

Domestic or Public? – Position and Role of Sundanese Women in *Manglè* Magazine (1958-2013): A Critical Review With a Corpus Linguistics Approach

Dian Ekawati*

Department of Linguistics, Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Indonesia

Susi Yuliawati

Department of Linguistics, Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Indonesia

Susi Machdalena

Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia

Abstract—This research examines how collocations related to women in Sundanese language are displayed and represented in *Manglè* magazine media. To scrutinize how local media represent and position women in their articles, we conducted this research using a corpus linguistics approach and critical discourse analysis. The dynamics of word occurrences, collocations, and semantic preferences of Sundanese words related to women in *Manglè* Magazine from 1958-2013 are highlighted using AntCont software. Next, we identify the representational categories that occur in the articles. The results of this identification form the basis for further exploration and analysis of how local Sundanese-language media carry discourse about Sundanese women from the use of the words “*wanoja*” and “*istri*”. From the results of the analysis, it was found that the use of the word “*wanoja*” in *Manglè* Magazine is represented and positioned quite a lot in the public sphere. Meanwhile the word “*istri*” collocated more with the position of Sundanese women in the domestic sphere. Further discussion about the differences in the representation of Sundanese women from the use of the two words above is also presented in this study.

Index Terms—representation, Sundanese women, position and role, corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis

I. INTRODUCTION

If we talk about the Sundanese, then we are not only talking about the Sundanese language and the area of West Java, but also talking about humans and their society. The Sundanese people and ethnicity are the second largest ethnic group in Indonesia, with around 42 million speakers of Sundanese in 2016. If we narrow the discussion on Sundanese society, Sundanese women are an interesting topic to talk about. So far, Sundanese women, especially Bandung people, are more often physically identified as in the famous song “*Panon Hideung*” (black eyes), namely *panon hideung* (black eyes), *pipi koneng* (yellow cheeks), *irung mancung* (sharp nose). Not only in songs, this identification is produced continuously in various media, giving rise to stereotypes about the physique and character of Sundanese women: tall, yellow-skinned, long-nosed, black-eyed, black-haired, with a gentle, friendly, and obedient character.

In fact, if we look at Sundanese women from a historical and cultural perspective in general, Sundanese women were initially presented as figures with great power and dominance over men. This is for example reflected in the Sangkuriang legend with Dayang Sumbi as a strong and dominant woman or in the story of “*Lutung Kasarung*” with the characters of Sunan Ambu -The Ruler of Heaven- and Ratu Purbasari -The Ruler of the World-. However, in its development there was a shift in the position of Sundanese women to be lower than men. It is found in *Wawacan Sajarah Galuh* found in the 19th century and in *Wawacan Carios Munaja* in the 20th century (Marlina, 2006). This change in position occurred because the feudalism system in Sundanese society at that time placed women as status symbols for men, so that women were used as objects, as stated by Marlina (2006).

Looking at the legends, stories, and history of Sundanese women, in fact, Sundanese women were positioned as “controller” or decision maker. Even though in their historical development they were positioned as objects and subordinates, history also writes that many Sundanese women took part and played an important role in the history of Indonesian struggle, especially in fighting for the rights and empowerment of their people. From Raden Ayu

* Corresponding Author, d.ekawati@unpad.ac.id

Lasminingrat (1854 – 1948), Dewi Sartika (1884 – 1947), Emma Poeradiredja (1902 – 1976) are just a few names who were active in the social, political and educational fields who fought for educational opportunities and equal rights for women in society. Emma Poeradiredja even became one of the pioneers of the Indonesian Women's Congress on December 22, 1928. Along with the changing times and the discourse on gender equality in politics and government, the position of women in parliament also gets a fairly large portion, namely 30%. However, based on the results of the 2019 elections, the representation of women in the National Legislative Body (DPR-RI) is only 20.8 percent or as many as 120 female legislative members out of 575 members of the DPR RI (KPU, 2019). Meanwhile, in the field of art, there are more Sundanese women's names that stand out, such as Titim Fatimah, Euis Komariah, Tati Saleh, or Indrawati Lukman.

From the description of the position and progress of Sundanese women above, it can be seen that Sundanese women do not only take part in the domestic sphere, but also in the public sphere. The public sphere in this context is in the fields of education, social culture, and politics. Nevertheless, the conditions described above show that there are still many opportunities in the political sphere that have not been utilized by women, especially Sundanese women. Popong Otje Djundjunan is a Sundanese woman who has been actively involved in politics since 1964. It is then followed by Nurul Arifin and Rieke Dyah Pitaloka whose track records are quite clear. In the fields of education, research and technology, there are names like Reini D. Wirahadikusumah and Cissy Rachiana Sudjana Prawira.

In responding to this phenomenon, the media has an important role in positioning and presenting the figure and progress of Sundanese women in the public sphere. *Manglè Magazine* is a local Sundanese language media which was established historically¹ on October 21, 1957 in Bogor. Its first edition was published on November 21, 1957. This *Manglè* magazine is one of the oldest Sundanese-language media that has survived to this day. In the 60's *Manglè* magazine was able to issue as many as 90,000 copies², although now it has decreased significantly.

