Islamic Religious Cues
In Indonesian’s Political Debate

Fithrah Auliya Ansar
IAIN Raden Intan Lampung
Email: auliya.ansar@gmail.com

Abstract. Political debate is always used by politician in order to convince the hearer in winning their election. This research aim is to acknowledge the reader about how politician used his language in Political Debate. Many politicians use religious symbols in in performing themselves. Islam, the most majority religion in Indonesia, is always appeared in political debate through appearance or even utterance. This study can give the clearly explanation about Functional semiotic analysis related to language analysis. The theory of Functional analysis can be used in finding the voices of speaker in using their languages. The analysis focused on various features of Islamic symbols in politicians’ utterances and appearances related to the cultural performance. The additional theory about Bakhtinian dialogism was used in order to find the features which are related and different among the debaters. The result showed the features of islamic performance used by each speakers in political debate. The Islamic cues were not only found in non-verbal signs but also existed in verbal utterances.

Keywords: political debate, antropholinguistics, dialogism, Islamic cues

A. INTRODUCTION
Communications have several meanings in a process where two people or more exchange the information. The meaning of its conversation should be understood by the interlocutors in that conversation activity. other. Communications are divided into two; they are verbal and nonverbal communications. Verbal communication is a process of communications which is used by language and
words utterances. Nonverbal communication is conveying messages without words and it reflected from the body language and verbal intonation.

In political cases most of the politicians use speech as their power in influencing society in order to maintain their position. The quality of rhetoric as an art of speech was measured in terms of skillful combination, convergence, abundance or absence of these devices. Sandarupa (2009), argues that speaking in public is the cultural aspects performance which is dominant currently. Political performance as a mode of speaking is a distinguishing feature of politics which can be observed in the political monologue, dialogue and debate. According to Sables (2011) Debate is generally understood as a competition. Related to this previous statement, political debate here is used by the speakers not as an event for finding out the winner. Political debate here is still a competition though but in another goal. Winning the political debate in this case means getting a successful respond from the hearer after the process of political debate.

In doing this research, the writer examined language used by politicians in front of public related to their cultural function. Through the utterances which were held by politicians especially the candidates of governor and vice governor, the writer knew their cultural competence. The Interpretation criteria were based on cultural point of view that can be seen through the functioning of various forces in the utterance by politicians which is used for their political interests.

In the field of debate as a term of language activity, the researcher connected the relation between the Bakhtinian concept of dialogism and the language used by debaters, in this case governor and vice governor candidates. Besides Bakthin’s concept that language appears dialogic, he also noted that every dialogue contained culture. Due to finding the relation between language and culture, the researcher tries to analyze the dialogism in the language use by candidates through anthropolinguistics approach. This approach was applied in order to see how the
debaters build their power through utterances. As a study of sign, semiotics was the first step used to analyze the language.

Functional semiotic theory by Silverstein was the prior theory in analyzing the language used by governor and vice governor candidates because this research concerned with the language with its relation to the culture. This theory focused on the relation among the text and its internal factors of the text. This theory focused on the language’s indexicality. This theory became very useful in giving the contented result of analyzing the text because it tended to analyze the language not only grammatically but also with its relation to the culture. In this term, the researcher focused on the religious cues in the text then related them with some ayah in Qur’an which explained about the cues.

**B. METHODOLOGY**

*Library research*

This study is a qualitative descriptive research. In doing this study, the writer wants to see the features of the politician’s utterances which is related to the concept of Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism especially intertextuality concept. Through this research the writer spends her time in reading a lot the Anthropolinguistics, Bakhtin’s theory and the analysis of functional semiotic by Silverstein in order to get the features of language used by the three couple of governor and vice governor candidates. Qualitative data means here, the writer transcribed the transcript of the utterances of three couple of governor and vice governor candidates with her own transcription through Anthropolinguistics approach.

