, narratology is a systematic study of stories.

Narratology is also called a narrative discourse theory. Both narratology and narrative discourse theory are interpreted as a set of concepts about story and storytelling. Narratology develops on the basis of linguistic analogies, such as

syntactic models, as in the relationship between a subject, a predicate, and an object.

Tvzetan Todorov (1939-2017) is a prominent Bulgarian-French structuralist literary critic who studies the theory of narratology. He is also known as a philosopher, historian, anthropologist, and sociologist who is influential in these fields of science. Todorov uses the term *narratologie* to refer to structural analysis of parts of the story to reveal the functions and relations of these parts. He defines the story as "what is told" (what is narrated). The story being told is usually a chronological sequence of themes, motives, and plot lines. The plot presents the logical and causal relationship of a story. Discourse is used to describe stylistic choices that determine how a narrative text or performance is presented to the readers or audience (Richardson, 2017).

Todorov asserted that all the stories begin from the 'equilibrium' situation, a balanced state in which opposing forces are not in confrontation. This situation was then disrupted by "an event that changes the peaceful state." Other events then lead to the second 'equilibrium' situation.

As Richardson (2017) illustrates, there are five stages of narrative development that are shown in units of text meaning. The five stages are as follows: (1) a state of equilibrium, a condition that should occur; (2) Stage of disruption to the order; (3) Stage of realization (recognition) of disruption; (4) Phase of efforts to repair damage that occurs; and (5) the new equilibrium stage, a state of restoring the balanced condition. These five stages do not occur in a linear line but in a cycle (circle). If described, Todorov's narrative cycle is seen in the following figure 1.

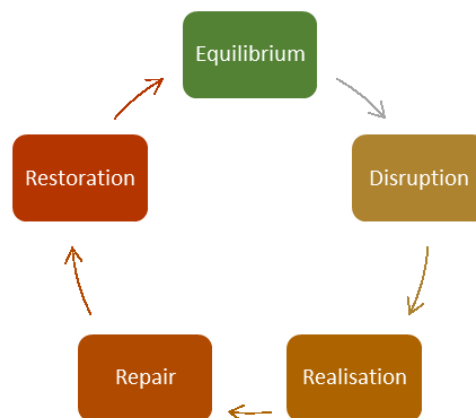


Figure 1 of Todorov's Narrative Cycle

Narration is driven by the urge to create balance. The initial balance and the final balance in the cycle are not the same. According to Todorov, narration always involves transformation. The characters of the stories and their situation are transformed through the development of disruption. Disruption often occurs outside local social norms, for example murder and creation of fear from which a character who solves the mystery will appear (Todorov, 1971).

Theory Application

The Panji story is not only documented in fairy tales. The study conducted by Nurcahyo (2016) on the tradition of the Panji story confirms that the appropriate

term to refer to all information relating to the Panji story is the Panji Culture. The Panji culture is a set of artifacts, sociofacts and mentifacts related to the Panji story. In the Panji culture, the Panji stories are found in four genres, namely *Hikayat Panji* (Panji Saga), *Dongeng Panji* (A Tale of Panji), *Sastra Panji* (Panji Literature), and *Seni Pertunjukan Panji* (Performing Arts). There are several documented media for the Panji story, namely oral media, ancient texts, written literature, temple reliefs, and performing arts.

Through oral media, we know the Tales of Panji, such as *Keong Mas*, *Timun Mas* (the East Javanese version), *Ande-ande Lumut*, *Panji Laras*, and *Golek Kencana*. Through the media of written literature, we know *Sastra Panji* (Panji Literature), *Panji Mordaningkung*, *Panji Megatkung*, *Panji Chekel Waningpati*, *Panji Narawangsa*, *Panji Jayengtilem*, *Panji Wulung*, *Serat Panji*, *Serat Panji Dadap*, *Wangbang Wideya*, and *Panji Raras*. From the inherited forms of saga, we know *Hikayat Panji Semirang*, *Hikayat Panji Anggraeni* or *Hikayat Kudawenangpati*, and *Hikayat Panji Jayakusuma*. There are many performing Arts related to the Panji Story. Among them are *Wayang Topeng* (Malang), *Wayang Beber* (Pacitan), *Wayang Timplong* (Nganjuk), *Wayang Gedog* (Malang), *Wayang Krucil* (Malang), *Wayang Thengul* (Bojonegoro), *Kethek Ogleng* (Pacitan, Wonogiri), *Jaranan* (Trenggalek, Tulungagung), *Reyog Ponorogo*, *Lutung Kasarung* (Sunda), Legong Dance, Drama Gong (Bali).

The following discussion involves five texts, namely (1) *Hikayat Panji Semirang*, (2) *Hikayat Panji Anggraeni*; (3) *Keong Mas* story; (4) *Ande Ande Lumut* story; and (5) The Panji Story in Temple Reliefs.

Hikayat Panji Semirang

Hikayat Panji Semirang is a romantic love story between Dewi Sekartaji and Raden Inu Kertapati that is full of obstacles and challenges. As a result of the jealousy of his half-sister, Galuh Ajeng, Dewi Sekartaji shaves off her hair, flees and disguises herself as a man. At first she calls herself Panji Semirang, then changes her name to Gambuh Warga Asmara. The disguise of Dewi Sekartaji ends when Raden Inu Kertapati catches her cuddling the doll given by Inu Kertapati.

The following are the narrative units which are grouped based on Todorov's narrative perspective:

1. Dewi Sekartaji or Candrakirana lives happily with her father in the Royal Palace of Daha (Kediri).
2. From his concubine, King Daha begets a daughter named Galuh Ajeng, who is envious and pampered by her father. One day, Raden Inu Kertapati sends two dolls. The golden doll is wrapped in rags and the silver doll is wrapped in silk. Ajeng chooses the silk-wrapped doll. Upon learning that she gets a silver doll, she wants to trade it with Candrakirana's doll. Candrakirana does not want to trade it. Her father shaves off her head to make Candrakirana look like a man. She leaves the palace and builds herself a royal palace. She disguises herself as a man named Panji Semirang.
3. Raden Inu Kertapati realizes that Panji Semirang and later Gambuh Warga Asmara is actually Dewi Candrakirana.