Manglè magazine has a mission to protect and preserve the language, literature and philosophy of Ki Sunda; being a medium of communication for the Sundanese; as well as maintaining and preserving Sundanese culture with other ethnic groups. This magazine contains 55% entertainment and profiles of social figures, 20% history, culture, religion and education, and 25% news information. The profile and coverage section, which is quite large, is actually an opportunity for reporting on the figure and progress of women, especially in the political sphere.

The word *Manglè* in Sundanese means a flower decoration used to decorate a woman's bun. This word symbolizes the ideals of *Manglè* magazine which wants to grow as beautiful and fragrant as a flower³. It is not surprising that on its cover, *Manglè* magazine always displays the figure of a Sundanese woman in a kebaya from its first issue to the present day. Indeed, there was once an issue of *Manglè* magazine which featured a male figure on its cover, but the number was very small and even then it was accompanied by a female figure. In addition, many articles in the magazine often refer to *Manglè*'s own magazine as *Nyi Manglè Nyi* in Sundanese is a greeting word for young women.

Although this magazine 'looks very feminine', *Manglè* is not a magazine exclusively for women. Therefore, we are interested in seeing in more detail and critically how *Manglè* magazine frames, positions and represents women in its articles, especially women who are active in the public sphere.

Women's issues in the public sphere are not new. Many researchers have examined it from various perspectives. However, not many studies have discussed the representation of Sundanese women in the public sphere from a linguistic point of view, especially those using the corpus linguistic method. Yuliawati (2014) revealed that the main attraction of the corpus linguistics method is its ability to manage text on a large scale and identify patterns of language use and its frequency, which may be difficult to identify by relying on human vision. In addition, with this method a researcher is able to empirically explain patterns of language use based on their repeated appearances in the corpus.

Furthermore, Baker in Viana et al. (2011, pp. 25-26) argues that corpus linguistics has contributed to three aspects of gender research. One of them stated that the corpus linguistic method can help reveal gender representation in society, for example how men and women are discussed or written about and how these representations change from time to time. This indicates that the corpus linguistic method allows researchers to investigate how women are described through texts contained in *Manglè* magazine from time to time (Yuliawati, 2014).

In line with Yuliawati (2014), we want to examine more deeply how Sundanese women in the public sphere are represented by *Manglè* magazine through the lexical elements contained in articles diachronically in the 1958-2013 period. To get answers to these main problems, there are several aspects that need to be explained, namely: what lexemes represent women in this *Manglè* magazine?; How is the frequency of occurrence?; What is the significant collocation of the lexeme meaning female? How is the semantic profile of the lexeme meaningful to women?; and How are women in politics represented in *Manglè* magazine?

II. THEORY AND RESEARCH METHODS

To discuss the representation of women in the public sphere, we use a critical discourse analysis approach (hereinafter abbreviated as CDA), bearing in mind that CDA aims to study discourse as a practice and reproduction of

¹ Website: <http://sejarah.kompasiana.com/2011/07/05/hikayat-mangle-376605.html> accessed December, 22, 2022, 20:19

² Website: <http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manglè> accessed December, 22, 2022, 20:20

³ <http://sejarah.kompasiana.com/2011/07/05/hikayat-mangle-376605.html> accessed December, 22, 2022, 21:15

power (van Dijk, 1993). Still according to van Dijk (1993), CDA also offers an instrument to observe how political discourse reproduces subjectivity in power relations at the level of lexical representation.

Nevertheless, in its development there have been various criticisms from various points of view on CDA, as presented by Fowler (1996), Stubbs (1997), and Breeze (2011). These experts argue that the pure CDA approach has a weakness in identifying in detail the collocations that arise from the use of a lexeme when discussing representations. Therefore, Baker (2006), Baker et al. (2008), and Partington et al. (2013) argue that combining corpus linguistic methods with CDA can overcome CDA's criticisms and weaknesses.

There have been many studies on the representation of Indonesian women using CDA. Most studies and research discuss the representation of women in print media, films, literary works, and so on. The CDA approach used mostly uses the theory of Fairclough, van Dijk, and Sara Millis with the results stating that women in Indonesia are still positioned and represented as objects with subordinate gender stereotypes.

Studies and discussions on Indonesian women in the political sphere have also been carried out quite a lot, either using discourse analysis approaches, critical discourse analysis, or other approaches. However, there is still not much research specifically discussing Sundanese women and their representation in the public sphere. Among the research that has not been widely conducted are research from Apriliani (2020) on the political image of Sundanese women, Affandi's (2020) dissertation on Sundanese women as politicians using a phenomenological approach, Ismawati et al. (2019) regarding the political progress of Popong Otje Djundjuran, and Hidayat et al. (2018) about Emma Poeradiredja. The approaches taken also vary, from historical approaches, sociology to discourse analysis and CDA.

Even less is research on the representation of Sundanese women using a linguistics approach, especially corpus linguistics. Yuliawati et al. (2017) discussed the choice of words and the construction of Sundanese women in *Manglè* magazine, and continued with her dissertation on the representation of Sundanese women in *Manglè* magazine, as well as many other studies from Yuliawati that focused on Sundanese women in *Manglè* magazine with a corpus linguistics approach.

