Language Style of Opposition Politician Group in Indonesia:

Critical discourse analysis

Eko Kuntarto
Universitas Jambi
Jambi, Indonesia
ekokuntarto28@unja.ac.id

Mukarto Siswoyo, Suherli Kusmana
Universitas Swadaya Gunung Jati
Cirebon, Indonesia

Abstract—**This study aimed to describe the style of the language of opposition politician groups in Indonesia, which could lead to relations of power non-visible (hidden power) with the ideological process that appears in oral or written discourse. This study uses a Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis model. The corpus of data obtained randomly from a national online social media are presented in the internet. Data taken during 3 months. The survey results revealed, there are 4 groups and 36 kinds of style language used by the opposition politicians in speaking in online social media, namely irony (21 types), comparison (7 types), opposition (four types), and assertion (4 types). Four results also known of the opposition politician stylistic phenomenon in Indonesia, namely, 1) the tendency to use meaningful diction sarcastic, harassing, bullying, cornering, to the contrary, and a priori; 2) The realistic truth defeated by practical truth, 3) loss of empathy, respect, and civility; 4) language is used as a political tool, and not as a means of interaction as defined in the theory of politeness.**

Keywords—style of language; politics; politicians; opposition groups; critical discourse analysis; Fairclough; online social media

I. INTRODUCTION

Lately, online social media in Indonesia enlivened with the emergence of a new discourse that indicate typical specification language diversity opposition politician. The existence of typical political discourse raises skepticism, both from the language practitioners and the general public. Although the phenomenon is situational and temporal because it only occurs during the general election, but the impact is quite broad. When this language is not just a means of communication and inter-action alone. English has become the medium through intermediaries in the implementation of the power of ideology. Even the language also contributed to the domination of others by the other party. Language has become a political commodity [1].

According to Anderson, the use of language for political purposes is not a new thing in Indonesia, even in the world [2]. The use of language as a political tool in Indonesia originate from the fact that not inevitable that he was born from three different languages and two different cultural traditions. Three such language is Dutch, Javanese and Malay revolutionary. As is the tradition of Dutch culture, the West, and Java.

Interestingly, Indonesian political leaders to use language not only to express ideas, opinions or thoughts, but also convey the mind containing the interests of power that must be maintained, no matter what. In its implementation, every regime and political groups use different repertoire. Character language between them also vary, depending on the political context were developed at that time.

Related to the opinions Anderson [2], in the era of politics of the past (the old order and the new order), Indonesian repertoire awash with the use of acronyms and euphemisms excessive [3]. In today's era of reform, the use of language by opposition political groups more concern. The repertoire of political language is not only limited to the use of diction deviate, but deeper into the changing nature of language which was originally used to interact and establish good relationships into language repertoire spreading lies, hatred, anarchism, anti-social behavior, conflicts, even wars. Language has been used as a "weapon" to fight against opponents and urge people to fight each other.

Based on this background, the research on Language Style of Opposition Political Groups in Indonesia: Critical Discourse Analysis needs to be done. Through this study are expected to be known link between language and politics, language and power, language use practices in speaking against the background of ideological and philosophical, as well as the typical language diversity opposition politicians.

The phenomenon of the use of language by the op-position political groups in Indonesia, not solely related to aspects of the use of language (language use), but also related to social behavior (social attitude), which is widely expressed in the study of psychology behaviorism [4]. Behaviorism paradigm in political science often become the basic theory in the study of the case of elections in different countries. That's because the study of politics, voting behavior becomes one of the research topics of interest. The electoral system continues to evolve, the theme of the campaign is never the same, and the character of his constituents are also always unique [3]. Language usage data can be observed and measured in terms of stimulus and response that can have an impact in the form of certain behavior [3,5].