4. Inu Kertapati finds Dewi Candrakirana cuddling the golden doll he sends her as a gift.

5. Inu Kertapati and Dewi Candrakirana get married and live happily ever after in the royal palace.

Hikayat Panji Anggraeni

Hikayat Panji Anggraeni is a touching romantic love story. The story, abound in metaphors and symbols of romance, tells about the romance between Raden Inu Kertapati and Dewi Sekartaji, the reincarnation of his dead lover, Dewi Anggraeni. Although he is arranged to marry Dewi Sekartaji, Inu Kertapati falls madly in love with Dewi Anggraeni. For this, Dewi Anggraeni is murdered. Her beauty reincarnates in the body of Dewi Sekartaji and makes her more beautiful. Dewi Sekartaji is named Dewi Galuh Candra Kirana (the light of the moon).

The following are the narrative units of the Panji Anggraeni story based on Todorov's narratology formation:

1. Raden Inu Kertapati of Jenggala Kingdom is arranged to marry Dewi Sekartaji (Candrakirana). They both know this.

2. However, Raden Inu Kertapati falls deeply in love with Dewi Anggraeni, the daughter of Jenggala prime minister. Upon learning this, the King of Kediri is furious. Inu Kertapati's father hopes that Dewi Anggraeni will be the second wife. But Inu Kertapati does not marry anyone if his wish to marry Dewi Anggraeni is forbidden. Dewi Anggraeni is killed. Upon learning Dewi Anggraeni's death, Inu Kertapati is devastated and acts like a crazy man. He carries Dewi Anggraeni's dead body anywhere.

3. Raden Inu Kertapati realizes that Dewi Anggraeni is dead. He cremates her body. After that, Inu Kertapati wanders in the disguise of a man named Kudaweningpati.

4. When he walks in the garden of *soka* (geranium) flowers during the full moon, he sees Dewi Anggraeni's spirit fly to the moon from the blossoms of the *soka* flowers. The gods tell him that Anggraeni has become the moonlight shining upon Sekartaji. Sekartaji's beauty doubles and she gets a new name: Dewi Galuh Candra Kirana (moonlight).

5. Inu Kertapati realizes the resemblance between Candra Kirana and Dewi Anggraeni. He falls in love with Candra Kirana, gets married and they live happily ever after in the royal palace.

Keong Emas

Like *Ande Ande Lumut*, *Keong Emas*, or literally Golden Conch, is another popular folklore in Indonesia. The *Keong Emas* Imax Theatre, a giant snail-shaped theater building for a special high-tech movie show and performances, was named after *Keong Emas*. The theater building was founded on the initiative of Mrs. Tien Soeharto, the late First Lady of the second president of Indonesia, Soeharto, and was inaugurated on April 20, 1984. The story of *Keong Emas* is a romantic love story between Raden Inu Kertapati and Dewi Candrakirana. The challenge they face this time is Dewi Galuh's jealousy. One person's happiness can mean another person's misfortune" (Todorov, 1971). This love triangle triggers the development of *Keong Emas* storyline.

The following section describes the narrative units of the *Keong Emas* story in Todorov's narratology perspective.

1. King Kertamarta from the Kingdom of Daha has two daughters: Dewi Galuh and Candrakirana. Dewi Candrakirana is betrothed to Raden Inu Kertapati of the Kingdom of Jenggala.
2. Dewi Galuh feels jealous and envious to Candrakirana. Dewi Galuh asks for the enchantress' assistance to cast a spell on Candrakirana. The enchantress transforms Candrakirana into a golden conch and throws it to the sea. The magic will only be broken after she meets her fiancé.
3. An elderly woman catches fish and the golden conch. She puts it in a water vessel. Strange things happen. Food abounds and her house is always clean and neat. Who has done all of these things? Intrigued, the elderly woman peeks to see what is going on.
4. *Keong Emas* introduces herself as the princess of Daha Kingdom who is bewitched and turned into a golden scone by a wicked enchantress. When it happens, Raden Inu Kertapati ventures out in search for Candrakirana. The Wicked Enchantress disguises herself as a crow and shows him the wrong direction. Fortunately, an elderly man helps him find the right way. Raden Inu Kertapati continues to the village of *Dadapan*. When he sees a girl cooking, the magic disappears.
5. Raden Inu Kertapati marries Dewi Candrakirana. The elderly woman from *Desa Dadapan* is brought to live in the palace.

Dongeng Ande Ande Lumut

The story of *Ande Ande Lumut* has been studied using the Levi Strauss Structuralism approach by Taum (2011: 117-190). In the study, it was revealed that the cycle in the Panji story was closely related to the twin kingdoms of Kediri and Jenggala which were originally one kingdom called Kahuripan founded by King Airlangga. Disputes and civil wars between these two kingdoms constantly broke out. Taum concluded that the Story of *Ande Ande Lumut* implicitly projects the desires of the two twin kingdoms, Jenggala and Kediri, to live harmoniously and peacefully as envisioned by King Airlangga.

The following section describes the narrative units in Todorov's narrative theory.

- (1) Once upon a time, in East Java, Indonesia, there are two twin kingdoms, Jenggala Kingdom led by King Jayengnegara, and Kediri Kingdom led by King Jayengrana. It is told that both kingdoms used to be the realms of one kingdom called Kahuripan. According to the King Airlangga's last word before he died, the two kingdoms must be reunited through a bond of a marriage to avoid a civil war. Finally, Panji Asmarabangun (the heir of Jayengnegara) is betrothed to Sekartaji (the daughter of Jayengrana). They live happily ever after.
- (2) One day, Jenggala Kingdom is attacked by an enemy. In the midst of a fierce battle, Dewi Sekartaji escapes battle and hides in a village far away from Jenggala Kingdom. For her own safety, she disguises herself as a village girl and serves a wealthy widow, named *Nyai Intan*. *Nyai Intan* has three beautiful and flirtatious daughters. The eldest is *Kleting Abang*, the middle is *Kleting Ijo*, and the youngest is *Kleting Biru*. Dewi Sekartaji is adopted by *Nyai Intan* and given a name *Kleting Kuning*. In the

Widow's household, *Kleting Kuning* must do all the houseworks, such as cooking, washing, and cleaning the house. *Nyai Intan* often yells at her and her three other siblings treat her like a slave. In fact, the Widow only allows her to eat once a day.

(3) Meanwhile, in Jenggala Kingdom, Panji Asmarabangun and his troop succeed in defeating the enemy's troop. However, he is saddened because his wife has left the Jenggala palace and no one knows her whereabouts. After the peace and security resume in Jenggala, the Prince decides to find his wife by disguising himself as *Ande-ande Lumut*.