Based on the previous studies and studies mentioned earlier and to fill in the gaps in research on Sundanese women, we focus this research on the representation of Sundanese women in the political sphere using CDA based on corpus linguistics. In more detail, in this study we examine the linguistic context of keywords related to women in the *Manglè* magazine corpus.

This corpus of more than 1 million words is a collection of articles in *Manglè* magazine from 1958 -2013. The parts that are not taken as a corpus are the front cover and the editorial. With the help of AntCont software, we identified lexemes related to women in Sundanese, collocations and semantic preferences of the lexeme women in the *Manglè* magazine corpus, especially the "*wanoja*" and "*istri*" lemma. Furthermore, the results of identifying collocations and semantic preferences based on the corpus are further analyzed qualitatively using the CDA approach.

A. Position and Role in Critical Discourse Analysis

In the concept of critical discourse analysis (CDA), discourse cannot be understood only as the study of language and texts in the traditional linguistic sense. CDA looks at how the use of language and text is in a broader context, namely the context used for specific purposes and practices, including the practice of power (Eriyanto, 2008, p. 7). Teun van Dijk in Purbani (2009, p. 1) explains that critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analysis research that studies ways of abuse, domination, unequal treatment of social power, reproduction, and representation in socio-political contexts. Van Dijk also stated that CDA is a study that reveals the abuse of social power, domination, and inequality that is practiced in various media and contexts through text.

Whereas representation according to Hall (2000) is the production of meaning about concepts in the human mind by using language "the production of meaning of the concepts in our minds through language" (Hall, 2000, p. 17). In this context, language is used as a tool to convey the production of meaning from one person to another. Meanwhile, Burton (2005, p. 61) argues that "The idea of representation is central to understanding the production of meaning through text.", where the idea of representation focuses more on the production of meaning through text. Burton further explained that the text itself is a representation, both in terms of text materially and ideologically.

The meaning of text materially is something that is made, whether in the form of a technological product, an image on a screen, or a set of signs (writing) on a book or other printed material. Meanwhile, text is ideologically a representation of ideas, especially the ideas of the makers and producers of the text (Burton, 2005).

In contrast to Hall and Burton's understanding above, Eriyanto (2008, p. 113) places more emphasis on the term representation in relation to reporting, both in print and electronic media (TV). According to Eriyanto, the term representation itself refers to how a person or a group displays certain ideas or opinions in news coverage in the media. The display includes: First, does a person or a group display certain ideas or opinions as they should, as they are or have been made worse. Second, how the representation is displayed. It relates to what words, sentences, accents, pictures or photos are used to convey ideas or opinions about a person or a particular group.

B. Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics is a method for researching samples of language use that are actually obtained from the public, using the help of computers to store and manipulate data (Yuliawati, 2014). By using this method, the researcher has the opportunity to empirically observe a collection of texts, both spoken and written, on a large scale. Furthermore, based

on the evidence on the use of language in the corpus, researchers can study various aspects of linguistic phenomena in accordance with their research objectives.

Corpus linguistics itself is usually synonymous with combined quantitative and qualitative research methods. This view arises because corpus linguistics is considered capable of providing quantitative data on a large scale which can then become the basis for interpretation and further qualitative analysis.

The most basic quantitative data in the corpus linguistics approach is the word frequency list. The word frequency here refers to the number that indicates the level of occurrence of the word in the corpus. However, usually not much can be extracted from the list of frequency of occurrence of words, especially in relation to the validity of the research hypothesis (McEnery et al., 2006 in Yuliawati, 2014). Moreover, if there is a tendency that shows that the words that appear more often are grammatical words compared to lexical words (Lauder, 2009, p. 9).

Nevertheless, the frequency of occurrence of a word in the corpus can be very important initial statistical information when a researcher compares the level of use of two or more words for the purposes of his analysis. Yuliawati (2014) in her article gives an example that in Sundanese there are a number of words that designate women, for example *mojang*, *wanoja*, *istri*, and *aw òw è*. Based on the word frequency list, it can be seen which word is used most or rarely among the three words. However, to find the meaning and implications that might arise based on the level of frequency of occurrence of these words, it is necessary to carry out further analysis. Therefore, analysis using other methods qualitatively becomes important.

In addition to word frequency lists, corpus linguistics can also provide statistical data on significant collocations. Collocation here refers to the pattern of occurrence of words that accompany a word (Yuliawati, 2014). Based on statistical tests conducted quantitatively in corpus linguistics, it can be seen which words have a closer level of closeness to a word than their occurrence rate based on chance. This collocation analysis is not only used to show how a word is associated with a certain meaning, but can also be used to create a semantic profile. In this context, Lauder (2009) defines a semantic profile as the presentation of a series of word meanings identified from the analysis of semantic preferences of significant collocations.

Whereas Sinclair (2003) offers a semantic pattern to create a semantic profile in terms of semantic preferences. Sinclair defines semantic preference as the relationship between an entry and a set of semantically related words, not based on the relationship between individual words. For example, the lemma *large* is often accompanied by words that mean "quantity and size" (Stubbs, 2002). In line with Sinclair, Lindquist (2009, p. 57) defines semantic preference as a relationship between words and words that have a meaning relationship in the field of meaning.