In conjunction with the use of force in the spoken language in social media, behavioristic theory seems appropriate to explore its philosophical foundation. Response in the form of behavior to support a particular group, and otherwise reject or do not support any particular group into a major destination for politicians in speaking in social media for political ends. It is interesting to study because of their unfamiliarity (anomaly) in the use of language as a means of social interaction that is often discussed in the study of pragmatics and politeness, as stated, inter alia, by Brown & Levinson [6,7]. In the theory of interaction, language is used to maintain good relations between users [8]. So, if the language then becomes a tool for hostile, then of course there is nothing wrong with the use of language as a means of interaction [6].

Furthermore, according to the understanding of critical discourse analysis, the text is not something independent value and describe reality as it is. Personal inclinations of the manufacturer of the text and the social structure that surrounds the text producer also adds to the body of the text. Language is not neutral but carries a certain ideological message that are affected by the creator of the text. Critical discourse analysis to under-stand the discourse is not merely as a study of the language, but also relate to the context. Intended context is the context of the exercise of power that aims to marginalize certain individuals or groups through the use of power in producing a text or discourse [1].

In conjunction with the opposition, to build a negative stigma on political opponents, opposition groups formed the structure of certain schemata of words and style of speaking. Schemata structure was built through a variety of ways, including making negative stimulus on political opponents through hoax information. With the chart, the theory can be described as follows.
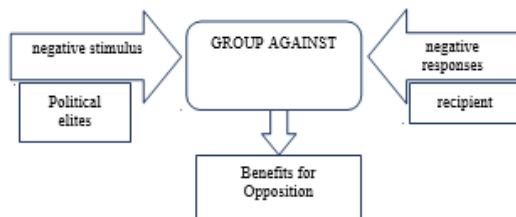

Fig. 1. Stimulus-response interaction in political discourse.

In politics, all communication activities related to an attempt to gain sympathy, to expand the network, and strengthen hegemony. Political messages exchanged through symbols verbal and nonverbal. Rhetoric figures (community leaders, politicians, members of the legislative, executive, president, etc.), which revealed statements, interviews, speeches, press releases basically have political intentions. Communication is performed by using the languages as media, including online me-dia. In view of discourse analysis, every speech or word has a specific meaning and purpose. Therefore, language is a personal representation to represent someone in a particular capacity; scholars, intellectuals, politicians, bureaucrats, and so on [9]. Relevant with it, Pentzold findings need to be referenced, Sommer, Meier, and Fraas in his study of the case of multimodal discourse role model, where messages and pictures written, broadcast, comments, and visual

spread through social media, can frame the issues and bring the public in endless contradictions [10]. For Indonesia pluralistic political issues like that can be a driving force of disintegration.

Study on the use of force by the political elite opponents language closely related to the meaning of utterances. Making of intent speech must involve many aspects, including the context of the speech. However, as a communication studies, focus the relevant terms are hidden object and purpose of a speech, not a grammatical structure or development description statement. Not what is expressed, but how the message is delivered and why he chose that way [11,12]. Therefore, a study of the style of language in political discourse is not enough uses linguistic approach, but also a pragmatic approach [7]. With a pragmatic approach, the speech or the sentence will be reviewed on the intent and purpose [9].

In regard to the political discourse analysis, three approaches based social constructionism psychology proposed to be addressed specifically here. The three approaches are Critical Approach, Cultural and Historical Approach and Approach Relationships are divided into two categories, namely the relationship between Knowledge and Social Processes and relationships between Knowledge and Social Action [13].

Fairclough found critical discourse analysis is how language led to social groups to fight and filed ideology respectively. Discourse analysis seeing language use speech and writing as a social practice. Social practices in discourse analysis is seen causing interlocking relationships between events that are escape from a reality, and social structure [14]. The concept formed by Fair-clough focuses on three levels. First, each text simultaneously has three functions, namely representation, relationships, and identity. Second, the practice of dis-course includes measures of media workers produce text. This relates to the journalists themselves as individuals; the nature of journalists working network with fellow workers of other media, the media as an institution working patterns, such as how to cover the news, write news, to become news in the media. Thirdly, the socio-cultural practices analyze three things: the economy, politics (especially with regard to issues of power and ideology) and culture (particularly with regard to values and identity) that also affect media institutions and discourse. Discussion of socio-cultural practices include three levels: the level of situational, institution-al, and social. Situational level associated with the pro-duction and context of the situation. Institutional level regarding how the institution internally or externally. Social level associated with a more macro situation, such as the political system, economic system, cultural system and society as a whole [14].

