# RHETORICAL MOVES IN TEN PAPUAN FOLKLORES: A CORPUS-BASED GENRE ANALYSIS

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**ABSTRACT.** This paper aims to examine the basic structure that builds the narrative of ten of the folklores in Papua using the genre approach within the field of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). The study focuses on the presence of the rhetorical moves in each of the story, which is hoped to show the stories' main communicative purposes as well as their schematic structures. The study uses descriptive-qualitative approach, which analyses the data interpretatively by applying Swales' (1990) genre theory, the Move-Structure theory and combining it with the narrative elements from Labov's (1972) Narrative Structure theory. The findings indicate all ten stories share similar structures in general despite being written by different authors—each of them has the moves orientation, complications, resolution, and coda. However, in the move realization, each story has different steps and/or step cycles. These findings indicate that the ten stories share the same communicative purpose: giving information about how some things come to be, and that they belong to the same genre. It is hoped that this research adds to the literature of genre analysis in the perspective of linguistics as well as enriches the analysis of folk literature in Indonesia.

Keywords: rhetorical moves; genre; English for Specific Purposes; move structure

## PERGERAKAN RETORIK DALAM SEPULUH CERITA RAKYAT PAPUA: SEBUAH KAJIAN GENRE

ABSTRAK. Penelitian ini bertujuan membahas struktur dasar yang membentuk naratif dari sepuluh cerita rakyat dari Papua dengan menggunakan pendekatan genre berdasarkan bidang Bahasa Inggris untuk Keperluan Khusus (*English for Specific Purposes*). Fokus utama dari penelitian ini adalah pada pergerakan retorik (*rhetorical moves*) yang terdapat pada masing-masing cerita rakyat tersebut, yang diharapkan dapat menunjukkan tujuan komunikasi utama serta struktur skematis dari cerita-cerita rakyat tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan ancangan kualitatif deskriptif yang menganalisis data secara interpretatif menggunakan teori genre yang digagas oleh Swales (1990), yaitu teori Pergerakan-Struktur (*Move-Structure*), dengan juga menggabungkannya dengan elemen naratif dalam teori Struktur Naratif gagasan Labov (1972). Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kesepuluh cerita yang dianalisis tersebut memiliki struktur yang secara umum sama walaupun ditulis oleh pengarang yang berbeda—yaitu memiliki gerakan (*move*) orientasi, komplikasi, dan resolusi. Namun, dalam realisasi pergerakannya, setiap cerita tersebut memiliki tujuan komunikasi yang sama—sebagai pemberi informasi mengenai asal muasal terjadinya sesuatu, dan bahwa mereka merupakan bagian dari satu genre yang sama. Diharapkan hasil dari penelitian ini dapat menambah kajian literatur dalam analisis genre secara linguistik dan memperkaya analisis pada cerita rakyat di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: pergerakan retorik; genre; English for Specific Purposes; move structure

## INTRODUCTION

Narrative is an inseparable part of our life as it is infused in us in various ways. There is always a possibility that a person would create a narrative once they learn to combine words into phrases and/ or sentences. Fredric Jameson (1981) emphasized on the importance of a narrative by describing it as "the central function" of the human mind. In addition to that, Roland Barthes (as cited in Noth, 1995) depicts narrative as being present throughout every age and society; he even stated that history of mankind begins with narrative and that "there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative."

The simplest way in which we can define a narrative would be "the representation of an event or a series of event" (Abbott, 2008). Whether the representation is fictional or not is not important so long as it describes (a series of) events and/or actions.

Texts such as 'The sun is a star' and 'Dogs bark' are not narratives since they do not recount any events or actions. However, 'the sun has set' and 'the dog barked all night' are narratives. As Abbott (2008) put it in his The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative, narrative "comes to us so naturally that, when we start to examine it, we are a bit like Monsieur Jourdain, [...] who discovered he had been speaking prose all his life without knowing it."

Folktales are a form of narrative that is often used by people to impart wisdom and messages towards the younger generation. As the plots are commonly very simple and the fact that they are full of moral messages and wisdom make folktales deemed suitable for younger children. In addition, these stories tend to have characters whose roles in the story are easily distinguished one from another, which adds to the predictability of the story. Every country and area have their own folktales which are closely related to the culture and habit of the people who live in the countries; Indonesia is not an exception.

