

# Metaphorical Expressions in News Discourses of Setya Novanto's Graft Case

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**Abstract**—This study focuses on news discourse analysis. It aims at examining the representation of metaphorical expression in the news discourses of Setya Novanto's graft case, and the types of news discourses in which they are expressed. Drawing on qualitative design, news texts pertaining to electronic-ID graft case from three national media **Republika, Kompas, and Media Indonesia** were collected through close reading and note taking, and analyzed using pragmatic correspondence. The results show that the news discourses of the electronic-ID graft case are delivered using metaphorical expressions, euphemism in particular, to convey the intended meanings of the writers. These expressions are found in the headline news and subheadline news.

**Keywords**—*metaphorical expression, Setya Novanto*

## I. INTRODUCTION

News production in the world of newspaper is closely related to the background of the writer since the journalist is the advocate of the newspaper's ideology in question. News writing is always planned. For example, to write news about corruption, there are numerous backgrounds that the journalist should cover to focus on the news story. The background of the perpetrator, the KPK investigators as the commission for investigating the corruption case, or prosecution indicted to the suspect in the corruption case becomes the basis for writing the news. Each topic will be elaborated in line with the vision and mission of the newspaper. The partiality becomes the main aspect how the newspaper presents the news story that can shape the opinion of the public in line with the frame and the ideology of the media.

The same thing happens to the news about the case of e-KTP (hereafter e-ID) embezzlement that implicated Setya Novanto. The case took the front page for some time and even became the headline of the national news. The case started to be on the news in 2013. At that time, Nazarudin who was convicted of graft in relation to the e-ID project mentioned both Setya Novanto and Anas Urbaningrum taking the role in the graft case. The case again caught the national spotlight in 2016 when Nazarudin mentioned Setya Novanto's name as the coordinator for the distribution of the money embezzled from the project. In 2017, the case reached its peak as it was made the headline by almost all newspapers. In June 2017, the chair of the prosecutors named

Novanto a suspect as he was claimed to work together with the first two convicts in the case, Irman dan Sugiarto.

In 2017, the e-ID Project graft was the spotlight of the national newspapers as Setnov (in this study hereafter called Setya Novanto, Setnov and Novanto) was former House of Representatives speaker. This case was considered a big one as it implicated Setnov and other high-profile politicians. It even highly affected the existence of some political parties and the current administration. Setnov with all means and false argumentations kept denying and rejecting his responsibility in the case. As a result, the case was phenomenal and interested to be investigated thoroughly by the journalists. The society highly anticipated its proceeding and developments. In covering the case, mass media are expected to be neutral and fair. However, in reality some media are seen to take a certain side in spreading information through the news discourses.

Based on the background, this study aims to investigate the ideology of a number of national newspapers. It seeks how independent these newspapers are in conveying news about Setnov's case. The Media and journalists are expected to deliver the content of the news frankly and fairly. A journalist's job is just to write the news story without adding or distorting the facts of the events for any hidden agenda. To this end, drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis this study attempts to reveal the ideology and the views of each newspaper.

The paradigm of critical discourse can be used to study mass media as an entity that is value-free. This paradigm is rapidly developing and has caught the attention of linguists. It is strongly held that studies on discourse analysis have exceeded the principles of conventional linguistics. Discourse is no longer seen as language organization above the clause, focusing on text and talk. It is now instead seen as involving sociopolitical and ideological factors. As a result, at later developments, there have been various studies on discourse analysis such as seeing the relation between discourse and the ideology of the society, the relation between discourse and politics, which are now known as Critical Discourse Analysis.

Discourse itself is a series of utterances or speech acts that represent a subject presented orderly, systematically, as a coherent whole formed by both segmental and non-segmental elements of language [1]. Setiawan [2] gives a different thought about it; discourse is a spoken or written

text seen from a particular ideology, values and other categories. Discourse, thus, is a process of communication through symbols related to interpretations and events in a wider societal system, and ideology and values held by the society. Discourse analysis is now seen to operate on social and political areas closely related to the society, although in the first place it was aimed only to describe the language use, or what the language is for [3].