*Field research*

The data of this research is taken by the political debates among the three couple of governor and vice governor of South Sulawesi. The political debate was held at CCC (Celebes Convention Center) Building and was broadcasted on Metro TV in January 18th 2013.
Technique of Data Collection

1. Internet Searching
The writer got the data of Metro TV by searching them on internet, internet searching was an alternative to find the video recording of the political debate. Finally, through the Metro TV news, the writer could easily take the data.

2. Transcribing
After finding the videos of the political debate, the writer transcribed the videos to make them textual (it is needed in order to know exactly the textual transcription of that political debate).

C. DATA ANALYSIS METHOD
In analyzing the data collection, the writer used descriptive analysis method especially descriptive qualitative and also anthropolinguistics approach which was focused on the relation of language used as cultural aspect in social life. The objects of study were the politicians especially the three couple of governor and vice governor candidates who had special intentions in their social communication. Due to finding the goals of this research, the writer analyzed the data through following steps:

1. The writer analyzed what the political debate means in her research according to the arguments and the social factors of the debate itself
2. The writer differentiated first the textual data from the previous data in political debate transcription, then using functional semiotic approach by Silverstein in order to know the features of the governor and vice governor candidates’ utterances
3. The last, after finding the features of the utterances the data were transcribed by Bakhtin theory in order to know the intertextuality exist in the debate.

To support analysis, the writer also occupied some theories that give more emphasis on the context such as socio-ideological analysis by Michael Bakhtin especially his
concept of dialogism term and debates concept of some theorists. Any other social theory that may enrich this study is welcomed also for better analysis.

**Abbreviation**

1. CONJ : Conjunction
2. COMP : Complement
3. COMPA : Comparative
4. PASS : Passive
5. POSS : Possesive
6. PREP : Preposition
7. PROG : Progressive
8. REL : Relative
9. SUF : Suffix
10. MOD : Modal
11. NEG : Negative
12. FUT : Future
13. DEIC : Deictic
14. 1SG : First Person Singular
15. 1 PL : First Person Plural
16. OB : Object
17. 2SG : Second Person Singular
18. 2 PL : Second Person Plural
19. 3SG : Third Person Singular
20. 3 PL : Third Person Plural

**Findings and Discussion**

**Findings**

The features were found by analyzing the denotational text which was referred to three kinds of linguistic analysis which are semiotic analysis (actor-place-activity) then structural analysis by Halliday (thematic, grammatical and logical) and the last theory of voice by Bakhtin. The researcher describes the features into four topics which are vision mission, education, governance and Economy and welfare topic.

**Vision and Mission**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group pair</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Textual Features</th>
<th>Voice</th>
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</tr>
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</table>
| IA AS      | IA         | 1. Personal deictic : I
2. Inclusive We – Exclusive We-I (Pursing the identity)
3. Metapragmatic descriptor: Menjabarkan "to explain"
4. Parallelism: Synonymous parallelism
5. Spasio temporality: future
6. Metaphor: holding hands bergandengan tangan | Educated people | Nation-alis |
### Education

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### Governance

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</thead>
</table>
| G A R U D A N A | RA | 1. Personal deictic : I – Exclusive We  
  (Specify the identity)  
  3. Metapragmatic descriptor:  
  4. *Melakukan koordinasi* “to coordinate”  
  *melaksanakan kordinasi* “to implement coordination”, “acceleration”  
  5. Negation wording :  
  *keliru*”misunderstanding”, *wrong*  
  “salah” and direct negation wordings  
  2. observer | Passionate |
| I A S | IA | 1. Personal deictic :  
  2. Exclusive We (*Specify the identity*)  
  3. Metapragmatic descriptor:  
  4. *Dorongan* “boost”, *mengayomi*  
  ”protect” and *penjabaran*  
  “explanation”  
  5. Deductive wording: *yakin* “sure” and  
  *percaya* “believe”  
  6. Negative wordings  
  7. Spatio temporality : future | 1. Teacher  
  2. Neutral | Idealis |
|         | AKM | 1. Personal deictic :  
  2. I – inclusive we  
  3. Metapragmatic descriptor:  
  4. *bikin* “make”  
  5. Deductive wording: *kira* “guess” | 1. Commoners  
  2. Observer | Idealis |
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<th>Group pair</th>
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<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Idealis</td>
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<td>2. Personal reference: He- big businessman</td>
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<td>3. (specify the addressee)</td>
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<td>4. Metapragmatic descriptor:</td>
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<td>5. Mengelola “manage” and Memajukan “develop”</td>
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<td>4. Jelaskan “explain” and bersinerginer “continuity”</td>
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<td>5. Negative wordings: belum ada “not yet”</td>
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<td>6. Spasio temporality: present-future</td>
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**Economy and welfare**