Critical discourse analysis based on the model of Norman Fairclough view of how language is used to view the imbalance of power in society. According to Fairclough, critical discourse analysis to investigate how the use of language social groups to fight each other and propose its version of each, which have five principles, namely: 1) The principle of action, 2) The principle of context, 3) Principles of History, 4) Principle of Power and 5) The principle of ideology. Model Fair-clough (1) critical discourse analysis split into three dimensions, namely:

1) the dimensions of microstructural, 2) meso-structural dimension, and 3) socio-cultural dimension.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

In this study used methods of Critical Discourse Analysis models Fairclough [1]. In keeping with the model, then the basis of analysis refers to the theory of pragmatics and discourse analysis Halliday [3]. which examines the structure and function of language in a grammar structure. Variables studied with regard to political groups, which in the political map in Indonesia, there is a clear separation. There are two political groups, the Government Support Group (GSS) and the Opposition Politicians Group (OPG). GSS is a group of supporters of the ruling government. OPG is a group that does not support the government in power (opposition). GSS consists of 9 (nine) political party, the PDI-P, PKB, Golkar, Perindo, NasDem, Hanura, PKPI, PSI, and PPP. While OPG filled by PKS, PAN, Democrat and Gerindra. GSS calling itself the Indonesian Coalition Works (ICW). OPG calling itself the Indonesia Rich-fair Coalition (IRC). This study includes data collection in the realm of election contestation, pileg, and at the same election.

Data taken in the pre-campaign period, i.e. from Au-gust to October 2018. The data were obtained from four sources of social media, namely detik.com, kompas.com, liputan6.com, and tribunnews.com. The collected data of 48 documents taken from the news 12 times taking on four sources of data. Data analysis is done by making the interpretation of the text through a combination of text and "signifying" text. Interpreted to the text using a variety of sources so as to generate an interpretation that is closest to the truth.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Of the four sources of data are collected forty-eight kinds of text, either in the form of direct speech or indirect speech. The speech delivered by the political elite opposition party, the PKS, PAN, Democrat and Gerindra. The political elite is the opposition party leaders at various levels, both leaders of the region (province, district / city) as well as the central leadership, as well as partisan (supporter) opposition political parties, which are not yet clear and the party is not the party leaders.

Based on the level in frequency to make a statement or news on social media (at least 1 time a week), there were some political elites that can be used as a data source. Their names are as follows.

TABLE I. LIST NEWSMAKERS

No.	Initial	No. of Text	Subject Code	No.	Initial	No. of Text	Subject Code
1.	AR	8	P-01	8.	NW	2	P-06
2.	FH	7	P-02	9.	MAS	2	P-07
3.	FZ	7	P-03	10.	SBY	2	P-08
4.	RS	5	S-01	11.	HR	1	P-09
5.	SU	4	P-04	12.	RR	1	S-03
6.	HRS	4	S-02	13.	DS	1	P-10
7.	PS	3	P-05	14.	AHY	1	P-11

When viewed from the factors supporting the occurrence of discourse, then to 48 texts can be divided into several categories, namely the aspects of the context, background, and socio-cultural. Aspects of context includes, (1) a statement, (2) questions, (3) in response to the statement, (4) in response to the response, (5) preaching, (6) to review, (7) to provoke a statement, and (8) the idea or idea. Aspects of the background consists of, (1) maintain power, (2) weaken the power, (3) reveals the history, (4) shows the ideological identity, (5) shows the power of identity, and (6) show dominant or hegemony. Socio-cultural aspects include, (1) criticism, (2) attack, (3) weakens, (4) mock or infest (annoy, harass, pester, etc.), (4) to blame, (5) express the opposite, (6) against, (8) shrink / understatement.

