

Sacrificing Life for the Lives of Others: An Analysis of Critical Discourse of the Mythological Story of Nyale Tradition

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Abstract

Making sacrifices is one of the things that draws on local wisdom. This discourse describes how society interprets its social relations by prioritizing the ideology of making sacrifices. The Kodi ethnical community in Sumba Indonesia, demonstrated this through the myth of Inya Biri (abbreviated to IB); and the Sasak ethnical community in Lombok shows this through the myth of Putri Mandalika (abbreviated to PM). Both IB and PM myths have been transformed into nyale (a type of sea worm), which then became Nyale Pasola (abbreviated to NP) and Bau Nyale Festival (BNF) which are packaged as tourist attractions in Indonesia. Such transformations show a mythological relationship and the realities of NP and BNF; a textual reproduction and an economic exchange as well as the meaning of making sacrifices in the dialogical relation between faith and culture. This needs to be critiqued to understand the ideologies that the stories of IB and PM contain, using the approach of the Critical Discourse Analysis (abbreviated to CDA) and Deconstruction, and to observe inconsistency, contradiction, and logical imprecision (abbreviated to LI) found in the text. The results show that ICL opposes the first pole (making sacrifices, faithfulness, love, unity, and welfare) and the second pole (disobedience, betrayal, violence, hostility, and misery). The binary opposition, as a metaphysical and hierarchal form, shows that the first pole is better than the second one. Contribution: ICL and the binary opposition are the keys to the construction of new meanings and show that a tradition has the power to stay alive as long as it is supported by a dialogue between faith and culture.

Keywords: Bau Nyale Festival, making sacrifices, mythology, Nyale, Nyale Pasola.

The Nyale tradition, the preparation of the Mandalika Circuit to be a motor GP racing arena, and the development of the circuit area as one of the ten new Balis in Indonesia have been in the public spotlight (Artana, 2022: 31 - 32). It is

narrated in a mythological story that Putri Mandalika (Princess Mandalika) transformed into nyale, which has then been adopted as the icon of sports and tourism. The rural people, whose economy is based on the primary sector,

have been led to the tourism sector. The villages have been used to generate income and interest tourists who wish to enjoy their naturalness and traditions (Hudayana, 2021: xi). Similarly, the nyale tradition (the search for the sea worm) carried out in Southwest Sumba has also been used as the icon of tourism. This opportunity needs to be used to support the society's welfare. However, caution is required to avoid tourism degrading Indonesian cultural customs.

In the mythological story of Putri Mandalika (hereinafter referred to as PM), it is implicitly narrated that she chose to die for the lives of others. Such a mythological story can also be found in the traditional belief carried out by those living at Ratenggaro Village, Southwest Sumba, and the other villages around it. The two characters chose to die at sea in different ways and for different reasons. Putri Mandalika plunged herself into the sea on Seger Beach, Kuta, Central Lombok. Inya Biri chose to drown herself on Ratenggaro Beach, Maliti Bondo Ate, Southwest Sumba after her sister was sacrificed and transformed into rice. Both Putri Mandalika and Inya Biri transformed into nyales (the sea worms). This is the story narrated in the myths of the local people. The nyale tradition (the tradition of picking up the sea worm nyale) is based on a heroic tale and underlines the ideology of sacrificing life for the sake of the welfare of others.

This story is related to the myth of Dewi Sri (Goddess Sri) in Java and Bali. Her body is chopped up, and rice grows from her blood, flesh, and bone. The same thing also happens to Inya Nyale adhered to in Southwest Sumba, Bobi and Nombi (Lio Ende Flores) (Patty, 2000) narrated in the journey made by Mother of Rice (Ibu Padi) (Wackers, 2112). The story of Tono Wujo (East Flores) also narrates that he was sacrificed by his brothers. The story of Putri Liung in Tanah Lingo Kalimantan, the story of Putri Datu Baru Taun, the story of Dewi Sri Pohaci in West Java, and so forth also narrate the same thing (Hartati, 2021). In the legend of Genteng and Gendas, it is that they were willing

to sacrifice their lives to overcome starvation in their ancestral land, East Kalimantan (Tim Nusantara 62. 2022). The story of "Maka Ma Pena" in East Timor also narrates that a sacrificed girl grew into rice and corn (Leo, ed. 2021).

The moral message that the stories mentioned above contain is that sacrifices are for the welfare of others. Socio-culturally, the appearance of the nyale worm preceded by a ritual led by a customary priest (the rato) indicates that the harvest will be successful (Vertigo, Stormy dkk. 2022: 89). Similarly, the bau nyale tradition (catching nyale; bau means catching and nyale means sea worm) also indicates the same thing (Nursaptini, dkk, 2020: 85). Societies having these traditions pay close attention to the magic values that the traditions contain by reading the prayers said by the traditional elders and leaders (Wahidah, 2019: 135). In Southwest Sumba prayers and expectations are carefully read by the rato who can read indicators through the heart of the sacrificed animal (Laksono, PM., dkk. 2019: 341 - 355). This cannot be separated from the belief of marapu (the native belief/religion of the Sumba people) as the source of their values and views of life referring to themselves as the Humba people; the word hubba (native). They refer to themselves as tau hubba or the native people (Hannani, Iis. 2021:58 - 59) although most of them are Christians.