(4) *Ande-ande Lumut* announces a contest of finding a perfect wife. *Kleting Kuning* is the only one that can win his heart. The other girls are rejected by the Prince because the girls have let themselves be kissed by cunning Yuyu Kangkang. *Kleting Kuning* is confused because she has not found her husband. However, after *Ande-ande Lumut* removes his disguise and reveals that he is Panji Asmarabangun, *Kleting Kuning* is taken aback. Using the magic whip given by the stork, *Kleting Kuning* transforms herself into the most beautiful princess anyone has ever seen.

(5) Panji Asmarabangun finds out in disbelief that *Kleting Kuning* is indeed his own wife, Dewi Sekartaji. Finally, the enamored husband and wife are reunited and they live happily ever after. They move to live in the Jenggala palace, while *Nyai Intan* and her three daughters return to their village, disappointed and disgraced.

The Panji story in the Temple's reliefs

Based on the research by Kieven (2014), it is revealed that the reliefs in *Panataran* Temple show repeating patterns of situations. When streamlined, the reliefs retell an interesting spiritual pilgrimage. The five phases in Todorov's narratology framework can be arranged in the following sequence:

- (1) Yearning and Separation: a man and a woman sit in a typical pose yearning for love.
- (2) The journey of a man wearing a hat and his aides or *kadeyan* – Kertolo and Jurudeh.
- (3) The encounter with a hermit.
- (4) Crossing a body of water.
- (5) The union of a man and a woman in an intertwining position suggesting a sexual intercourse.

Compared to the Panji story, the narrative sequence of the temple reliefs is different. The third (3) element "the union of a man and a woman" generally occurs at the end of a narrative journey. In Kieven's notes (2014), the (1), (2), and (3) elements are important elements in a Panji literature. The strikingly different and most accentuated visual media in the reliefs are depicted in elements (4) and (5). Element (4) – the encounter with a hermit – symbolizes the teaching of *dharma* or high spiritual knowledge. Element (5) – crossing a body of water – symbolizes purification and movement from one stage of spiritual awakening to the higher level. Finally, it will end in the understanding of the Highest Wisdom or *sangkan paraning dumadi* – the beginning of all things (The Supreme).

Hidden Allusion

Kieven's conclusion (2014) on the symbols of spiritual purification and movement from one stage of religious knowledge to the higher stages is aligned

with Kuntara Widyamartana (1990:8) in his study on Arjunawiwaha. According to Widyamartana, Arjunawiwaha essentially suggests that the marriage between Arjuna and his wives (such as Drupadi, Ulupi, Citrasena, Subadra) has a religious and philosophical background of Tantric Hinduism and Buddhism. Kakawin essentially a symbol or an allegory (Robson in Widyamartana, 1990:8). Thus, an allegory or hidden allusion must be revealed in the Kakawin.

It is predicted that the Panji story has a hidden allusion. This allusion becomes clear when the temple reliefs telling the Panji story are studied, as conducted by Kieven (2014). The close relationship between the Panji story and Kakawin Arjunawiwaha can be seen in the context and locus of the two stories. According to Robson, Arjunawiwaha presents the life of Airlangga and contains the genealogy of Airlangga (Widyamartana, 1990:8). Meanwhile, the Panji story occurs when Airlangga divides Singosari into two small kingdoms, Jenggala and Kediri.

The theme 'yearning and union', as depicted in elements (1) and (3), is understood as two amorous (*kama*) situations as important experiences in the esoteric concept of "love during absence" and "love in consummation" (Supomo, in Kieven, 2014). This theme pervades throughout the story of Kakawin Arjunawiwaha.

Table 2 below concludes the discussion of *Hikayat Panji Semirang*, *Hikayat Panji Anggraeni*, *Dongeng Keong Emas*, and *Dongeng Ande-ande Lumut*, and the Panji story in Todorov's narratology perspective.

Table 2. The Panji story in Todorov's Narratology

	Equilibrium	Disruption	Realisation	Repair	Restoration (Equilibrium)
Panji Semirang	Dewi Sekartaji lives happily with her father in the palace of Daha (Kediri) Kingdom.	From his concubine, the King of Daha begets a daughter, named Galuh Ajeng, a jealous and spoiled girl.	Raden Inu Kertapati realizes that Panji Semirang and later Gambuh Warga Asmara is actually Dewi Candrakirana.	Inu Kertapati finds Dewi Candrakirana cuddling the doll that Raden Inu Kertapati has given her.	The marriage of Inu Kertapati and Dewi Candrakirana
Panji Anggraeni	Raden Inu from Jenggala kingdom is arranged to marry Dewi Sekartaji. They know that they will marry each other.	Raden Inu falls madly in love with Dewi Anggraeni, the daughter of the prime minister of Jenggala.	Raden Inu realizes that Anggraeni is dead, and he wanders aimlessly disguising himself as Kudaweningpati.	The spirit of Dewi Anggraeni reincarnates in Dewi Sekartaji.	Inu marries Dewi Sekartaji who has been transformed into Dewi Candrakirana.

Keong Mas	King Kertamarta from Daha Kingdom has two daughters: Dewi Galuh and Candrakirana. Dewi Candrakirana is engaged to Raden Inu Kertapati from Jenggala Kingdom.	Dewi Galuh is jealous and envious. An enchantress transforms Dewi Candrakirana into a golden conch (literal meaning of <i>Keong Emas</i>) and throws it to the sea. The spell will only be broken after Dewi Chandrakirana reunites with her fiancé.	An elderly widow finds a golden conch. After that, food abounds in her house. Keong Emas shows herself as a princess of Daha Kingdom who is transformed into a golden conch by an enchantress' spell.	Raden Inu ventures out in search for Candrakirana in disguise. When he sees a girl cooking, the enchantress's spell is lifted and the girl is freed.	Raden Inu Kertapati marries Dewi Candrakirana. The elderly widow of <i>Dadapan</i> is brought to live in the palace.
Ande-ande Lumut	Panji Asmarabangun (the son of King Jayengnegara) is engaged to Sekartaji (the daughter of King Jayengrana). They live happily as a married couple in Jenggala.	One day, the Kingdom of Jenggala is attacked by an enemy. Princess Dewi Sekartaji escapes from the palace and hides in a village, disguising herself as Kleting Kuning.	After peace and security reign again in Jenggala Kingdom, the Prince decides to search for his wife by disguising himself as Ande Ande Lumut.	Ande Ande Lumut announces a contest for girls to be his wife. Kleting Kuning wins the contest. Other girls do not win because they allow themselves to be kissed by cunning Yuyu Kangkang.	Finally, the enamored couple is reunited and they return to the palace to live happily ever after.
Panji in the Temple Relief	Yearning and Separation: a man and a woman are sitting in a typical sensual pose yearning for love	The journey of a man with a hat and his aides or kadeyan – Kertolo and Jurudeh.	The encounter with a hermit.	Crossing the body of water.	The union of a man's and a woman's flesh in an intertwining position suggesting a sexual intercourse.