Lauder (2009) further explains that if the semantic profile of a word is interpreted further, then the construction of meaning in one particular word can be shown at the extra-linguistic level of that word. That is, if a word is strongly interpreted by a certain set of words, this meaning can show the speaker's belief, understanding, or expectation of a reality.

Lauder's opinion above is in line with the opinion of Firth (1957), Sinclair (1987, 2004), and Stubbs (2002) who explain that a word does have a tendency to be juxtaposed with certain words in certain contexts by speakers. This tendency is closely related to culture in the context of the communication competence of the speaker of the word and the context in which the word is used. Furthermore Jawarska and Khirsnamurthy (2012, p. 405) also emphasized that normally, the speech community of a language does have a lexical range that is used when they communicate. However, if the word used aims to refer to a particular phenomenon or group, they tend to choose separate word choices compared to other types of words. It is used to show their view of the reality they want to convey. Previously, Stubbs (2002, p. 19) has added that the choice of words is very dependent on linguistic conventions and inferences obtained from the knowledge of the language users about the reality they face.

Yuliawati (2014) in her research provides an illustration of how words in Sundanese can create cultural and social meanings for the people. In Sundanese there are a number of words used to refer to women, including *aw òw è* *wife*, *mojang*, and *wanoja*. All of these words denote women, but in their use each of these words do not have the same meaning, so they cannot always be substituted for one another in different contexts. This means that each word has a tendency to describe or judge women in different contexts. Based on the text in the corpus of *Manglè* magazine made by Yuliawati (2014) there are several sentences as exemplified below:

(a) ...*ceuk pamajikanana, eta aw òw è teh jahat...*
'...according to his wife, women are evil...'

(b) *Tapi saupami istri kahiji sareng kadua masih jumeneng...*
'However, if the first and second wives were still alive...'

(c) *Samemeh paturay jeung MR, mojang geulis nu mikaresep olahraga,...*
'Before parting with MR, a beautiful woman who loves sports,...

(d) *Suksesna Cikal ti 4 sadulur jadi wanoja karir, teu leupas ti rorojongan sepuhna...*
'Cikal's success among her four siblings in becoming a career woman, could not be separated from the support of her parents...'

Based on the four examples above, Yuliawati (2014) describes that there are differences in denoting women (*aw èv è istri*, *mojang*, and *wanoja*) and these words are associated with different topics in various contexts. Based on the words that accompany it, the word *aw èv è* seems to be associated with bad character, *istri* with the institution of marriage (*kahiji sareng kadua* 'first and second'), parents with physical appearance (*geulis* 'beautiful'), and *wanoja* with job (*karir* 'career'). These words are of course not chosen by Sundanese speakers, but there are things behind them such as the speakers' beliefs, expectations, and judgments about women's identity.

However, in order to be able to interpret more about the background, use, and implications of using these words, deeper studies are needed through a qualitative approach to other discipline. In this research, we focus on the study of Sundanese women based on the occurrence of the word woman and its collocations in the Manglè magazine corpus. We examine the results of this occurrence more deeply regarding their representation in the political sphere using the CDA approach.

III. ANALYSIS

A. Frequency and Concordance of Lemma Referring to Women in Manglè Magazine

As previously explained, this study uses a combination of two methods, namely quantitative with a corpus linguistic approach and qualitative to further discuss the representation of Sundanese women using the CDA approach. We combined these two methods so that the results of the discussion on the representation of Sundanese women are valid.

In Sundanese, there are at least twenty nouns that refer to and mean 'women', such as *ambu*, *aw èv è*, *b èb èn è*, *bikang*, *bojo*, *cawene*, *ema*, *garwa*, *geureuha*, *ibu*, *indung*, *istri*, *madon*, *mojang*, *nini*, *pamajikan*, *parawan*, *wadon*, *wanita*, and *wanoja*. Using the AntCont software, we look at the occurrence rate of lemmas that have a meaning 'female' in Sundanese language as shown in the table below:

TABLE 1
FREQUENCY OF OCCURENCE OF LEMMA REFERRING TO WOMEN IN MANGLÈ MAGAYONE (1958-2013)

Nouns	Word Frequency of Occurence
<i>ibu</i>	162 times
<i>wanoja</i>	75 times
<i>aw èv è</i>	65 times
<i>nini</i>	55 times
<i>istri</i>	35 times
<i>indung</i>	28 times
<i>ema</i>	24 times
<i>pamajikan</i>	17 times
<i>garwa</i>	16 times
<i>ambu</i>	10 times
<i>wanita</i>	8 times
<i>mojang</i>	5 times
<i>bojo</i>	5 times
<i>parawan</i>	4 times
<i>gadis</i>	3 times
<i>b èb èn è</i>	2 times
<i>bikang</i>	0 times
<i>cawene</i>	0 times
<i>geureuha</i>	0 times
<i>madon</i>	0 times
<i>wadon</i>	0 times

From the table above it can be seen that the noun "*ibu*" is the lemma that appears the most, namely 162 times, followed by the noun „*wanoja*“ 75 times, the noun „*nini*“ 55 times, and „*istri*“ 35 times. The nouns referring to women that appear the least are "*b èb èn è*" 2 times, and the nouns "*bikang*", "*cawene*", "*geureuha*", "*madon*", and "*wadon*" which do not appear at all.