Their willingness to make sacrifices and even to die for the lives of others is one of the art forms of holy death (Farmer, 2015: 335 - 347). In Marapu the belief in the world of the dead is embodied in the form of a tombstone referred to as menhir. (Handini, 2019: 39 - 54)). As far as the Hindu concept is concerned, the concept of 'making sacrifices' means being sacrificed, suffering, declaring worship or faithfulness, being willing to make sacrifices for others, and being willing to suffer for others due to devotion or faithfulness to them (Kartikasari, 2021: 185). Making sacrifices is one of the religious services required in Islam. Such a religious service was

once conducted by Prophet Ibrahim when he was about to slaughter his son, Ismail, before being replaced by a kibas (sheep) by God (Alhadharah, 2015: 67); similarly, what is written in the Old Testament (Alkitab Perjanjian Lama: Kitab Kejadian 17: 21 - 22) and the incident when Christ was crucified on the cross, as mentioned in the New Testament (Alkitab Perjanjian Baru: Kisah Sengsara Yesus Kristus dalam Injil Markus 14: 20b - 32; 15: 33 - 41), are also referred to as making sacrifices.

What is described above shows that before the great religions were introduced to the Archipelago, making sacrifices and the values of making sacrifices had been part of traditional beliefs. Therefore, it is necessary to further analyze the mythological stories. In this opportunity, the analysis focuses on the nyale tradition performed in Southwest Sumba and Central Lombok. In Southwest Sumba, the nyale tradition is continued with the nyale pasola (abbreviated to NP), and in Central Lombok, it is continued with the Bau Nyale Festival (FBN). The NP refers to an attraction of horse war involving two groups of people in which one group throws javelins at the other. Such an attraction is performed after the nyale tradition is carried out at Ratenggaro residential area, Matili Bondo Ate Village, Bondo Kodi District, Southwest Sumba. The Ratenggaro Village and Matili Bondo Ate Village are one of the foci of attention paid by IRE (Hudayana, dkk. 2021: xii), and FBN supported with the existence of the Mandalika Circuit is one of the global tourism icons. The nyale tradition in the two areas is analyzed using the ACL for the following reasons.

First, myth and reality. As far as the postmodern context is concerned, the nyale tradition causes the mythological strategies and realities to match. The myth narrates that a woman sacrificed herself and transformed into what is known as nyale (the sea worm). The preparedness to make such a sacrifice expressed her respect to her ancestors and gratitude and was used to unify brotherhood and show true joy

when welcoming what was successfully harvested in the fields. Realities refer to the continuity of the NY tradition and BNF (Bau Nyale Festival). If observed using Bourdieu's point of view, both myths and realities offer two strategic models; they are the reproduction strategy designed to improve the understanding of what a tradition is and how an exchange strategy (Lubis, 2014: 111) is related to the social space and capital where the tradition grows.

Second, reproduction and exchange. The reproduction and exchange strategies are connected, with the element of giving and the element of receiving the tradition beginning is preferable with "sacred" rituals. Different social obstructions can cause the making of sacrifices to lose its role (Haryatmoko, 2022: 35). The patriarchal culture adhered to causes people to be inconsistent. Men dominate women, and this is the opposite of the role played by the customary elders as the defenders of justice and truth. This can be known from the economy of the Kudi ethnic people who live in Southwest Sumba Regency. They are totally unified by the social organization of the kinship system reflecting the Marapu belief system in which it is believed that it is the father and mother who create and look afterlife (Ama Mawolo Ina Marawi). Therefore, the kinship lines from both the father's side and mother's side are respectively and creatively sung to uphold the exchange morality, that is, the course of the Uma economy (Laksono, PM., dkk. 2019: 341).

Third, excavating the meaning of plurality. Based on the philosophy of sacrificing life for the lives of others. If close attention is paid to the two reasons for myths and realities, the reproduction strategy and exchange strategy, the element of giving and the element of receiving can be basically related to the objectivity of the text of Inya Biri (IB) and the text of Putri Mandalika (PM) which emphasize the philosophy of making sacrifices and its context. Context is understood as the representation of the subjective mind, participant dynamic model with the current situation-related type of communication

(Haryatmoko, 2022: 10). Therefore, there is another meaning or meaning plurality within the contradictory, shifting, or missing text. Such a meaning allows the text to be deconstructed to improve the critical thinking skills to reveal the marginalized meanings (Haryatmoko, 2022: 215). In this way, the new meanings can enrich what is understood of a tradition and its continuity.

It is necessary to analyze the three things above critically using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The logic is that a text is not an inanimate “object” but it refers to something that lives in the mind of its owner. Therefore, the meaning given to the text should be adjusted to the society’s current condition which can be formulated in three problems. First, how the text will be analyzed; what its relevance is; what obstructs the analysis, what social impropriety can be identified, and the aspects that are contradictory and inconsistent in the text. Second, how the text can be deconstructed causing the new meanings relevant to the current society’s situation and condition to be able to be created. Third, what role is played by the rato (the customary priest), Indigenous people, and the community figures in bridging the meaning of “sacrificing life for the lives of others” based on the new meaning construction?