It can be seen clearly that the cycle of Todorov's narrative in Table 2 cannot fully explain the essence of Panji Story. Even though the five narrative units are fulfilled, the new equilibrium in the form of cycle cannot adequately explain the transformation of physical reality to the spiritual reality; from the sexual intercourse and union to the spiritual intercourse and union. Therefore, it is suggested that the narrative scheme of the Panji story be linear instead of cyclical. The new scheme can be seen in the following figure.

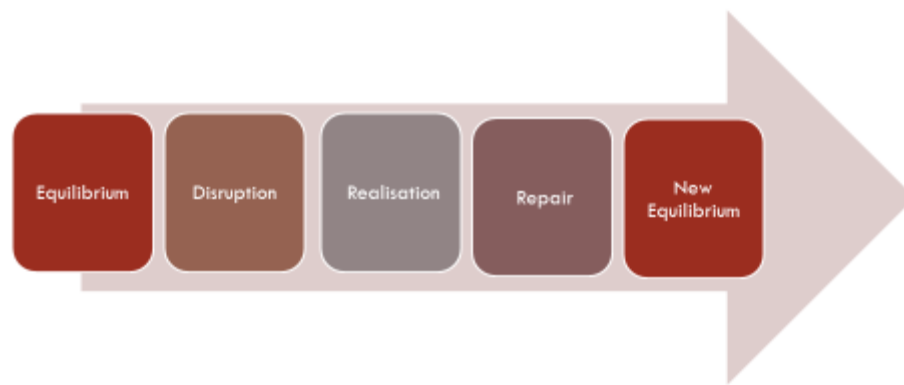


Figure 3 Narrative Structure of the Panji Story

One problem remains in the equilibrium stage in Todorov's narratology model. Using the narrative structure model as seen in Scheme 3, it can be concluded that the narrative story of Panji is not confined in the same physical circle. The Panji story is not a mere romantic love story. The Panji story actually represents human's constant conquest in understanding the origin of his life (*sangkan paraning dumadi* – the beginning of things) and in uniting with his Creator. It is a story of human's spiritual journey to the higher stage.

Conclusion

The Panji story is a very popular Indonesian narrative story as a part of a Panji Culture. The popularity of the Panji story is due to the fact that the stories are presented in various communication media, both spoken and written. The story shifts the narrative center from being a palace-centered esoteric stories to commoners-centered esoteric stories. The study of Todorov's narratology proves that the narrative sequences in the Panji story have covered the five stages of narrative development, namely equilibrium, disruption, realization, repair, and new equilibrium. However, the results of the study prove that the pattern of the narratology development of the Panji story is not circular but linear.

There are three layers of meaning in the Panji story. First, the Panji story reflects a Javanese romantic story describing love, faithfulness, and efforts. The Panji story teaches virtues of romantic relationship, namely faithfulness, sincerity to love, and efforts to win the heart of the loved one. Second, the Panji story symbolizes political agreement in uniting two historical kingdoms, Jenggala Kingdom and Daha Kingdom, by a marriage bond between Panji Asmarabangun from Jenggala and Putri Candrakirana from Daha Kingdom. This political agreement is an important aspect in maintaining peace and harmony. Kediri Kingdom is famous for the awakening in the classic literature. Some classic literary works written in the era of Kediri Kingdom were Kakawin Bharatayuddha, Hariwangsa, and Gatotkacasraya by Mpu Panuluh, Smaradahana by Mpu Dharmaja, and Prelambang Joyoboyo, Lubdhaka and Wrtasancaya by Mpu Tanakung (Kieven, 2014 b). In this context, it can be implied that Majapahit Kingdom also wanted peaceful and harmonious life by promoting the Panji story. Third, the Panji story containing tantric and spiritual symbols reveals the meaning

of Panji's spiritual journey in understanding his origin and purpose of life or *sangkan paraning dumadinya* (see Taum, 2018). The third layer of meaning is actually the hidden allusion which becomes the main message of the Panji story.

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WOMEN STORIES OF THE VIOLENT CONFLICT IN POSO AND TRAUMA HEALING

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Abstract

This article intends to unfold women experiences in coping with trauma of the violent conflict and their efforts to release its burden. In the last decade, the victims of violence are referred to get a psycho-theuraphy of trauma due to their depression from the disaster. Development agencies often initiate the program of trauma healings for the victims with the posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) model, especially for women who were described as passive actors and became the most vulnerable victims in the violent conflict. The fact that women were involved in the conflict as active social actors was less accounted due to the healing mechanism. Their experiences, such as individual memories on vengeance and struggles for family survival tend to be inarticulated, except their attempts to forget traumatic burdens. This article defines the articulation of women stories as both a crucial factor in healing their past traumatic experiences which in turn the stories could be as an effective approach to pave a way for reconciliation. The contribution of narrative for releasing the burden of traumatic experiences from the past atrocities has been the subject of the recent discussion in the academic field.

Keywords: Poso, trauma healing, violent conflict, women stories

Introduction

The series of violent conflict become a part of historical narratives in Indonesia. Even, after the country independence from Dutch colonialism, violence continuously displayed particularly during the authoritarian New Order regime between 1965 and 1998 (Anderson, 2001 & Schulte Nordholt, 2002, pp. 36-42). Indeed, the violence also happened during Soekarno regime, the predecessor of the New Order, but it was less massive and brutal. In this period, violence was instigated by the state mainly to overcome separatism and rebellion, such as the Darul Islam/ Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) rebellion of Kartosuwiryo in West Java and Kahar Muzakar in South Sulawesi, the communist party revolt in Madiun, 1948, the proclamation of Republik Maluku Selatan (Republic of South Moluccas, RMS) in 1950 and Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia

(Revolutionary Government of Indonesian Republic, PRRI) in Bukittinggi 1958-1962.

