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Discourse Analysis on the Editorial of "Politics without Principles"

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Abstract---Discourse is built by linguistic structures with multidimensional relationships. Relationships in discourse are endophoric-exophoric and anaphoric-cataphoric. Such a relationship implies meaning, both linguistically and in discourse. From the discourse on "Politics without Principles", the third paragraph specifically clearly describes the dichotomy of speech and behavior. If the linguistic meaning and discourse are drawn into politics, then what is essential from a healthy and conscientious politics is a real relationship between speech and behavior.

Keywords---critical discourse, editorial language, political language.

Introduction

The use of language in various domains, variations, or variations always takes into account and leads to two main problems: the language system and the user system. The language system is related to the conventional and arbitrary ways a language appears as an internal rule (Bolinger, 1975). While the language system, or also called the language use system, is related to the functions that should be built so that there is no miscommunication and misinterpretation in communication (Sudjiman & Van Zoest, 1996). In the study of the context of language use, various languages are known. One of them is journalism. Sumadiria (2006), said: "The language commonly used by periodical print media, namely newspapers, tabloids, and magazines, is called the language of press journalism. As a variety of languages, journalistic language is subject to standard language rules and ethics. He further stated that the main characteristics of journalistic language, namely: simple, concise, concise, straightforward, clear, unambiguous, attractive, democratic, using active sentences, avoiding technical words or terms, and being subject to standard language rules and ethics (ibid., p. 54-59).

Whatever the criteria for journalistic language, it is clear that the use of journalistic language implies two points of view as mentioned above, namely: (1)

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language system and (2) language usage system. These two things (systems) will be the focus of the study in this paper. The material for the analysis is the third paragraph of the editorial in the general daily Kompas, published on November 29, 2005 (hereinafter abbreviated as The Discourse for Editorial- TDFE). The determination of this focus is based on the fact that journalistic media has an unlimited reach of audiences (readers), both in terms of number, intellect, and socio-cultural background. Such an audience reach requires structuring the language system to have an ordinary meaning and understanding of the message/information presented (Sriwimon & Zilli, 2017; Flowerdew, 1999).

Literature Review

Based on the characteristics of the data, the theory used in this study is a linguistic theory, in this case, Structural Linguistic Theory and Discourse Analysis Theory. An overview of the two theories is presented in the following section.

Structural linguistic theory

Ferdinand de Saussure created structural linguistics in the late 1910s, but his ideas were not brought into English until the mid-1950s. Before Saussure, language was investigated in the context of world history, and the idea that words were only mimicking the things they represented was the prevalent paradigm (De Saussure, 2011). Saussure discovered that the meaning of language should be understood as a system of relationships among words as they are employed at a particular time rather than a collection of individual words with separate histories. This is a structuralist theory in a nutshell (Joseph, 2012). The goal of structuralism is not to trace the origins of language (or of any other phenomenon). Language's syntax and functions are explored, with a particular emphasis on the underlying rules.

To differentiate between the language's structure and the surface phenomena, such as the millions of individual utterances, Saussure dubbed the structure langue, and he called the individual utterances parole (the French word for speech). Naturally, for the structuralist, the proper topic of study is language; parole is only interesting insofar as it gives insight into langue. As we will see later, structuralist critics investigate the langue, which both structures individual literary works and the system of literature as a whole.

Individual components of a structure aren't only a hodgepodge of separate items: they exist in connection to one another, thus they act as a whole unit (Tualaka et al., 2020; Sani et al., 2021). They get involved. It is only because we see differences among these components, as in Saussure's definition for the structure of language, that we can recognize them (Čermák, 1996). It's just a difference in our ability to recognize an entity, in that we identify one by comparing it to all the others. Red (or blue or green) would be redundant if we thought all objects were of the same color. Red just seems different from blue and green because humans see it that way. According to structuralism, we comprehend contrasts in terms of binary oppositions, or notions that are directly opposed and which we grasp by their opposition to each other. To put it another way, we think of up as the

opposite of down, female as the opposite of male, good as the opposite of evil, black as the opposite of white, and so on (Giddens, 1987).