Fairclough in [4] argues that discourse refers to the use of language as social practice, more than individual practice and resulting in a number of implication. He divides discourse into three dimensions (1) text, (2) discourse practice, and (3) sociocultural practice. Text refers to the analysis of text based on linguistic by looking at words, semantic and grammar in addition to cohesion and coherent aspects

Drawing on CDA this study is focused on text analysis at linguistic level. The focus of the study is to examine the choice of metaphorical diction in the titles of the news. Metaphor refers to a figure of speech to which literal meaning is not applicable; it is instead an analogy based on similarity and comparison. Diction with metaphorical load is a word or figure of speech in which meaning is not understood from the symbol because the intended meaning lies in the language prediction bounded by the context. In other words, metaphor is the abstraction of a concept which contains understanding and experience which is represented by something else. The investigation of the metaphoric forms in this study is based on critical discourse analysis on Setnov's online news. The goal is to examine the representation of choice of diction in the news about Setya Novanto's case.

The rest of this paper is organized as follow: Section II describes the proposed method. Section III presents the obtained result and following by discussion. Finally Section IV concludes this work.

## II. PROPOSED METHOD

This study was a qualitative study drawing on critical discourse analysis. Considered as the representatives of the national press with different ideology, three online newspapers, Kompas, Republika, and Media Indonesia were selected as the data source. Well known for their reputation, the news the provided was considered accurate and reliable. The data collected were all editions about Setya Novanto since he was named suspect from 17 July 2017 to his conviction on 24 April 2018.

The data were obtained through close reading and note taking. The procedures were as follows: (1) reading the news thoroughly (2) identifying the form of the figure of speech and the key words in line with the theme of the news, (3) organizing the data in data cards for classification, (4) classifying the data according to the theme and topic of discussion, (5) analysing the data based on the designated instrument. In note taking, all data were recorded and documented in a table.

The collected data were analysed using identity method. The procedures were as follows: the data were classified according to the theme. The classified data were then analysed using the designated instrument. The analysis was done through identification based on the theme and

tabulation with qualitative explanation. The tabulated data were then interpreted according to the theme. All data obtained were examined by drawing on critical discourse analysis [4]. He divides the analysis into three dimensions, text analysis (linguistic analysis) focusing on the diction, semantic and clause. The analysis was then followed by examining the cohesion and coherence among diction and clauses as to form a discourse. The next analysis was on the sociocultural practice dimension. The social context is considered to influence how a discourse is presented by the media [5].

The validity of the data was on the content and the semantic aspect. The former was considered to provide the concepts that were measurable, the textual aspect of news about Setnov, while the latter was used to interpret the data by considering the meaning to reveal the aspects of discourse and sociocultural.

Reliability of the data was obtained through interrater, while the validity was obtained through interrater. The Researchers discussed all the interpretations together. Prior to the data analysis, they adjusted their perception regarding the news about Setya Novanto. Every piece of news was recorded and interpreted to reveal that the discourse embodied the social context and dynamic in the internal and external scope of the media. In this way, how the national mass media covered the e-ID graft case in their news so that it can be seen how a text is used to win over idea struggle, interest, or to maintain a certain ideology.

## III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the results obtained and following by discussion.

### A. Text representation through Metaphor and Euphemism in the news discourse of Setya Novanto's case

To understand the construction of the news discourse texts, 20 topics were selected from 48 titles of online news discourses on Setya Novanto's case. These topics were covered by the three newspapers with different quality of cover. This indicates that the three national newspapers differ in the way they covered the story. Based on the quality of the news, the ideology of the media in covering the story can be revealed. The twenty topics were delivered in the three media with different titles and descriptions; some even did not cover them at all. To examine the quality of the news story delivered by each media, the choice of diction and the wording of the title are analyzed. The choice of diction in news discourse is highly meaning-loaded, which is presented through metaphor and euphemism in particular to deliver the intended meaning. The hidden goal is usually presented with metaphorical dictions.

In the context of news discourse, the title is usually presented with metaphorical dictions. The followings are examples of the titles with metaphorical dictions in the news of Setya Novanto's case.