If military operations against anti-state insurgencies constituted the main efforts of Soekarno's government to reach unity in diversity, Soeharto's New Order deployed military operation to strengthen his power. Beginning with the extermination of hundred thousands of communist party sympathizers in 1965 after the military took over power from Soekarno, violence was used again and again by the New Order to silence people who criticized or subverted the regime (Hüsken and de Jonge, 2002, pp. 1-10). State violence was, for example, perpetrated in several regions, e.g. the military invasion of East Timor in 1975 (Simpson, 2005, pp. 285-291), the Petrus or 'mysterious killings' of criminals in the 1980s (van der Kroef, 1985, pp 745-759), the military attacks against an Islam radical group in Tanjung Priok in 1984 (Thufail, 2010, pp. 211-212), as well as against an Islamic radical group in Talangsari, Lampung in 1989 (Fadilasari, 2007), and the military operations in Aceh between 1970s and 1990s (Robinson, 1998, pp. 129-132). The collapse of the New Order did not result in the end violence in Indonesia. Due to the weakness of the state after Soeharto's downfall, violent conflict between ethno-religious groups erupted in several regions, such as between Dayak and Melayu against Madurese in the West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan, as well as Christians against Muslims in Kupang, Ambon and the North Moluccas and Poso.

In Poso, the collective violence between Muslim and Christian groups was triggered by the fight between youth gangs whose members had the different religious identities in December 28, 1998. Since then, the tension between Moslem and Christian communities continuously heightened and sporadically broke out into violence in several villages. There was no exact number of casualties and victims, but the estimation was more than a thousand people dead, thousands more injured and more than 145,000 persons displaced. It was about a half of the district population seriously affected with the conflict which at the time amounted 231,893 (Badan Pusat Statistik Poso, 2001). Among the property damages, there were more than 12,000 houses and public buildings burned down. Livelihood and economic activities were paralyzed while people lost their material belongings and disintegrated from their familial ties as well as distrust to their neighborhood and communities.

As the escalation of the violent conflicts was up and down along the time, observers and mass media generally oversimplified the chronology of Poso conflicts into five phases. First phase was in 25-29 December 1998 when the fight of youth dragged the religious identity into the social unrest that was then controlled by state apparatus and religious leaders. The second phase occurred in 16-22 April 2000. Again, youth gangs fighting in the bus station provoked the different religious communities of Islam and Christian into an open battle. Houses, churches and schools in several villages in the district of Poso Kota were burnt down. In this phase, the battle was still isolated in the urban center of Poso. The third phase erupted on 24 May to 2 June 2000 in which it was speculated as the retaliation of Christian groups against the attack to their communities during the second phase. The nuance of religious violence was salience in this conflict because people were split into two different religious identities. In the name of solidarity, people from other regions began to arrive in Poso to support their

groups in the battle field. The attack and raid on religious symbols reaches the climax in the fourth phase from July 2 to October 23, 2000. The conflicts were exacerbated with the arrival of jihad militia from Java and South Sulawesi in July 19, 2001. The battle between two communities continued with greater escalation and spread widely to rural villages. More houses, churches and mosques became the target of raid. People who fled from their home were divided in accordance with their religious alignment. After being interrupted for a week, the battle continued to break out in the outskirts of Poso, which was then called the fifth phase (November to December, 2001). This last phase happened prior to Malino peace accord intervened by the central government team from December 19-20, 2001 (Ecip, 2002; Damanik, 2003).

However, the violent conflict had not come to end with the peace accord although the mobilization of the groups in the open battle declined after the agreement. The attack then turned into underground and sporadic terror. The target was no longer religious groups, but persons in public areas. Since the agreement of Malino, there were still incidents of mysterious killings, random bomb explosions, and abductions. The police alleged that the perpetrators of the violence after peace agreement were groups connected with Asian terrorist network that backed them up with military training and automatic weaponry support (Tempo, 2 November 2003; ICG, 2006 & 2007, McRae, 2016). The de-escalation of violence took place gradually after peace accord and various efforts of grass root reconciliation, judicial prosecution and security measures to restore coexistence.

Like in the other areas of conflict in Indonesia, the violent conflict in Poso brought about bitterness and suffering to people who lost their families, and displaced from their home and neighborhood. More than that, it was also disrupted social solidarity, kinship relations or other social ties that it turned into prejudice distrust and hostility. The effect of violence led survivors to shoulder the traumatic burden that affected not only individual relationship, but also social cohesion of the community.

Theory

The trauma project and survivors of mass violence

One of the common popular programs during the conflict in Poso was trauma healing therapy. Humanitarian agencies, Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) or relief workers carried out the program to response stress and depression of the violent survivors. Their activities were often integrated with other services i.e. food distribution and shelter building in the refugee camp, micro finance, health service provision, water and sanitation, to dialog for reconciliation, etc. In the absence of government intervention, their activities were important due to the need of victims and survivors. Unfortunately, most of NGOs were dependent on the fund support of the donors. So, when the donors had leaved them, their activities did not last long. It could be reflected from the declining number of NGOs and grassroots activities after international agencies and donors moved out their humanitarian programs into natural disaster relief in other parts of Indonesia. Certainly, few local NGOs and social workers were still persistent and

continuously facilitated peace buildings indiscriminative to people in their activities.

Regarding with the trauma healing activities, the relief agencies assumed that the program were urgent because people getting accustomed to frequent random acts of violence during the conflict. They became numb and insensitive due to the suffering from a constant threat of violence exposure. So, they had to be assisted to release their traumatic burdens such as witnessing widows who were lost children or husband in front of their eyes, finding children whose parents were killed on the street or watching their houses and properties were burnt down, etc. A psychiatric consultant in the trauma healing program said that she found many symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) such as depression, flashbacks, insomnia, nightmares and even worse, the signs of being insane in the area. She convinced if the mental disturbance left untreated it could debilitate an individual permanently, and expressed itself in physical manifestations. The mental health problems could affect entire families, for instance, if a mother is too depressed to leave her home, her children must bear this burden alone. The impact of mental health could also be serious for the community as it could spin them into a spiral of violence in which out-group hostility and vengeance remain intact.

Dealing with the situation, such as trauma healing program was certainly needed as priority but the method and approaches to carry on the activities should be put into consideration. Healing or psychological recovery would make the life of the survivors getting better, reducing vengeance and help them becoming open to engage with process of reconciliation (Kriesberg, 1998; Staub, 2006). Nonetheless, the wrong mechanism of the healing program could lead to maltreatment or victimization of the survivors because the survivors of the violent conflict were different with the victim of criminal or domestic violence. The PTSD model that was often adapted as trauma healing model was certainly insufficient while the humanitarian agencies that supported the process might not realize its impacts (Pintar, 2000, pp. 59-60; Silove, et al., 2007).