Theory and Method

This analysis requires the support given by the narrative theory emphasizing the identification and characterization of discourses. It emphasizes two main things: they are a) the identification of the main parts of the world (including the areas of the local social life represented – the main themes; and b) the identification of the perspective or angle or point of view from which they are represented (Haryatmoko, 2022: 213 - 214). The theme and tension of ‘Text A’ were combined with the theme and tension of ‘Text B’ to obtain complete meaning.

The steps of analysis refer to the deconstruction approach proposed by Derrida.

The reason is that the mechanism of CDA is like that of the deconstruction proposed by Derrida. CDA pays attention to the main inspiration of deconstruction, that is, revealing the marginalized, neglected, or hidden meanings (Haryatmoko, 2022:213 - 214) and observes “Inconsistency, Contradiction, and Logical Imprecision (abbreviated to ICL) revealed through the analysis of text A (Innya Biri) and text B (Putri Mandalika).

In this part, the analysis focuses on the role played by the socio-cultural order which “observes” different socio-cultural irregularities taking place in society in relation to the Pasola-Nyale Tradition and Bau Nyale festival. In this part, the theory of capital proposed by Pierre Bourdieu is required to support the step of analysis. How do the local people face traditions and commodities, traditions, and the tourism market within the mythological context of “sacrificing life for the lives of others” and how to respond to the complexity of what is understood of faith and culture?

The texts analyzed in the current study are entitled “Inya Koni and Inya Biri” (from Ratenggaro Residential Area, Maliti Bondo Ate Village, Kodi Bangedo District, Southwest Sumba Regency) and “Putri Mandalika” (from Seger Beach, Kuta Village, Pujut District, Central Lombok Regency). There are two versions of the myth of the nyale tradition carried out by the Kodi ethnic people in Southwest Sumba. Version 1 is believed by the Kodi ethnic people living at Maliti Bondo Ate Village and by those living at the Ratenggaro Residential Area and the other residential area where one kabisu (sub-ethnic group) lives. Version 1, which has six pasola fields (Maliti Bondo Ate, Komba Kalayo, Bondo Kawango, Rara Winyo, Waiha, and Wainyapu), is better known in Southwest Sumba. Version 2, which is well-known by the title of “Rabu Kaba”, is like the story of Putri Mandalika. P. Robert, who was interviewed at the Sumba Cultural House on 22 March 2018, stated that the story of Rabu Kaba was not known in Southwest Sumba. The same information was

also given by Rehi Jawa, who was interviewed at the Maliti Bondo Ate field on 23 March 2018 when Nyale Pasola was held. They had never heard the story of Rabu Kaba (Banda, 2021: 205). This version is better known in West Sumba. In this current study, the Inya Biri will be discussed extensively as it transformed into nyale as in Putri Mandalika.

There are several variations of the story of Putri Mandalika. She was beautiful and kind. She was a daughter of King Tojang Beru, whose wife was Dewi Seranting living in Tojang Kingdom (Nursapatin, 2018: 90). The text of Inya Koni-Inya Biri is hereinafter referred to as Text A, and the text of Putri Mandalika is hereinafter referred to as Text B. The analysis using the critical discourse analysis approach is not intended to compare the two texts; instead, it is intended to reveal the meaning and the hidden meaning in the deconstruction analysis. Therefore, the three problem formulations are answered through four steps of the critical discourse analysis (CDA) proposed by Fairclough (Fairclough, 1995: 98 Melalui Haryatmoko, 2022: 23-25) as follows.

First. The text analysis aims at the themes and the tension text centers revealed at the inciting moments. The relationship among the characters, events, and settings leads to the decision to sacrifice life for the lives of others as a community.

Second. The meaning of each text is interpreted and excavated by deconstructing and reconstructing the text itself. In this part, the analysis was focused on the interpretation of the meaning of the myth of Inya Biri and the myth of Putri Mandalika.

Third. The socio-cultural analysis of the traditional belief is carried out in the nyale tradition.

The Themes and the Text Tension Centers

This part briefly explains the mythological story of Inya Biri and Inya Koni (Text A; Banda, 2020); and the mythological story of Putri Mandalika (Text B), and the themes and the text tension centers based on the plots and characterizations, the complexity of the

relationship amongst the characters, and the settings.

Inya Koni dan Inya Biri (Text A: Data 1)

Inya Biri dan Inya Koni adalah anak yatim piatu yang rajin. Keduanya tinggal bersama janda tua bernama Inya Peke. Musim lapar tiba, keduanya membantu Inya Peke membersihkan kebun dan mencari makanan. Tidak ada hujan dan musim lapar bertambah panjang. Pada suatu malam seorang laki-laki bermimpi bahwa harus ada seseorang yang dikorbankan untuk mengatasi kelaparan. Laki-laki itu membunuh Inya Koni di tengah kebun. Dari darah, tulang, dan daging Inya Koni tumbuh padi, jagung, dan seluruh tanaman.

Inya Biri menngisi saudaranya Inya Koni. Dia pergi ke laut dan tinggal di sana. Dia berjanji kepada Inya Peke bahwa dirinya akan menemui Inya Peke dan Inya Koni pada waktunya. Pada suatu hari Inya Peke bermimpi Biri datang di pantai. Di sana dia bertemu dengan Biri yang sudah berubah wujud menjadi nyale (cacing laut) berwarna-warni. Koni dan Biri telah berkorban demi mengatasi kelaparan. Kenangan terhadap keduanya dirayakan melalui ritual nyale dan pasola.