Indonesia is a country that is very rich in culture. With around 300 ethnic groups with their own cultural and moral values, it is not surprising that each region and group has their own literary works and folktales as it is very important as the basis of society (Gusnawaty, Yastiana & Yassi, 2017). Despite the large number of studies that have been conducted to analyse Indonesian folktales in the field of linguistics (Masykuroh, 2016; Sukmawan & Setyowati, 2017, among others), there seems to be a lack of research that focuses on a more structural aspect of the folktales.

This research attempts to address the pressing issues above by determining the structural characteristics of ten from Papua, an island in the eastern part of Indonesia, from the book Sepuluh Cerita Rakyat Papua Terpilih (or in English: Ten Selected Papuan Folklores) which is published in 2010 by the Jayapura Language Center of the National Ministry of Education. The book itself is written by various authors and tells about various folk stories in Papua like how coconut trees come to be ("Cipriw yang Malang (Terjadinya Pohon Kelapa)", translated: "The Poor Cipriw (The Legend of Coconut Tree)"), or the story about how a village ceases to be in "Musnahnya Kampung Habele" (translated: "The Destruction of Habele Village") and many more. The research focuses on finding what the communicative purpose(s) of each story is by observing the moves and steps in them. The roles that each element has in building up the structure of the story is also taken into consideration.

According to Swales (1990), texts commonly follow certain patterns which are repeated and/or found in other texts with the same communicative purpose(s). This suggests that all texts that share the same or similar schematic patterns belong to the same group-the same genre. It is in line with Hyland's (2002) opinion that texts are "socially recognized" (p.114) as they demonstrate a recurrent method of language use. With that in mind-and with the hope of helping non-native English students/ speakers to understand academic genres better, Swales then proposed a new method of analyzing genre, the rhetorical move theory, which is one of the most influential approaches to genre analysis in the English for Specific Purposes (ESP) approach (Bhatia, 1993). He then expanded the approach beyond academic settings by incorporating new theories and methodologies.

Generally, in the rhetorical move theory, it is suggested that every text is comprised of several different moves, each of which serve a distinct communicative function and is understood by a discourse community—a group of individuals with similar objectives and using similar language codes to achieve the objectives. These moves may appear in different orders and sometimes more than once, and each of them may be classified again into smaller units called steps; the combination of all the possible moves and steps that can occur in the texts of a particular genre is called the rhetorical structure of the genre (Swales, 2004).

The terms used to describe the moves and steps themselves may vary among researchers, even though in most known genres the terms used for the moves are generally agreed upon. For example, the moves commonly found in the genre of recount are orientation—which sets the scene; and the events, which describe what happen (Gerot & Wignell, 1995). Another example is articles published in academic journals, which moves usually consist of an abstract, followed by the introduction and methodology parts, and then the discussion section, and is concluded with the conclusion and the section for the list of references. Although every academic journal has its own style and templates to be followed, the presence of the moves is expected to be found in each article.

As this present study focuses on examining the moves and steps present in some folklores from the region of Papua, Indonesia to establish the structure and communicative purpose(s) using the rhetorical move approach, it is hoped that this study will add to the literature of genre analysis in general as well as giving a new perspective on the study of folklores in Indonesia.

#### **METHOD**

The method used in this research is the qualitative approach, especially the content analysis whose focus is on the identification of occurrences and the analysis of messages in a text (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 1999). In this study, the texts used are taken from a folklore compilation consisting of ten Papuan folklores written by ten different authors. The data from each of the stories were collected with the help of a corpus software, AntConc to ensure that each occurrence of each move is obtained more accurately compared to a manual human observation.

The texts were first divided into ten different files—each file consisting of one story before being added to the software. This was done in the initial stage of data identification so that the structure of each story may be found and examined further. The next step of the identification process is determining the keywords that would be used to find the moves in the software. Connor (2000) and Abaalkhail (2015) considered this a way to set each move's boundary and determine the different communicative purpose.