Several warnings are alarmed by the scholars dealing with the trauma healing activities for the victims of collective violence in which the idea grounded from the PTSD. Silove and his colleague (2007) critically reminded that the concept of psychological trauma based on Western culturally bond theories on psychopathology rather than cross culturally applied to describe psychological problems. PTSD was created for historical and political reasons, particularly to legitimize the suffering of USA veterans from the Vietnam War. So, the underlying context of the use was specific that it could not be applied without understanding socio-cultural context of the violence. This point is true to my experiences since the victims and survivors of collective violence would rather keep their traumatic memories for themselves due to the fact that they remained living together in their neighborhood with the perpetrator. Moreover, if we asked them to identify their problems aftermath violence, they rarely mentioned having mental problems.

The symptoms as indicated by PTSD are also generic and normative like reactions of anxieties so that it should not been defined as illness or abnormality. Local concepts of stress or other forms of depression do not specify as symptoms of PTSD. They have their own constructs and attributions in relation to mental disorder. The traumatic memories could not be solved by personal therapy

isolated from the socio- political and cultural context. The individual memories could be understood by linking the individual experiences with the collective history of the communities because the memories are meaningful to survivors in that serving to mourn losses, strive for justice, learn from the past and maintain a cultural legacy of a society's history. In this regard, the trauma healing should be put in socio-cultural context to support reconciliation by redeveloping trust and reweaving social fabrics torn by the conflict and atrocities.

The complexities of violent conflict made a difficult to define victims who needed help for healing traumatic burdens. One day someone become victim, on the other day they could become perpetrator, and vice versa. The common expression was that everyone felt as the victim who was the most suffering from the conflict. Some of my informants in Poso also told that they recognized a few of their neighbors either taking a part in destroying their houses or doing nothing when strange people attacked them during the conflict. Most of them also remembered that the targeted houses being burnt down seemed to be selected. The dominant Christian villages were attacked by those people who worn and yelled Muslim attributes. Oppositely, the dominant Moslem settlement was also ransacked by allegedly Christians dressing in black shirts with red bandana. They wondered how the harmonious life in their areas was torn by the conflict and the religious symbols could inflame them into a series of bloody violence. Indeed, people were also confused of what really happened in the area.

During the conflict, women and men have different experience and problems due to the different gender role and sexuality. In several cases, women were not harmed by people who attacked their villages because they were neither seen as the threatening enemy nor regarded as being responsible for causing the conflict. Some women said they were released without physical injuries when their villages were under the siege of the enemy. But, they had to flee due to the uncertain situation. While men were obliged to defend their villages or to seek the way out escaping from the violence, women took care of children and the elderly in looking for safe places. They did it simply because there was an absence of men along with them as well as for life. In refugee camp, women's struggle to make a living in any remunerative activities for the survival of their family when men lost their job or were absorbed in voluntary emergency programs such as the reconstruction of their destroyed villages and public facilities (Putranti & Subagya, 2005).

Rarely and only exceptionally did women perpetrate in violence. A few of women indeed mentioned that they joined the groups as combatants during the conflicts, but their roles were just to give support to their men in the battle field, such as providing logistics for the group in defending their villages or praying for the awakening of their bravery. A woman who once joined the civilian paramilitary group told me that there were only seven women in her paramilitary group. Like her, the women became combatants because they were angry and wanted to take revenge for her parents' death. They joined simple military training for the battle, but they were never in the frontline because their task was to prepare logistics and to take care of injured combatants. Together with the other members of combatants, she eventually quitted from the group after realizing that the conflict would not be solved by vengeance.

Women were marginal because of masculinity character of the conflict and the gender division of labor in the community. The marginal position of women had been taking place even before the violent conflict. The division of labor between men and women seemed complement one to another but the status and its relation was not equal. Compared to men, women were lack of accessibility and less involvement in any public sectors. During the conflict and its aftermath, women expanded roles in the public spheres for the family survival since men productive activities were reduced by the insecurity and distrust within the conflicting communities. The greater role of women also appeared in their involvement in the institutions and women's organizations in promoting reconciliation and peace building, but they were still excluded in the formal political discourse and less represented in the decision making even if the decision was addressed to tackle their problems. The government policies were even discriminative to women in a sense that any program beneficiaries in grassroots level only registered men as the household head. Furthermore, violence against women as the effects of the conflicts remained being neglected.

Due to complexities of the violent conflict, trauma healing activities should be integrated with the larger process of reconciliation. If the trauma healing model is only isolated to personal therapy like the PTSD, it is not sufficient (Mendeloff, 2009, pp. 613-614). In the collective violence such as in Poso, the survivors and the victims lived together with the unrepentant perpetrators in the same area. Moreover the stronger ethnic and religious identification and social and residential segregation as result of the conflict limited their social space of interaction. In this condition, trauma facilitator might also be hardly to work if the facilitator was demanded to stand up in 'neutral' position among the groups while there would be enormous people who claimed as victims of the violence.

Theory Application

Story telling as trauma healing and a pathway of reconciliation

Telling story is the mechanism to release traumatic burdens of individual experience. Psychiatry makes it as the therapeutic method and considers it as the appropriate mechanism for people who were stress or suffered under the oppression. By telling their experience about the horrific events, they have undergone facilitates the recovery. If the story telling is intended by psychiatrist to cure the client and keep it confidential for clinical record, the social scientist and humanitarian agencies use the document of the story in the mass atrocity or collective violence as part of reconciliation process. The use of storytelling for both purposes has been recognized by the humanitarian agencies and human right activists, but in practice it is often carried out in the separated programs and unrelated one to another (Pintar, 2000; Chaitin, 2003; Zurburchen, 2005, Mendeloff, 2009).

The potential worth of storytelling to heal the traumatic past experience and reconciliation process relate with the human basic capability that is capacity to speak. It mediates the construction of individual identities and positions in relation with other people and communities (Senehi, 2000, pp. 103-104). Dealing with the past violence, storytelling leads the healing of the traumatic experiences through a process by which the feelings of shattered pieces of the self are reconnected. The process have to involve state representatives or truth commission and publicly

acknowledged since the individual stories are part of larger narrative of their past violence and to know that one's suffering is not solely a personal experience. The state support of the truth telling would make the past events became the lesson and prevent the reoccurrence of the atrocities or violent conflict in the future.