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S A Y A N G</td>
<td>SYL</td>
<td>1. Personal deictic:</td>
<td>Visioner</td>
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<td>2. Exclusive We</td>
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<td>3. Metapragmatic descriptor:</td>
<td>Assesor</td>
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1. **Negative wording**
2. Spasio temporality: future

1. Personal deictic:
   - Exclusive We (Expanding identities)
2. Personal reference: direct mentioning name and indirect
3. Metapragmatic descriptor:
   - Menghayo-hayo “to support” and mengemergence “to emergence”
5. Metaphor: arsitek “architect”, muara “estuarine” and membangun rahmat “to build a mercy”
6. Personal deictic:
   - We (Expanding identities)
7. Personal reference: direct mentioning name and indirect
8. Metapragmatic descriptor:
   - Mengelola “manage” and memajukan “develop”
9. Spasio temporality: past-future

1. Archite
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2. Motiva
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3. practiti
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1. Passion
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2. Progres
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3. Idealis

1. **Economy and welfare**
2. **Passion**
3. **Progres**
4. **Idealis**
### Discussion

**Religious face**

In political debate praxis, religious symbols were exploited. The characteristics existed by most politicians were:

1. Wearing skullcap or *kopiah* for man or scarf or *jilbab* for woman.

Those things are used as garnish for the user. The trend towards part of the population is, the person wearing a skullcap is a devout Muslim. It is an odd look when someone behaves badly wearing a skullcap. Commonly, people who will not wear a skullcap or at least, considered far from despicable deeds. Similar views for women.

A woman is perceived as a good Muslim and a good *muslimah* will be if she is wearing scarf. Especially, with the standard scarf, which is called *hijab syar'i*. The thing will influence human perception. The woman will be looked like a kind woman, obedient and a good activist in general or Islamic organizations. However the main Quranic argument is on the Surah Al Ahzaab:

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[33.59] O Prophet! Tell thy wives and daughters, and the believing women, that they should cast their outer garments over their persons (when abroad): that is
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<td>4.</td>
<td><em>pertumbuhan</em> “growth”</td>
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<td><em>berkembang</em> “thrive” and</td>
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<td><em>berpihak</em> “pro”</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Deductive wording: <em>kira</em> “suggest”</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Negation wording</td>
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<td>Spasio temporality: future</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Metaphor: <em>bintang pertumbuhan</em> “star of Economy growth”</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Repitition of metaphor</td>
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</table>
most convenient, that they should be known (as such) and not molested. And Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.

2. The pattern of shaking hands
In political debate, we generally found the participants great their partner and starting the ceremony by saying assalamualaikum then do the shaking hands among them.

Al-Tirmidhi Hadith 4679 Narrated by Al-Bara' ibn Azib:

The Prophet (SAW) said: "Two Muslims will not meet and shake hands without having their sins forgiven them before they separate.

Shaking hands is a Sunnah. However it is not a formal act of worship like prayer and fasting that must be performed in a specific way. The manner of shaking hands is something to be done according to customs of the people. Greeting one another with Salaams and supplications, and the shaking of hands when greeting, regardless if one uses only the right hand or one wishes to clasp both hands, would be in accordance with the preferred Sunnah.