TABLE II. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS BASED ON THE MICROSTRUCTURAL DIMENSION AND MAKROSTRUKTURAL

Incentives		Discourse code	number of Text
Context	(1) statement	W01, W10, W11, W12, W20, W21, W22, W28, W30, W31, W32, W34, W38, W40, W41, W46.	16
	(2) questions	W02, W03.	2
	(3) response to the statement	W04, W15, W23, W24, W35, W36, W43, W44, W42	9
	(4) response to feedback	W05, W06, W16, W17, W25, W37, W45	7
	(5) news	W07, W08, W13, W14, W18, W26, W27.	7
	(6) reviews	W19	1
	(7) Fishing statement	W09, W19, W29, W39, W47.	5
	(8) the idea or ideas	W20.	1
Background	(1) maintain power	W01, W10, W11, W12,	4
	(2) weaken of the powers	W20, W30, W31, W40, W41,	5
	(3) reveals history	W20	1
	(4) show the ideological identity	W04, W15, W23, W36,	4
	(5) shows the power of identity	W04, W15, W24, W25, W26, W30, W31, W40, W43, W44, W43, W44	12
	(6) shows the domination / hegemony.	W27, W28, W29	4

Table 2. Cont.

Socio-cultural	(1) criticized	W01, W12, W20, W31, W40, W41, W42, W43, W44	9
	(2) strike	W04, W15	2
	(3) weakens	W05, W06, W08, W16, W17, W18, W25, W27, W28, W45	10
	(4) mock or infest	W06, W16, W25, W37	4
	(4) blame	W20, W30, W31, W40, W41, W42, W43	7
	(5) express the opposite	W38, W46.	6
	(6) against	W04, W15, W23, W24, W35, W36, W37, W43, W44	9
	(8) shrink / understatement	W30, W31, W40, W41,	4
	(9) exalts himself / lift themselves.	W04, W15, W23, W36, W43, W44	6

Based on that data, then the aspect of context, most discourse contains statements (text 16), in response to the statement (9 texts), and the least is review (1 text). In aspects of the background, most indicate the identity of power (12 texts) and weaken the power (5 texts); while the least is revealing history. On the socio-cultural aspects, most contain criticize discourse, debilitating, and against (9, 10, and 9 texts); while the least is against (2 texts). Based on these data can be made a map of the meaning of discourse based on microstructural analysis and macrostructural speech as follows.
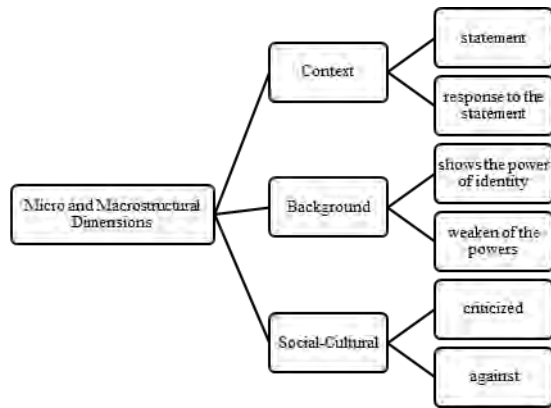

Fig. 2. Micro and macro factors structural dimensions in political discourse opposition.