The keywords are determined through an interpretation of the terms used in Gerot and Wignell's (1995) and Labov's (1972) classification of the elements of a narrative. According to Gerot and Wignell (1995), a narrative has five elements: orientation, which "sets the scene and introduces the participants" (p. 204); evaluation, which is when the character evaluates the problem(s) or conflict(s); complication, or when the problem starts to arise; resolution, which gives a solution to the crisis; and re-orientation, which re-introduces the scene and characters after the crisis. Meanwhile, Labov (1972) defined the elements of a narrative structure as having abstracts, orientations, complicating actions, evaluations, resolutions, and coda-the moral of the story. Based on the definition of the terms, which were established as the moves, the researchers decided what keywords to use. For example, the phrase "Once upon a time, in a kingdom faraway lived a king and his son" will be considered to belong to the move of Orientation, in which the settings of time, place, and the characters are introduced.

Having conducted the process for each keyword of each move (ranging from a word, phrase, even to clauses and/or a paragraph), the next step was determining the steps. In this part, the researchers use their own terms based on the interpretation of the moves. For instance, the move Orientation may be realized in four different steps: (1) introducing the character(s)(e.g., "There was a king"); (2) introducing the setting of time or place (e.g., "A few decades ago", "In the forest"); (3) introducing the settings of time and place (e.g., "Once there was a house on the hill"); and (4) introducing the characters, settings of time and place (e.g., Long ago, in the land far away, there was a hunter"). Or, the move can be realized in different steps. This classification is necessary since not all stories have the same steps but still have some elements which can still be categorized as a certain move. It is also a useful way to examine the move realization in its context for a better understanding of how a genre is used in real life to communicate a message.

The next step was calculating the frequency of occurrence of each move across the ten stories. The moves and steps' total number of occurrences were calculated and divided into groups. According to Swales (1996, as cited in Bhatia, 1993), whether a move is a necessary component of a genre depends on how frequently it appears in a corpus. In other words, researchers can determine the generic structure of a genre by counting the number of times a move appears in the corpus. Based on how frequently a move appears in the corpus, there are three classifications for it. "Obligatory moves," or the central motif of that particular genre, are moves that exist in every text in the corpus (Joseph, Lim, & Nor, 2014). The moves that make up around 75% of the text are referred to as "quasi-obligatory." When a move only appears in 50% or less across the texts, it is considered "optional", as was noted by Samraj and Gawron (2015), and is not considered to be the crucial part of the genre being discussed. After that, the moves are organized to create the common structure for all of the texts in the corpus and the communicative purpose(s) are interpreted based on the obligatory and quasi-obligatory moves before a conclusion is drawn.

#### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The finding shows that the ten stories share a similar structure within the genre of narrative; they have the important moves that are commonly found and are considered by Toolan (2013) the crucial elements in a narrative—namely orientation, complications, and resolution. Since these moves are found in all ten stories at least once, they are considered obligatory moves; meanwhile, not all the stories have an abstract and/or a coda (See Table 1). However, these moves still appear quite a lot across the ten texts and therefore are considered worth mentioning. All the five moves and their step realization(s) will be discussed further in the subsections below.

Table 1. Move Occurrences in the Ten Stories

M	Total Occurrences		
Moves	#	%	
Abstract	7	70%	
Orientation	10	100%	
Complication	10	100%	
Resolution	10	100%	
Coda	4	40%	

## 1. Move 1: Abstract

In a narrative, an abstract provides a preliminary insight into the story (Mesthrie et al., 2009); in other words, the presence of an abstract helps reader to know what they should expect to read about—the summary of the story. In the book, there are only seven stories that have this move and thus it is considered a quasi-obligatory move, a move which occurs in around 70% of the corpora.

All abstracts appear in either the main titles or the subtitles of the folklores, not inside the stories themselves. Thus, by only reading the titles (or subtitles), readers will already know what they are going to read about. This is an interesting finding as usually the summary of a story is provided either at the beginning of the story or as a blurb at the back of the book. And since the abstracts are found in the main titles or in the subtitles, the researchers categorized them as two different steps which realize the move abstract: (1) in the main title, and (2) in the subtitle.