TABLE I. WITH METAPHORICAL DICTIONS IN THE NEWS OF SETYA NOVANTO'S CASE

No	Forms of Metaphor	Republika	Kompas	Media Indonesia

1	Penyalahgunaan kekuasaan / <i>Power abuse</i>	√	√	
2	Menguntungkan diri sendiri / <i>self-benefit</i>	√		
3	Memperkaya orang lain / diri sendiri / <i>altruism</i>	√	√	
4	Mempolitisasi hukum / <i>law politicization</i>	√		
5	Dibalik layar / <i>behind the scene</i>	√		
6	Mendalangi permainan / <i>intellectual dader</i>	√		
7	Konspirator / <i>conspirator</i>	√		
8	Korporasi / <i>corporation</i>	√	√	
9	Mengkondisikan anggaran / <i>budget embezzlement</i>	√	√	
10	Menghilangkan fakta / <i>eliminate evidence</i>	√	√	
11	Drama	√	√	
12	Drama bisu / <i>silent drama</i>	√		
13	Bertarung / <i>fighting</i>		√	
14	Gugur / mengugurkan / <i>disqualification</i>	√	√	
15	Mengantongi /	√	√	
16	Dua kapten / <i>two captains</i>	√		

The Table I shows how *Kompas*, *Republika* and *Media Indonesi* chose the dictions to build the society's opinion through their news about Setya Novanto. The choice of dictions aims at explaining a social reality being covered by a certain media or group. The Ideology and point of view of each media can be seen through the detail, although it is still at the level of text representation.

The analysis on the forms of metaphor is considered descriptive and structural analysis. This analysis is expected to reveal the ideology being built by each media. Metaphorical expressions are used in the news discourse about Novanto's case to create the unity of the news content. They are also used to present special dictions pertaining to politic and corruption. In discourse analysis, metaphor is used to create a strong expressive value. This expressive value is linked to the subject and current reality to reveal a covered-up social identity. In every discourse model, a diction can have a very different meaning. This distinct meaning is used to build the ideology that is being conveyed. In addition to the use of metaphor, the delivery of ideology is also linked to the use of modality, given that metaphor cannot stand on its own as diction. It is in stead a cohesive device in a clause or even in a paragraph.

Metaphor and euphemism are closely related to the journalism language. This is not surprising as language politeness needs to be obeyed in the process of communication. Therefore, communication in journalism lies between formal and informal style. To explain the use of metaphor and euphemism in news discourses about Setya

Novanto, the followings are some representations of metaphor and euphemism.

1. Ketua KPK Agus Raharjo memastikan KPK sudah mengantongi dua alat bukti. Ia menjelaskan peran dari Setnov menjadi salah satu inisiator dalam proses perencanaan dan pembahasan anggaran di DPR dan proses pengadaan barang dan jasa KTP-el (013/Rep/17/07/17)

At word level, the word, *inisiator*, is euphemism to denote the main perpetrator or the intellectual dader. The word was chosen to cover up the negative impression of the main perpetrator because he was the House of Representatives speaker and leader of a big party. With the word, the honor of Setya Novanto is maintained. The word *inisiator* is considered a better diction compared to *dalang* in a corruption case.

2. Setnov—sebutan bagi Novanto—diduga bertujuan menguntungkan diri sendiri dan orang lain atau suatu korporasi, menyalahgunakan wewenang, kesempatan, atau sarana yang ada padanya terjadap jabatannya sehingga diduga mengakibatkan kerugian negara hingga IDR 2,3 triliun (027/MI/17/07/17)

The phrase *menguntungkan diri sendiri* is the euphemism of *memperkaya diri sendiri* or more elegant than *korupsi*. The word *korupsi* or its derivative *koruptor* has negative connotation and lies at lower level of politeness. Given that the graft case involved political figures, the phrase is considered appropriate and polite. Similarly, the word *korporasi* is euphemism for *kelompok* or *gerombolan*. It is considered more elegant as it refers to a group of extraordinary people. Therefore, the word is considered the most appropriate one. The phrase *menyalahgunakan wewenang* is euphemism for *memanfaatkan kekuasaan* or *aji mumpung*. These phrases are the intended meaning of the euphemism used. The expression “aji mumpung” means that the power holder can do anything for his altruism. To give polite tone, the phrase *menyalahgunakan wewenang* is considered the most appropriate one.

