

UNVEILING POVERTY IN *INTERLOCK* VIA THE KEYWORDS SEMIOTIC MODEL

Raja Rajeswari Seetha Raman
venu.raja@hotmail.com

IPG Kampus Bahasa Melayu Kuala Lumpur

Abstract

Literature, as a form of social expression, conveys meanings and portrays the ideology of the author through diction and symbols either verbally or in written form. Symbols and keywords repeated and given special attention in literary texts convey an author's personal conceptualisation of particular concepts. The objective of this study is to explore Abdullah Hussain's views on poverty in his novel *Interlock* by using the Keywords Semiotic Model. This model is formulated by integrating the Semiotic Theory of Charles Sanders Peirce, a 19th century American philosopher with the Keywords and Conceptual Theory introduced in 2005 by Mohamad Mokhtar Hassan, a Malaysian scholar. The analysis and findings reveal that three different categories of poverty, i.e., physical poverty, emotional poverty, and internal poverty are discussed by Abdullah Hussain in his novel. Of these three categories, it is physical poverty and internal poverty that are accorded the greatest importance by the author and

these dominates his conceptualisation from the perspective of the Keywords Semiotic Model. In other words, keywords and symbols are used as an instrument to highlight the various faces of poverty experienced by the novel's main characters who represent the three most populous races in Malaya: the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians. Extrinsic factors such as the author's background, past experiences, observations, readings, ideology, vision and aspiration influenced his conceptualisation of poverty.

Keywords: *Interlock*, poverty, conceptualisation, symbol, diction, keywords, Abdullah Hussain

Introduction

This article adopts the point of view that literature and society are interlinked and interrelated. Literary works that mirror the lives of people are also portrayals of man's deepest understanding about life and living. A writer lives in society and expresses what he observes and experiences in that particular society by using keywords and symbols. Through reading, studying and analysing the keywords and symbols used in the literary creation of a person, it is possible to create a mental picture of the thoughts, feelings and experiences of a particular race during a particular time. By analysing the repetition of a particular diction in the form of keywords and symbols, the views and ideology of the author can be discovered. This article aims to discover Abdullah Hussain's conceptualisation of poverty from the perspective of the Keywords Semiotic Model.

Keywords Semiotic Model

The Keywords Semiotic Model is formulated by integrating the Semiotic Theory of the 19th century American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce, with the Keywords and Conceptual Theory introduced by the Malaysian scholar, Mohamad Mokhtar Hassan in 2005.

The Keywords and Semiotic Model formulated by the writer comprises conceptualization, diction and implication. Conceptualisation, the first principle in this model, is derived from the root word "concept" which refers to an abstract idea or thought formed in the mind (*Collins English Dictionary*, 1979: 312). Robert E. Innis (1985:19) refers to this thought

formed in the mind as a concept or the symbol part of a mental sign. This symbol part of a mental sign is often related to one's past experiences in life. Conceptualisation means the mental sign formed and developed in the mind of an individual when he or she perceives an object, an idea, an event or a situation. His or her perception is often shaped by extrinsic factors such as background, past experience, observation, socialisation, aspiration, education, reading, ideology and culture.

Diction, the second principle in the Semiotic Keywords Model is defined as the choice and use of words in speech or writing (*Collins English Dictionary*, 1979:411). Choice of word in the form of expression is dominant in speech whereas in literary texts the word takes the form of a symbol or a keyword or both. "Keywords in two connected senses: they are significant, binding words in certain activities and their interpretation; they are significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought. Certain uses bind together certain ways of seeing culture and society, not least in these two most general words writes, Raymond Williams (1983:15).

A symbol is a word or expression which signifies something else other than the physical object to which it directly refers. A symbol can be an object, picture, written word, sound or particular word that represents something else by association, resemblance or convention. In a symbol, a concrete or visible object is made to stand for something abstract or invisible (Quayum and Rosli, 1997:1).