Storytelling refers to speaking about one's life. It manifests a capability of what it means to be human. In relation with the notion of justice that is a fundamental part of reconciliation, the story telling becomes a vital process to attain it. There are six dimensions of the story telling in relation to justice. First, the story telling is an essential human activity in that people make their life meaningful. Second, the story telling constitutes to restore the victim's ability to speak or to tell story with their owned words that was taken away by the uncertainties and horrible condition during the violent conflict. It was particularly to the victims who were tortured as they were forced to follow the language of torturer who show of their superiority. Third, storytelling reveals truth, especially in the free atmosphere without constraints of talk such as in judicial process. Fourth, stories serve as translation, communication and recognition. In the conflict situation that are deeply divided communities culturally, economically, politically, the sharing of personal narratives could be the only means by which such diverse people can begin to understand each other. When stories translate events into a shared language, they arouse our emotions. It can express and transmit human emotions such as pain, loss, separation, desperation. Stories provide a common language by which the less powerful can communicate with the powerful. The public act of storytelling can lead to both self and mutual recognition. Fifth, the story telling is a kind of ritual that renewed the status of one who told their stories by acknowledgement of the audience. It reborn individuals in new social space where allows them to talk freely and to be liberated from the forms and fears that might restrain them. Sixth, the story telling make the invisible memory of the past could be remembered. It enables past oppression, pain, atrocity that was shattered putting back together. It gives them a meaning and learning materials to prevent the recurrence of atrocity in the future (Phelps, 2006).

Taking into accounts the victim's experiences is substantially significant not only to understand the causes of the conflict, but also to look for the ways for social reconciliation. Within their experiences, there are collective memory, psychological burden of trauma and perhaps vengeance. By listening to their experiences, we can learn the other side of historical narratives as well as their aspirations for the conflict resolution. It is due to the fact that the experience of violent conflicts, as with social life, is not built upon a single discourse. It is constructed from a stock of available discourses that are shared with other individuals and social groups. Indeed, the concept of truth has no single meaning as it disentangles from the power relations. There is multiple meaning of truth in the discursive practices by which the meaning is contested and unstable. In this limitation, truth underlies ethical consideration of social justice at least for victim and survivor of violence.

From the victim perspective, the need to tell truth stories of the past violence and the demand for social justice is very fundamental. Priscilia Hayner (2002) shows a variety of benefits to enforce telling the truth for uncovering secret abuses and legacies of violence. Accordingly, Zurbuchen (2005, p. 11) pinpointed the advantage of the Truth Commission including clarification and

acknowledgement of ‘what happened’, through lifting veils of denial and secrecy; responding to the needs and interest of victims, through enabling them to tell their stories and have their suffering recognized; contributing to justice and accountability through gathering information that may be used in formal legal proceedings; outlining institutional responsibility and recommending reforms; and promoting resolution of conflicts and reduction of tension. However, not all countries could accept the founding of truth commission due to the remaining strong position of the agents who supported the violence still dominant in negotiation for the state’s rule and policies.

In Poso, several attempts to end the conflicts have been made since the outbreak of the violence but the efforts did not meet a sense of justice in the grass root.ⁱ Meanwhile, the legal process got stuck since each community intimidated the juries, prosecutors and witnesses or even provoked mass violence whenever people that belonged to their group was prosecuted on trial.ⁱⁱ Despite the stagnancy of judicial system, the peace agreement that had been made was not really implied on true reconciliation because the agreement were focused on the consensus to end up group mobilization, and to build peace as well as to reconstruct the public facilities, but absence for revealing truth and public acknowledgement of the conflict. There was no recommendation in the peace agreement to seek the truth for the grassroots that wanted to know what had been really happening in their area. However, the conflict gradually declined along the time in the area, but leaving the population traumatic burdens of the past as appeared in the sharply social and residential segregation based on ethno-religious identities.

The domains of woman stories and their agencies for reconciliation

The experiences of women in Poso were more or less similar with stories of women in the other conflict areas in terms of gender based violence, discrimination and injustice. But, it was specific in relation to the local context of the conflicts, in which ethnic and religious nuances became salient identification. There were several topics of traumatic events which people told me during my fieldwork in the area. These include depression for the death of their spouse, family members or relatives; suffering for family survival, material lost and the damage of their properties; flee looking for safe place in that they had to move or to hide several times; protecting children or family members due to the absence of their spouse; flexibility make interaction crossing ethnic and religious boundaries that was sharply divided during the conflict; participation of violence supporters from other regions who exacerbated situation; the late intervention of state and security apparatus to assist them in their danger or midst of difficulties; forgiving people who had made them sufferings, but not forgetting their wrong doing in the past. Several women also suffered from sexual violence such as sexual harassment, forced abortion, rape and battering. Certainly, there were much more various topics spoken depending on situation and persons who we encountered, but the domain of stories above were repetitively articulated either by the same informants or other persons in the different times whenever I talked with them.ⁱⁱⁱ

In the absence of government to set up truth commission, the reconciliation process in the grass root was initiated by NGOs and civil society elements. The organizations worked in a wide range of activities such as trauma healing and

provided assistance for the socio-economic rehabilitation in the post conflict as well as redeveloping trust in the community. They also involved women as the main actor of reconciliation at the grass root. It was assumed that women had no interest with the conflict root. So, women were relatively less prejudice and inclusive in social interactions. The socio-economic intervention would empower their position, and by extension their household resilience. Thus, together with women's engagement in the socio-economic activities, the social reconciliation could be enhanced in the community.

Besides non-government organization's support through their programs, women had been playing a prominent role to reweave social fabric in the grass root that was torn along with the conflict. While men kept up their past memories of the other groups as threatening enemies, women interacted and developed the mutual understanding among them to end the conflict. Women had less burden of fear to interact with others. When the tension of the communal conflict was still high, they could still safely cross over ethnic and religious boundaries. Some of them could made cooperation in small business activities as well as encouraged the recovery either in the refugee camp or in the villages. Some others who were engaged in the public domains such as civil servants, traders or peasants also smartly rebuild social relationship not only among their colleagues and clients, but also among wider societies.

The reconciliation in that women played as key actors went on in two different levels. At the household level women responsibility to educate children enabled healing traumatic experience of their children from the bitterness of conflict. At the community level, those who became traders, teachers or religious leaders, etc enable to cross borders of ethno-religious segregation and build trust among the conflicting groups through their activities. Women initiated and participated in any public gatherings for reconciliation in many villages. Their greater involvement in public spheres contributed to the development of peace. Through their engagement in public arenas, they could tell to different community members about the recovery situation of everyday life in their areas. To the extent of social reintegration, such activities pave a way for reconciliation in regard to the decline of social trust and a sense of insecurity.