Islamic Religious Indexes
The religious index means something explicitly and implicitly refers to speaker’s belief in his religion. Due to creating religious people in their vision mission, both speakers often uses religious signs in their words. For instance:

1. Expression
The use of islamic words are expected in political debate. Not only for influencing hearer but also for showing the religious side of speaker. The identity constructed here represents a religious man who plans something wisely. Within inshaAllah, the speaker indexes that he will do his best but the result depends on God’s decision.
Jadi saya kira dengan begitu maka ya’ \textbf{InsyaAllah}  
CONJ 1SG think with DEIC REL INTERJ FUT  
sangat kecil peluangnya  
very small chance.3SG.Posss  
pejabat-pejabat akan melakukan korupsi.  
RED-official MOD.FUT do.PROG corruption  
so I guess by that process hopefully it will be very small chances for officials to do corruption

The speaker could use another adverbial time to express the future actualy. They are: \textit{nanti}, \textit{nanti pasti}, or \textit{suatu saat}. Due to performing his necessity and religious level, the speaker then decided to use \textit{Insha Allah} to convince the hearer.

It looks like \textit{insha Allah}, \textit{Alhamdulillah} is also the other expression usually appeared in politicians’ utterances. \textit{Alhamdulillah} is used to express the satisfaction of everything happens to person’s life.

2. Methapor

Unlike with the previous topics in this political debate. The use of poetic function in utterance can be a strength for candidates in convincing his hearers. Some of participants used metaphor as his power against his opponents.

\textit{Ee, tugas utama dan muara} dari seluruh INTERJ job main CONJ estuarine all trip  
perjalanan pemerintahan adalah government is  
\textbf{membangun rahmat} build mercy  
\textit{Ee, the main duty and estuarine of the entire trip is to build a mercy}

The word “\textit{muara}” or so called spring head in denotational meaning means a beautiful place and also the water source. Through this word the speaker emphasizes that function of governance. Government’s duty according to the speaker looked like a prior source which shows the authority of its government. Whereas the words \textit{membangun rahmat} “build a mercy. In denotational meaning
"rahmat" “mercy” means majesty or greatness. The speaker intended that the good governance is an impressive thing to all people. Hence, the words *membangun rahmat* “build a mercy” is related to people’s prosperity. It is related to God’s ayah in Qur’an that inform us to do the good deeds in the sake of Allah, so that Allah gives His merciful for us.

Ali- Imran: 107-108

وَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ ابْيَضَتْ وُجُوهُهُمْ فَفِي رَحْمَةِ اللّهِ هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ

107. "And as to those whose faces will turn white, they shall be in the Mercy of Allah; wherein shall they abide forever"

تِلْكَ آيَاتُ اللّهِ نَتْلُوهَ

108. "These are the verses of Allah which We recite unto you in Truth; And Allah does not intend any injustice to the world.”

The recitation of the divine verse, without any exaggeration or diminution, is adapted to the truth, therefore, actions and reactions, deeds and rewards, movements and recompenses of all nations have been fixed upon a single principal and way. *Allah* neither ordains the servants a duty beyond their endurance, nor changes the divine laws and ways of treatment with respect to nations.

3. Connotational deictic
The use of personal deictic by the speakers should need a critical attention by the hearer. Talking about personal deictic, it came up in almost all of the debate. In this part, the use of personal pronoun can be located on a distancing scale: “a pronominal window into the thinking and attitude of politicians towards particular political topics and political personalities” Wilson1990 in Lunsford 2013). As usual denotational deictic always points us the textual meaning of the
thing or person such as: I, We, You, etc then connotational deictic refers to conditional meaning of the context of the text.