To quote Guerin Wilfred (1999:86), "When an image, incident or item takes on meaning beyond its objective self, it moves into the realm of symbol. Symbol is also a way of using something integral to the work to reach beyond the work and engage the world of value outside the work. It might be an incident that takes on meaning, such as the apparent happenstance of events, a conventional object or device, a colour, or a tree that becomes symbolic of meanings within and without the poem, story or play. When that happens, the formalistic approach must study such symbols as aspects of form or as exponents of meaning both within and without the work".

By studying and analysing the repetition of diction in the form of keywords and symbols in literary texts and relating it to external factors outside the text, an author's conceptualisation of an object, idea or event is brought to light.

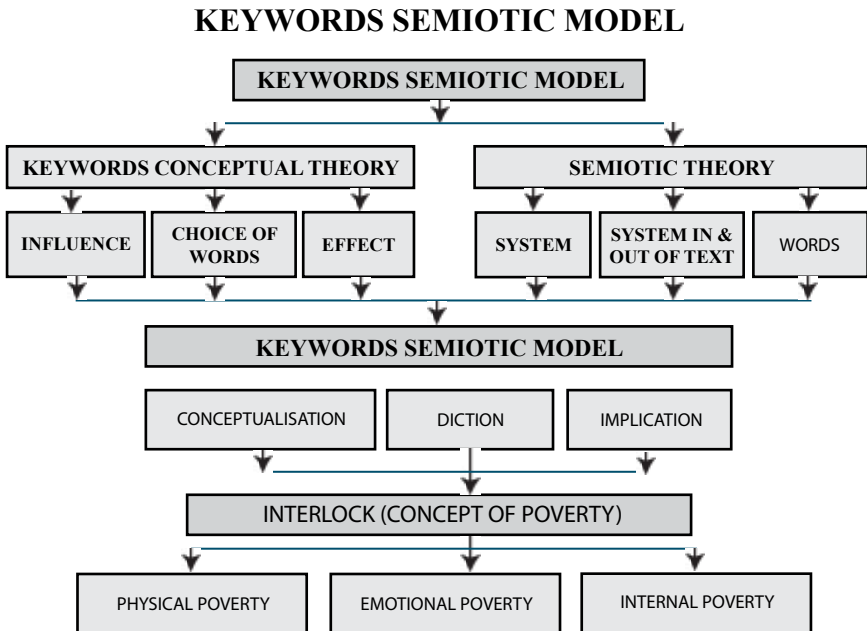
Implication, the third principle in the Keywords Semiotic Model, is related to the interpretation of text by its readers. According to Wilfred Guerin (1999:356-57), in literary interpretation, the text is not the most

important component; it is the reader that is. There is no text unless there is a reader because the reader is the one who gives meaning to the text, adds Guerin.

Readers thus have extensive freedom to come up with their own conclusions or interpretations after reading the text. Their interpretation of the text is often influenced by extrinsic factors such as their background, education, profession, culture, ideology, vision, aspiration and experience.

The three principles in the Keywords Semiotic Model, the conceptualisation, diction and implication are interlinked. In order to capture the underlying meanings and hidden messages that dominate the thoughts and heart of an author, the keywords and symbols put forward by him in creative writing must be closely observed as his diction is a manifestation of his conceptualisation.

In this article, the Keywords Semiotic Model is used to explore, identify and unveil the author’s conceptualisation of poverty in *Interlock*. This new model introduced by the writer can be seen below.



Poverty In *Interlock*

Literature, theatre and art are dynamic living portraits. Literary works that mirror the lives of people of a certain era portray man's deepest understanding of life and living. Through reading and studying the literary works of a people or race, one can create a mental picture of the things that they thought, felt, and experienced during that era (Solehah, 1998:312).

Besides furnishing details of a certain race at a certain period of time, literary creations also reveal life's various "earthquakes" in a unique way, in the form of obstacles, obstructions and sufferings and one of these "earthquakes" is poverty (Shahnon, 1994:3-4).

Poverty, which has been a common theme for authors in the 20th century, is defined as the condition of being without adequate food and money (*Collins English Dictionary*, 1979:1149). Poverty also refers to the condition in which one is unable to afford basic human needs that includes nutrition, health care, education, clothing, shelter, and to having constraints such as debts and loans.