Step 1.1 of the move abstract is realized in four of the seven stories: "Asal-Usul Persebaran Suku-Suku di Merauke" ("The Origin of the Spreading of Tribes in Merauke"), "Bertha Menjelma Seekor Burung Cendrawasih (Kisah Sepasang Burung Cendrawasih)" ("Bertha Turns into a Bird of Paradise (The Story of a Pair of Birds of Paradise)"), "Musnahnya Kampung Habele" ("The Destruction of Habele Village"), and "Asal Mula Pohon Sagu" ("The Origin of the Sago Tree").

The three other stories are categorized as part of Step 1.2 as the abstracts appear in the subtitles of the stories, which are written in parentheses. (i.e., "*Cipriw yang Malang (Terjadinya Pohon Kelapa)*" ("The Poor Cipriw (The Legend of Coconut Tree)"); "*Sre Saring (Tempayan Menelan Anak)*" ("*Sre Saring* (The Crocks that Swallows Children)"); and "*Konwuk dan Konweng (Asal Mula Bulan*)" ("Konwuk and Konweng (The Legend of the Moon)")).

It is also found that there is no repetition of the move in the stories—each abstract only appears once in each story. It means that the move abstract does not have a cycle.

#### 2. Move 2: Orientation

All ten folklores are shown to have this move, which is in line with the genre of a traditional narrative. This also suggests that the move orientation is a necessary part of the generic structure of the narrative texts genre. The move is realized in three steps: (1) introduction of setting of time; (2) introduction of the setting of place; and (3) introduction of the characters. Each of the ten stories has all three steps of orientations despite the steps not appearing in the same sequence (see Table 2).

This finding corresponds with Toolan's (2013) description that the introduction of a narrative involves showing the time, place, and characters of the story in any orders at the beginning of the narrative text itself. Therefore, the ten folklores from Papua can be said to follow this pattern of getting the readers familiar with the important characters of the story and where and when the stories are set.

From the table above, it can be observed that there are two ways in which the narratives begin: the first by introducing time, followed by place and characters (Sequence 1), and the other is by reversing the order of the introduction between place and characters of the story (Sequence 2). This suggests

 Table 2. Step Sequence Realizations of the Move 2:

 Orientation

Step Sequence	Story Titles	
Sequence 1: 1.1 Intro of setting of time 1.2 Intro of setting of place 1.3 Intro of character(s)	<ul> <li>Story 1: "Asal-Usul Persebaran Suku-Suku di Merauke" ("The Origin of the Spreading of Tribes in Merauke")</li> <li>Story 2: "Cipriw yang Malang (Terjadinya Pohon Kelapa)" ("The Poor Cipriw (The Legend of Coconut Tree)")</li> <li>Story 3: "Bertha Menjelma Seekor Burung Cendrawasih (Kisah Sepasang Burung Cendrawasih)" ("Bertha Turns into a Bird of Paradise (The Story of a Pair of Birds of Devedire"))</li> </ul>	
Sequence 2: 2.1 Intro of setting of time 2.3 Intro of character(s) 1.2 Intro of setting of place	Paradise)") Story 4: "Sre Saring (Tempaya Menelan Anak)" ("Sre Sarin (The Crocks that Swallow Children)") Story 5: "Cabo dan Batu Ajaib ("Cabo and the Magic Stone") Story 9: "Patung Mbis da Burung Kasuari" ("The Statu of Mbis and the Cassowary") Story 5: "Musnahnya Kampung Habele" ("The Destruction of Habele Village")	

that in the genre of these Papuan folklores, the setting of time is an important step that marks the beginning of a story. However, it is also worth noting that despite it being the step that always appears first, the settings of time in all ten stories are actually quite vague. None of the stories mentioned a certain period of time (e.g., what year or what century); instead, they only used phrases like "Pada zaman dahulu" (translated: "Once upon a time" or "Long time ago") as found in Stories 2, 3, 4, 5, and 8. This kind of setting of time, according to Conrad (2014), is common in folklores and mythologies as it can provide a "continuity of form and content across unfolding time and space" (p. 326) which creates a kind of timelessness. The researchers believe that the same logic is applied to the way all the authors introduced the setting of place-vague (i.e., only mentioning that the stories happened in the forests) to create a sense of continuity and provoke imagination.