The theory that stems from an approach that is also often applied in various fields of science adheres to the principle that everything has a structure. The parts of a structure must constitute a system. Levi-Strauss (Ahimsa-Putra, 2001), argues that the structure is relations of relations. In the study of linguistics, structure refers to grammar as developed by Bloomfield (1965). Bloomfield argues that grammar is the arrangement of linguistic units. The arrangement in question consists of 4 kinds, namely: order, modulation, phonetic modification, and selection (Margono, 1993). In analyzing written language paragraphs, the element focused on is the order because elements such as modulation and phonetic modification do not appear significantly. This is in line with the grammar concept, such as American linguists (Robins, 1992). The application of structural theory in the context of this study is focused on the analysis of immediate constituent analysis. The grammatical analysis includes words and sentences as part of grammar on the one hand and phonology on the other (Coulthard & Condlin, 2014).

Discourse analysis theory

Discourse analysis is an area of study that encompasses a variety of diverse, mostly qualitative methods to the examination of the connections between spoken language and the social environment. Language researchers usually regard language as a type of social practice that affects the social environment and vice versa. Numerous modern forms of discourse analysis have been influenced, directly or implicitly, by Michel Foucault's theories of power, knowledge, and discourse. Foucault's work stimulated interest in the function of language in the formation and preservation of certain knowledge, as well as inequitable power relations (Brown et al., 1983; Latupeirissa et al., 2019).

Related to this paper, discourse analysis adopts the opinion of Stubbs (1983), as quoted (Oetomo, 1993). According to Stubbs (1983), discourse analysis is the study of language at the level of the phrase or clause. In other words, discourse analysis is concerned with the examination of larger language units, such as verbal exchanges or written texts. Thus, discourse analysis is concerned with the use of language in social situations, more precisely with the interaction or dialogue between speakers. Additionally, discourse analysis focuses on the study of the phrase as a whole. Additionally, Stubbs (1983), argues that discourse analysis is concerned with the interaction of language and society, and more recently, with the interactive or dialogic aspects of ordinary speech. According to Stubbs (1983), there are eleven methods to discourse analysis. The approaches include a linguistic perspective on discourse, predictability, and well-formedness, grammaticality, intuitions about discourse phonotactics, predictability, predictability, and idealization, structure controls meaning, canonical discourse, and idealization, analogies, and conclusions. As can be seen, some of the techniques appeared to be similar. This might be because Stubbs (1983), places a premium on in-depth analysis. Three predictabilities exist, and they may be analyzed as a single entity because the analysis will provide the same result. The remaining techniques may be summarized into six broad categories. 915

Stubbs (1983), mentioned that six methods may be utilized effectively to analyze interaction, spoken language, and utterances among mobility.

The target of the analysis is the language in use. Therefore, the socio-cultural aspect should be considered, especially in determining the meaning of discourse (Nunan, 1992). In the context of this paper, the intended meaning is viewed as discourse. Here, it is clear the interaction between grammar and meaning. In other words, the discourse analysis presented here includes the form and structure of the discourse and the semantic aspects of the discourse being analyzed, which Meyer (1987), refers to as the function and meaning of the text. The analysis also includes the relationship between clauses. The relationship is seen from two aspects, namely: (1) the type of dependence (interdependency) and (2) the relationship of semantic logic (Djajasudarma, 1994). These two types of relationships will be related to reference, cohesion, coherence, and deixis.

Method

This study was conducted using the ex post facto method. Ex post facto research, often known as after-the-fact research, is a type of research design in which the inquiry begins after the fact has occurred, without the researcher intervening. Ex post facto research approaches account for the bulk of social research conducted in situations where it is not feasible or ethical to change the features of human participants. It is also frequently used in place of real experimental research to test hypotheses regarding cause-and-effect connections or in instances when following the complete procedure of a true experimental design is neither feasible or ethical (Simon & Goes, 2013). Even though ex post facto research examines events that have already occurred, it shares some of the underlying logic of inquiry with experimental research design.

The data of this study is in the form of literature sourced from the editorial of the Kompas general daily entitled "Politics without Principles". The data in the form of a paragraph were analyzed from a linguistic perspective and a discourse perspective. The analysis is presented in a qualitative descriptive manner. Djajasudarma (1993), says that the qualitative method is a procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken data in the language community. The editorial is the primary data that is analyzed. The data is presented as follows.

Politics Without Principles

"...We feel this more and more after following the results of the national working meetings of several political parties in the last few days. It seems true that there are no firmly held principles. What is said is very different from what is then done. On the one hand, it claims to be a party supporting the government, but its behavior in parliament is like that of the opposition. It is also not pure opposition, but an opposition that is just bullying, an opposition that is simply looking for a bargaining position, an opposition that looks populist..." (Source: Kompas, November 29, 2005, p.6)

Discussion

The paragraph to be analyzed consists of four sentences. From the linguistic aspect, the grammatical elements of grammar will be the focus of the discussion. Meanwhile, from the discourse aspect, the relationship between sentences and semantic logic will focus on language.