From the concordance of the words above in the corpus, the noun "*ibu*" is most often to address persons, for example "*Ibu Aisah Djalil*", "*Ibu Ampuh*", "*Ibu Dewi*", "*Ibu Dien Doddy Tisna*", "*Ibu Haji Mas'ad*", "*Ibu Elly*", "*Ibu Hermin*", "*Ibu Elsa*", and others. In addition, the noun "*ibu*" is used as a professional marker "*ibu kader*", "*ibu bidan*", as well as a gender marker alongside "*bapa*", such as "*ibu jeung bapa*" (madam and sir) and "*ibu-ibu jeung bapa-bapa*" (madams and sirs).

The second rank in the frequency of occurrence of words related to women is "*wanoja*". Lemma "*wanoja*" in Sundanese means adult woman and belongs to the high Sundanese variety. This word also has a high hierarchy, as described in research by Yuliawati et al. (2017). The concordance of the word "*wanoja*" in the corpus that we examined is related to the designation of a female figure in a positive context, such as: "...*wanoja anu beunghar ku ilmu panemu*" (a woman who has rich of knowledge), "...*wanoja independen*" (an independent woman/ independent), or "...*para wanoja Kuningan anu boga rasa reueus*" (Women of Kuningan who have a sense of love). In addition, the word "*wanoja*" also corresponds with professional markers such as "...*wanoja legislatip*" (legislative women),

“...wanoja pikeun jadi tkw” (women to become migrant workers), or with social level markers such as “...wanoja priyayi” (priyayi women) and “...wanoja saluyu” (equal women).

Next is the word “nini”. “Nini” in Sundanese means grandmother. It appears 55 times in the corpus. The word “nini” is in concordance with the word “aki” as the pair “nini aki” (grandparents). The most frequent occurrence is the concordance of the word “nini” as a name characters in the story, namely “Nini Rumi” and “Nini Anteh”. The word “nini” in this context occurs in direct sentence construction, as part of the dialogue in the story.

The word “istri” occurs 35 times in the corpus. The word “istri” in Sundanese is a high form of women compared to the word “aw èv è” which is a low variety of the word woman. However, in the corpus, the word “istri” almost all means a wife in the context of a spouse of a husband (“istri Juragan Dana”, “istri Pa Dodo”) or in concordance with her duties and roles, such as “istri binangkit” (exemplary wife). While the word “aw èv è” occurs more frequently, namely 65 times. This word is indeed more widely used in the context of everyday language. However, in the concordance the word “aw èv è” in this corpus also marks negative female characteristics, such as “aw èv è gujrud” (an „excited” woman), “aw èv è gelenye” (a flirtatious woman), or “aw èv è kasar” (a rude woman). Even if there is a positive depiction of the woman, she is still “negated” with negative depiction, such as “Budak aw èv è geulis rancunit. Hanjakal kurangan sonagar” (A charming beautiful girl. Unfortunately, she doesn't have the courage...).

The word “istri” as husband's partner is Sundanese with the variety of “loma” or being/familiar. A rough variant of this word is “pamajikan”, which occurs 17 times. The concordance of the word “pamajikan”, in the corpus is all related to the spouse of the husband which is conveyed in a variety of rough Sundanese, such as “...pamajikan urang” (my wife) or “...pamajikan Erwe Yoyo nembalan” (RW Yoyo's wife answered).

The high language variety of the words “istri” and “pamajikan” is “garwa”. It occurs 16 times. The word “garwa” is used to address or identify the wife of someone who is respected, for example “...sagigireun garwa bupati katut garwa para patinggi Pemda” (next to the wife of the Garut Regent and the wives of local government officials) or “...Pangeran Karim katut garwa jeung dua putrana” (Prince Karim and his wife and two sons). In addition, the word “bojo” also appears 5 times as a marker of the wife as husband's partner. This word does not only belongs to a high variety but also familiar language, for example “Tadina mah Bapa teh moal lapor, ngan ieu pun bojo mawa karep sorangan” (At first I was not going to report, but this my wife has her own wishes).

Furthermore, the word “indung” appears 28 times. “Indung” means “mother” in Sundanese language with the variety “loma” (medium, familiar) in the context of parents (*indung-bapa*). It can be seen in the following concordance:

- (1) “...tugas **indung** dipigawe ku bapa”
“... mother's work is done by father”
- (2) “...ngawujud dirina sarupa **indung** jeung bapana”
“...he became like his mother and father”
- (3) “...figur indung teh keur budak mah kacida pisan sentralna”
“...a mother figure for a child is very important.”

As described in Yuliawati et al. (2017), information about the level of language for these five words that refer to women is important to provide, because this information can provide an overview of the relationship between speakers and hearers when these words are used. This relationship is known as a system of language levels, which is called *undak usuk* base in Sundanese. This language level system makes differences in rank, level, and age to be reflected in the language⁴.