From the data analysis it can be concluded that this form of discourse lingual politicians in general are declarative sentences, which give a statement and respond to the statement. The background of the pro-duction of discourse from the standpoint of critical dis-course analysis is for the purpose of showing the identity rule, weaken the power, criticize, and fight.
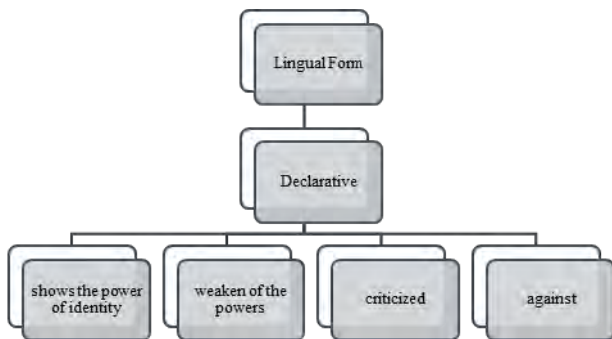

Fig. 3. Linkages between lingual forms with contextual meaning.

The results of the study support the view of the post-structuralism, like Jurgen Habermas, Jean Baudrillard Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault and others confirmed the importance of the relationship between language and power [10], or other study like [15] and [16]. Similarly, with the study of politeness, according to Brown & Levinson [6], the relationship between language and power studied in the realm of what is good and what is bad, or what is polite and what is less mannered. It is indeed appropriate, because language cannot be separated from culture. Language is a cultural product, which live and thrive in the dimension of hu-man life. The implication is that the culture of a society is reflected in the values of their language. The values can be changed according to the development of language culture, and language is the central point of developing a culture. Related to with it, then the use of the language "unorganized" indicates the weakness of respect and appreciation of the culture of a nation.

Language as a political tool was reflected through rhetoric and narratives constructed by political elites in the public domain. The rhetoric became more effect with the addition of intonation and tone of voice anesthetized so that listeners would act in accordance with the contents of the message. Politicians are well aware of the power of language to influence the human mind. They assume that the language can be used as a political tool or a tool of social control. In that regard, the results of this study support previous studies [10,17,18].

For politicians, on the one hand, language can be used as a tool to seek sympathy and support of the people and can also be used as war propaganda or discourse of politicians Language used for sympathy and support of the people through the refinement of speech using a figure of speech euphemism. This is the positive side that still need to be protected. On this side of the usage figure of speech, is still on track stylistics, namely wrapping languages with specific word choices in order effects are beauty and goodness, and bring sympathy of the recipient [19,20].

On the other hand, the findings of this study indicate that people today are growing usage figure of speech which is far away from stylistics. Language has been used to launch propaganda and war-ridden discourse of hatred, character assassination, nudity ugliness of others, public deception, and so on. Euphemism has been forgotten and replaced with sarcasm. The element of beauty as the original purpose of the use of style to attract sympathy be lost entirely, replaced with elements of violence, hatred, hostility, and others that give rise to antipathy. Function and forms have deviated from the general conception of language as lubricant the use of force to appear empathetic interaction.

The results showed that there were 4 groups and 36 types of style (figure of speech) that is used by the opposition politicians in speaking in online social media, that figure of speech satire (21 types), comparison (7 types), opposition (four types), and affirmation (4 types). Of the thirty-six kinds of figure of speech, the most commonly used figure of speech which is an anachronism and contradiction in terminis (figure of speech contradiction), and sarcasm, cynicism and irony (figure of speech satire). Thus, the discourse that emerged in opposition to the opposition politician speech and satire, which both belong to the anomalous use of language as a means of communication, interaction, and maintain a good relationship, which is a function of language in the social sphere. The use of sarcasm figure of speech is closely related to the changing culture of Indonesian society, of traditional culture with emphasis on manners, subha confiscation, upload, tepo sliro interact, become a global culture that is more artificial, materialistic, hedonist, and the things that are worldly. Sarcasm language is coarse language used to hurt other people or audience. Euphemism or smoothing language has been considerably reduced in the contemporary political discourse, especially in Indonesia.

Euphemism is a reference to the speech that does not offend or euphemism to replace the reference to the perceived insult or unpleasant. The point is, use words with good sense. Euphemism is also often interpreted as an expression that is not straightforward. Also, pseudo euphemism euphemism or a motive impetus behind the development of *peyorasi*. Euphemism background humane attitude because he was trying to avoid being hurt or offend people.