The translation is as follows:

Inya Biri and Inya Koni were diligent orphans. They stayed with an old widow named Inya Peke. The season of starvation started; they helped Inya Peke clean the garden and look for food. There was no rain and the season of starvation was getting longer. One night a man dreamed that someone had to be sacrificed to overcome starvation. The man killed Inya Koni in the middle of the garden. Then rice, corn, and all plants grew from her blood, bone, and flesh.

Inya Biri cried for her sister, Inya Koni. She went to the sea and stayed there. She promised Inya Peke that she would meet her and Inya Koni in time. One day Inya Peke dreamed that Biri came to the beach. She met Biri there who had already transformed into nyale (the colourful sea worm). Koni and Biri had sacrificed themselves to overcome starvation. The nyale and pasola rituals were performed to remind her of them.

Putri Mandalika (Text B: Data 2)

Kerajaan Sekar Kuning dipimpin Raja Tojang Beru dan permaisurinya Dewi Seranting. Keduanya memiliki seorang anak, Putri Mandalika, yang terkenal karena kecantikan dan kebajikannya. Pangeran dan raja dari berbagai negeri ingin mempersuntingnya. Putri Mandalika menjadi bimbang. Dia menyadari bahwa jika dia memilih salah satu akan terjadi kekacauan dan peperangan, dan rakyat akan menderita. Dia mengundang seluruh raja, pangeran dan rakyatnya untuk berkumpul dipantai Seger pada tanggal 19 bulan 10 penanggalan Sasak. Putri Mandalika – dengan mengenakan pakaian yang sangat indah – berdiri pada sebuah batu besar, sehingga kecantikannya semakin terpancar.

Lalu sang putri berucap “Raja Johor, Raja Bumbang, dan seluruh rakyat. Tiada kebahagiaan yang dapat kurasakan selain kalian semua hidup dalam kedamaian dan kemakmuran. Mandalika raja kerajaan Sekar Kuning tidak menginginkan keputusan yang diambil akan merugikan satu pihak. Mandalika adalah milik kalian semua”. Putri Mandalika melompat dan tenggelam di laut. Tiba-tiba dari laut kedatangan cacing laut yang menyala dari jauh, itulah yang dinamakan nyale dan dipercaya sebagai penjelmaan Putri Mandalika.

The translation is as follows:

Sekar Kuning Kingdom was led by King Tojang Berung and his wife named Dewi Seranting. They had one daughter named Putri Mandalika, who was popular for her beauty and kindness. Princes and kings from different parts of the country came to marry her. She realized that if she chose one of them, chaos and war would take place, and the common people would suffer. She invited all the kings, princes, and her people to gather at Seger Beach on the nineteenth day, the tenth month of the Sasak calendar. Putri Mandalika, wearing very beautiful clothes, stood on a big stone, causing her to look more beautiful.

Then the princess said “King Johor, King Bumbang, and all people. I would feel happy if all of you lived in peace and prosperity. Mandalika, the king of Sekar Kuning kingdom, did not want that the decision he made would not harm one party”. Putri Mandalika jumped and drowned in the sea. A flaming seaworm suddenly appeared from a distance. This was known as nyale which was believed to be the transformation of Putri Mandalika.

The inciting moment in ‘Text A’ is when Inya Koni is killed, and Inya Biri drowns herself in the sea. The tension center in ‘Text A’ explains that immolation, faithfulness, and willingness to be the ‘sacrifice’ for commonweal form the theme of the story. The plot chronologically narrates the orphans who diligently helped a widow, starvation, the solution to overcoming starvation, the murder of Inya Koni, Inya Biri’s sadness, transformation into nyale, and revelation for Inya Peke. It was the orphan’s body that overcame starvation and caused life to continue.

The socio-cultural text of the myth of Inya Koni and Inya Biri that can be clearly seen from the text (text 1) is as follows: 1) the long drought caused the local people to starve; 2) the poverty of the widow and the orphan became the welfare guarantee; and 3) the two orphans were sacrificed through tragic deaths.

The appearance of Inya Biri as the sea worm nyale was celebrated at the New Year celebration. Then the local people went to the sea every year to catch nyale. The thanksgiving for the sacrifice of Inya Koni and Inya Biri caused the relationship between the farmers and the sea to become closer and was celebrated every year through the nyale and nyale pasola traditions (Banda, 2020).

The plot, characterization, and setting of text B explained above reveal the meaning that is the same as that of text A, that is, making sacrifices for the welfare of others. Text B is like text A in that the tension center becomes the main theme, sacrificing one’s life for the lives of others. The plot chronologically narrates a wise princess, and

her solution to overcoming tension in the middle of society resulting from the fact that there were too many men (kings and princes) who wanted to marry her.