3. Dalam menegakkan hukum, jelas Syamsul, KPK tidak boleh kalah dengan politisi yang mempolitisasi hukum, walau hukum itu sendiri merupakan produk politik. Ia kemudian mengajak KPK untuk mencari tahu siapa yang mendalangi permainan Setya Novanto di balik layar. “Sebab menurut saya, kalau hanya pribadi Novanto, dia tidak memiliki kepiawaian dalam mengatur trik-trik melakukan perlawanan hukum,” kata Syamsul (31/REP/17/07/17).

The phrase *mempolitisasi hukum* is euphemism for *mempermainkan hukum*. This euphemism means that one can orchestrate the process of due of law. Similarly, the phrase *produk politik* is also a form of metaphor. It implies that there is something that is created with political intrigue for a political motive. This suggests that law is no longer a law or politically loaded. The metaphor *produk politik* is more complicated in meaning than the concept it defines.



Likewise, the word *mendalangi* is also a metaphor. This expression roots from the word *dalang* that can be seen as the synonym for *sutradara*. *Dalang* means the one who directs all events in a story. So, one event to another happening to Novanto is seen as a show directed by the *dalang*. Novanto playing the role as puppet was asked to act as he was told by the *dalang*. In the same vein, the phrase *di balik layar* is a metaphor for describing a show. It is analogous to puppet show in which the happening at front and behind the screen is different. On the screen, the puppets will act as they are directed by the *dalang* behind the screen. The word *kepiawaian* is euphemism for *kecerdikan*. In this context, Novanto was considered smart in facing the charges filed to him.

4. "Saya mengamati, ada juga indikasi, konspirator dalam upaya menyelamatkan SN ini memiliki hubungan lain dengan SN dan saling sandera. Makanya dalam situasi ini mereka bersatu untuk menyelamatkan SN," tutur dia (32/REP/17/07/17)

The word *konspirator* is euphemism for *persekongkolan*. It is softer and more positive in tone. According to KBBI *konspirator* refers to one who does conspiracy and has a blanketed plan for a particular goal. *Konspirasi* means illegal act or unlawful act. In the context of the discourse, *konspirator* refers to a group of people planning to clear Novanto from the charges. The word is more polite than *komplotan*.

Based on the data, it can be concluded that the news discourses about the graft case implicating Novanto are expressed using euphemism and metaphor. The former is more dominant in the news discourse. This is not surprising as it is driven by the factors of politeness and comfort in the communication process. Journalism language is known to lie between formal and informal style so that the news writer has the freedom to use metaphor and euphemism to deliver a message. Both play a key role in delivering ideas of the writer to the readers in polite tone and coherent text.

#### *B. Text representation through word choice in the title of news about Setya Novanto's case*

Corruption case has almost been daily coverage of the national and local press. It ranked relatively high in 2013 with 152.346 types of news or 8, 14 % of all the themes in news paper. Setya Novanto's graft case was one that took the highlight of the national press. It was also considered a big case implicating various high profile figures in politic and administration. As a result, the news took almost all front pages of the national press. The corruption case involving Setya Novanto was a case in relation to the electronic ID procurement in 2011 dan 2012 in the Home Affairs Ministry. The case reportedly caused IDR 2.3 trillion in state losses from the Rp5,9 trillion procurement project. some high rank administrators and businessmen were suspected to be involved in the case. As a result, the case was intensively investigated by Corruption Eradication Commission. Any development about the case was also highly anticipated by the society through printed or electronic media.

Both printed and electronic media delivered the case intensively. The national Media such as *Kompas*, *Media*

*Indonesia* and *Republika* delivered systemically and chronologically every event in relation to the case. The delivery of the content of the news discourse was based on the social and cultural aspects, and the dynamics pertaining to external and internal contexts. How the three media delivered the graft case implicating Setya Novanto can be observed in their online news discourses in particular. These news discourses construed the realities and events that were written in line with the policy and thought of each media. Thomas and Wareing in [6], suggest that how the press reports and describes various events can be investigated using the language representation. The news texts pertaining to the case were found to represent the perpetrators of the graft case. The representation, of course, cannot be separated from the various interests in presenting their ideology. This ideological representation is a means of spreading the ideology of the power holder, legitimation apparatuses or control over the authorities.