Linguistic aspect

As a discourse, TDFE displays a grammatical structure in the form of morphology and syntax. Linguistically, it can be seen that the use of grammatical forms should be studied and discussed in this paper.

Morphology

According to Matthews (1974), morphology is "a branch of linguistics concerned with the form of words in different uses and constructions". According to this definition, words are viewed in terms of usage and construction (Katamba, 1993). From a morphological point of view, TDFE uses words that can be grouped into (1) essential words, compound words, and affixes; (2) main words and task words; and (3) and pronouns, verbs, nouns, prepositions, and adverbs. The first group is based on structure, the second group is based on function, while the third group is based on categories. Several basic words are contained in TDFE, among others: party and opposition. These words can stand alone and have lexical meaning. These essential words are deliberately highlighted in this discussion because they are typical of political discourse. The four words used for this analysis have a semantic relationship (Coeckelbergh, 2018; Putrayasa, 2021).

The words of party and opposition in the context of TDFE have an "in" and an "out" (discourse) link. The inward link can be seen in the words: politics and government. While outgoing links can be connected with words, such as rulers and coalitions, for example, the ruling party, coalition government, and others. In addition to essential words, in TDFE, there are also compound words. For example, the word work meeting, political party, and bargaining position. These words have the same grammatical characteristics as some examples presented by Ramlan (1980). Those words can still be traced to the core elements. What is clear is that the words meeting, party, and their respective positions are the essence of the compound words.

The compound words used in TDFE are in line with the characteristics of the Indonesian word order pattern. The pattern in question is the DM pattern. The explained element precedes the explaining element. It is just that the "explaining" nature of the element that is behind is not interleaved with the element that precedes it. There is no meaningful relationship between work meetings and meetings for work, political parties, and political parties, or bargaining positions with mutual bargaining positions (Cap, 2014; López-Duarte & Vidal-Suárez, 2010). The relationship is not that simple. The meaning that is built by a unit called a compound word can only be explained/paraphrased.

In TDFE, there are also some affixed words, such as feel, follow, hold, last, say, and state. The grammatical characteristics of these words follow the variety of written language, although some of them need to be clarified, such as the word feel. Compare with feel, feel, and taste. Note the following usage.

- He felt the pain.
- I feel uncomfortable being there.
- I think that is the best choice.

The word feel in TDFE implies a psychological 'relationship' between the people and the performance of political parties. As it is written, the performance that is meant as the content of the word feel is politics without principles. Many task words are also used in TDFE. The task words are used (by the author) to qualify the discourse; as tools of cohesion and characterizing discourse coherence. Based on categories, in TDFE, there is the use of words: pronouns (pronouns), verbs (verbs), nouns (nouns), adjectives (adjectives), prepositions (prepositions), and adverbs (adverbs). In linguistic studies, especially syntax, verbs become the core in a clause or sentence. Verbs that define and allow other categories to exist. Therefore, this discussion is focused on verbs. The verbs contained in TDFE, namely: feel, follow, look, hold, say, do, state, bully, seek, and look (Jessop & Oosterlynck, 2008; Jensen, 2003). These verbs semantically have a particular valence to build a higher level, namely sentences.

Sentence

There are five sentences in the TDFE. These sentences all have the structure as broad sentences. Broad sentences are sentences that consist of two or more clauses (Ramlan, 1981). The use of broad sentences in TDFE is intended to fulfill the requirements of journalistic language. The conditions referred to, namely that the language of journalism must be solid and exciting (2005:54,56). The density in question is the density of ideas/ideas as outlined in the TDFE. At the same time, exciting conditions are seen in the variations. Consider the following example.

(4) On the one hand, it declares itself as a party supporting the government, but its behavior in parliament is like that of the opposition.

The sentence (4) above contains determining elements, as follows:

- declare themselves >< supporting party
- behavior >< like opposition

The two pairs of determining elements above show a semantic opposition between "talk" and "action" and between "support" and "against". Such an oppositional relationship shows the density of content and the attractiveness of verbal expression in TDFE. Sentence (4) is a message and idea/core idea in TDFE. In the context of discourse (discussed in the following section), the ideas expressed and implied in TDFE's sentences reflect the title "Politics Without Principles". There are parallels between the expressed and implied ideas, as proven by the determining elements in the example sentence (4).