The socio-cultural and patriarchal settings of the myth of Putri Mandalika (text B) can be revealed through the following: 1) the power of Putri Mandalika from Sekar Kuning Kingdom; 2) the power of the princes or kings who wanted to marry her; 3) the enthusiastic relationship between the king and his people waiting for the best news of who had been chosen to be the best candidate as her husband. The plot, characterization, and setting of text B reveal the same meaning as that of text A, that is, sacrificing life for the lives of others. The inciting moments are as follows: Putri Mandalika threw herself into the sea, and transformed into nyale, the sea worm. As the text tension centers, the inciting moments form the main theme.

It seems that the myth and reality of sacrificing life for the lives of others had to happen to Inya Koni, Inya Biri, and Putri Mandalika narrated in the themes and text tensions of the stories. It is difficult to analyze how true the stories are logically. However, the stories implicitly contain the values (Putra, 2017) inherited by the ancestors that it is important to sacrifice for others. Then, the entities that 'had to' be sacrificed were women whose position was physically and mentally attached to men. From the modern sociological point of view, this attitude and how to determine the position of a woman is unique and cannot be separated from her relationship with a man (Wahid, 2020: 47 - 57). CDA is required to identify the form of the relationship between men and women and the meanings it contains using deconstructive analysis. In this way, the new meanings of making sacrifices can be found.

The Text Construction and Deconstruction

The ideologies of Text A and Text B place the meanings of sacrificing life for the lives of others as an integral part whose continuity needs to be maintained. As far as the functional and structuralist point of view is concerned, women

do not always have any capacity to use their rights, resulting from their subordinate status (Wahid, 2020: 47 - 57). The meanings of the texts are frozen as the permanent meanings that are locked and believed to be hereditary.

Many things from the socio-cultural setting of Text A and Text B, referred to as "social disorders", can be revealed: a) the process whereby Inya Koni was killed was dominated by men, directly resulting in her transformation into nyale, b) "the attitude of finding an easy way" of overcoming starvation by sacrificing women, namely orphans; and c) violence, starvation, and an attempt to ascertain that sacrifices are needed to overcome problems. As far as CDA is concerned, this can be explained by deconstructing the text as a strategy to disrupt the basic categories and assumptions in which thoughts are established. This is an attempt to criticize and deconstruct radically different basic assumptions supporting our thoughts and beliefs. (Lubis, 2014: 35).

Is the meaning of sacrificing (or being sacrificed) and faithfulness as the inciting moments of the stories of Inya Koni, Inya Biri, and Putri Mandalika, the only claim of meaning that must be believed in; which is then refreshed through different rituals of nyale? The deconstruction of observing the 'delayed' meaning allows a text to be open to different interpretations. The concept difference proposed by Derrida can be used to explain the difference and extension of meaning; the concept of binary opposition found in the text can be used as a way of putting forward meaning plurality. In short, the two concepts are explained based on Inconsistency, Contradiction, and Logical Impression (abbreviated to ICL) (Rohman, 2014) that text A and text B contain.

The first ICL is making sacrifices (devotion), and deviance beyond binary. First, Inya Koni was opposed to a masculine entity with a dissident character. The man relied on the dream that a feminine entity had to be sacrificed. This was opposed to his position as an 'elder' in the patriarchal culture requiring him to work hard to

overcome starvation. Such defiance was seen when the masculine character took a shortcut to make his dream come true by making Inya Koni the sacrifice. Second, Inya Biri was left to miss Inya Koni before she drowned herself in the sea and transformed into nyale, the sea worm.

The same thing also occurred place when Putri Mandalika faced “disobedience” shown by the kings and princes who wanted to marry her. She sacrificed her life for the sake of the security and welfare of her people.

Faithfulness and love when confronted with betrayal and violence are the second ICL. The fact that Inya Peke was faithful to and loved orphans and the fact that Inya Biri was faithful to and loved Inya Koni were contrary to the betrayal shown by the male figure’s character of “being fond of finding an easy way of overcoming a problem” and “passing responsibility to another” through physical abuse. In the story of Putri Mandalika, kings and princes were seen competing with one another to marry her. They did not do anything.

The unity and welfare resulting from the sacrifices made by Inya Koni, Inya Biri, and Putri Mandalika when confronted with hostility and misery ignored by the men were the third ICL. In the myth of Putri Mandalika, the kings and princes implicitly created hostility to marry her. This was shown through her perception that a war would take place due to the competition for her hand in marriage. She did not want her people to suffer.

The ICLs and binary opposition (table 3)

The three ICLs clearly show the binary opposition leading to the extension of new meanings as the elements that are opposed to each other are as follows.

The First Stronghold	x	The Second Stronghold
1. Making sacrifices (devotion)	x	disobedience
2. Faithfulness	x	betrayal
3. Love	x	violence
4. Unity	x	hostility
5. Welfare	x	misery

The ICLs and binary opposition are the keys to the revelation of the ideologies of the texts (Haryatmoko, 2022: 35).

Therefore, as far as the myth of Inya Koni and Inya Biri and the myth of Putri Mandalika are concerned, it can be clarified that the opposing elements of the texts complete one another. The ideology of a sacrifice has limitations. Making sacrifices ensures empathy.

The forms of the sacrifices in the inciting moments as the text tension centers shown in the settings of the stories (Ratenggaro Beach, Maliti Bondo Ate Village in Southwest Sumba and Seger Kuta Beach Pujut District Central Lombok Regency) deconstruct the text meaning system and the truth system believed in by the local people.