To elaborate the media representation in text through word choice begins from the choice of word used in the title of the news. The choice of word in the title of the news can be analyzed based on theme deliveries, the headline and subheadline. The headline is the news that tells the story in chronological order in line with the investigation process of the Setya Novanto's case, while the subheadline is the news that covers the main event. The latter usually includes individual perpetrator of the graft case and political issue that lead the readers to a certain point. The headlines in chronological order, are named suspect, detaining process, hearing processes, named defendant and the verdict, while the subheadlines are events that include the main perpetrators that support the setting or the chronological order of the events about the main perpetrator.

To give a clearer description, the followings are the headline and subheadline that are presented in the titles of the news from the three media. The headlines appeared consecutively in two media *Kompas* and *Republika*, while *Media Indonesia* did not put the case as headlines. It slotted less space to the case compared to that of *Kompas* and *Republika*. The headline news absent from *Media Indonesia* includes news related to Novanto's standing and attitude as the House of Representative speaker and the chairman of a party, the indicment from suspect to defendant, the verdict, and pretrial motion. The data, thus, show that the proportion of the news about the case from the three media differs. Here are some examples of headlines news about Novanto in the three media.

5. *KPK ungkap peran Nonanto dalam kasus KTP-E (003J/MI/17/7/17)*
6. *KPK : Setyo Novanto Tersangka Kasus KTP- El (002J/Re./17/7/17)*
7. *10 Fakta sidang soal Peran Setya Novanto dalam kasus E-KTP (001J/Kom/17/7/17)*

These titles contained the same news when Novanto was named suspect in electronic-ID graft case. The titles were seen in *Republika* dan *Media Indonesia*, while in *Kompas* this development was given under different title *10 fakta sidang dalam kasus Novanto*. In its news, *Kompas* had mentioned his current status, but it appeared in the news

description, not in the title of the news. *Kompas* seemingly invited the readers to date back the chronology of the verdict for Novanto. In other words, the verdict needs to be reviewed based on the facts provided in the news. In the news, the evidences about Novanto were given in chronological order. The readers were invited to flash back and to think about the presumption of innocence about Novanto.

In presenting the news, *Kompas* and *Media Indonesia* used formal forms reflecting formal and rational situations. Rational facts were presented in the news description to support and strenghten Novanto's status as suspect. In contrast, *Republika* put it in the title. It explicitly named Novanto suspect in the title and key word in the news content. However, *Kompas* presented the facts to readers that Novanto was named suspect based on clear facts and arguments. *Media Indonesia* and *Republika* put more highlites on the main and supporting witnesses in the graft case of electronic-ID project. In other words, giving 10 facts in the hearing can be seen as information check and balances in that the readers can make a solid judgment based on facts.

The analysis on the subheadline news consists of stories pertaining to the main perpetrator (Novanto), other alledged perpetrators, and proponents. The following quotations present Fahri Hamzah as a political figure known as the close associate of Setya Novanto. He was presented as the defense calling for freeing Novanto from detention. The following titles have it.

8. *Fahri Hamzah minta Setya Novanto dibebaskan (004 J/Re/23/11/17).*
9. *Menurut Fahri Hamzah, Novanto berhak dibela Jokowi karena jasanya Rachmad Nur Hakim (005 J/Kom/21/11/17)*

These titles belong to news presented to support the headline about the main perpetrator. Through its news titles, *Kompas* reflected rationality and connectivity of the main idea. The appearing theme for the news on 21-23 November 2017 was about the process to clear Novanto of charges. *Kompas* dan *Republika* wrote about the topic by presenting other figure (Fahri Hamzah) as the defense for Novanto. Fahri urged that Novanto deserved to be freed or Novanto was entitled to have the defense from Jokowi. These titles attempt to provide balanced news about Novanto's case. The two media expect that the readers have comparative data before making their opinion. Despite its short title, *Republika* managed to give a reality based on rationality and connectivity from external side. It invited the readers to look at the graft case as it reportedly implicated the figures in the administration. The media presented that the call for the defense came from Fahri Hamzah, in that readers can take an objective standing whether the detention of Novanto as suspect can be accepted or not.