Concrete example is the use of the word "face" in the following phrase:

Muka Boyolali (data P-05 / W10).

Whatever the context he said, using the word "face" followed by [name], tend to be significantly negative, such as "devil face, the face of a cat, lion face, bruised face, pale face, the face of China, the face of a chub-by, etc." Although there is also the word "sweet face, beautiful face, handsome face, the face of the rich, etc.", but the use of the word "face" on the "sweet face, beautiful face, handsome face, the face of the rich" is not suitable. Would a different meaning if the word "face" in the "sweet face, beautiful face, handsome face, the face of the rich" is replaced with "face", so that the phrase reads "a sweet face, a beautiful face, a face handsome, rich facial, etc.". So euphemism usage of the word "face" to "face" will give a different meaning effect on the recipient. Analogous to such example is the use of the word "rai" in Javanese which also means "face". The word "rai" significantly less politely, as in the example "rai-mu" (your face), "*raine*" (the face), "*rai gedeg rai*" (bamboo face), "*rai upa*"(often want to eat), and so on. Javanese avoiding the word "rai" when speaking. They change it by using euphemisms for raising the level of politeness. The word "rai" was changed to "*pasuryan*" (the face in manners), means "face". Perhaps also, do not use the word at all. For example, the phrase "*muka cantik*" (beautiful face) cannot be said to be "*rai cantik*" (beautiful face), but the word "*raine*" discarded, and only mentioned the really beautiful. Language style of anachronism included in one figure of speech

controversy. This anachronism word divided by 2 words, "*ana*" which means past and "chromos" mean time. So, this figure of speech used to tell that something has happened that is worth the past time or history. So, we conclude figure of speech that shows the anachronism is the disclosure of the language style or something that contains a mismatch with time and events are discussed at that time.

In the context of political discourse, anachronistic figure of speech used to contrast the something in the past, but the goal was no longer to lubricating speech and creating effects of beauty, but rather to mock or infest the political opponents. Thus, the meaning of contention used by overturning the truth with the intention of antipathy and lead the reader to believe no longer a political opponent. The example in the following text:

Rakyat Indonesia 99 persen hidup pas-pasan, lebih enak jaman dulu (P04/W01);

Harga-harga bahan pokok di pasar naik, tempe setipis ATM (P04/W06);

Chicken rice di Singapura lebih murah dibandingkan di Jakarta (P04/W31).

The third example is the use of figure of speech anachronism but implies irony. The third sentence contains structures want contextual meaning as follows:

The government is not able to make the people prosperous -> the government has failed to develop the economy -> government should be replaced.

So, third the examples are interrelated although delivered in context, time, place, and a different audience. Contextual meaning from the standpoint of macrostructural are:

The president is not competent

The president should be replaced

You have to choose me as his successor.

Thus, the phrase "The people of Indonesia 99 per cent live from hand to mouth," in terms of structure is no sentence news but statements, in terms of the back-ground aims to weaken the power and show the identity of power, and in terms of socio-cultural meaning criticize, attack, weaken, ridicule, blame, and shrink / understatement.

Language style interminus contradiction is that using a figure of speech that are denied the statement mentioned in the previous section. Therefore, this figure of speech included in the category of opposition figure of speech. For example, in the following text,

"*Sepertinya di rezim orde baru itu mengambil hak rakyat yang bernama subisidi bahan bakar itu hati-hati sekali dan diselenggarakan dengan baik, supaya masyarakat tahu kenapa dilakukan ini,*" (P02/W05).

In the discourse of the speaker opposes the policy two regimes, namely the New Order regime (the Suharto era) and the current regime (Jokowi era). However, the discourse of opposition is not delivered completely. There is a phrase that is eliminated. Full Discourse should be,

"Sepertinya di rezim orde baru itu mengambil hak rakyat yang bernama subsidi bahan bakar itu hati-hati sekali dan diselenggarakan dengan baik, supaya masyarakat tahu kenapa dilakukan ini. Di rezim sekarang mengambil hak rakyat yang bernama subsidi bahan bakar tidak hati-hati dan tidak diselenggarakan dengan baik."