National Laureate Abdullah Hussain, writing under different pen names or pseudonyms including Iskandar Muda, Roslan Ashikin, Suryakanta, Zamroe, Roslani and Ainbanyaha, portrays the poverty stricken life of the three main races, the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians during the early 20th century. In his novel *Interlock*, the National Laureate places great emphasis on poverty. Poverty was the main reason that the Chinese and Indians migrated from their homelands to Malaya in the 19th century.

According to Paul D. Wiebe and Mariappen (1978:4-5), the major immigration of Indians and Chinese took place in the 19th century. At that time, the Straits Settlements of Penang and Singapore were ports with very few trade restrictions. They first proved attractive to large numbers of Chinese. Like their countrymen who had earlier immigrated to the Straits Settlements, most of the immigrants considered their stay in Malaya to be temporary, expecting to return to their homeland when they had made their fortune or at least when they had settled the debt arrangements under which many of them had come to Malaya. It was in this spirit that the Chinese headed to Malaya in the 19th century.

Poverty and hardship were also the core factor for the arrival in Malaya of immigrant Indians from South India during the 19th century. Kernal Singh Sandhu (1969:31-74) states that the large scale immigration of Indians to work on plantations was related to the conditions of hardship in the South

Indian states from which they hailed. The largest inflow of Indians into Malaya occurred during the period 1911–1930 when more than 90 000 landed each year (Sandhu, 1969:158).

Statements from scholars like Kernial Singh Sandu, Paule D. Wiebe and Mariappen confirms and affirms that poverty and hardship were the main reason for the arrival of immigrants in Malaya in the 19th century as mentioned and described by Abdullah Hussain in *Interlock*.

In *Interlock*, Abdullah Hussain brings to light the obstacles, sufferings, hardship and poverty endured by the three main characters who represent the three major races in Malaya. This he does in three sections. In the first section, Musa represents the poor Malay community, whereas Cina Panjang and Maniam represent respectively the Chinese and Indian immigrants to Malaya as a result of poverty in their native lands.

Various faces of poverty are portrayed by Abdullah Hussain through symbols and diction conveying the different forms and patterns of poverty that existed in the 19th century.

The Various Faces Of Poverty

Physical poverty

In the first section, Seman's family, who are representatives of the Malay community, is described as living in poverty and insufficiency. The family possesses nothing and lives in misery. The keywords "thin body", "bare feet", "small hut", "skinny hand", "kerosene lamp", "on credit", "loan letter", "pawn letter", "letters of debt" and "cracks in the walls" explains the physical poverty of the family as seen in the quotes below :

Seman's bare feet were beginning to be swarmed by mosquitoes, his hands automatically slapping the parts of his body being bitten.

(*Interlock*, 2010:17)

The light from the lamp in his house was now visible through the cracks in the walls.

(*Interlock*, 2010:19)

Metaphorical phrases such as “the ones who are living are dead. Yes, we are the dead ones” describes the degree of hunger and tough life experienced by Seman’s family. Phrases such as “we are poor and we are penniless” further indicates the concept of poverty conceptualised by the author. “Living from hand to mouth”, “not owning anything”, “living in a hut with cracked walls”, “kerosene lamp”, “loan letters” and “pawn letters” are example of keywords that indicate the degree of physical poverty endured by Seman and his mother after the death of Seman’s father Pak Musa (refer to Appendices 1 and 2).

The Chinese, too, lived in poverty. The reason for the Chinese to migrate to Malaya was their poverty, as mentioned by Paule D. Wiebe and Mariappen. Seeking better life opportunities, the Chinese who travelled to Malaya found in and near their new places of settlement many opportunities in trade and the crafts, and as labourers (1978:4).

Poverty due to disasters such as floods and locusts made their lives miserable. There was starvation everywhere and many had to eat grasshoppers, as mentioned below:

There was a time when the villagers ate grasshoppers.

(Interlock, 2010:100)

“This year we will die of starvation,” he said to his wife who brought to him cold tea. “We will die from not eating.”