The word “ema” that appears 24 times is a greeting word in Sundanese to refer to mother. This can be seen in the concordances that appear from the word “ema” in the corpus, such as:

- (4) “Mana oncomna, **Ema**?”
“Where's the oncom, ma'am?”
- (5) “Dumeh aya telepon ti **ema**”
“Because there is a call from mom”
- (6) “Moal, **Ema**, moal ka leuweung...”
“No, Mom, not going to the forest...”

⁴ In some literature described by Wessing (1974), there are four levels of Sundanese language, namely *Lemes Pisan* (very polite), *Lemes* (polite), *Kasar* (colloquial) and *Kasar Pisan* (vulgar). However, according to Eringa (1949) and Korn (1906), cited by Wessing (1974), there are two other levels apart from these four levels, namely *Sedeng* and *Panengah*. In its use, the variety of *Kasar Pisan* is usually used to curse or insult. Meanwhile, the variety of *Kasar* is usually used as everyday language. This variety is used when the relationship between the speaker and the addressee is close or when the speaker is considered inferior by the speaker. In addition, general writings and scientific books also usually use the variety of *Kasar*. The goal is to be easy to understand. The variety of *Panengah* is usually used by speakers when speaking to those who are considered to be of a slightly lower level. Then, to speak to those who are deemed to need respect, usually the variety of *Sedeng* is used. When speaking to those who are considered to have a higher level (social status, age, or other status), usually the variety of *Lemes* (polite language) is used. However, if the speaker has a very high status, such as the resident during the colonial period and the Sundanese aristocracy, the speaker usually uses the variety of *Lemes Pisan*.

Usually the word "ema" is used in direct sentences according to its function as a greeting word.

The word "ambu" which occurs 10 times is a form of greeting from "ibu" in a higher form. In this corpus, the word "ambu" all is in concordance and functions as a greeting, as in the sentence:

(7) "Ambu, abdi teh gaduh taroskeuneun..."

"Mom, I have a question..."

(8) "Mugi Ambu tiasa maparin panerangan."

"Hopefully Mother can provide enlightenment."

The occurrence of the word "wanita" 8 times is in concordance to other words in Indonesian and is part of an acronym in Indonesian or with one term in Indonesian, such as "Dharma Wanita" or "tenaga kerja wanita (TKW)". In the corpus, there is only one word "women" which is not related to the two things above, namely in the concordance "Ari nu ngabogaan eta ajian teh hiji wanita anu matuhna di leuweung nu aya di hiji delta." (But the one who has the spell is a woman who lives in a forest in a delta). In this example, the word "wanita" as in Indonesian serves as a marker of female gender.

The word "parawan" which appears 4 times is a variety of low language from the word "gadis" which appears 3 times. The word "parawan" also usually has a more negative meaning, for example:

(9) "Parawan diheroan, randa didodoho."

"Virgins are called, widows are waited for"

(10) "...parawan ayeuna mah geus anakan."

"...now there are virgins who have children"

While the word "gadis" has a more positive meaning, such as:

(11) "...bakal nikah oge ka gadis-gadis ti kalangan bangsawan."

"...will also marry girls from the nobility"

(12) "...disangkana kuring gadis SMA cenah."

"... It is thought I was a high school girl, she said"

The word "bèbèk" which has a high variety of language appears 2 times in the concordance, namely:

(13) "...beubeureuh lain bèbèk èn è lain melangna kabina-bina..."

"...not a fiancé, not a boyfriend, the worry is badly..."

(14) "...bae neng palay wanoh mah, da akang ge tacan gaduh bèbèk èn è maneuh."

"... it's okay, sister, if you want to get to know me, because you don't have a lover either."

Among the nouns that appear in the corpus, the nouns "bikang", "cawene", "geureuha", "madon", and "wadon" which also mean women do not appear at all in the Manglè magazine corpus.

B. Position and Role of Sundanese Women in Manglè Magazine

From the results of the analysis of the frequency of occurrence of nouns that mean women in Sundanese language above, there are several important and interesting findings. This finding is related to the position, construction and representation of women -especially Sundanese women- which can be analyzed further in the social and cultural context. These two contexts allow a deeper interpretation of the use of nouns related to their collocations and semantic preferences.

In the previous discussion, it has been mentioned about the language level norms in Sundanese which affect the choice and concordance of words in their use. Apart from that, there is a trend of using feminine meaningful nouns in Manglè magazine, as stated by Yuliawati et al. (2017), there is a decreasing trend in the use of every noun meaning female, except for the word "wanoja". Even in its development, Manglè magazine uses the word "wanoja" more and more in its articles. This is in contrast to the word "pamajikan" which is increasingly rarely used in the Manglè magazine corpus. The noun "mother" is still widely used, but with a narrower context of usage. Likewise with the word "ibu" occurs more often than the word "pamajikan". Therefore, based on the context above, it is interesting to see how Manglè magazine positions and describes the role of Sundanese women through the use of the word "wanoja" and the word "istri".