Photo 1: Ratenggaro Village (photo by Maria Matildis Banda, March 23, 2019)

1. The domination of men over women in the patriarchal culture shows the inconsistency of the cultural role played by the men themselves. The reason is that although women are under the pressure of the patriarchal culture, they play a role in and are responsible for the people’s welfare. Such a contradiction shows the logical imprecision of the patriarchal culture in which women are ‘obliged’ to make sacrifices, and men “lose” the responsibility for making sacrifices.

2. The widow and the orphans (Inya Peke, Inya Koni, Inya Biri) underline the three meanings of poverty and abandonment; a) starvation; b) social disorder; and c) alienation and environmental change. These meanings show logical inconsistency between showing hard work and responsibility to struggle to overcome poverty in a contradictive way and logical imprecision, that is, “the attitude of finding an easy way of overcoming a problem.

3. Putri Mandalika: a) the symbol of power; b) the symbol of knowledge; and c) the symbol of the truth. These three meanings show the logical inconsistency of power, knowledge, and truth due to the egoism of the kings and

princes. The responsibility for the truth contradicts the decision made by Mandalika to end her life. The fact that the king and consort did not do anything when she ended her life and the fact that the kings and princes became stupefied underline the logical impression.

There are several local wisdom values that are believed to be true as clarified in the analysis of IKT, which opposes the first pole (making sacrifices, faithfulness, love, unity, and welfare) to the second pole (disobedience, betrayal, violence, hostility, and misery). The binary oppositions in the two texts constitute the metaphysical and hierarchical forms. According to Bourdieu, the first pole is regarded as being better than the second (Haryatmoko 2022: 47).

The extension of meaning and the meaning of making sacrifices (in particular) are in the first pole and are important to the tradition continuity. The well-maintained tradition will strengthen ethnicity (Liliweri, 2018): 27). The extension of the meaning of making sacrifices into the meaning plurality explains that the meaning of making sacrifices or the meaning of the woman who is sacrificed or the woman who sacrifices herself is not the only meaning. There are several other meanings as new constructions cause the mythological story to move with the times. As women who are said to be the pillars of the house, the earth is the pillar of human existence and prosperity. Earth gives us space to live and resources to thrive (Mpofu 2021:4 via Chireshe, 2023:2).

A new meaning needs to be constructed as the moment of reflection every February and March through the nyale and NP in Sumba and bau nyale and FBN traditions at Seger Beach, Central Lombok. The local cultural traditions and myths of nyale are being planned by the central and local government, non-profit organizations, and other different parties to be tourist attractions to support tourism and the global economy. Do the beautiful Seger Beach, Ratenggaro Beach and the villages around it symbolize the people's welfare? An interesting note is written by PM Laksono as follows: "At

the end of that book, the mystery of Sumba is revealed by Ish, and Irish nurse, who worked in Sumba in 2008 as follows. "... when I saw the pictures of the beautiful and perfect beaches I saw poverty as well as the warmth and kindness of the local people ... I worked at Hospital with small groups of people, I saw the dark side of Sumba." (Ramone, 2011: 205). That clearly shows that the mystery is the Sumba paradox. The beauty and perfection of the pictures of the beaches and the other views hide the dark side of poverty" (Laksono, PM. Dkk, 2019: 341). It is necessary to construct a new meaning to make the meaning of 'making sacrifices' the only one that can be newly read. The new meaning can cause the nyale tradition, NP, and FBN to be in the true cultural root and to be always maintained to face the challenge of the times especially poverty that has never come to an end in Southwest Sumba and Seger Beach Central Lombok.

Sacrificing Life for the Lives of Others

The philosophical view of "sacrificing life for the lives of others" is a "key" expression when facing the traditional beliefs hit by a wave of cultural change. Based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this key expression needs to consider its context, history, power, and ideology in its third dimension referred to by Fairclough as sociocultural practice. This key expression refers to the role played by the rato (the customary priest) and customary people. The rato (the customary priest), the customary people, the public figures, the religious leaders, and the government are the socio-cultural agents. Each serve as the captain who carries the ship and all its cargo to the final harbor. They are the agents who are responsible for maintaining the traditions, traditional beliefs, and the extension of the unique ethnicity.

According to Liliweri (Liliweri, Alo. 2018), the tendency of ethnicity can be clarified based on the collective cultural heritage, ancestors, the myth of origin, history, language, or dialect, symbolic systems such as religion, mythology and ritual, food, fashion style, art, and physical

appearance. These components of ethnicity underline the identity of the Kodi ethnic group at Maliti Bondo Ate, Southwest Sumba, and the identity of the Sasak ethnic group at Seger Beach, Kuta Village, Pujut District, Central Lombok. They are the traditional communities who believe in what they have inherited from their ancestors. Their ancestors have given them life; they are the real owners of the land and have given birth to the following generations (Wackers, 2020: 221); they have also given them mythological stories connected to the socio-cultural activities of their group. A myth is an absolute and important thing related to the story leading to the understanding of the religion and beliefs a group of people adhere to (Neonbasu, 2016: 49). The mythological stories of Text A and Text B conclude with the same ending. Different rituals are carried out to remind them of their ancestors, two of which are the nyale pasola tradition, which is carried out at Ratenggaro, Maliti Bondo Ate Village, Bondo Kodi District, Southwest Sumba, and the bau yale tradition, which is carried out at Seger Beach, Kuta Village, Pujut District, Central Lombok Regency.