Even though women play important role in promoting reconciliation and peace, many obstacles hindered them to fully participate in the peace building process and activities. This limitation stemmed from cultural constraints in that the ideal type of woman was those who were obliged to take care of household chores and to look after their children. Doing activities outside their house was considered an extension of their responsibilities to keep up their household welfare. Women's involvement in public space was mainly intended as a protection for their families and communities rather than with a conscious attempt to the development of peace. Aside from that, their contribution in the reconciliation process was neglected by the government. Only a few women were in fact involved in the decision making for peace building, and they were not assigned for rethinking about appropriate public policies sensitive to women's problems. Most of the reconstruction programs after the conflict were gender bias in a sense that the programs were undifferentiated in their implementation, specifically to women's problems such as reproductive health, vulnerability to

sexual violence, and women's accessibility to public services. It was an irony that the potential role of women as the important agent for reconciliation process was less supported by the state and formal institutions.

To overcome the conflict needs an integrated approach. To end violence, the agreement of leaders of the conflicting groups to ceasefire was not enough. It was neither adequate solution if the government only deployed more security troops and rebuild the destroyed public infrastructure, but they did not pay attention to the victims and vulnerable groups. The reconciliation was also not enough with asking forgiveness without addressing social justice. In this way, the collective memory of the bitterness from the violent conflict should be properly reconstructed by seeking truth, and their past psychological wounds should be healed by public recognition and rehabilitation. The meaningful reconciliation could not be achieved without justice in that it based on the fundamental human rights including women who experience the conflict differently and have different access to resources.

Conclusion

The violent conflict has multi-dimension effects on the victims. It was not just a matter of losing or damaging their properties, but also leaving traumatic burdens to people whose family member died, and displaced from their homes. The violent conflict had also disrupted social solidarity, kinship relations or other social ties that it led to rising up social prejudice, distrust and segregation on the basis of religious and ethnic identities. Regarding with this complexities, the trauma healing program that is commonly proposed to heal the violent victims may inadequate if it is only reduced into individual therapy. It should be integrated and complement with other reconciliation activities to meet the needs of victims and to fulfil justice.

Storytelling which is used in the psychological therapy and also used as the media of telling truth in truth commission of several countries might be an appropriate mechanism to release the traumatic burden of the past violence. However, this mechanism needs sensitivity to local cultural context by which the stigmatization to the victims should be avoided and the re-victimization could be prevented. Women stories from the violent conflict in Poso gave a lesson how they could be key actors in the grass-root reconciliation while healing the wounded past through their interaction across the borderline of ethno-religious identities. However, their stories were less recognized in the formal peace process. None of their activities were accounted for the rehabilitation in the post conflict agenda. Women's stories in peace makings submerged in the dominant discourse on a conflict and its resolution that it highlighted only the grand narratives on formal peace accord, government rehabilitation programs and reconstruction activities.

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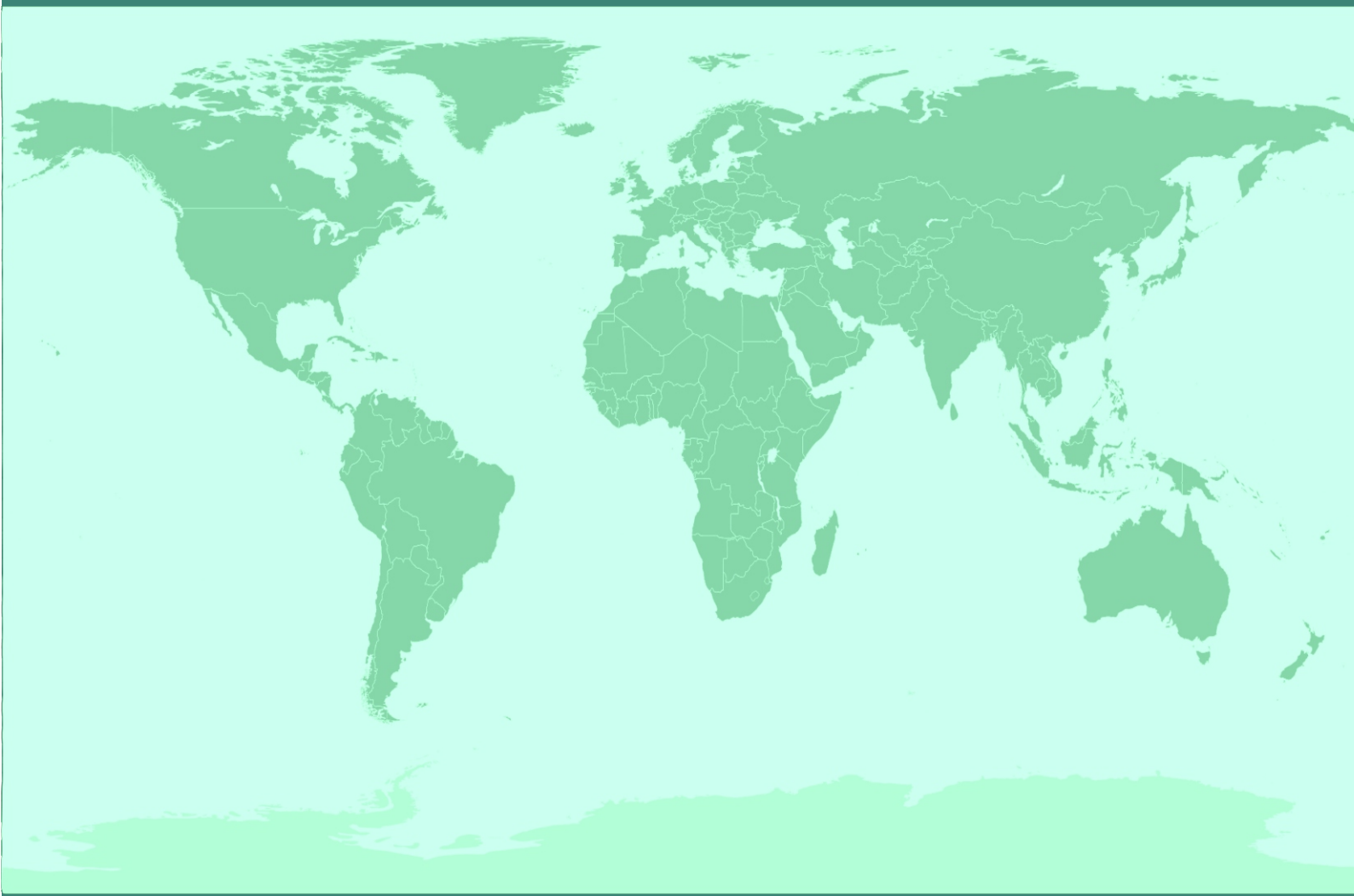
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