The second part of the discourse (P02 / W05) is a contextual interpretation of the first part. Essentially a discourse was delivered to criticize the government, the purpose sentence second part is the opposite (contradiction) of the mean sentence first part. Anomalies use of figure of speech interminus contradiction occurs in political discourse because the opposition does not mean that the intention of discourse first part of the second part opposed to the purpose, for example in the sentence "He ate, but still hungry". Interpretation of figure of speech in political discourse is not that simple.

The literary style sarcasm, cynicism, irony and satire occupy a figure of speech that was classified highest portion of all data collected. In fact, it can be said that almost the entire figure of speech used in political dis-course, including anachronism and contradictio in "terminis" (figure of speech contradiction) significantly irony. However, in the figure of speech used between the political elite opposition, there is a figure of speech using sarcasm and cynicism that quite often. That is, the political rhetoric and narrative no longer concerned with smoothing the language for the sake of politeness. These symptoms should be thought together.

Based on data collected from 48 text, 21 text contains utterances in a style irony (sarcasm, cynicism and irony). The remainder is stylistic comparison (7 types), opposition (four types), and assertion (4 types). How-ever, the style of language used comparisons and contradictions in speaking, in part also means irony. This means that approximately half contains a figure of speech discourse irony that belong to the use of language is not polite.

Analysis of the data showed a new model of dis-course, the political discourse. The model of political discourse is a "wedge" between the function of language as a means of interaction and maintaining good relationships (pragmatic function), the function of language as a tool of power (political function), and the function of language as a tool for confidence disseminating (ideological function).
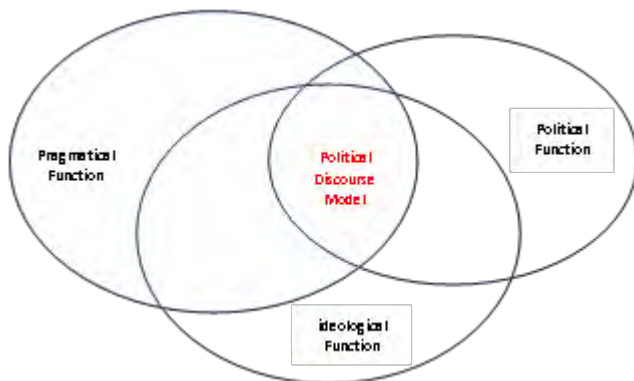

Fig. 4. Model of political discourse.

From the analysis of this interesting phenomenon known 4 different languages opposition politicians in Indonesia, namely, (1) the tendency to use meaningful diction sarcastic, harassing, bullying, cornering, to the contrary, and a priori; (2) The realistic truth defeated by practical truth, (3) loss of empathy, respect, and civility; (4) language is used as a political tool, and not as a means of interaction as defined in the theory of politeness. The use of such language indicates the emerging trend of ideological neo-imperialism and pro-disintegration which could have broad impact on social stability, political, and security of the nation and the state. This is the main identifier of the new model of discourse, which is typical of Indonesian political discourse, which is different from the discourse of political discourse in foreign countries, as proposed by Gergen [13] and Choi et al. [21].

IV. CONCLUSION

The results showed a strong correlation between language and politics and language and power. Practice the use of language in political discourse motivated by ideological and philosophical typical. In political discourse in Indonesia, ideological and philosophical back-grounds are evident in the use of style that can be observed in the choice of words, sentence structure, meaning pragmatics and discourse destination.