Historically, it is recorded that before the world's religions developed, every community already had a tradition with its ideology or local wisdom value which is full of spiritual values as a guide to what to do to organize its life under the leadership of the rato (traditional priest) and customary people (Ardana, dkk., 2022: 10).

The rato and customary people form the main part of the continuity of their tradition in the spirit of the first pole. This spirit grows in the gender mainstreaming constructed in relation to gender equality and justice; sacrificing all parties; and working hard to overcome the food sovereignty issue and the socio-cultural welfare. Everybody should work seriously to live well. Having a good crop is the basic thing that is expected and fought for. Traditional rituals and ceremonies are generally performed to achieve this basic thing (Wackers, 2020: ix). Therefore, in the ritual practice performed to welcome

nyale, NP, bau nyale, and FBN, the customary elders, the public figures, the religious leaders, and the religious institutions are obliged to construct new meanings by understanding several principal forms of capital proposed by Bourdieu such as cultural capital, social capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital (Lubis, 2014: 123). The reason is that capitals form one of the existing social energies and are paid off in the arena of struggle where capitals produce and are produced (Haryatmoko, 2003: 11). The results can be seen from the processes during which: 1) the nyale calling ritual (kawoking) performed by the rato (the customary priest) and the customary people; 2) the search for nyale at the beach/sea and; 3) NP and FBN are continued.



Photo 2. Pasola (Preparation for Horseback War) (photo by Maria Matildis Banda, March 22, 2022)

Determining the Time When Nyale Is Performed

The time when nyale is performed at Maliti Bondo Ate is referred to as Wulla Nyale Toyo Kodi (the time when nyale is performed for the Kodi ethnic people) (Banda, 2020). Such timing is closely related to the belief in the movement made by the moon from the east to the west. Astronomic knowledge is traditionally understood through the assistance given by the dark moon, the great full moon, and the regular full moon. When it is held is usually based on the information given by the rato (the customary priest) by catching the indicators given by nature.

In a study conducted by Banda (2022), it was identified that the rato determined the timing manually (Banda, 2020); therefore, problems could not be avoided taking place in the field.

The timing when nyale is performed by the Sasak ethnic group is determined based on the traditional calendar approved by four stakeholders from four points of the compass (the north, the east, the south, and the west) and astronomers, oceanographers, agriculture experts, religious and cultural figures, and society. The agreement of the timing when nyale is performed is made through a meeting known as “Sangkep Wariga” attended by the customary people and government (Boro Lero, 2018: 45 - 46; Banda, 2021: 214). If compared to the timing when nyale is performed at Maliti Bondo Ate, the timing when it is performed by the Sasak ethnic people is more rational. The understanding of the timing, when nyale is supposed to be performed as the cultural capital, is an important lesson for those responsible for performing both nyale and NP.

The Performances of Nyale, Nyale Pasola, and Bau Nyale Festival

The awareness of the cultural capital is important to treat the traditional beliefs, meaning, and values that are believed to be the root and base for entering the era of changing times. Based on the local people’s traditional belief, the harvest will be abundant if the nyale coming out is completely coloured; white, black, green, yellow, and brown. Such colors also determine how much it will rain when the growing season starts. The more the colors the more fertile the land will be, and the more crops will be produced. Then they are continued with NP as an expression of gratitude to God (Purna, 2018: 99 - 114).

The NP performed at Southwest Sumba and the bau nyale and FBN performed in Central Lombok are attended by all the community members with different religious backgrounds. The government is the party that “listens” to how the community members make decisions based on which NP and FBN are adopted as popular

tourist attractions (Ardana, 2022: 10). The development of tourism that involves religious and customary rituals has a positive impact on economic welfare (Budovich, 2023).

The Relationship between the Traditional Beliefs (Local Religions) and Religions

The deconstruction and new construction of the texts allow the roles played by the rato (the customary priest), the customary people, and the traditions supporting communities to be accompanied without the distinctions of gender, social class, and power.

The accompaniment is in the form of strengthening the human resources of the customary elders, young people, women, and men needed to carry out the local traditions. Different reproductions and socio-cultural and local tradition preservations should be seriously synergized with the attempts that are made to eradicate poverty and improve welfare and local economic independence (xxxv – xxxvi) (Hudayana, 2021: xii). It is how the communities take part in performing and enjoying nyale, NP, and FBN that is the objective of making the available and carried out based on the following.

1. The religious institutions, religious figures, and the government take part in the customary domain. The institutions represented by the scholars, priests, and figures facilitate meetings with the customary figures as to the ways of carrying out the traditions based on the deconstructed mythological meaning, including the meaning of making sacrifices within their new contexts. The philosophy of “sacrificing life for the lives of others” expressed through the themes and text tensions is defined as an attempt to achieve collective welfare through hard work and the achievement of good economic outcomes.

2. Inspired by Lukas 9: 10; it is necessary to underline that religions that come through divine grace are not intended to delete or ban what is not complete yet; instead, they are intended to complete what is not complete yet.