Referring to Yuliawati et al. 's (2017) research,, it is explained that the increase in the use of the word "wanoja" in Manglè magazine, especially during the New Order era, was most likely influenced by the increased attention to women's issues at that time and this trend has continued to increase until now. The role of the government and the social conditions of the Sundanese people at that time may have contributed to the popularity of the word "wanoja". We can see this in the concordance and context of the following sentence:

(15) "Dumasar kana komposisi jenis kelamin, wanoja anu kabagean korsi di Legislatip ngahontal 25%."

"Based on gender composition, women who get seats in the legislature reach 25%"

- (16) "*Para Wanoja anu kapilih dina Pemilu Caleg kamari ieu cukup loba...*"
"There are quite a lot of women who were elected in the general election today..."
- (17) "*...Kacatet aya genep puluh persen wanoja Desa Mekarapawitan anu boga pendidikan...*"
"...It is recorded that there are sixty percent of Mekarapawitan Village women who have education..."

Of the 75 times the word "*wanoja*" appears in the corpus, 10 times it appears in concordance with the word "*legislatip*", "*organisasi*", or "*pemilu caleg*", for example:

- (18) "*...dijadikeun agenda utama ku para wanoja anu geus kabagean korsi di legislatip...*"
"...become the main agenda by women who have won seats in the legislature..."
- (19) "*Tah, ku kituna wanoja-wanoja Legislatip, asal Tatar Siunda diharepkeun gede...*"
"Well, because of that, women from the Sundanese legislature are highly expected..."

Furthermore, the word "*wanoja*" is also in concordance to the field of education, development, and their work in the organization as in the sentence:

- (20) "*Murtasiah leuwih ti kitu, usahana hayang jadi wanoja anu beunghar ku ilmu panemu, ...*"
"Murtasiah is more than that, her efforts are to become a woman who is rich in knowledge..."
- (21) "*...hal-hal aktual nu disanghareupan ku kaum wanoja, boh dina widang pendidikan boh widang sosial...*"
"...actual matters encountered by women, be it in the field of education or in the social field..."
- (22) "*Ibu Rd. Murtasiah Soepomo, hiji-hijina wanoja Indonesia anu dileler anugrah Bintang Florence...*"
"Mrs. Rd. Murtasiah Soepomo, the only Indonesian woman to be awarded the Florence Star..."
- (23) "*Loba organisasi wanoja di rupa-rupa tingkatan nu salila ieu rempug gawe...*"
"Many women's organizations at various levels have been working hard..."

From the examples above, the use of the word "*wanoja*" for *Manglè* magazine is enough to elevate and position women and their role in the public sphere, namely as members of parliament, members of organizations, educators, researchers, and as community leaders. Their position and role in the public sphere is not only for self-actualization, but also for becoming part of influential policy makers for a wider scope.

At a "lower" level is the concordance of the word "*wanoja*" as a female worker (TKW) in the sentence.

- (24) "*...henteu ngurangan karep kaum wanoja pikeun jadi tkw...*"
"...does not reduce the desire of women to become TKW..."
- (25) "*...estuning ngiring ngiatan karep para wanoja pikeun janten TKW ka luar negri.*"
"...in fact it helped strengthen the desire of women to become TKW abroad."
- (26) "*...Tapi karep kaum wanoja pikeun nyiar kipayah ka luar negri henteu laju.*"
"...But the desire of women to find job abroad is not strong."

Even though there is a lot of unpleasant news and events that have happened to Indonesian migrant workers abroad, this proves that Indonesian women, as well as Sundanese women, have a large potential and role in earning a living to support themselves and their families. Here there is a shift in the role of women from the domestic sphere to the public sphere as breadwinners, which are stereotypically carried out by men.

What is interesting is that of the 75 times the word "*wanoja*" occurs in the corpus, there are 4 times the word "*wanoja*" is in concordance with the physical condition and condition of women, namely in the sentences.

- (27) "*...Tapi teu sakabeh wanoja boga awak jeung kulit anu sampurna.*"
"...But not all women have perfect body and skin."
- (28) "*Cek beja teh deui, saratna bisa dioperasi lamun wanoja can kungsi ngalahirkeun,...*"
"According to the news, the condition for being operated on is if a woman has never given birth..."
- (29) "*...boa-boa lain aw èw è baleg. Heueuh, mun tea mah wanoja hideng, piraku teuing tengah peuting kakalayaban...*"
"...perhaps she is not a good girl. Yes, if a woman (her skin) is black, how come she wanders in the middle of the night ..."
- (30) "*Firda?*" Yana apal ka wanoja nu hideung santen, rarayna ngadaun seureuh."

“Firda?” Yana knows a sweet black woman with an oval face like a betel leaf.”

What's interesting is that the word "*wanoja*" is a negation of the previous sentence which could have a negative meaning, for example by using the words "*tapi*" (but), "*lamun*" (however), "*boa-boa*" (perhaps), "*piraku*" (how come). Thus the word "*wanoja*" still has a positive meaning. "...*boa-boa lain aw èv è baleg. Heueuh, mun tea mah wanoja hideng, piraku teuing tengah peuting kakalayaban...*". ("... perhaps she is not a good woman. Yes, if a woman (her skin) is black, how come she wanders around in the middle of the night..."), the word „*aw èv è*" becomes negative with the concordance "*boa-boa lain aw èv è baleg*" (perhaps she is not a good woman), which makes the word "*wanoja*" in the next concordance become positive. The physical description of women with the word "*wanoja*" is still positive, namely with the metaphor "*wanoja nu hideung santen*" (sweet black woman).

