

ISSN: 2088-6799



PROCEEDINGS

International Seminar

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

July 2, 2011

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MANIPULATING SUNDANESES' PERCEPTIONS AND THOUGHTS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE THROUGH INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE

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Abstract

Language is frequently performed, both oral and written, to communicate the ideology. Among indigenous speakers, ideology itself is able to be believed if it is delivered by local language. Therefore, it is no wonder if many critics or politicians, including Sundanese political actors, use local language in their political actions. These activities may be seen in local magazine published in West Java, Manglé. From such comprehension, the research is conducted by focusing on one of its columns, Balé Bandung. Theoretically, Althusser stated that ideology can be delivered by using state apparatuses such as churches, schools, families and through cultural forms—literature, music, advertising, sitcom, media, etc. Manglé, one of the cultural forms, becomes an effective media to spread out the nationality and democracy ideology toward the Sundanese. The effectiveness of Manglé is represented through the fact that Manglé is read by the youth and them who work in government institutions. The issue is how the ideology is delivered in Sundanese. It leads the writers to identify the model of the deliverance. Conducting the research, the method used is analytic descriptive. The data are described and analyzed objectively. The result shows that language level use, undak usuk basa, involves in delivering the ideology. The ideology performed through loma in which sundanese use in their daily life.

Key words: manipulative language, control of perceptions and thoughts

1. Language, Power, and Media

A brief conceptual analysis is the relationship of language and power involved in such an approach to the public discourse and communication insight. Language is here said to affect the content and direction of particular thoughts in the way it is used to change beliefs and values. (see also Steinberg, 2001: 271). 'Change' may be defined in terms of the developing changes in truth values since thought is independent of language. In other words, even language may convey speaker's values or perspectives, but whether or not the values are adopted is another matter. Related to the public discourse (read also *news media*); the media generally adopt the perspective and legitimate the primarily dominant social group. The media manipulate their readers or viewers, in this sense they control over the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions. (read also van Dijk n.d: 2).

As prior discussed, media have the potential control to 'the mind' of readers or viewers. However, the effectiveness of media control highly depends on the media users' unconsciousness of the nature or implications of such control. Thus when they 'change their minds', it is because of their own free will to accept the news reports as true values.

Highlighted to the media users, the stylistic language should be considered to achieve the adoption of the values; the style will be influenced by media users or readers. In this view, Holmes (2001: 223) stated, "Language varies according to its uses as well as its users, according to where it is used and to whom, as well as according to who is using it." In conclusion, all above accounts should be considered to manipulate one's perceptions and thoughts.

In order to focus this discussion better, the study is limited to the use of indigenous language, *Sundanese*, to distribute power of the dominant social group in local magazine, *Manglé*. To give illustration, it is strongly believed that *Sundanese*s will easily adopt the certain values if the values are delivered by local language in local magazine. Regarding to the conceptual framework, *Manglé* is examined to have such a potential control to its readers, the youths and government officials. The control

exercised by the social dominance over the minds of *Manglé*'s readers is executed through the use of intentionally and cautiously manipulative structures and contents of news report.

2. A Model to Manipulate Sundanese's Perceptions and Thoughts in a Political Discourse through Indigenous Language

The preferential access of social power is defined effective if the specific organization and functions of news reports are understood as 'knowledge of the world'. A news report about *Sundanese*'s classical music instrument *Karinding*, for instance, presupposes at least some knowledge about the tool as well as the historical values and the way it is played. This means that the understanding may be limited by the knowledge itself. In order to expand knowledge, a certain model is developed to represent a mental experience – that is, an event people witness, participate in, or read about. Subsequently, the content and structure of the model may be designed based on the content and structure of news report.

Related to the study, the preferential access of social power is executed through indigenous language, *Sundanese*, based on thought that *Sundanese* people have strong interest in their ethnic. The further study also shows that ideological power emerges from its capability in involving the dominated in the practice so that it is able to lead them on the social construction. The deliverance of ideology by the indigenous speakers through the local language, in the practice, is able to alter, form and strengthen the ideology in the dominated society. Ideologies of the speakers can be revealed by close reading on their discourse, moreover by understanding the pattern of deliverance or by doing systematic analysis to find that the speakers explicitly or unintentionally express their ideologies through language and communication. In this case, *Sundanese* journalists or politicians as local language users are defined as members of *Sundanese* communities and are supposed to speak, write or understand from a specific social position in *Sundanese* culture. The deliverance of their ideology then can be analyzed by examining what ideologies are typically associated with their position and the culture in the society to defend or legitimate it.