3. Openness is required to respond to multiculturalism and pluralism which are

dialogical (Purna, 2018: 112) in nature as the social capital. What is important is that “what is regarded as deviating is not how a tradition is carried out but how it is carried out is frequently not based on the values and philosophy of making sacrifices. For example, “the attitude of being fond of finding an easy way of overcoming a problem”, the tendency of sacrificing others, will lead to coercion, and the habit of being lazy.

4. Is the religion supposed to tend to the tradition or is the tradition supposed to tend to the religion? Or is there another choice that allows religion and tradition to be in their respective paths without disturbing one another? It is not necessary for the religion to tend to the tradition as they are separated by traditions and dogmas for which dialogues can always be held. This can be exemplified by the riot taking place when the nyale pasola tradition was held at the pasola field of Maliti Bondo Ate (2019); how the role was played by the religion in accompanying the nyale pasola tradition in the Nyale Mass (2022); and the repeated riot in the pasola field of Maliti Bondo Ate after the Nyale Mass was over. It is necessary for the religion to accompany the tradition so that the latter can be carried out based on the proper customary norms. As explained by Jati (Jati, dkk. 2022: 476), it is necessary to appreciate diversity in social and cultural life as an important pillar of a pluralistic society. This value instructs both Muslims and the adherents of other religions to focus on their charities and worship without interfering with other matters.

5. “Sacrificing Life for the Lives of Others” will be newly interpreted as a tradition in which in the patriarchal culture not only women will be sacrificed; instead, in the patriarchal culture the interests of all parties should be taken into consideration. The extension of the text meaning (the first pole) can strengthen the tradition according to the times. Nyale, NP, and FBN can become “commodities” in the tourism market and support the development of the small village of Maliti Bondo Ate located in Kodi Bangedo District Southwest

Sumba Regency and the development of the small village of Kuta located in Puguh District Central Lombok have become a tourist destination. The tradition is guaranteed to stay alive to support culture-based tourism. The tradition and local wisdom-based tourism will grow and develop as the owner of the tradition can be better expressed.



Photo 3. Nyale Worms (photo by Maria Matildis Banda, March 23, 2022)

Conclusions

First, the traditional belief of the community that the tradition has been inherited from generation to generation. In the critical discourse analysis (CDA), the symbol of the sacrifices made by the women is not always within the gender mainstreaming context. There is another serious context, that is, working hard to escape from starvation and poverty. “Having the attitude of being fond of finding an easy way of overcoming a problem” should be deconstructed when receiving what is given by nature and the local cultural traditions that offer prosperity through an abundance of crops presented by nyale (the sea worm), NP, and FBN.

Second, the analysis of CDA shows that there are several binary oppositions in the texts; they are making sacrifices x disobedience; faithfulness x betrayal; love x violence; unity x hostility; prosperity x misery. The deconstruction causes text A and text B to match, and the concepts of inconsistency, contradiction, and logical imprecision cause the single meaning

of making sacrifices to become extended. The main nature of making sacrifices is hard work inspired by faithfulness, love, and unity to achieve collective welfare. It is obligatory to maintain the continuity of the tradition as its spirit of making sacrifices to achieve welfare can be revealed in both the primary sector and the tourism sector. Not only the wisdom values of the tradition related to the spirit of traditional belief can be excavated but also the economic aspects of the spirit.

Third, the traditional belief (the native religion) is closely related to the inheritance of values. The values of making sacrifices and preparedness to make sacrifices are the values that are taught in the religious dogmas and their implementations. Different rituals accompanying the nyale and NP traditions in Southwest Sumba Indonesia and the bau nyale and FBN traditions in Central Lombok Indonesia are in their respective domain. The owners carry out their traditions as well as their religions. This allows the culture to grow and develop and it will never allow the religion of the owners of the traditions to become disturbed. The strong cultural roots will cause their religions to be strong too as they are in the tradition whose function, meaning, and values are examined. As an illustration, the inculturative attempt that could be seen in the Nyale Mass held at Ratenggaro Residential Area Maliti Bondo Ate on 22 March 2022 was not intended to change the tradition but to make sure that the tradition

should excavate and apply the values that grow from the nyale pasola tradition. Similarly, the Islam Wetu Telu followers at Seger Beach Central Lombok who perform the nyale tradition, attempt to place the tradition and religion in the same space, place, and time without feeling worried that the local tradition will disappear or change into another religion or that their religion will disappear in the local tradition.

ENDNOTES

1. In Sumba Indonesia, Nyale is believed to be the incarnation of a princess named Inya Biri who was willing to throw herself into the sea and transform into a worm. Likewise, in East Lombok, nyale is believed to have originated from the body of Princess Mandalika who transformed into a worm.

2. This local wisdom about nyale has been packaged into tourism consumption by prioritizing Pasola in Sumba; and the Bau Nyale Festival in East Lombok. Through this research on local wisdom in the Nyale tradition, it is hoped that tourism will take responsibility for preserving local wisdom values, especially the values of sacrifice for the sake of social interests and common welfare.

3. Through the Nyale tradition, it can be learned that local wisdom values and values underlined by Christianity (in Sumba) and Islam and Hinduism in East Lombok can go hand in hand for economic progress and people's welfare.

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