(Interlock, 2010:101)

“We will eat what we can get. Roots, if we find them. We will beg. We will steal. We don’t have girls. If we did, we could sell them.”

(Interlock, 2010:102)

Based on quotations extracted from the second section concerning Cing Huat’s family, poverty was the push factor for the Chinese to migrate to Malaya from China. Keywords such as “nothing to eat”, “no food”, “eating roots”, “begging” and “selling girls” are evidence of physical poverty faced by the Chinese in China.

In the third section, in which the author tells the story of Maniam’s family, poverty is given the utmost importance. Maniam, who represents the Indian community in Malaya, left India due to poverty. As stated by Paul D, Wiebe and Mariappen, (1978:5) the large scale immigration of Indians

to work on plantations was related to the conditions of hardship most of them had known in the South Indian states from which they hailed.

Maniam left India with his friends because of poverty. He had to mortgage his land and house in India to come to Malaya to help his family in India, as the following quotation tells:

His cows were the only property he owned apart from the house. When he left, he had mortgaged his land and house to a money lender in town, with the promise that he would pay through Pillay as soon as he found a job, at double interest. Thus, he gambled his life to seek a better future.

(Interlock, 2010:209)

Ambiga had reached a point where she had to eat the young leaves of plants to survive.

(Interlock, 2010:216)

Keywords such as “eating young leaves”, “mortgaging” and “loan” are a few examples of physical poverty described by the author. The three lead characters, Seman, Cing Huat and Maniam are portrayed as victims of physical poverty by the author. “Hut”, “kerosene lamp”, “bare feet”, “debts”, “skinny hands”, and “heavy eyes” are symbols used by the author to state their physical state of poverty (refer to Appendices 1 and 2).

Emotional poverty

Emotional poverty has an adverse effect on one’s life. Emotional poverty is related to one’s mental state in facing difficulty and hardship. A person suffers emotional stress when he encounters continuous disappointment, frustration and depression. Poverty leads to distress, disappointment, depression and stirs the emotion of its victim as described in the dialogues as follow:

“Who is the owner?” asked Seman, losing his patience. His father kept quiet and did not answer. He kept looking at Seman. Seman saw a shine in his father’s eyes that made him uneasy, and a sense of sadness overcame him. His father started crying.

(Interlock, 2010:12)

Seman cried again, tears flowing freely. A while later, his crying stopped. He felt devastated. His father had left them in poverty.

(Interlock, 2010:56)

Seman's sobs subsided. He took his hands away from his face, which was still swollen? His tears still flowed a little. His sobs could still be heard sporadically.

(Interlock, 2010:56)

"Rather than dying of starvation here, it's better off for him to die at sea," Kim Lock said stubbornly.

(Interlock, 2010:104)

Rather than live a miserable life in their own country, they would rather die in a foreign land.

(Interlock, 2010:105)

It was due to his poverty that Maniam took part in the festivities, so he could forget the burdens of his life. The happiness that he felt while attending the festivals would lighten his worries.

(Interlock, 2010:209)

From the dialogues above, it is evident that poverty leads to emotional and mental distress. Seman, Musa, Kim Lock and Maniam lived in distress due to poverty. For those who suffer poverty, their emotions are unstable and this causes disappointments, regrets and devastation. "Sobs", "cries", "grieve", "worries", and "regret", are symbols that are related to emotional poverty.

Internal poverty

Internal poverty is related to feelings that are directly linked to the heart. Internal poverty is invisible. It is a miserable feeling that can be felt only by those who have experienced it as described by the author in the dialogues as follow:

On his way home, Seman remembered what his father had said. His heart was rather heavy.

(Interlock, 2010:43)

Seman's eyes stung and hot tears began to flow. He rubbed them with the back of his hand. The load on his shoulders felt heavy.

(Interlock, 2010:43).

"The one who has died is not dead, the ones who are living are dead." Seman thought to himself, quoting the words of Lebai Man from his teaching. "Yes, we are the dead ones, not my father".