According to Althusser, ideology can be delivered by using state apparatuses such as churches, schools, families and through cultural forms—literature, music, advertising, sitcom, media, which he mentioned as Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) (1984). The ISA works massively through ideology to reach the diversities in the society with repressive operations. Media, as a part of ISA, is a public and private area as the same time due to its obligation to obey the state regulation in the practice.

Manglé, one of the cultural forms, becomes an effective media to spread out the nationality and democracy ideology toward the *Sundanese*. The effectiveness of *Manglé* is represented through the fact that *Manglé* is read by the youths and them who work in government institutions. However, it can be said that the target of this media is lower-middle class. *Balé Bandung* as the discourse for *Sundanese* politicians to reach their *Sundanese* subjects and constituents, through the idea of giving them political education, is indisputable effective.

The fact, as research continuous to show, is that in *Balé Bandung*, *Manglé*'s column, a preferred model is used to represent the indisputable political ideologies – nationality and democracy ideology. The representation of the ideologies is controlled through a local wisdom approach. What do we mean by a local wisdom approach? The approach is exercised based on *Sundanese*'s fundamental ideologies – the basis mechanism of social cognitions of *Sundanese*s. This kind of approach is believed as the best approach that may encourage *Sundanese*s to adopt the nationality and democracy values of nation. This is because the values have been recognized and believed from generation to generation and considered as the truth values. The characteristic of the expected leader, for example, is the person who can learn the philosophy, *Silih Asah Silih Asih Silih Asuh*. So that is why the representation of Amien Rais is categorized as insensitive leader because of his speeches. In article entitled *Amien Rais*, it is stated that Amien Rais cannot act as a wise leader when he said, '*Untuk apa seorang yang telah tua begitu dilindungi?*' Here the *Sundanese* politician, a dominant social power, criticized by mentioning,

"Lebah dieu, Amin Rais, dina polah jeung ucapanana, taya bedana jeung babasan para mahasiswa, teu ngabedakeun antara dirina minangka tokoh masarakat jeung mahasiswa nu keur buringas. Padahal, nya harita, sabenerna mah Amien Rais perlu nembongeun sipat pamingpin nu polahna "kebapakan", "mengayomi", lain saruana degdegler saperti kaum demonstran. Jigana, lebah dieu kasalahan nu mimiti, Amien Rais henteu ngalakukeun investasi, melak simpati ka pihak sejen." (*Manglé*: Mei 2010)

In addition to the fundamental values, the politician manipulated *Sundanese*'s mind through the history. Nationality ideology is introduced by giving back the memory of *Sumpah Pemuda*, "*Sakum pakumbuhan bieu kaiket ku cita-cita nu sarua nyaeta ngadegkeun nagara nu mampuh ngahontal kaadilan jeung karaharjaan pikeun sakumna bangsa Indonesia.*" (*Manglé*: Noveber 2010)

In addition to preferred topics, the news structure is manipulated in such a way of persuasive and rhetoric language. In *Amien Rais*'s case, for example, rhetoric language is used to encourage the readers to accept the values, "*Tapi, apan kaom mahasiswa saukur sabagian leutik tina rahayat umumna. Tah, kunaon Amien Rais teu bisa ngaragap hate rahayat umumna nu teu bisa disaruakeun kitu wae jeung galakna massa kaom mahasiswa?*" In this case, persuasive is used since persuasive discourse is valued as no ideological discourse anymore; it is seen as self-evidently true.

The model of structure is also represented through *style*. Since the target of *Manglé* is lower-middle class and monolingual communities, the vernacular (colloquial) language are generally used. The study shows that vernacular forms are those which characterize readers' most relaxed style in which readers are encouraged to accept ideology with their own free will. The vernacular language in this study is known as *Sundanese loma* (read also daily language). However, it would not be an effective way to reach the readers except using the lexical selection in the deliverance. The ideological semantics underlying such lexical selection follows a clear strategic pattern to recognize or persuade readers who in general in-groups and their members, friends, allies, or supporters, tend to be described in positive terms, whereas out-groups, enemies or opponents are described in negative terms.