#### 3. Move 3: Complications

The third move, Complications, is found to be a cyclical move—a move which can occur more than once in a single text (Abaalkhail, 2015). The move is

realized in three steps: (1) introduction of a problem/ crisis; (2) the decision taken by the character(s); and (3) the actions (not) taken by the character(s). It is important to note that the second and third steps are essentially different; Step 3.2 focuses on the characters' decisions only, which means that the step is stop at the boundary of intention, i.e., mental action. On the other hand, Step 3.3 refers to the actual action—an act of the characters' doing something physically.

Although folklores are known to be straightforward and relatively simple structurally, the findings show that each story shows this move cyclicality—especially in Step 3.1 and 3.3 (i.e., introducing a problem and the characters' taking actions). As an example, the move Complication is found four times in Story 1, "The Origin of the Spreading of the Tribes in Merauke". Each cycle always begins with Step 3.1, as can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Move 3 Cyclicality Example in Story 1

Steps	Story Content	
Cycle 1	Tete could not find his dogs when	
3.1 Intro of problems	he was about to go hunting.	
3.3 Actions (not) taken	He did not go hunting.	
Cycle 2 3.1 Intro of problems 3.2 Character(s) decision 3.3 Actions (not) taken	The dogs have eaten so <i>Tete</i> could not hunt the next day. He decided to follow the dogs. He followed the dogs.	
Cycle 3 3.1 Intro of problems 3.3 Actions (not) taken	There were a lot of people living inside the tree in his land. He prepared his spear to defend his land.	
Cycle 4	The people didn't know where else	
3.1 Intro of problems	to live.	
3.2 Character(s) decision	He decided to help the people.	
3.3 Actions (not) taken	He divided the people by their language.	

From the example above, it can be concluded that Steps 1 and 3 appear in all four cycles while Step 2 only appear in two of them. This indicates that the necessary part of a complication in a narrative is indeed the introduction of the problem(s) and the actions taken by the characters in response to the problems. Gerot and Wignell (1995) suggested in their schematic structure that complications can appear more than once in the story as the actions and/or decisions of the character(s) may bring the problems into a worse situation instead of making them better. This, of course, has been proven in the present analysis in the first to the third move cycle, in which the end of each cycle does not bring the story to the end.

Due to the space constraints, the researchers are not presenting the complications of the other nine stories in detail; nevertheless, the summary of the number of cycles and which steps are present in each cycle can be observed from the below Table 4.

Table 4. Summary of Move 3 Cycle and Steps

	Total Number of Cycles	Step 1 Occurrence	Step 2 Occurrence	Step 3 Occurrence
Story 1	4	4	2	4
Story 2	5	5	1	5
Story 3	7	7	3	7
Story 4	6	6	3	6
Story 5	13	13	3	13
Story 6	6	6	4	6
Story 7	10	10	3	10
Story 8	4	4	2	4
Story 9	5	5	-	5
Story 10	7	7	2	7

The maximum number of cycles found is in Story 7, which is one of the longest stories in the book. However, similar to the other stories, Step 2 still appears the least in the cycle. It is believed that this is due to the fact that narrative texts rely on actions, not reflection (Abbott, 2008). This means that an actual physical action or the "doing" is more emphasized compared to the "deciding." Another probability is because folklores are generally short and therefore do not leave much room for reflections and/or thinking as is the case with longer forms of narrative texts (e.g., novels).

## 4. Move 4: Resolutions

Both Gerot and Wignell (1995) and Labov (1972) defined resolution as the end of the story where the conflict(s) has/have been resolved, either into a new and more complicated problem or completely resolved. In literature, the ending of a narrative is usually divided into either an open ending, where the readers are given freedom to interpret by themselves how the story ends, and a closed one, where the narrator (and by proxy the writers themselves) provides a closure for the readers so that any other forms of ending interpretations cannot be made. However, in this present study, the steps are not based on this notion. On the contrary, the steps are based on whether the conflicts are resolved for the better or for worse.