(Interlock, 2010:45)

"As far as I know, there is no money."

"Not even a bit?" Seman turned to look at his mother.

Mak Limah felt the thrust of that look, like a needle pricking at her heart. It was painful.

(Interlock, 2010:64)

"Enough," Maniam screamed. He felt his heart contract painfully, his world went to pieces. His whole body shook started sobbing, covering his face. He cried like a little child.

(Interlock, 2010:215)

The dialogues above are evidence that poverty causes one's life to be miserable. "Painful feelings", "heavy heart", "hot tears", "load on shoulders heavy", "dead", "needle pricking the heart", "heart contracting" and "the world went to pieces" are keywords that indicate the internal state of heart due to poverty. From the keywords and symbols used by Abdullah Hussain, it is evident that poverty does not only refer to poor living conditions but also involves emotional distress and feelings of despair among victims of poverty as conceptualised by the author.

The conceptualisation of poverty by Abdullah Hussain is influenced by his background. The author himself experienced poverty in life during his school going years and when he worked as an assistant store clerk at the Ayer

Hangat Tin Mines at Bentong, Pahang in 1939. Besides that, he shared a room with a friend named Rashid who worked as an office boy in a government printing press in Jalan Langgar. The obstacles and problems they faced influenced his conceptualisation on poverty. Below are statements by the author concerning the poverty he experienced during his early years.

“Waktu bersekolah di sekolah di Alor Setar itu, saya hanya mendapat belanja dari rumah sebanyak 50 sen setiap bulan, itu pun jika saya balik ke kampung. Jika tidak, tidak adalah.”

(Proses Kreatif: Satu Pengalaman Rohani Abdullah Hussain, 2010:10)

“Minum pagi hanya setengah sen secawan kopi, roti canai kosong satu sen jika ada kari daging, tambah lagi satu sen, serupa harga nasi sepiring dengan kuah dan sebiji kacang bendi.”

(Proses Kreatif: Satu Pengalaman Rohani Abdullah Hussain, 2010:10)

The author, who has himself experienced poverty, associates physical poverty with emotions and feelings of the heart. He believes that an individual who lives in poverty does not have a peaceful mind and that his heart is often burdened with worries and regrets. These are the experiences that the author shares through the character of Musa, Seman, Cing Huat and Maniam.

In his lifetime, Abdullah Hussain's experience was immense, shown through his creative works. His involvement in the field of writing and publishing, and in numerous societies, political organisations and communal activities provided the raw material which he shaped in his writing and allowed us insight into the workings of his mind and his conceptualisation of poverty. Having worked in Malaya, Indonesia and other countries and mingling with labourers and coolies in many countries he has witnessed death due to poverty. As a result, poverty is associated with death in the following dialogues:

“God would not grant poor people children because they could not feed them. That must have been the reason God took the the child away, maybe to be reborn to a rich man.”

(Interlock, 2010:215)

“This year I’m sure we will die,” Kim Lock said harshly.
“We couldn’t save any padi. Wang Lung has committed suicide.
Tomorrow, and the day after, many more will kill themselves.”

(Interlock, 2010:101)

Abdullah Hussain’s conceptualisation is based on his personal experience. According to him, he witnessed death when a cousin of his, who was living in the same house as him, died when he fell into a well and drowned (Solehah, 1998:329). This personal experience of the author is shared through the character of Wang Lung who committed suicide due to poverty.

Abdullah also believes that poverty could be eradicated through education. His thoughts are put forward through the character of Lazim in the following examples:

“Lazim could not shut his eyes, the whole night, his thoughts muddled. He was worried about Seman and his mother. After he returned from Tanjung Malim, his eyes opened to the difficulties faced by his people. They lived in poverty and ignorance. A nation would continue in poverty and ignorance if the people did not change their attitude. The change could be initiated only with information, with the recognition of the importance of knowledge. Because of his ignorance, Pak Musa worked so hard all his life for Cina Panjang without getting anything back, and when he died, his wife and child were being chased out of their house. This was just one case. He was sure there were many more”.