Seperti Pak Ustadz Azis, katanyakan alike Sir DEIC.Teacher Azis,say-3SG.poss. tadi PERDA transparansi hehehe PAST PERDA Trans (laughing) sudah ada di Sulawesi Selatan, has PERF exist in South Sulawesi jadi tidak perlu tinggal bapak sempurnakan nanti InshaAllah CONJ NEG need just Sir complete later DEIC.FUT Alike ustadz Aziz said PERDA transparency has been already exist in South Sulawesi so no need to create ,

Ustadz indexes a religious man and an expert man. This “Ustadz” word usually uses by someone to the hearer as a kind of politeness. In fact, in Syahrul Yasin Limpo probably use this word for insulting the speaker in the of his response by using of his opponent’s voices. Ustadz semantically means teacher or an educated man but the speaker used the word Ustadz is not coherence with the word katanya, because katanya contain something negative which is a rumor. Rumor is an untrusted news. Whereas Ustadz refers to trusted and an expert person. So the speaker implicitly emphasized that Ustadz cannot always be smart as usual.

Islamic metapragmatic power
1. Lowering gaze
Lowering gaze means down to earth. People may use the poetic function of their utterances to attract someone’s attention. The poetic context can be found in the means of the utterance. Here an example of poetic context found in this political debate.

Saya hanya masyarakat seperti bapak dan 1SG only society like P.DEIC CONJ ibu jadi saya minta bantuan bapak dan ibu P.DEIC CONJ 1SG ask help P.D CONJ P.D
I am just a human like you (mr and ms) so that I need your help to let us build Indonesia together.

The denial of speaker’s real competence represents the speaker to modestly. It is used to attract the attention of listeners in demonstrating himself. The personal pronoun I can be interpreted as a high level of self-centeredness of the speaker. I shows the hearer of highly personal, powerful and persuasive of the speaker’s utterances. The use of personal deictic here, represents the person as an invididual man that is reflected as a part of the hearer (society). In another hand, I is phisically We and We also is phisically I.

It is the standard etiquette and the politeness in speaking. In Brown Lavinson theory, Politeness is used in the middle of society to atrract everyone’s acceptance. It is also related to Qur’an which guides us to be a good muslim. In Qur’an ayah an-Nur (30), in verse 30, Allah commands Prophet Muhammad as follows:

قُلْ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَغُضُّواْ مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِمْ وَيَحْفَظُواْ فُرُوجَهُمْ ذٰلِكَ أَزْكَىٰ لَهُمْ إِنَّ ٱللَََّّ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا يَصْنَعُونَ

“Say to the believing men that: they should cast down their glances and guard their private parts (by being chaste). This is better for them.”

Except its function in telling the obligation of hijab for women, this ayah also could be used as a command to Muslim men to prevent any possibility of temptation, they are required to cast their glances downwards.

2. Responsible
Many local political orator quote wise words, hadith or even ayah in Qur’an to support his statement. The speakers cited many maxims in debate to support their rhetorics.
Bantu kami untuk jadi pemimpin yang
Help OB.1PL PREP become leader REL
Amanah
Kind
Help us to be a kind leader.

Hadir pemerintahan yang berpihak pada rakyat
there government REL pro with people
dan tidak meladeni dirinya sendiri
CONJ NEG sev 1.SG. REF
there will be pro-society government and will not only serve himself

The utterance above reflects the wise word which is “be a good leader”. The words were used in order to show their means in front of the public. The speaker used rhetorical statement berpihak pada rakyat dan tidak meladeni dirinya sendiri “pro-society and not only care of himself”. The speaker used it as the politician’s voice. The speakers indeed has already prepared their performance in the process of political debates activity. Through the language used, The speakers construct other positive perceptions about themselves in front of the floors.