As explained earlier, the word "*istri*" in Sundanese is a high form of women, which in the corpus, the word "*istri*" almost all means wife in the context of a spouse of a husband ("*istri Juragan Dana*", "*istri Pa Dodo*") or in concordance with their duties and roles, such as "*istri binangkit*" (exemplary wife). Of the 35 occurrences of the word "*istri*", 12 times it occurs in a collocation with the word "*binangkit*" (example), becoming "*istri binangkit*" (exemplary wife) or "*istri nu binangkit*" (exemplary wife).

In the occurrence of the word "*istri*", everything is related to the image and domestic role of a wife at home. For example:

(31) "*Istri binangkit teh hartosna istri anu tiasa ngaminij waktu.*"
"An exemplary wife means a wife who can manage time"

(32) "*Minangka conto yen istri binangkit bisa ngaronjatkeun karaharjaan...*"
"Hopefully it is considered as an example that an exemplary wife can improve welfare..."

(33) "...*utama masalah-masalah nu aya patula-patalina jeung istri atawa karumahtanggan.*"
"...especially problems related to wife or household,"

(34) "*Istri Binangkit Moal Jadi TKW*"
"Exemplary Wife Will Not Become TKW"

From the examples above it can be seen that the "*istri*" has more tasks in the domestic sphere, by being able to "*ngaminij waktu*" (manage time) for herself and her family, but it is hoped that it can also increase the welfare of her family. Even though these demands exist, an "exemplary wife" cannot become a migrant worker. The demand for the multifaceted role of women was also outlined in *Manglè* magazine in its article about a female character who had the following opinion: "*Neneng Nenih mah nyaeta istri anu uteukna motekar nyiar sagala potensi*" (Neneng Nenih is a wife whose mind goes forward looking for all potential).

IV. CONCLUSION

With research on words that refer to women, and by looking at the frequency of their occurrence in the corpus, we see that this plays an important role in seeing the position and role of Sundanese women as constructed by the media. The choice and use of these words cannot be separated from the social and cultural context that influenced the writers of *Manglè* magazine in constructing the concept of women in their articles.

We also conclude that the presence of various vocabulary to symbolize women in Sundanese indicates the important role of women in the life of Sundanese people. The words which are linguistic evidence function as markers of the roles of women that are present in the eyes of the Sundanese. With a corpus linguistics approach, this can be examined in more detail and objectively.

This is proven by comparing the appearance of the words "*wanoja*" and "*istri*". By comparing the frequency of occurrences and the concordances, we can see that *Manglè* magazine divides the position and role of women in the public and domestic spheres by using the words "*wanoja*" and "*istri*". Although from the frequency of its occurrence, the word "*wanoja*", with its more positions and roles in the public sphere, has been promoted more by *Manglè* magazine. However, in accordance with the vision and mission of *Manglè* magazine, which is to continue to preserve the culture of "*Ka-Sunda-an*" values, the concept of "*istri binangkit*" (exemplary wife) with a position and role in the domestic sphere continues to emerge, although it is not much more.

Semantic preferences and discussions about the position and role of women from other words can be further investigated and discussed.

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Dian Ekawati was born in Bandung, Indonesia in 1974. She obtained her master and doctoral degree in intercultural communication from Universität Bayreuth, Germany, in 2013.

She is an assistant professor in the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia. Her research interests are intercultural communication, conversation analysis, pragmatics, multilingualism, multiculturalism, language and society.

She is a member of Masyarakat Linguistik Indonesia (Indonesia's Linguistics Society) and the International Pragmatics Association. Her forthcoming publications are *Atypical Solidarity in an Indonesian Fandom of KPop Idols* in International Pragmatics Conference and *A corpus-based study of authorial identity in Indonesian writers' research articles* in *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences*.



Susi Yuliawati was born in Bandung, Indonesia in 1977. She obtained her doctoral degree in linguistics from Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia, in 2017.

She is an associate professor in the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia. Her research interests are corpus linguistics, semiotics, language and gender, multilingualism, and multiculturalism.

She is a member of Masyarakat Linguistik Indonesia (Indonesia's Linguistics Society) and the Indonesia Association for Computational Linguistics. She is also a researcher at the Research Center for Rural Development and Empowerment at Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia. Her forthcoming publications are *Coexistence of the ethnic Chinese and Sundanese in the city of Bandung, West Java: A case study on*

Kampung Toleransi in the journal of Asian Ethnicity and *A corpus-based study of authorial identity in Indonesian writers' research articles* in Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences.



Susi Machdalena was born in Bandung, Indonesia in 1960. She received her Ph.D. degree in *Gosudarstvenyi institut russkogo yazyka im.A.S. Pushkina, Moscow*, in 2012.

She is an associate professor in the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia. Her research interests include Anthroponymy, Russian language, and language and culture.