Such discourse structures are used to exhibit positive and negative judgements about groups applies to different levels and dimensions of text and talk. As stated by Van Dijk, the emphasis of the levels and dimensions of text and talk is very general structural notion and may apply to the following levels of discourse (1985), there are phonological structures, graphical structures, overall ordering and size, syntactic structure, semantic structures, lexical style, rhetoric, schematic or superstructures, pragmatic, interactive.

In *Sundanese* language such discourse has a broad range of structural possibilities to emphasize and de-emphasize information when *loma* language, *babasan* (idioms) and *paribasa* (proverb) are used. Apparently, the structures are not merely express the ideological positions but also have a function in the persuasion-reception dimension of communication. Comparative to ideologies, discourse structures have double function in endorsing or executing basic ideologies

and acting as a more or less powerful means of persuasion. Those are strategies used in order to influence attitudes and ideologies of the *Sundanese*.

On the tables below, there are samples of daily language (*loma*) usage in the *Balé Bandung* column. The others *undak usuk basa-lemes* (higher or polite language) is not being used in the discourse to eliminate the gaps between the young and the adult so that they will be in an equal position during the information deliverance.

<i>Loma</i>	<i>Lemes</i> (for the self)	<i>Lemes</i> (for the others)
<i>Anggeus</i>	<i>Réngsé</i>	<i>Parantos</i>
<i>Gumbira</i>	<i>Bingah</i>	<i>Bingah</i>
<i>Kadudukan</i>	<i>Kadudukan</i>	<i>Kalungguhan</i>
<i>Mupakat</i>	<i>Rempug</i>	<i>Rempag</i>
<i>Pribadi</i>	<i>Paribados</i>	<i>Ku anjeun</i>

Table 1 *Undak Usuk Basa*

Babasan (idiom) in *Sundanese* is named *basa pakeman* or reciprocal language which unable to be altered both the words and the structure of the phrase. *Babasan* is usually comparing the characteristic of an object or situation and compiling it into a word or phrase. The phrases in *babasan* cannot be added, reduced or refined since the meaning will also change.

<i>Babasan</i>	Meaning
<i>Amis budi</i>	Hospitable and friendly
<i>Babalik pikir</i>	Repent and forswear
<i>Heurin létah</i>	In doubt
<i>Ieu aing</i>	Arrogant, conceited
<i>Leumpeuh yuni</i>	Inconsistent, wishy-washy

Table 2 *Babasan* (Idiom)

Paribasa (Proverb) is also included in *basa pakeman*. It is a comparison of life symbols which then constructs a clause or sentence with reciprocal meaning. *Paribasa*, as same as *babasan*, cannot be altered both the words and the structures. According to the meaning, *paribasa* is categorized into three types: *paribasa wawaran luang* (describing someone's experience), *paribasa pangjurung laku hadé* (encouraging politeness and good attitude) and *paribasa panyaram lampah salah* (prohibition in doing error).

<i>Paribasa</i>	Meaning
<i>Bentik curuk balas nunjuk, capétang balas miwaragang</i>	Domineering
<i>Goong nabeuh manéh</i>	Self-praise
<i>Leuleus jeujeur liat tali</i>	Full of consideration
<i>Nété tarajé, nincak hambalan</i>	Orderly, well regulated
<i>Tamiang meulit ka bitis</i>	Bad attitude

Table 3 *Paribasa* (Proverb)

3. Conclusion

Discourse as a representation of language is manifestation of perspective and values of speaker's attitudes and ideologies. In related to speaker's thoughts, it is also used to persuade readers to adopt speaker's beliefs and values. However, the effectiveness of this manipulation depends on a model developed to represent a mental experience. The model covers content and structure.

In the study, the nationality and democracy ideologies, as preferred topics, are manipulated by the basis mechanism of social cognitions of *Sundanese* people. In addition, the topics are controlled through persuasive and rhetoric language in vernacular style, *loma*. With this model, it is expected that the readers may adopt the values. Accommodating to the readers' speech style is a signal that the writer has desire to get well with them and make them comfortable and relaxed, as stated by Holmes (2001: 275).

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