Research has also produced a typical formulation of a model of political discourse in Indonesia. The model is an interrelation (wedge) between the function of language as a means of interaction and maintaining good relationships (pragmatic function), the function of language as a tool of power (political function), and the function of language as a tool for confidence disseminate ideological function. Models of typical Indonesian political discourse is characterized by 1) the tendency to use meaningful diction sarcastic, harassing, bullying, cornering, to the contrary, and a priori; 2) The realistic truth defeated by practical truth, 3) loss of empathy, respect, and civility; 4) language is used as a political tool, and not as a means of interaction as defined in the theory of politeness.

REFERENCES

[1] N. Fairclough, "Critical Discourse Analysis," vol. 7, 2001, pp. 452-487.

[2] Z. Nasutio, "Bahasa sebagai Alat Komunikasi," vol. 1, no. 3, 2007, pp. 445–64.

[3] E. Kuntarto, "Telaah Linguistik untuk Guru Bahasa," Repository Universitas Jambi, 2017.

[4] D. Redinger, "Language Attitudes and Code-switching Behaviour in a Multilingual Educational Context: The Case of Luxembourg," PhD Thesis, p. 408, August 2010.

[5] J. Dafrizal, "Teori Belajar Behaviorisme dan Implikasinya dalam Praktek Pendidikan," pp. 0-61, December 2015.

[6] P. Brown and S. Levinson, "Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use," Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 4, pp. 55-84, 1987.

[7] S. Levinson, "Pragmatics," 1983, [Online]. Cambridge University Press, doi:10.1017/CBO9780511813313.002. Retrived from

https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/CBO9780511813313 A006/type/book_part. Accesssed on September 2018.

[8] E. Kuntarto, "Prosiding Seminar Nasional Aprobsi," 2018, [Online]. Retrived from Repository Unja www.repository.unja.ac.id. Accessed on September 2018.

[9] E. Kuntarto, "Strategi Kesantunan Dwibahasawan Indonesia-Jawa Kajian Pada Wacana Lisan Bahasa Indonesia," 1999, [Online]. Retrived from disertasi IKIP Malang Repository Universitas Jambi www.repository.unja.ac.id. Accessed on September 2018.

[10] C. Pentzold, V. Sommer, S. Meier, and C. Fraas, "Reconstructing Media Frames in Multimodal Discourse: The John/Ivan Demjanjuk Trial," vol. 12, pp. 32-39, June 2016.

[11] G. Weiss and R. Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis. Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak, editor. Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics", Palgrave Macmillian, 2006. pp. 290-294.

[12] R. de Beaugrande, "Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Ideology, Methodology", Stud Lang Capital, vol. 1, pp. 29–56, 2006.

[13] K. Gergen, "Social Constructionism," 2012.

[14] N. Fairclough, "Critical Discourse Analysis," London: Longman Group Limited, 1995.

[15] P.L. Dunmire, "Political Discourse Analysis : Exploring the Language of Politics and the Politics of Language Political Discourse Analysis: Exploring the Language of Politics and the Politics of Language," Lang Linguist Compass, vol. 9, Juli 2018.

[16] K. Brasil, "The Politics of Language and The Concept of Linguistic Identity," Polit Lang, vol. 24, pp. 17–28, 2001.

[17] B. Widiatmoko, "Analisis Bahasa Politik Pejabat Publik Indonesia berdasarkan Tinjauan Filsafat Nilai," pp. 48–9.

[18] T. Paulus, A. Warren, and J. N. Lester, "Applying Conversation Analysis Methods to Online Talk: A Literature Review," Discourse, Context Media, pp. 1–10, June 2016.

[19] D.A. Morand, "Language and Power: an Empirical Analysis of Linguistic Strategies Used in Superior ± Subordinate Communication," p. 1379, May 2000.

[20] C.W. Lin, "The Study of Political Language : A Brief Overview of Recent Research," 2000, pp. 471–85.

[21] J. Choi, J.K. Lee, and E.T. Metzgar, "Investigating Effects of Social Media News Sharing on the Relationship between Network Heterogeneity and Political Participation. Comput Human Behav," 2017, [Online]. Retrivied from https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0747563217303072. Accessed on November 2018.