10. *MKD : Novanto sadar posisinya dan akan segera Bersikap (STU) (0017J/KOM/03/12/17)*
11. *Setya Novanto segera Mundur (STU) (0018J/REP/03/12/17)*

12. *Otto dan Frederich mundur dari Tim Pengacara Novanto, ini Komentar Maqdir Robertus Belarminus (STP) (0018 J/KOM/8/12/17)*
13. *Ketika Otto-Frederich Meninggalkan Setya Novanto (STP) (0019 J/REP/8/12/17)*
14. *Drama 7 jam Sebelum Dakwaan Setya Novanto Dibacakan (STU) (0020J/KOP/13/12/17)*
15. *Toilet dan Drama Bisu Setya Novanto (STU) ( 0020 J/REP/13/12/17)*
16. *Putusan Praperadilan Novanto dibacakan kamis, KPK tak ambil pusing (STU) (0021J/KOM/14/12/17)*
17. *Putusan Praperadilan Setya Novanto kuatkan KPK (STU) (0022J/REP/14/12/17)*

Some of these titles were only seen in *Republika* dan *Kompas*. None of the themes was present in the news from *Media Indonesia*. The way the news title is presented between *Kompas* and *Republika* is different. The former chose indirect diction in its title, while *Republika* opted for more direct and bald one. This can be seen in datum 0017J/KOM/03/12/17 and 0018J/REP/03/12/178. These titles have the same theme about Novanto and his position as the speaker for the House of Representatives and chairman of the Golkar party. *Kompas* mentioned that it's the Supreme Boards of the House that gave statement about Novanto's legal status after the hearing verdict named him suspect. This statement was directly quoted by *Kompas* from the Supreme Board of the House. In contrast, *Republika* chose to use bald and firm diction for its title. *Kompas* chose to put the title in this way: "Setyo Novanto segera Mundur". The phrase, segera mundur is easier for the readers to understand compared to segera bersikap. The phrase segera bersikap is ambiguous, requiring interpretation based on the context. Pragmatically, the phrase segera bersikap has various meanings depending on the context. The meanings can give either positive or negative connotation for the readers who do not have access to the context. Thus, the readers can have different reading of the same title. Using the word bersikap positions Novanto in neutral side despite the fact that he was named suspect. *Kompas* seems to avoid inviting the readers to take a certain position by providing them with options to critically see the case and what Novanto should have taken in the situation. Based on the description of the titles, it can be said that the three media have different views about Novanto's case. *Media Indonesia* has fewer pieces of news highlighting the case compared to other two media. It tends to write about the case in subheadline or not to write at all about the case. For example, the verdict hearing was not at all reported its news, while both *Kompas* and *Republika* provided a comprehensive reports .

*Republika* in its news tends to choose themes which receive broad attention from the readers. This can be seen in the full coverage of the graft case from the first time he was mentioned suspect to the verdict hearing. Choice of words that it made is shaIDR and bald. Its description was detailed. Even only reading the title, the readers could see clearly how the case was developing and covered comprehensively. Its way of describing tends to reflect that the newspaper is neutral, providing readers with detailed facts that can help the readers to take objective reading.

Similarly, the news about the case in Kompas reads neutral. However, its choice of word tends to sound less firm and bald and sees the case from different point of view. Thus, there is an impression that Kompas attempts to invite the readers to think critically about the case and to draw the conclusion by themselves.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The representation of word choice in the news about Setya Novanto's graft case is done in the form of metaphor and euphemism. This language form is opted by Republika as can be seen in its many titles. Both metaphor and euphemism play a key role in conveying the ideas to the readers in comprehensive and polite manner. In addition, the three national media realize the representation of word choice pertaining to the graft case using both headline and sub headline. They also have different point of view in covering the case. Media Indonesia is found to have fewer pieces of news than the other two media. It tends to write about the case in headline or not to write at all about the case. For example, the verdict hearing was not at all reported in its news, while both Kompas and Republika provided a comprehensive one. of the results of student writing tests that were carried out. The study revealed that the average results of students' writing skills in Cycle I the percentage of classical completeness of students reached 77%, increasing in the second cycle to 79.78%. It is recommended to the teacher, if you want to improve writing skills students should use and apply a process approach.

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