(Interlock, 2010:91)

“His father was poor too, but now that he worked as a teacher, his father’s status among the people had gone up a notch. They had also changed the way they addressed him.

(Interlock, 2010:91)

From the voice of Leman, the author puts forward his thought on the importance of education in eradicating poverty. Poverty is due to one’s attitude whereby one is unwilling to change his mindset and refuses to adapt to the changes that occurs globally.

Besides ignorance and failure to realise the importance of education, poverty is also caused by the attitude of those who are unwilling to send

their children to school and hides them at home. This can be seen in the following examples:

“Pak Musa thought. He would not allow Seman to go to school. He decided Seman had to be hidden and that he should do it. If left to his wife, Seman would probably end up in school”.

(*Interlock*, 2010:36)

“He preferred Seman to study with Lebai Man. Wasn’t learning Qur’an better than learning in school? Pak Musa was confused for a while. He did not know what to do. He did not want Seman to go to school, that was for sure”.

(*Interlock*, 2010:36-37)

From the examples above, it is evident that poverty is associated with ignorance and attitude as mentioned by the author in the novel:

“A nation would continue in poverty and ignorance if the people did not change their attitude”.

(*Interlock*, 2010:91)

Conclusion

Literary creation does not arise from emptiness, imaginations or daydreams. It is an instrument that holds a certain purpose and function. The author uses literary works as an instrument to convey didactic elements and to instill awareness among readers. These didactic elements are conveyed in the form of metaphorical phrases, symbols and keywords.

The Keywords Semiotic Model used as the theoretical framework in this essay succeeds in unveiling Abdullah Hussain’s conceptualisation of poverty in *Interlock*. The poverty that governs the physical, mental and internal feelings of the lead characters is presented through symbol and diction to instill awareness of the importance of education in eradicating poverty. Through the main characters and voices of Seman, Cing Huat and Maniam, the author’s conceptualisation of poverty is identified.

The author relates poverty to ignorance, attitude, lack of desire and a negative mindset. Lack of ambition and desire prevent the Malay

community from reaching its goals in life. Seman, the representative of the Malay community, is portrayed as leading a life without any determination or definite goal compared to Cing Huat and Maniam who are in Malaya to improve and upgrade their financial and socio-economic status.

Besides that, the community's negative attitude towards education holds them back from moving to the middle and upper classes of society. In other words, their inability to achieve a higher economic status in life is due to lack of education and self motivation.

Seman, who is illiterate, undergoes tremendous sufferings due to lack of education. His house, land, cattle and even the village which was owned by his father Pak Musa, finally went to Cing Huat after his father's death as Seman was unable to read the contents of the loan agreement and letters of debt.

Poverty also leads to low self esteem as people who are poor are treated differently from those who are well off and this caused feelings of inadequacy. In this context, Pak Musa and Seman received negative treatment from the villagers because of their financial status in society. In fact, Seman's mother Mak Limah was disowned by her family because she married Pak Musa who was a poor labourer.

Poverty has an adverse effect on one's life and the consequences of poverty are low self esteem, loss of employment and property, financial constraints and feelings of depression. To eradicate poverty, one should adopt a positive attitude towards education and possess high willpower to excel in life. These are the hidden messages implied by Abdullah Hussain through the medium of keywords and symbols in *Interlock*.

Symbols in the form of objects, animals, nature, the environment and climate are used to symbolise poverty. For instance, the name of village "Kampung Nyiur Chondong" symbolises crooked and unhealthy incidents that occur in the lives of the villagers and the "crossing of a snake" is also a symbolic phrase that reminds readers of the obstacles ahead for Seman. "Disappearance of sun", "darkness", "dog with worms", "hot tears" and "dry eyes" are some of the symbolic phrases Abdullah Hussain uses to unveil the various faces of poverty that govern the thought and heart of the main characters in *Interlock*. (Refer to Appendix 1).

The author's conceptualisation is influenced by his personal experiences, observations and extensive readings. He lived in poverty during his childhood and he understands the influence of poverty on one's mind and heart and therefore associates physical poverty with emotions and feelings.