3. The Repitition of good deeds.
Repitition for the same context of one utterance is also called Parallelism. Parallelism means say one thing twice. Sandarupa (2013) in Kompas said that Parallelism characterize the speeches of Bung Karno and political language and rituals of our local cultures. The concept of togetherness are used to convince others to do the good deeds together.

yang kedua bagaimana how to resolve
REL second Q RED-Q REL resolve problem with the people
problem with the people.
Second, how to resolve the problem with the people

bagaimana kita solusikan bersama-sama
Q 1PL Solve together-RED
dengan rakyat
with society
how do we solve the problem along with the people

yang ketiga membangun kepercayaan. Trust
REL third build trust
The third is building trust. Trust
Kita memiliki kekuatan sendiri yang
1PL have power 1PL.POSS REL
menjadi
become
pillar religious, pillar kehidupan religious
pillar religious, pillar life religious
because we have our own power which become a religious pillar, the pillar of religious life

Those are the examples of paralellism appeared in politician’s utterance. The repetition generally not only exists in individual utterance but it is also found in the other politicians’ utterance. The ideas from others are used to support their opinions. Allah also reminds us in His ayah to inform us to spend our time well and remind others to do the good deeds in order to get His blessing and merciful.

1. By time
2. Indeed, mankind is lost
3. Except for those who have believed and done righteous deeds and advised each other to truth and advised each other to patience.

The words "advised each other to truth and patience" mention two main elements of success in social and communal life - a collective struggle for the establishment of Truth, and patience and constancy against negative forces. A believing and righteous people should not, therefore, live as individuals but establish a society built on the combined faith and energy of every individual.
4. The metaphor of hopes

Metaphor is always used in political debate. Metaphors can be said to be a shifting of meaning through the similarities between the two elements are considered as if they have a common component. In the metaphor shifted side is the meaning of certain references to other references by comparison. Conceptual metaphor creates correspondence between different conceptual domains, so that forms of reasoning from a source domain can be used in another one (Lakoff 2002 in Boyd 2013) the difference concept of metaphor determines the ways of thinking and morality in political debate’s discourse among the candidates.

Hope is the important elements in political debate. Like Obama’s Jargon in his US election debate in 2008 “give me hope”. The thing is needed to build the audience trust. In researcher data, The speaker used the metaphor sentence in giving his statement about his hope for his city in the future.

Sulawesi Selatan adalah bintang dari
Sulawesi South is star from
pertumbuhan Ekonomi nasional yang ada,
growth economic national REL exist

South Sulawesi is the star of national economic growth

Kami akan menjadi bintang pertumbuhan
1PL MOD.FUT become star grow
ekonomi,
economic

We are the star of economic growth

The use of noun bintang “star” indexes something famous or something special. Star gives an emphasis of the glory. Star refers to a great thing at night and also it can be meant as achievement. Star also refers to the army. It is used as the grade. The grade tends to show the experience of the speaker. The speaker implicitly wanted to tell the hearer about the glory of South Sulawesi in becoming an
andvance province than other provinces related to his great experience in governance. Another example of metaphor which is:

PILKADA ini menjadi
Government election DEIC become
peradilan rakyat untuk saya,
judgement rakyat PREP OB1SG
This governmental election will be a people’s justice place for me

The speaker implicitly told the audience about his position as a defendant by using a metaphor. The metaphor of peradilan rakyat indexes the status of the speaker as the incumbent candidate of governor election. The word peradilan refers to social judgement then rakyat here indicates the object of responsibility of his actions during his previous period.

The Islamic concept of believe in God
One of muslim’s beliefs is believe in destiny. The speakers in political debate in a few times made some explicit utterances by giving the doctrin of their beliefs.

karena saya yakin dan percaya pembangun
CONJ 1SG sure CONJ believe development penata kelola kabupaten yang baik
governance regency REL kind
harus dilandasi dengan kualitas SDM
MOD PASS-base with quality SDM
yang lebih baik pula.
REL COMP good too.
because I am sure and believe the development of good governance should be based on the good quality of human resources too.

D. CONCLUSION
There were specific islamic features in every partcipants of political debate. There were lot of voices in their utterances which describe themselves as an idealist and progressive. The candidates also rarely used poetic words and metaphors in their utterances. Dialogisme worked in this political debate. The way of candidate’s
respond the questions or other statements actually is a part of dialogisme process. The Islamic cues in participants’ activities on verbal or non verbal communication made us aware that religious aspects cannot be separated in political side.

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