Aspects of discourse

Discourse is the unity of several sentences which are closely related to one another. In the context of discourse, the meaning of a sentence must be related to other sentences in constructing the overall meaning of the discourse (Van Dijk, 1993). The unit of language that is spoken or written, long or short, is called text or discourse. The text is a semantic unit and not a grammatical entity. Therefore, the investigation and description of syntax should not be limited to a single sentence but must be continued to a larger unit, namely discourse. TDFE is a discourse that is interpreted and understood contextually, in this case, the linguistic context. Consider the following TDFE quote.

We feel this even more after following the national working meetings of several political parties in the last few days. It seems true that there are no firmly held principles. What is said is very different from what is then done. On the one hand, it claims to be a party supporting the government, but its behavior in parliament is like that of the opposition. It is also not pure opposition, but an opposition that is just bullying, an opposition that is simply looking for a bargaining position, an opposition that looks populist (Kompas, November 29, 2005, p.6.)

In the Indonesian user's case, the sequence of sentences is a text and not a sequence of sentences that have no ties to each other, not sentences lined up. There is something that binds the sentences into a text, which causes the listener or reader to know that he is dealing with a text or discourse and not a collection of sentences alone, without a bond. If there are ties between the words used in a sentence, then the same is valid between the sentences in the binding. Pay attention to the first sentence and the second sentence of TDFE. An exophoric relationship is implied as a bias from the exophoric relationship between the first sentence and the previous sentence (and paragraph), marked by that phrase. The second sentence as a whole refers to the sentence (and paragraph) before the first sentence (Schelkunov et al., 2021; Jones, 2007).

The first sentence and the sentence shows an anaphoric relationship, as well as a cataphoric relationship. The phrase is explained again in the second sentence. In contrast, the whole of the second sentence refers to that phrase in the first sentence. The second and third sentences show an anaphoric and cataphoric endophoric relationship. The relationship is implied in the phrase no principle and the dichotomy of speech vs behavior. Speech that is different from behavior shows an attitude of no principle, as is the explanatory relationship between the second and third sentences. The third and fourth sentences show an explanatory relationship. The words support and opposition explain parallelism (parallelism) about the dichotomy of speech vs behavior. The readership is presented with an affirmation of a political stance without principles. The political concept is always related to supporters and opposition at each extreme pole and the neutral group. The latter group tends to be unattractive because it is perceived negatively, for example: as a double-edged sword, the grey group, the unclear orientation group, the floating group, and so on.

The fourth and fifth sentences have an anaphoric relationship. This relationship can be seen in the use of the word opposition in the fourth sentence and its repetition in the fifth sentence. The characteristics of the opposition in the fourth

sentence are explained and emphasized in the fifth sentence; "...the opposition is just bluffing, just looking for a bargaining position, and as long as it looks populist". The relationship between sentences as described above seems to form an unbroken link between sentences in TDFE. This relationship also indicates another relationship, namely the relationship between the previous and following paragraphs. The relationship can be schematized as follows:

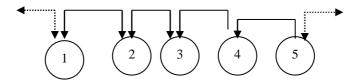


Figure 1. The relationship between sentences

The relationship above emphasizes the nature, characteristics, and nature of paragraphs in particular and discourse in general. Discourse requires an "intimate" relationship between elements, both endophoric-exophoric and anaphoric-cataphoric. This relationship will comprehensively support linguistic meaning and discourse meaning (Bucholtz, 2000; Budd & Raber, 1996).

Conclusion

The discussion presented above provides an overview of the use of written language. Linguistic forms are arranged to be an appropriate means of conveying ideas. The ideas in question should be compact and focused, marked by references, both anaphoric-cataphoric and endophoric-exophoric. TDFE has complied with these requirements. In addition, the ideas presented in the TDFE are very relevant to the editorial title "Politics Without Principles". The power of expression in TDFE lies in some keywords: speech is different from action, supporters of the government and opposition, and opposition is not pure. This is a picture of the perception of Indonesian politicians. Could this be what is called "politics without conscience?" The answer lies in the writer's perception and the reader's interpretation. However, linguistically and discourse is answered through the relationship built between grammatical meaning and discourse meaning.

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