There are three steps considered to be the realization of the move Resolution, one in which the conflict ends for the better (Step 4.1), one in which the conflict ends for the worse (Step 4.2), and one which ends with the conclusion of the story (Step 4.3). Commonly, Step 4.1 is found nearing the end of the story—before the actual ending; this is usually when the main character(s) found a way to solve the conflicts they are in. Step 4.2 is generally found more than once in the story, as generally the character(s) in a story would be made to face more challenges before things would get better. Therefore, if, for example, a story has four cycles of complications, the first two will result in Step 4.2, the third one would end in Step 4.1, and the last cycle would end in Step 4.3.

For instance, in Story 1 presented in Table 3 above, the first Complication cycle ends with Step 3.3 where the character Tete did not go hunting. This makes the complication ends with the move Resolution Step 4.2 as the matter is getting worse because if Tete could not go hunting, then he wouldn't be able to eat. The researchers also obtained the same findings across all ten stories. The finding that shows that each Complication move ends with either Step 4.1 or Step 4.2 of the move Resolution is in line with the statement from Wang (2020) which suggests that each complicating action in a narrative text relates to the result (or resolution) as it "transfers the information of tension and the end before the real end of the story" (p. 684). In other words, it is common for a story to get more complicated before it gets better and finds a final resolution. Thus, it can also be concluded that the ten Papuan folklores also follow the common schematic structure of a narrative genre.

#### 5. Move 5: Coda

Coda, according to Toolan (2013), shows the moral of the story which are written explicitly. In addition, Mesthrie et al. (2009) added that a coda "signals the end of the narrative and may bridge the gap between the narrative and the present time" (p. 192). This definition is very limiting on its own, which prevents the creation of smaller units. Therefore, this move does not have any steps.

Not all stories have a written moral lesson; however, as folklores are believed to impart cultural beliefs of a people (Gusnawaty et al., 2017), it is at first thought that these folklores analyzed in this study also consist of codas. Yet, the analysis shows that only four out of ten stories analyzed contain a coda in them (Stories 4, 6, 8, and 9). What is interesting about this finding is that the codas are not an explicit moral lesson, but only a connection to the present time. For example, in Story 4, the coda move is realized as a warning with the sentence "sampai sekarang ini jika di Kali Tarmang ditemukan darah atau benda merah terapung-apung, maka berarti akan ada musibah vang menimpa ..." (translation: "until now, if there is blood or any red object found floating on Tarmang River, it means there will be disaster ..."). Another example is in Story 6, where the coda relates the story to the present by mentioning that "Kecabo asli ... saat ini masih ada dan dirawat dengan baik oleh Isak Pui" (translation: "The real kecabo ... still exists now and is taken care of by Isak Pui".

The morals of all ten stories are not written explicitly, but it does not mean that there are none. It is believed that the morals or the lessons in the stories are more implied and have to be interpreted by the readers themselves. This may be due to the fact that the ten folklores in the book mostly deal with the legends and origins of something (e.g., "Konwuk and Konweng" which tells the story of how the moon is created; " "Asal Mula Pohon Sagu" which is a story about the origin of sago tree) and not talking about something that is forbidden or should be done in the community.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis above, it can be concluded that the folklores analyzed follow a certain structure which is generally in line with the narrative text schematic structure. All of them have the important elements of a narrative, namely the introduction of the characters and settings and the conflicts which move the plot of the text. It is also worth noting that these folklores include a resolution each at the end of the story; this gives the readers a sense of closures.

The findings also show something that is quite different from other studies on folk stories—the lack of explicit moral lessons at the end of the story. The move Coda, when it is present in the story, only serves as an explanation on what is still happening now in the land of Papua. This may be due to the fact that the folklores mostly talk about the origin of things in Papua. However, since it is not the focus of the analysis, this part is not observed further.

In terms of the communicative purpose(s) of the story, the occurrences of the moves show that the stories share the same purpose: providing information, especially about how each story unfolds. This is, again, in accordance with the social function of a narrative text—providing entertainment and information (Gerot & Wignell, 1995).

This present study is not free from certain limitations, one of which being the constraint of space and time of the writing of this analysis. There are several parts which are not explained more deeply in this paper, which may give a better understanding on the choice of rhetorical moves in these texts. Therefore, I would like to recommend that a deeper analysis be done in this subject with more variables included in the analysis such as the social and cultural backgrounds of the people where the stories are originated. It is also worth using other linguistics theory to find the implicit messages that these stories may contain.

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