From the author's confession, it is evident that personal experience and family background are extrinsic factors that influence an individual's conceptualisation.

Abdullah Hussain's background also influences his stand on poverty. He hails from a family that treats education as being of the utmost importance and he thus strongly believes that only education can alleviate the burden of poverty in one's life.

It is apparent that the author of the novel *Interlock*, dislikes any form of injustice to mankind and this dominates his conceptualisation which could be observed from the characters he creates in his work. In other words, the author's strong view is portrayed through the character of Cing Huat who is responsible for the physical, emotional and internal sufferings that Seman and his family undergo.

In short, Abdullah Hussain's perception and conceptualisation is influenced by extrinsic factors such as his background, past experiences, observations, education, aspirations, extensive readings, society, culture and ideology. He associates poverty with ignorance and he strongly feels and believes that only through education could poverty be eradicated and a positive mindset be adopted. His background influenced his conceptualisation. In the words of Shanon Ahmad (1994:3):

A writer is not only influenced by his society, but he himself tries to influence society.

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Analysis of Symbols, Meaning and Conceptualisation

No	Symbols	Meanings	Conceptualisation
1	Kerosene lamp	Poor	Poverty
2	Thin Body	Undernourished	Poverty
3	Bare Feet	Penniless	Poverty
4	Small Hut	Little money	Poverty
5	Skinny hand	Hardship	Poverty
6	Crack in walls	Poor living conditions	Poverty
7	Hot tears	Sorrow	Poverty
8	Heavy heart	Worries	Poverty
9	Crossing of Snake	Obstacles in life	Poverty
10	Letters of debt	No money	Poverty
11	Selling of girls	No money	Poverty
12	Disappearance of sun	Disappearance of hope	Poverty
13	Darkness	Sadness	Poverty
14	Beg	Relying on others for money	Poverty
15	Eating young leaves	Starvation	Poverty
16	Kampung Nyior Chondong	Crooked and abundance of problems	Poverty
17	Wrinkles	Tough life	Poverty
18	Bare hands	Nothing	Poverty
19	Very dark	No future	Poverty
20	Heavy eyes	Grief	Poverty
21	Dry eyes	Extreme grief	Poverty
22	Dog with worms	Disrespected	Poverty
23	Eating grasshoppers	Pauper	Poverty
24	Eyes opened	Aware	Poverty

The Various Faces of Poverty

No	Physical (Related to Human and Concrete Objects)	Emotional (Related to the Mind and Emotions)	Internal (Related to Abstract and Internal Feelings)
1	Oil lamp	Grief	Regret
2	On credit	Sobs	Devastated
3	Mortgage	Angry	Hurt
4	Debts	Worries	Heavy heart
5	Beg	Sufferings	No appetite
6	Small hut	Sorrowful	Cry silently
7	Homeless	Mind tangled up	Sadness
8	Skinny hand	Homeless	Burdens of life
9	Bare	Distress	Miserable life
10	Thin body	Difficult times	Very dark
11	Letter of credit	Hunger	Fallen
12	Pawn letters	Poverty	Sadness
13	Loan letter	Committed suicide	Load on shoulders heavy
14	Letters of debt	Loud cries	Needle pricking her heart
15	Heavy eyes	Tangled thoughts	Painful
16	No food / starvation	Shoulder responsibilities	Big burden
17	Sell girls	Losing his patience	Embarrassing
18	Minimal food	Screamed	Afraid
19	No property	Thoughts muddled	His world went to pieces
20	Borrow money		His heart contract painfully
21	No money		Eyes began to tear

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No	Physical (Related to Human and Concrete Objects)	Emotional (Related to the Mind and Emotions)	Internal (Related to Abstract and Internal Feelings)
22	Eating young leaves		Regret
23	Wrinkled face		Devastated
24	Little lamp		
25	Kerosene lamp		
26	Cracks in the walls		
27	Dead		
28	Dry eyes		
29	Not owning anything		
30	Eating grasshoppers		
31	Living from hand to mouth		
32	Swollen face		
33	Sleep on the earthen floor		